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Discourse and Difference: 'New Irish' in the Media

Submitted for examination for PhD

2009

Trudy Meehan

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Declaration

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Summary

This thesis presents a discourse analytic study of Irish newspaper talk about those described as refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The analysis looks at newspaper talk from two leading Irish newspapers, The Irish Times and The Irish Independent over a five year period (2001-2005). The aim of the analysis is to understand how the print media in Ireland constructs the 'new Irish', those who have come to live in Ireland seeking, asylum, work, study or new life. The analysis uses a discursive, post-structural approach to consider the importance of power and subject positioning in the construction of identity and the maintenance, production and reproduction of racist practices and emotional attitudes. The research draws on theories from within and outside of psychology, arguing for a multi-theoretical approach to racism and the relevance of psychology to such an approach. Theoretically the thesis draws on Foucault's work on biopower and more recently the work of Lentin and Lentin (2006; Lentin, 2003) on biopower and the racist Irish state. The approach to discourse and identity is influenced by positioning theory (Harré et al., 2009; van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) and the identity theories of Sampson (1993), Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Hansen (2006).

484 newspaper articles were randomly selected from online archives of The Irish Times and The Irish Independent from January 1st 2001 to December 31st 2005 . Search words such as immigrant(s), immigration, foreign, non-national, asylum seeker(s), asylum, refugee(s) and alien were used to access 2,500 relevant articles. The data was analysed using a discourse analytic method that integrated Potter and Wetherell (1987), Parker's (1992) Foucauldian analysis and the analysis of subject positions (Davies & Harre, 1990; van Lagenhove & Harré, 1999).

The findings indicated that Irish newspaper talk constructs refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants relationally. This means that in constructing the other, the newspapers are also constructing the Irish self. Subject positioning and biopower play a significant role in this process of self-other construction. The analysis concluded that the construction of self-other identity occurs variously with differing functions. It also found that Irish identity is constructed between two others – the non-Western immigrant/asylum seeking other and the Western or European other. The immigrant/asylum seeking other is

constructed as inferior and/or threatening while the Western other is constructed as superior or equal to the Irish self. Self construction draws on practices of differentiation and linking. The most prevalent construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the newspapers analysed is that of the threatening other. Positioning the other as threat functions to legitimise discriminatory practices against them.

Positioning the other discursively as a threat was found in the analysis to function to manage or negotiate congruence in discourse where the stated or implied values of Ireland and Irish people are in conflict with the actual practices. For example, positioning the other as a terrorist threat functions to construct the Irish state in a particular way, as a state that values human rights and democracy, while the state incongruently practices discrimination and a diminution of the human rights of asylum seekers. The state appears to be upholding democracy and security of its citizens when it seeks to limit access or deport asylum seekers (terrorist threats). The term value-practice management is recommended to refer to the use of subject positioning to manage complex discourse and practice arrangements.

The analytic focus on biopower reveals that normalising processes play a significant role in the construction of the self and other. The analysis shows how the construction of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants is influenced by strategies of biopower.

Implications of the analytic findings are discussed and the findings are compared and contrasted with contemporary research in the area.

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Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

The study of racism in psychology stretches across many disciplinary boundaries and encompasses varied theoretical and methodological approaches. The research presented in this thesis takes a radical post-structural view of racism inspired methodologically and theoretically by the work of van Langenhove and Harré (1999) , Harré (1986, 1998), Potter & Wetherell (1987), and Foucault (2003), Laclau & Mouffe (1985), Hansen (2006), Sampson (1993) and Lentin & Lentin (2006). A discourse analysis of Irish newspaper articles dealing with stories about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants for the years 2001 to 2005 has been undertaken for this thesis. The analysis focuses on the construction of identity and maintenance of power through discursive practices. The literature review presented below details many of the contemporary approaches to the study of racism bringing the reader forward to discursive/post-structural thinking on the topic. The thesis does not suggest that one approach is better than the other, rather it is the belief of the author that different approaches have different answers to give and raise different questions thus producing a very varied field of research findings. It is the preference of this author given her concerns with identity and power to follow a post structuralist/discursive approach in the study of identity, power and racism as produced, reproduced and supported in leading Irish newspapers.

There is much debate about whether contemporary theories of racism differ from the more traditional social psychological theories. Theorists have suggested that manifestations of racism in contemporary society are substantially different from earlier forms and expressions of racism (Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000; Buttny, 1999; Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Durrheim & Dixon, 2000). Billig (1985; 1991; 1996) argues that traditional social psychological research has focused on perception (perceived differences between in-groups and out-groups) as the primary metaphor for racism, and that this focus has led psychologists to conduct studies detailing stereotypes of out-groups or desired social distance from out-group members. These studies can only examine respondent's views on a narrowly defined topic or towards a single 'stimulus object'. Such studies have

provided examples of blatant, direct forms of racism. This "old fashioned" or "blatant" racism is based on notions of racial superiority and open opposition to racial equality (Augoustinos, et al., 1999, p.352).

Contemporary research, however, claims to have revealed a more subtle, indirect, more "socially acceptable" (Augoustinos, et al., 1999, p.352) form of expressing racism. These subtle forms are variously named by different researchers but similarly described. "In France it is called '...a new under the skin racism' (Freriks, 1990), in Germany 'latent' prejudice (Bergmann & Erb, 1986), in Britain, 'the new racism' (Barker, 1984), in the Netherlands 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1984), and in the U.S.A. 'aversive' (Kevel, 1970), 'symbolic' (Sears, 1988) or 'modern racism' (McConahay, 1983)" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, p.58). These otherwise quite diverse conceptualisations share the common theme that they are all covert means of expressing prejudice that are claimed to differ from the "old fashioned" forms and expressions of racism.

This literature review will critically review theories of racism put forward both in the old and new racism traditions. The review will go on to argue against the old versus new split. Further to that the review will offer a contemporary definition of racism and argue for an approach to studying racism that is in line with post-structuralism and discourse theory.

1.2 The Structure of this Thesis

In this thesis I will use the contemporary theories of racism together with a discourse analytic method to look at discursive practices concerning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in two Irish broadsheet newspapers (The Irish Times and The Irish Independent). The following is a brief outline of the structure of the thesis. In chapter this chapter I will explore traditional theories of racism looking at methodological and conceptual problems and begin to argue for a discursive approach to racism. In chapter two, I will review contemporary approaches to racism, from modern symbolic racism (McConahay, 1976) to ideas derived from discourse theory (van Dijk, 1992). In chapter three I will outline alternative definitions and approaches to the study of racism through the incorporation of culture. Chapter four will offer an insight into the historical and political context of this thesis by providing information on Ireland's history of

immigration and the political climate in which this thesis is set, as well as offering pertinent definitions of terms that will be used in the thesis. Chapter five deals with the methods employed in this thesis giving a detailed account of discourse analysis as well as a detailed description of the aims and rationale of the thesis. Chapter five Chapter six presents the analysis and a discussion of the findings. Chapter seven will discuss the dependability of the findings. Chapter eight will summarise the analysis and continue the discussion and describe some of the implications and limitations of the research.

1.3 Traditional theories of racism

Traditionally, research into racism and prejudice in social psychology has been dominated by psychodynamic, intergroup and cognitive approaches to prejudice. Thus, a prejudice statement or action is believed to represent the inner prejudice thought of the individual. Prejudice has been conceptualised as a fixed trait of the individual that can be observed and accessed through monitoring of the attitudes and behaviour of the individual. Prejudice then, resides within individuals and finds it expression in the actions of individuals in a group situation. The fixed nature of prejudice as a trait within the individual allows individuals to be categorised as prejudiced or nonprejudiced and measured as more or less prejudiced. Prejudice is traditionally conceptualised as a fixed state rather than dynamic and changing. This notion of prejudice is an ultimately individualistic one and is hampered by a rigid, traditional conception of social psychology. This is a social psychology that explains the interaction between an individual and another individual or an individual and society as opposed to a psychology that goes beyond the individual. These traditional approaches situate racism variously in the individual's psyche or personality, in the individual's cognitions or in the cognitions of an individual in a group interaction. Contemporary researchers (Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Billig, 1991; Howit & Owusu-Bempah, 1994) have been highly critical of these approaches particularly for their silence on racism as an inherently social practice, as a phenomenon *beyond* the individual. This chapter will review these major psychological theories and some of the main criticisms of these approaches. The chapter will also argue for a more *socio-political* understanding of racism pointing to the importance of discourse theory and power

in the study of racism. While a discussion of the traditional approaches to prejudices may seem tedious, I have decided to include such a discussion for two reasons. I have decided to include such a discussion for two reasons. Firstly, I believe that traditional social psychology is very strong and has many useful ways to conceptualise racism and prejudice. I think that they should be mentioned in this thesis as an acknowledgement and show openness to other approaches. From a post-structural perspective, many of these approaches can be specifically criticised as overly individualistic and they are presented below critically given the post-structural leanings of the author. Secondly, I believe strongly that these more traditional approaches are very relevant to contemporary prejudice and that they should exist alongside of discursive approaches. I do not wish to see the field dominated by post-structural understandings but instead I am arguing for the accommodation of post-structural ideas alongside the existing dominant approaches. I feel it is necessary for a post-structural thesis to include references to earlier theories and to offer an extensive critique of them rather than to ignore them. I believe that the literature review should be comprehensive in acknowledging different approaches to the study of prejudice and that it is also my responsibility to critically evaluate these approaches from my chosen perspective. It is my opinion that including them and critiquing them is more respectful than acting like they are not relevant to a discursive approach to prejudice. I hope the reader will bear with me and understand my desire to respectively include and criticise these respected and established approaches.

1.3.1 Psychodynamic Prejudice

The Frustration Aggression Hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939) offers a psychodynamic explanation for prejudice. It argues that prejudice is a basic psychological process common to all people and that therefore everyone can be prejudiced. The theory argues that aggression comes from feelings of frustration and that frustration inevitably leads to aggression. The release of aggression is theorised to be cathartic relieving tensions. The target of this aggression can be the actual source of aggression (e.g. shouting at your friend because he will not help you move house). Often, however, the aggression can be displaced onto a more acceptable or available target. This is the theorised process behind the phenomenon of scapegoating. The principle idea of this theory is that

of displacement. Displacement is used to account for intergroup conflict. It is suggested that the individual experiences frustration which is displaced onto members of certain groups. The theory however, does not specify the mechanisms by which an individual chooses a group member to be aggressive towards. The focus of the theory is on the emotion of the individual and its displacement rather than on explaining why certain groups are targeted at different times in history. Berkowitz (1974) has tried to solve this problem by adding environmental factors and cognitive mediators as predictive factors in this hypothesis. Communication between individuals, however, is absent from this and other theories and no other means of mass consensus has been suggested.

In contrast to the frustration aggression hypothesis with which all people can be prejudiced, the authoritarian personality theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950) argues that only people with prejudiced *personalities* can be prejudiced. This again is a psychodynamic theory and refers to process such as displacement and the necessity and inevitability of releasing strong emotions. It is suggested that the personality is formed in childhood and that parenting style effects the formation of the personality. Harsh, strict parents are theorised to create a love hate relationship with their children where the children seek their parents' love but feel angry with them for their disciplinarian ways. These children experience fear and guilt because of the hate they feel for their parents. This fear and guilt, is not expressed, rather, it is repressed and then displaced onto weaker people while parents and authority are idealised. Like the frustration-aggression hypothesis the theory is concerned with the individual and his or her emotions. Psychological variables are theorised to act at the point of the individual and to be expressed in the form of attitudes or actions in the individuals' interaction with out-group members. Again, there is no speculation as to how the individual picks a specific out-group. There is no discussion of larger social factors, how we come to generate shared meaning through discourse that produce and maintain out groups for example.

The authoritarian personality theory implicates the role of parenting in the development of prejudice and in so doing moves slightly away from the individual. Its main emphasis, however, is on the resultant personality rather than a straightforward social learning focus. Perhaps a straightforward social learning approach would be better suited to explaining the link between parenting and

prejudice? Research has shown that exposure to more accepting group norms and social environments can created changes in personalities (Pettigrew, 1958). People change expressions of racism depending on situation and norms (Minard, 1952). Additionally, Inter-racial contact was found to be more important that parental background in attitudes (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978). Another argument against the utility of personality theories of racism is that the theory is too narrow as authoritarian and liberal views can be made in same conversation and racist talk can take both authoritarian and liberal forms (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

1.3.2 Intergroup and Cognitive Prejudice

Personality and interpersonal explanations do not sufficiently explain the intergroup element of the phenomenon of racism. A number of theories attempt to explain racism in intergroup terms. Within the intergroup literature the notion of ethnocentricism is central. Ethnocentricism refers to a preference for ones own group over another group. Intergroup refers to prejudice between members of different groups. Although it offers an explanation that encompasses the group, it relies on the notion of a fixed and stable (self contained) individual (Sampson, 1993). Individuals identify with a particular group, placing the point of action at the individual level rather than the social level where social situations and shared meanings could influence the individual.

An example of an intergroup theory is Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star & Willialm (1949) and later Davies (1969) and Gurr's (1970) expansion of the frustration aggression hypothesis. They suggested that relative deprivation is a precondition for aggression. Relative deprivation refers to ones subjective sense of accomplishment or attainment in comparison to others, specifically other groups. The theory suggests that when another person or group is experienced as getting more money, promotions, opportunity, resources, attainments in comparison to the person's subjective expectations of what he/she should achieve/attain, a sense of relative deprivation is felt. Relative deprivation leads to a feeling of frustration that can be expressed as aggression. Davies (1969) developed the J-curve hypothesis arguing that future expectations are constructed in reference to past and current attainments. If there is a sudden disparity between expectation and actual attainments, relative deprivation can be more acute. This development of

frustration aggression hypothesis is a welcome event and broadens the explanatory bounds of our theories into intergroup behaviour. Research suggests, however, that the picture may be more complex than Davies theorised.

Runciman (1966) distinguished two different forms of relative deprivation – egoistic (individual) and fraternalistic (group). Research supports this distinction and suggests that fraternalistic relative deprivation is predictive of social expression of prejudice (Vanneman and Pettigrew, 1972 and Guimond and Dubé-Simard, 1983). Furthermore, contemporary research has shown that group relative deprivation needs to be mediated by feeling of group based anger for a person to be willing to take discriminatory action (Leach, Iyer & Pedersen, 2007). This finding does not question why people are prompted to feel anger in response to perceived deprivation in comparison with another group. It does not look at the discourses that support a feeling of anger and how these discourses function to perhaps justify rather than explain prejudiced action. Like psychodynamic theories this theory does not explain why one group rather than another is targeted as the object to be aggressed upon or how many individuals simultaneously target the same group. Relative deprivation research like much of the research criticised here does not take into account discourse theory. For example, a recent study by Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, Meertens, Dick & Zick (2008) supported the relative deprivation. However, the research used data taken from European surveys that were worded in very particular ways to predispose respondents to agree with terms relating to relative deprivation. These items tap into existing socially available discourses about the experience of, for example, British people in relation to immigrants, e.g. "Would you say that over the last 5 years people like yourself in Britain have been economically a lot better off, better off, the same, worse off, or a lot worse off than most West Indians living here?" (Pettigrew et al., 2008, p. 387). By doing this respondents are more likely to endorse these items in line with culturally expected answers. Therefore, the answers given may be more a reflection of the elite and common discourses about immigrants that are available to them rather than actual individual racist attitudes based on group relative deprivation.

Realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1966) indicated that competition for scare resources between groups results in conflict between the groups and ethnocentricism. In his famous 'summer camp studies' Sherif demonstrated that

young boys who previously had no contact with each other could be manipulated by the experimental conditions to express prejudice and hostility towards each other. The experimental manipulation involved separating the boys into two groups and then putting the groups in explicit competition with each other. Interestingly, the study also showed that prejudice and aggression could be reduced by introducing a superordinate goal (a shared goal that the boys needed to co-operate with each other to achieve). The theory is challenged, however, by Tajfel's (1970) finding that competition is not necessary to produce conflict, that the mere act of categorising people into two groups was enough to generate conflict.

The cognitive process of categorisation was theorised to lead to prejudice by Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Brundy (1971). Tajfel (1970) proposed that division into groups (without the introduction of competition) is enough to generate discrimination between groups. He argued, "Whenever we are confronted with a situation to which some form of intergroup categorization appears directly relevant, we are likely to act in a manner that discriminates against the out-group and favours the in-group." (Tajfel, 1970, p.99).Tajfel's minimal group paradigm explanation for prejudice straddles both the intergroup and the cognitive. It is an intergroup explanation because the discrimination takes place at a group level - members of another group are discriminated against. It is cognitive and therefore individualistic, however, in that the explanation relies on the individual's cognitive process of categorisation. That is, the individual makes the categorisation and the individual discriminates. Prejudice is conceptualised as a discrete cognitive processes rather than a dynamic social process.

Social identity theory takes a view of people as having a social identity (devoid of a sense of self in an individualistic way) at one extreme and an individual identity (devoid of a sense of belonging to a group or sharing identity with others) at the other extreme. Individuals are theorised to function between these two extremes drawing on social and individual identity at different times. Social identity develops from identification with a particular group, categorised as the in-group and differentiation from an out-group. Social identity is defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 24).

Personal/individual identity is theorised to derive a positive sense of self through a positive social identity. Individuals are therefore, highly motivated to categorise groups into in and out groups and identify with a positive group. Social identity theory builds on minimal group paradigm theory because it argues that in-group favouritism is inevitable and will occur because of the cognitive need to categories. Both theories stress the inevitability of categorisation as a cognitive process and argue that categorisation is not dependent on competition or explicit reasons for categorisation. Social identity theory is both a cognitive/individualistic and an intergroup theory. The theory's emphasis on the inevitability of categorisation as a cognitive process points to its cognitive leanings. Also the emphasis on personal/individual identity and its role in developing a social identity is inherently individualistic. Social identity theory sees psychological processes as residing only within individuals but not between individuals as in the work of Russian developmental theorist (Vygotsky, 1986). The theory does, however, attempt to explain prejudice as a phenomenon occurring at the level of the group. The theory is limited by its ties to individualism as it explains prejudice as occurring when individuals categorise or create groups and when individuals experience themselves as acting as a group member. It is however, a more diverse theory than simple cognitive/categorisation theories as it emphasise the individual *and* social action as dependent upon each other.

Tajfel's Social categorisation theory offers a deterministic and representational explanation for how people categorise into groups. Instead of looking at historical and social factors the theory suggests that categories map onto real group differences and existing categories delineated by cultural, physical or other differences. Social categories are seen as simplifications of real and objective similarities and differences among individuals (Edwards, 1991). There is no acknowledgement of the social constructionist position that many of these categories are discursive constructions rather than actual representations of real objects. People are assumed to see the world accurately when they categorise rather than use language to construct various meanings and changing categories depending on the social context. Categories are classed as adaptive because they are assumed to relate to reality. Categories are explained as mental objects that represent real world differences and categorisation as an inescapable, basic cognitive process of every individual (Brown, 1995). "The perceiver remains a

lone individual, forming, apparently in isolation, their account of 'racial' traits on the basis of the actual similarities and differences of the individuals s/he encounters" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 41). This representational view of categories differs significantly from the discursive/constructionist view of categories that sees categories as collectively constructed through talk and text, socially shared and constantly changing and context dependent (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Social categorisation theory relies heavily on cognitive theory and hypothesises categorisation as an individualistic cognitive process. Individuals must categorise themselves and others, therefore it is an ultimately individualistic and static explanation.

Approaches like Tajfel's tend to locate racism in "a passive, unreflexive, autonomous individual whose behaviour is activated by aspects of the external world" (Jackson, 1988, p. 108). This conception of racism ignores the situated and contextual nature of prejudice as social action. Context is central to understanding racism. For example, Tajfel's minimal group paradigm studies had reduced context and therefore poor ecological validity. The context under which people choose categories was a highly controlled, ambiguous situation with little contextual markers as to how to categories. Categorisation may have occurred in the expected way because the social markers of category were highly restricted by the experimenters. Participants may have categorised to reduce uncertainty in a low context situation (Hogg and Mullin, 1998). Another explanation is that Tajfel's experiments had poor social validity/reality and people may therefore have identified with a category because there were no other markers to help reduce ambiguity or criteria for making a decision. Howitt & Owusu-Bempah (1994) suggest the resulting out-group hostility is a result of participants not knowing what to do and then relying on models from society in which out groups are disparaged and discriminated against. Context is highlighted by examination of the choices people make in categorisation. Depending on the social context, categories have different salience. People can be categorised into more than one group by for example age, gender, religion and ethnicity. Depending on the social context, different categories will be more important than others and more relevant than others.

Whilst each of the above theorise have contributed to our knowledge and understanding of racism they have been criticised by various authors as being too

reductionist and focusing on the individual. Additionally they tend to naturalise and/or universalise racism. By focusing on the individual these theories do not adequately explain the social processes involved in racism and tend to offer perceptual/representational explanations for how people categorise groups rather than social/discursive explanations.

1.3.3 Reductionist/Individualistic Approach to Prejudice

The above theories have been criticised for being reductionist and individualistic in their approach to prejudice (Billig, 1991 and Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that these theories reduce social behaviour to the sum of individual psychological states. The theories reduce group action to individual acts. The above theories cannot explain how numerous individuals focus on the same target group or individual as an object of prejudice. How do individuals simultaneously choose to attack or discriminate against one particular group at a particular historic time and place? In addition these theories are argued to be too simplistic as they lack historical and social specificity (Billig, 1976).

1.4 Conceptual Problems with 'Racism'

Contemporary studies on racism have looked at racism in many different contexts and settings. New Zealand (Potter & Wetherell, 1988), South Africa (Dixon & Reicher, 1997; Møller & Schlemmer, 1982), America (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000), Australia (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999), Ireland (Lentin, 2006; White, 2002; Mac Greil, 1977), the Netherlands (van Dijk, 1992; Verkuyten, 1997) and Austria (Wodak, 2000) are just some of the places researchers have focused their research. Not only do researchers look at racism in different contexts, they often look at different manifestations and definitions of racism. Some researchers study racism as a broad category others study new racism or old racism and so on looking at a more rigidly defined racism. Also many different definitions of racism are available making it difficult to know what definition of racism researchers are working from at any one time unless a specific definition has been referred to. An important point is that when researchers talk about 'racism' they may not always be talking about the same thing. Methodologically and

theoretically this is problematic making it difficult to compare research and accurately develop theory.

Broadly speaking there are two main types of definition of racism. The first is a definition based on racial differences only. That is, it assumes racial differences either exists in biological reality or that people perceive or believe in racial differences. The second definition is based on racial differences *and* ethnic or other differences. In that sense it is broader than the first allowing ethnic or cultural differences rather than just racial differences into the definition. Below a) is an example of the first type of definitions of racism.

a) "racism has come to mean the domination of one group over another based on perceived racial differences" (Hazekamp & Popple, 1997).

In this definition prejudice or discrimination is directed towards a person or group from a different race. Such definitions relying solely on race offer us a limited view of racism. These definitions are limited because they do not include other factors such as ethnic, cultural or religious differences which contemporary researches (Durrheim & Dixon, 2000) have found to be important in understanding racism. Research relying on this limited definition of racism can only classify attitudes or behaviour as racist if the prejudice or discrimination is in reaction to racial differences only. This narrow definition allows for a denial of racism. People discriminating on the basis or ethnicity or cultural differences can deny being racist under this definition. For example a white man who does not want his daughter to marry a black man could say on being accused of racism, "I'm not racist I like black people, it's just that he's Muslim and I've heard they treat women badly sometimes, he comes from a very different culture than my daughter". In addition, a purely racial definition of racism makes it virtually impossible to fight against racism (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1994).

Another problem with racially bound definitions is that they put forward an inaccurate view of racism. These definitions assume (for the purpose of research) that different races exist. The researchers themselves do not have to believe distinct races exist (Eriksen, 1996), instead they accept that the public in general *believe* different races exist and because of this have to *act* as if race exists in their research. Biological science has shown the concept of race to be redundant. "Finding a pure race is like looking for the heart of an onion. You peel away layer after layer until you are left in tears with nothing in your hand. Yes, interbreeding

is a major factor in confusing the issue of race, it has been occurring for so long and so constantly that it has created a genetic hodgepodge of the human species. There are just NO biologically pure races anywhere" (Alland, 2002, p. 42). However, while science has proven races not to exist formally, the population in general still talk as if different races exist, that people can be categorised by race and that differences between groups of people can be explained racially and they are prejudiced on the basis of this way of talking. "Concepts of race can nevertheless be important to the extent that they inform people's actions; at this level, race exists as a cultural construct, whether it has a 'biological' reality or not. Racism, obviously, builds on the assumption that personality is somehow linked with hereditary characteristics which differ systematically between 'races', and in this way race may assume sociological importance even if it has no 'objective' existence (Eriksen, 1996, p. 29). According to Eriksen then social scientists must continue to study race even though they themselves do not believe in its existence because the notion of race existing is socially relevant. That is, people who are prejudice or discriminatory believe race to exist therefore researchers must continue to include it in any definitions of racism.

By focusing on racial differences, however, researchers reify and amplify the notion of race and racial difference/superiority (Owusw-Bempah, & Howitt, 1999). In these definitions racial differences are talked about as supposed or perceived. This shows their reliance on perception as a metaphor for racism rather than social construction (Billig, 1991). These definitions do not offer a way of seeing race and racism as socially constructed. Definitions of racism need to account for the "culturally constructed" (Eriksen, 1996, p. 29) nature of racial differences rather than offering a perception-based approach.

Definitions b) and c) below also do not include the socially constructed nature of race or racism however they are broader and perhaps more useful than the definition a) above. Concepts of ethnicity and culture are included making it possible to talk about racism as encompassing prejudice and discrimination towards people with different religion, language, heritage or homeland and so on rather than just people with a different 'race'.

b) Racism is "prejudice and discrimination against people based on their ethnicity or race" (Hogg & Vaughn, 1998, p. 318).

c) "Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference, based on race, colour,

descent, national or ethnic origin, which has the purpose of modifying or impairing the recognition, the enjoyment or exercise on an equal footing of human rights and fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life constitutes racial discrimination" (UN International Convention on all forms of discrimination, 1969).

One can see that even though these definitions offer a broader concept of racism they still hold onto the notion of 'race'. This reliance on the concept of race when talking about racism is understandable and justifiable. It can, however, as I have said earlier in this section contribute to the reification and amplification of the notion of race. The notion of race is intuitively and visually appealing (Alland, 2002) and because of this, it is argued that researchers must take every opportunity to undermine the notion of race explicitly by explaining the socially constructed nature of the concept.

In this regard current definitions of racism tend to reinforce rather than undermine the use of 'race'. That the researcher knows race does not exist is not helpful unless the researcher tries to show the public in general that race does not exist. Knowing that it doesn't exist but acting for research purposes as if it does functions to reproduce and support race rather than to challenge it. Social constructionists (Gergen, 1999) would agree that the study of racism is the study of the social construction of meaning and as such would argue for qualitative and constructionist methodologies as well as a social constructionist definition of racism. By recognising that race and racism are social constructions we can begin to argue for methods of inquiry that are best suited to the study of social constructions and therefore best suited to the study of racism.

Whilst all of the definitions I have given fail to illustrate the constructed nature of race and racism, definitions b) and c) do allow research to get past some of the problems inherent in a definition like a). They offer a broader definition of racism. By including ethnicity and other factors like national origin we can begin to look at a racism that is not only concerned with perception of racial differences but concerned with cultural and ethnic differences too. Ethnicity can be described as "a sense of kinship, group solidarity and common culture" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 3). Ethnicity therefore refers to such things as ones cultural practices, history, religion, language, phenotypical features, link to a homeland real or perceived and other symbolic elements (Schermerhon, 1996). Including

ethnicity in the definition of racism means that the label racist can be applied to more actions and attitudes. Being able to label or point to an action as racist is necessary to resist that action. In the first chapter van Dijk's work on the link between denying racism and resistance was discussed. We need a definition of racism that includes ethnic and cultural racism and an acknowledgement of the constitutive nature of language so that we can point to and label racism. For example, with definition a) one could only be accused of racism only if one was discriminatory towards people or groups from another racial group. With definitions b) and c) one can be accused of racism if one discriminates on any of the elements relating to culture or ethnicity. This means that people cannot easily hide behind cultural or other such explanations and deny their prejudice.

Cultural and ethnic concepts of racism are still flawed however. Like other concepts of racism they assume noticeable differences exist between groups of people and that these groups can be categorised as distinct by virtue of their differences. By assuming differences exist as enduring characteristics of a group of people, these concepts conceal the socially constructed and highly variable nature of these differences. They also function to minimise within-group variability, reifying difference between groups and ironising similarities between groups as well as reinforcing homogeneity within the group that does not truly exist. Reducing within group differences allows the individuals of the group to be more easily talked about collectively as the group. A psychology which focuses on between group differences is ultimately a psychology of uniformity where members of any one group are stereotyped and generalised about, seen to be the same (Walker, 1997).

Some researchers assume the concept of race/ethnicity to be a distinct and stable variable. However these concepts and what it means to be white or black or Romanian or Irish are not stable across cultures and are inseparable from other forms of self-identity such as gender, class and socio-political background. This approach to race or ethnicity in the study of racism is too simplistic. Such a view ignores an account of racism as encompassing other historical, cultural and socio-political factors. Research has shown racism to be a discursive practice full of variation rather than an invariant dimension of human cognition (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). With the approach to racism given above, variation becomes ignored or underrepresented. An implication of this is that the scope of such

research is limited in what it can say about 'real world' or 'socially situated' racism.

1.5 Social and Discursive Explanation of Prejudice

With regard to intergroup explanations, Howitt & Owusu-Bempah (1994) argue that intergroup hostility is a socially learned behaviour. They find the reduction of learned behaviour to individual determinism problematic. By describing racism as belonging to individuals, traditional theories obfuscate the role society and social structures play in maintaining and reproducing racism. Not only does the theory point to the origin of racism as in the individual, it points to how racism can be eliminated. Racism is theorised to be possible to eliminate if we can change the attitudes of a few individuals; this theory requires no societal or structural changes.

An explanation in terms of individual racism takes the source of change away from social structures and places it within the prejudiced individual. This view, however, is utopian in that it posits that all we have to do to make a better world is change a few prejudiced individuals. It also constructs prejudice as the property of a deficient few suggesting that the majority of the population are benevolent and balanced in their views. In their analysis of talk in New Zealand, Wetherell & Potter (1992) found a familiar discourse, that of traditional social psychology. They suggest the social psychological discourse is present not just in academic realms but in everyday talk about race and racism. Wetherell & Potter (1992) argue that social psychological discourses construct prejudice as a failing in individuals that can impact on how they interact with their environment. In everyday talk they found that people used this idea to place prejudice in others (never within themselves), thus making it easy for people to disassociate from the problem.

Wetherell & Potter (1992) see psychological processes and subjectivity, the psychological field, as constituted through the social domain of discourse (Edwards & Potter, 1992). For example Wetherell & Potter (1992) see categories as actively constructed in discourse for rhetorical ends, and because the function of construction changes so too do the categories. "Categorisation and similar cognitive events can be seen as entirely mental events but they are also, very obviously, forms of social action established through discourse. The process of

categorization, and thus the psychology of categorization, reside, not just in the mind, but, we would suggest, within discourse as part of a collective domain of negotiation, debate, argumentative and ideological struggle" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992 p.77). In essence, action both individual and social cannot be easily separated and are intimately linked with discursive practice.

1.6 Prejudice as Natural and Universal

The theories reviewed all inadvertently naturalise and/or universalise prejudice. Psychodynamic theories point to the inevitability of repression of anger towards authoritarian parents or frustration and the subsequent displacement of this emotion/energy onto a group or individual deemed an acceptable target for prejudice. Frustration aggression hypothesis points to the inevitability of this process in all people who meet with frustration in their lives. The Authoritarian personality theory is less universal, acknowledging the role of family and parenting in determining the type of personality that will emerge and go on to display prejudice. This theory however, naturalises the expression of racism as a psychic inevitability emerging from coercive parenting. This use of personality as an explanation places the cause of prejudice in family life and deterministic psychodynamic processes.

The development of intergroup explanations such as relative deprivation builds on the psychodynamic inevitability of prejudice. Relative deprivation is more group orientated than psychodynamic theories in that frustration is theorised to come from discrepancy between attainments and expectations relative to the attainments of members of other groups. The theory naturalises racism as the product of cognition and emotion and universalises racism by theorising that all people can experience this sense of relative deprivation and subsequent prejudice. Sheriff's realistic conflict theory (1966) of prejudice naturalises and universalises racism by suggesting that competition will inevitably lead to prejudice.

Cognitive explanations universalise and naturalise prejudice too, thus negating social and political factors. Categorisation and schemas are viewed as universal cognitive processes. Stereotypes in contrast are seen as flawed cognitive processing, whereby the individual sees the world inaccurately or misrepresents the world. Cognitive explanations are individualistic and see irrational thinking

and basic adaptive cognitive processes as the causes of racism (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Racism is reduced to cognitive acts. This approach sees racism as discrete cognitive processes rather than a dynamic social process. Social identity theory and minimal group paradigm research tends to universalise the conditions for racism and holds onto perceptualism. Categorisation is seen as the inevitable result of perceptual and cognitive processes. This approach assumes that the type of group interaction explained is inevitable and that group distinction is inevitable. For example, Gomez & Wilson (2006) go so far as to say that symbolic racism is actually a pure cognitive attribution bias, stating, "any apparent effects of symbolic racism in the unadjusted policy models are driven by political sophistication and its link to attributional tendencies, a general cognitive relationship that transcends the specific domain of race." (Gomez & Wilson, 2006, p. 624).

Going beyond the suggestion that distinction is inevitable, Tajfel (1982) suggests that aggression between groups is expected and natural by positing that positive affect towards one's own group is natural. Howitt & Owusu-Bempah (1994) cite the following example from Tajfel's work "The assumption is that even when there is no explicit or institutionalised conflict or competition between the groups, there is a tendency toward ingroup-favouring behavior. This is determined by the need to preserve or achieve a 'positive group distinctiveness' which in turn serves to protect, enhance, preserve, or achieve a positive social identity for members of the groups" (Tajfel, 1982, p.249). Empirically, Tajfel's findings about in-group favouritism, is very strong and his work is well respected in social psychology. However, Potter and Wetherell (1987) have argued with regard to Tajfel's theory that "Despite providing some important insights and findings it is prone to certain difficulties. We suggest these are a consequence of problematic base assumptions about the phenomenon of categorization and the failure to examine categorization as a social practice involving certain sorts of language use". (p.120). They argue that social categories are perhaps more flexible and dynamic than suggested by Tajfel and that while categorisation is a part of cognitive processing it is influenced by social convention and dominant discursive practices. They suggest that the work on categorisation can be enhanced by a concern for the social construction of these categories.

This universalism allows people to argue that racism/aggression is natural

and uses a "look after your own" metaphor to argue against immigration and support racist practices (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

The social cognition account suggests racism is inevitable and a natural and adaptive feature of how we think. In a study of racism in talk in New Zealand, Wetherell & Potter (1992) found that this perspective was reflected in the talk of speakers in the form of a "I can't help it everyone is guilty of being prejudiced" discourse. People who participated in the research said things like, "I'm not prejudiced but can understand how some people might be, it's natural to feel like that".

1.7 Perceptual versus Discursive Approach

Both intergoup and cognitive theories of prejudice take a perceptual approach. The perceiver is the individual trying to access the 'real' nature of the other. Wetherell & Potter (1992) argue that this focus on perception comes from a failure to acknowledge discourse theory in social psychology and a failure to see categorisation as a discursive practice. In social identity theory the category that the other is placed in is seen to be reflective of something real and observable about the other that the individual perceives (Edwards, 1991). In this way it tends to take social groups as given and unexamined terms. The theory looks at how the individual and the social interact not how the individual and social are constructed. Discourse is seen as representative of groups and categories not constitutive of them. Social psychology has traditionally being weary of crossing the boundary from the individual to the social (Burr 2002). Wetherell & Potter (1992) however, argue that social psychology should make it a priority to look at how social categories and groups are discursively constructed and made real. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 75) argue that discourse analysis "should be central to social psychological analyses of racism precisely because the process of negotiation, of subtle positioning, of active constitution of group characteristics in changing social circumstances implicates psychological processes and the construction of subjectivity". They see the shift to a constitutive view of discourse as pragmatic in that it can free up new topics of analysis and new ways to approach old topics in the study of racism.

1.8 Methodological Problems with 'Racism'

Historically, research into racism has used perception (perceived differences between in-groups and out-groups and categorisation) as the primary metaphor for racism. This has led psychologists to conduct studies detailing stereotypes of out-groups or desired social distance from out-group members. These studies following a reductionist methodology examined respondents' views on a narrowly defined topic or towards a single 'stimulus object' (Billig, 1991). Billig (1985) suggests that there are two prevailing views of prejudice in contemporary cognitive psychology. The first of these is the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, 1950) explanation for prejudice which suggests the way that prejudiced people think is fundamentally different from the way non-prejudiced people think. The second approach, Tajfel's social categorisation theory, however, suggests that instead of only some individuals being prejudice that *all thought* involves prejudice therefore *all people* are prejudice because of the influence of category labels (Tajfel, 1959, 1964). Billig (1985, p. 81) argues that this categorisation approach is problematic because it suggests an inevitability of prejudice in its reasoning – categorisation is a vital cognitive function, categorisation involves simplification and sorting of perceptual stimuli suggesting stereotyping and prejudice are necessary and adaptive functions, prejudice is normal and necessary therefore it is inevitable. Billig argues that this categorisation model is a perceptual model which implies perception as the cause of prejudice. He points out, however, that it may be that perceptual processes could be *effects* of prejudice rather than *causes*. He suggests that instead of looking at perception that we should look at language, to explain prejudice. For Billig (1985, p.85) "the possession of linguistic skills is a necessary condition for the possession of prejudiced beliefs". Thus, a perceptual approach to prejudice is flawed and these flaws (inability to deal with tolerant talk and thought) can best be approached by a discursive approach which looks at the content and function of language rather than form. "In general, a rhetorical approach might direct attention to issues relating to the fluidities of thought and to the ambiguities of language" (Billig, 1985, p.99).

Potter and Wetherell (1987) also criticise the traditional approaches to studying racism. They put forward a critique of attitude questionnaire research.

They cite the main problems inherent in the use of attitude surveys. The first of which lies in the ambiguity of the meaning of the 'stimulus object' in the questionnaire. They give the example from McGuire (1973) of the term 'coloured immigrants'. The problem is that there are many possible interpretations of the term but the research assumes that all respondents interpret the same meaning.

Secondly, they make the point that it is not viable for researchers to make translations between participants' discourse and the analysts' categories. That is, talk from the participants is recorded as a translation, as one of a limited number of predefined responses decided upon by the researcher before the research has begun. The participants' responses are made to fit into a category which it does not naturally or easily fall. This practice involves ignoring certain aspects of the response while focusing only on the parts relevant to the research categories. This inevitably suppresses variability of response and ignores subtle distinctions that may play a crucial role in participants' discourse.

Thirdly, traditional attitude researchers viewed language as representative of something lying beyond talk – attitudes or cognitive structures. They saw it representing cognitive structures and enduring attitudes. They assumed they were measuring an enduring feature of the persons cognition rather than sampling one particular highly changeable context specific response to an ambiguous 'stimulus object'. In short, traditional attitude research tends to suppress variability, it takes a representative rather than a functional view of language and assumes 'stimulus objects' to be unproblematic representations of real objects rather than a member of a constructed category. It views the experimental results as representing an objective truth or reality. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) demonstrated empirically the shortcomings of such survey based, attitude research. They conducted a study in which undergraduate university students in the United States of America were given a questionnaire on racial attitudes and who subsequently took part in in-depth interviews on racial issues. They found that respondents could be judged more prejudiced from their interview data than from their questionnaire responses. They suggest that because of contemporary attitudes to the expression of blatant racism and changing modalities of expressing racism (subtle, modern racism) that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to assess racial attitudes using traditional questionnaire/survey methods.

In addition to problems inherent in questionnaire research, traditional

laboratory based experimental studies of racism are problematic. Such reductionist forms of research do not take into account experimental biases such as demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), evaluation apprehension and social desirability (Rosenberg, 1969). This research is often carried out in laboratory or highly artificial or controlled settings with researchers assuming their activities to be observer-independent (von Foerster, 1982) and their results to be objective representations of the 'real' world. It is well known however, that observers influence what they study. The observer is no longer considered to be outside the observed system; rather the experimenter is both observer and participant in what can be referred to as an observer-dependent system (von Foerster, 1982). Traditional research does not acknowledge this view of experimentation; knowledge is seen as objective rather than relational or socially constructed. Experiments are social situations and should be treated as such. Participants may be influenced to present a positive image of themselves, try to guess the purpose of the experiment or try to appear consistent in their responses. Inconsistency is not a desirable trait and cognitive dissonance can cause people to gloss over or try to make sense of inconsistencies in speech. Potter and Wetherell (1987) have shown that everyday discourse is imbued with variation and inconsistency they have also found however, that attempts to be consistent arise when variability is pointed out or consistency becomes salient. The act of observing and recording participants' response in an experimental setting makes consistency extremely salient. The implication of this is that the methods used suppress variation of response which may render experimental findings artefacts of the experimental methods rather than a spontaneous and natural response to the stimulus object.

In response to these problems, a different methodological approach has been used in contemporary racism research. Such research is increasingly employing discourse analysis, topical analysis, critical discourse analysis, rhetorical analysis and other qualitative methods to get a better understanding of racism.

Chapter Two: Literature Review Continued: Contemporary Theories of Racism

2.1 Contemporary Theories of Racism

It is generally agreed that the form of prejudiced expression and hence the way in which it is produced and reproduced has changed. "[O]ld fashioned", "blatant racism" or "red neck racism" (McConhay and Hough, Jr, 1976) based on notions of racial superiority and open opposition to racial equality (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999, p. 352) have almost disappeared from the mainstream and made way for a more subtle, symbolic, and indirect racism. The following section will review some key contemporary studies on these new forms of racism. This 'subtle' or 'new' racism is characterised by resentment towards non-white/non-western. It is characterised by neo-liberal, economic-rationalist discourse of individualism, self-reliance, self-discipline and individual achievement (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999). Speakers tend to deracialise what may be seen as racist talk or to make reference to race indirectly (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This form or expressing racism allows people to talk as 'reasonable racists' (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middelton & Radley, 1988).

2.1.1 Symbolic, Subtle and Modern Racism

McConahay and Hough, Jr. (1976) suggest that symbolic racism "is not the racism of the red-neck bigots of old who spewed forth hatred, doctrines of racial inferiority and support for de jure segregation" (p. 24). "Symbolic racism is an expression of some of the negative feelings underlying old-fashioned or red-neck racism, but it differs from them in its other psychological roots and in many of its specific forms of expression." (p.24). Symbolic racism was found to use 'symbolic' issues connected to race rather than race itself in discourse. Such symbolic issues include, welfare, affirmative action, schools and politics.

McConahay and Hough, Jr. (1976) studied the interaction between voting behaviour and symbolic racism. It was demonstrated that symbolic racism plays a strong role in determining which candidate is voted for. In their study white voters voted for an unpopular white candidate instead of a well-qualified and experienced black candidate. McConahay and Hough, Jr. suggest that the reason for the white

voters choice is rooted in symbolic racism. This finding concurs with a later study by Kinder and Sears (1981) who define symbolic racism as "a blend of anti-Black affect and the kind of traditional American moral values embodied in the Protestant Ethic" (p. 416). They found that white Americans (suburbanities) used values such as individualism and self-reliance to argue that black Americans were getting unfair help from the government in the form of welfare and affirmative action. In their study Kinder and Sears also looked at the effect of symbolic racism on voting behaviour when the choice was between a black and a disliked white candidate. They demonstrated the real world significance of symbolic racism by showing that symbolic racism proved to be the overriding determinant of whites voting behaviour.

In addition McConahay and Hough, Jr. (1976) and Kinder and Sears (1981) both argue that symbolic racism does not stem from actual threat to individuals from black people or from personal experience with black people. Instead they argue that symbolic racism is rooted in respondents' early socialisation patterns. McConahay and Hough, Jr. (1976) suggest that the core values respondents were socialised for which lead to symbolic racism are a) the traditional values of the Protestant work and religious ethic, b) laissez faire political conservatism and c) unacknowledged, negative feelings toward blacks. They argue that "this gives symbolic racism a potent one-two-three punch as the independent effects of these residues of socialization are cumulative" (p.39).

Frey & Gaertner (1986) found that white American undergraduate students attach negative affect to racially symbolic issues rather than race itself in discourse about race and racial issues. Such symbolic issues include welfare and affirmative action. They suggest that this use of "symbolic racism" is employed "to protect a nonprejudiced, non-discriminatory self image among those whose racial attitudes might be best characterized as ambivalent" (p. 1087). In addition they argue that their findings support the contemporary view that expression of racial prejudice is more likely to be subtle and indirect.

Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) conducted a large-scale research study into blatant and subtle prejudice towards immigrants in four European countries; France, the Netherlands, Britain and Germany. Their findings show that subtle prejudice has real life consequences in that respondents rated as subtle racists had specific ideas about how immigrants should be treated and these ideas were

considerably less favourable than the ideas of more "equalitarian" respondents. Their findings also suggest that there is a norm developing in European countries against the expression of blatant prejudice. Like the other studies mentioned they posited that the main reason for the use of subtle prejudice was to preserve positive self-image thus allowing negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation. They identified three characteristics of subtle prejudice (pp. 58-59). One is the defence of traditional values – the majority group's values are constructed as the norm around which all other behaviour is judged. Two is the exaggeration of cultural differences – cultural inferiority is appealed to rather than biological inferiority. Three is a denial of positive emotion toward the minority group members – rather than a presence of negative comments prejudice is made visible through the absence of positive comments. In this study Pettigrew and Meertens looked at the effects of subtle and blatant prejudice on the treatment of immigrants. They categorised respondents into three broad categories: "bigots" were those who scored high on both subtle and blatant prejudice measures; "equalitarians" were those who scored low on both subtle and blatant prejudice measures; and "subtles" were those who scored high on subtle prejudice measures but low on blatant prejudice measures (p. 73). Bigots as predicted argued for the restriction of immigrant rights and for sending immigrants back to their native country, whilst equalitarians argued for expansion of immigrant rights and their right to not be deported. Interestingly, however, the subtles who scored low on blatant prejudice but high on subtle prejudice argued for restriction on the number of immigrants and their rights but in a socially acceptable way. Thus, subtles argued that they would not send all immigrants home but they would send those home for whom there is a non-prejudiced reason for doing so and while they would not restrict immigrant rights they would not expand them either.

McConahay (1986 pp. 92-93) identified six aspects of modern racism in his United States study. The first of these is the denial of racism both institutional and individual. The second is the suggestion that since there is no racism; black people are pushing too hard and too fast against an enemy (racism) which no longer exists. The third aspect is the notion that this pushing is an unfair tactic. The forth aspect of modern racism is the suggestion that the gains made by black people are unwarranted and undeserved and are only possible because institutions are granting them more award and status than they deserve. In addition to these four

tenets, McConahay adds that to the modern racist racism is seen as bad but that tenets one to four above do not constitute racism because they are merely empirical facts. Finally, racism is defined by the modern racist as old-fashioned racism that is – notions about racial superiority, intellectual superiority, segregation, and open and violent discrimination. Under this definition modern racists do not classify themselves as racist.

In addition to the above features of modern/subtle racism, van Dijk, (1992) and Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley (1999) have documented a strategy of denying racism. Other researchers have documented additional characteristics such as a replacement of racetalk with a talk of cultural differences (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1994; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995; Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000; Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, 1999; Buttny, 1999; Verkuyten, 1997; and Dixon and Durrheim, 2000) and a double strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middelton, and Radley, 1988; van Dijk, 1992; and Kleiner, 1998). Each of these will be dealt with individually.

2.1.2 Racism as Cultural Difference

Buttny (1999) in a study on self-segregation on an American university campus found that respondents drew on a cultural and ethnic discourse to justify voluntary segregation. Verkuyten (1997) argues that discourses of culture are employed in similar ways to discourses of race, thus constructing a "culturalization of racism" (p. 126). In a study looking at the discourse of native Dutch inhabitants when talking about immigrants Verkuyten identified three conceptualisations of culture. These were: culture as heritage, culture as doctrine and culture as mentality (pp.120-123). *Culture as heritage* is defined in two ways in the talk. Firstly heritage is talked about with nostalgia as something to be preserved and protected. Secondly, heritage is talked about as something belonging to the immigrants and as a part of what stops them from developing and joining properly with Dutch culture. A hierarchy of culture is constructed in which immigrant heritage and culture are seen as backward and archaic in comparison to Dutch culture. *Culture as doctrine* is a construction of immigrant culture as dominated by fanatical rules and regulations (e.g. Islamic and Muslim customs and ways of treating women are presented in a negative light as fanatical). This constructs immigrants as restricted

by religious doctrine and as not being able to change or integrate with Dutch secular culture. *Culture as mentality* develops the construction of culture from a group phenomenon to an individual phenomenon in that mentality resides inside an individual whereas culture belongs to a group. Talking about mentality allows for the appropriation of individual responsibility in that mentality is viewed like personal will - something one has control over. In this way immigrants are blamed for not wanting or not being willing to adapt to Dutch culture. Verkuyten suggests that this use of culture functions to construct an 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy but more specifically an 'us' *or* 'them' dynamic in which the neighbourhood is constructed as belonging to us and being overwhelmed by them and their culture. In addition culture talk is used to blame the victim (immigrants) constructing individual immigrants as responsible for their problems rather than victims of racism. This form of cultural racism is consistent with new expressions of racism documented in other studies.

Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, (1999) found modern racism in ordinary talk about Aboriginal Australian people. In this talk participants used discourses of culture rather than racial differences to construct and justify racism. Three themes were identified in this culture talk (pp. 355-370). The themes identified are in many ways consistent with the culture talk identified above (Verkuyten, 1997) The first of these themes is a historical narrative drawing on notions of imperialism and colonialism (culture as heritage (Verkuyten,1997)). This narrative serves a number of functions, one of which is to construct the speaker as understanding of the fact that British settlers imposed their lifestyles on the Aboriginal Australians, thus presenting a positive self-image. Another function, however, is to construct the Aboriginal Australian people as failing to fit or adopt to a more developed and superior culture/lifestyle, thus allowing blame to be placed on the victim or minority group. A second theme used is economic-rationalism/neo-liberalism in the construction of Aboriginal unemployment and lack of upward mobility. The cause of Aboriginal unemployment, poverty and alcoholism is constructed as residing in the individual and his or her laziness or lack of motivation or bad life choices instead of in prejudice and damaging social policies and historical events (culture as mentality, Verkuyten, (1997)). Van Dijk (1992) has documented victim blaming as a defensive strategy by white speakers in the United States of America and the Netherlands. The third theme used in the discourse is that of *Australian*

nationalism as a unifying resource. That is, difference and therefore the unique identity of a small minority group is constructed as a threat to Australian national identity. Wetherell and Potter (1992) and McCreanor (1989) similarly documented this theme of togetherness or one people in New Zealand. In addition a fourth theme was identified which incorporated the discursive strategies of the denial of racism especially on an institutional or societal level.

Blommaert and Verschueren (1994) conducted a study also looking at "elite" discourses (news reporting, political policy documents, social scientific research reports and a training programme) dealing with the 'migrant problem' in Belgium. The research showed that arguments about culture are constantly used to warrant discriminatory treatment and deny it as racially motivated. Like the study by Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, (1999) this study shares some commonalities with Verkuyten (1997) conceptualisations of culture. Culture is used in discourse as a homogenising force. Speakers construct a homogenous Belgian culture using vague notions of history, descent, religion, language and territory. This homogenous culture is constructed as the norm around which migrant culture is positioned as abnormal. In addition an essentialist and evolutionistic view of culture is used to position migrant culture as unsophisticated and behind (culture as heritage- they won't change (Verkuyten, 1997)). Migrant men are seen as dominating forces responsible for the continuation of the backwardness (culture as doctrine – they can't change (Verkuyten, 1997)), of which migrant women are victims of. In addition, Islam is constructed as fanatical and fundamentalist. Overriding constructions are that of difference as abnormal and threatening and migration as abnormal also. The abnormalisation of the foreigner and the normalisation of majority homogeneity functions to warrant majority attempts to protect homogeneity as normal and non-racist. Following from this, occurrences of racism are ignored or denied. Racism is played down to the point of disappearance (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1994). Official definitions of racism are purely racial, based on 'skin colour' thus excluding all forms of discrimination between people of the same colour. Such tactics make it extremely important for minority groups to make a case for discrimination and highlight the need for clear definitions of racism so that such behaviours cannot be ignored, denied or talked around.

Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) in an American study using white

undergraduate university students suggested that respondents were using a new "racetalk" (p. 50) to avoid appearing racist. This racetalk or "color-blind racism" (p. 69) is consistent with the types of new racism described by other authors (Billig, 1988, Potter & Wetherell 1987 & van Dijk, 1987). In their study they identified six interpretive repertoires which interviewees employed in their discourse on racial topics (p. 70). These included: an abstract decontextualised notion of liberalism "race should not be a factor when judging people"; an appeal to culture as mentality or the characteristics of the minority individual to explain their social status "blacks are lazy"; an avoidance of the use of race in talk or explicitly racist language; naturalisation of segregation and racism (e.g. suggesting that it is natural for people to want to marry people of their own race and not racism); an appeal to "free-market" or" laissez faire" ideology to justify inequality. In addition respondents employed a denial of the structural nature of racism, that is racism was described as isolated events attached to individuals rather than as aspects of institutions or societal structures. In addition to these interpretative repertoires Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000, p.76) found that respondents employed discursive strategies to save face/ avoid appearing racist such as "I don't know", "I am not prejudiced" or "I agree and disagree".

In addition to being used to construct categories of difference Durrheim and Dixon (2000) argue that culture discourse is used to naturalise racism by providing universal theories of human nature. Thus, racism is constructed as an inevitable, natural and hence warranted consequence of human nature. This is a rhetorically powerful strategy that attributes racism externally to human nature, and in so doing protects the speaker from negative evaluation.

2.1.3 Denial of Racism

Van Dijk (1992) looked at forms of denying racism in talk including everyday conversations and talk of elites such as parliamentary debates and newspapers. He found a number of denial strategies including disclaimers, mitigation, euphemism, excuses, blaming the victim and reversal. Van Dijk (p.87) suggests that denial is a crucial aspect of contemporary expressions of racism as evidenced in the so often quoted phrase "I'm not racist but...". Van Dijk theorises that racism is "acquired and shared within the white dominant group through everyday conversation and institutional text and talk." (p. 87). Van Dijk (1992) argues that such talk's wider

function is the maintenance of white group dominance in social, political and cultural domains.

Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, (1999) also documented a denial of racism in the discourse of Australian respondents especially on an institutional or societal level. This was used to construct Australian society as non-racist but also to construct thselves as "even-handed" and "fair-minded". McConahay (1986) also identified denial of both institutional and individual racism a characteristic of modern racism in the United States. In another, more recent American study, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) documented the denial of the structural nature of racism, that is racism was described as isolated events attached to individuals rather than as aspects of institutions or societal structures.

Van Dijk (1992) suggests that the strategy of denial of racism "should be partly be attributed to the fact that the concept of racism is (still) largely understood in the classical, ideological sense, of seeing other ethnic or racial groups as being inferior, or as overt, offical, institutional practices as in the case for apartheid (Miles, 1989). The more 'modern', subtle and indirect forms of ethnic or racial inequality, and especially the 'racism' or rather 'ethnicism' based on constructions of cultural difference and incompatibility, is seldom characterized as 'racism', but at most as xenophobia, and more often than not, as legitimate cultural self-defence (Barker, 1981; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986)" (van Dijk, 1992, p. 93).

Van Dijk (1992) defines racism as "a system of racial or ethnic dominance" (p.96). The denial of racism has a role in the reproduction of racism. If domination is denied minority groups will find it hard to form resistance and be taken seriously. Modern laws prohibit explicit acts of racism, therefore it is assumed that racism does not exist and a myth of tolerance is produced whereby all people who claim they are victims of prejudice are viewed as oversensitive or demanding. Successful resistance requires public knowledge and support. One major way of informing the public of such inequalities is through public discourses such as the media and political discourses. If there is no public discourse and media and politicians ignore or deny the problem there will be no public debate and no space for resistance and therefore no chance to change "the system of power relations" (van Dijk, 1992, p,96). Van Dijk suggests that the denial of racism functions not only as a personal or institutional strategy of impression

mangagment but rather that it is also a strategy of socio-political management. Denial helps to control resistance and makes racial and ethnic problems smaller and more manageable. According to van Dijk, "denial functions essentially to manage resistance, dissent and opposition and hence as a strategy in the reproduction of hegemony" (p.97).

2.1.4 Positive Self-Presentation/Negative Other-Presentation

When looking at forms of denial of racism Van Dijk (1992) found a number of denial strategies, however, he also noted the use of negative other presentation coupled with positive self-presentation. Van Dijk (1992) suggests that many people follow a "double strategy" (p.89) of positive-self presentation on one hand and negative other presentation on the other. He argues that this is especially prominent in public discourses where minorities are never negatively presented without a simultaneous expression of majority face keeping.

Kleiner (1998) in a discourse analysis of conversations between white American undergraduate students talk about racial issues, found the use of strategies for positive self presentation and simultaneous negative other (black) presentation. The main strategy identified was that of a pseudo argument, that is, by making talk appear argumentative speakers constructed themselves as rational, unbiased and non-racist. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) found that respondents employed discursive strategies to save face/avoid appearing racist such as "I don't know", "I am not prejudiced" or "I agree and disagree". Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middelton, and Radley, (1988) have used the term ideological dilemmas when talking about such strategies. That is, the idea that various and even opposing accounts can be avowed by speakers - appearing critical of minorities on one hand but simultaneously trying to appear reasonable and nonprejudiced. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) identified the denial of positive emotion toward the minority group members – rather than a presence of negative comments, prejudice is made visible through the absence of positive comments as a characteristic of subtle prejudice. They posited that the main reason for the use of subtle prejudice was to preserve positive self-image thus allowing negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation.

2.2 Summary

The research reviewed suggests that contemporary theories of racism argue that there is a fundamentally new form of racism which is different from old fashioned or blatant racism. Researchers have found different forms of this new racism, subtle, symbolic and modern racism. In addition a number of trends have emerged from the research which spans America, South Africa, Australia and a number of European countries. These trends include the substitution of a discourse of racial difference for a discourse of cultural differences, the denial of individual and institutional racism, and the use of a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Whilst most researchers would agree with these trends some theorists have disputed the value of a strong distinction particularly a chronological distinction between old and new racism. Miles (1994) in particular, has found this chronological type distinction between 'old' and 'new' racism problematic. The reason for this is that old racism has not disappeared, it still exists but the tendency is towards a "new racetalk" (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000, p. 50). Likewise, new forms of racism existed alongside traditional forms of blatant racism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; even the classical, pseudoscientific racism always included a reference to cultural or national "character" and "uniqueness" (Rattansi & Westwood, 1994, p. 55). It is clear that there is a degree of overlap between old and new racism and for this reason Miles questions whether neo-racism based on cultural differences and subtle forms of expression is really fundamentally 'new' and different.

To address this problem Miles proposed a chronologically neutral distinction (proposed originally by Taguieff, 1987) between 'inegalitarian' and 'differentialist' racism. The concept of inegalitarian racism refers to discrimination and domination based on overt doctrines in support of genetic, biological inferiority and can be roughly equated with the racism researchers have termed blatant or old fashioned racism. Differentialist racism emphasises cultural differences including lifestyles, habits, customs, and manners and can be said to be similar in style to subtle or new racism. An important point about the differentialist racism is that it often, implicitly, paints a threatening picture of the mixing and interbreeding of cultures and ethnic groups.

Whilst this distinction may have addressed the problem of whether the

different forms of racism observed are fundamentally new, it does not address the question as to whether they are in fact fundamentally different forms of racism at all. Pettigrew & Meertens (1995) would suggest that 'subtle' and 'blatant' racism are distinct forms of racism. However, it has been suggested that there is only *one* racism and that breaking it down into different parts is counter productive. "There is only one racism – racial injustice – in spite of its many faces dictated by the historical, political, economic or social conditions in which it manifests itself. Although a chameleon may blend into its surrounding environment to escape detection, it remains a chameleon" (Owusu-Bempan & Howitt, 1999, pp. 138-139). Following this then whilst research has given different names to various expressions of racism it is possible to say that they are all *racism*. Thus while the expressions of racism may change the consequences of prejudice and discrimination remain.

Owusu-Bempan & Howitt (1999) are right in their idea that it is unhelpful to argue over which theories of racism are more legitimate or whether racism is biological or cultural. However, it is also true that racism in contemporary society takes multiple and ever changing forms and has as many functions and causes. In order to resolve these two ideas Augoustinos (2009) suggests that it is "more fruitful as social psychologists to recognize the multifaceted, contradictory and ambivalent nature of contemporary racism and to theorize the coexistence of 'multiple racisms' that continue to oppress and marginalize minorities and to legitimate and justify inequalities" (p 45) In this study I will be looking at expressions of racism following Owusu-Bempan and Howitt's (1999) view of racism together with Augoustinos (2009) recognition of the multifaceted nature of racism. I will comment on the different manifestations of racism and how they relate to already described expressions of racism, my focus will be on racism as a multifarious and variable entity, in whatever form it may take, rather than one particular expression such as 'old' or 'new' racism. In addition, I will draw on a definition of racism put forward by Blommaert and Verschueren (1994) which will be detailed below and Winant's (2000) critical theory of race also detailed below.

Chapter Three: Literature Review Continued: Race, Ethnicity and Culture – Towards a Cultural Discursive Approach to Racism

3.1 Race, Culture and Ethnicity

The shift from traditional individualistic approaches towards socially situated and discursive approaches has seen the word "culture" come to the forefront of contemporary discourses of racism. Notions of racial difference have been exchanged for softer, more acceptable notions of cultural differences (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Blommaert & Verschueren, 1994; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). This shift has been accompanied by confusion between the terms race, ethnicity and culture. In this section culture, race and ethnicity will be given simple and general definitions, and similarities and differences between these concepts will be discussed. Finally the consequences of the conflation of these concepts will be explored.

Race, ethnicity and culture describe a type of relationship between the individual and the group. An individual adopts or is judged by others to be a member of a group based on his or her race, ethnicity and/or culture. Despite their similarity in use each of these concepts differs significantly in the degree of flexibility the individual has in moving between different groups and in the amount of flexibility they allow in constructing and changing personal identity. In the following sections each of these concepts will be dealt with and the idea of cultural flexibility will be developed.

3.1.1 Race

Race is a cultural construct with no grounding in biological science (Alland, 2002). However, it remains a powerful concept that many consider a real marker of difference. The everyday understanding of race refers to ancestry through blood lines, the idea that each race has a distinct biological history, and a genetic make up that distinguishes it from other races and can be used to explain differences between members of different races. It is posited that a finite number of races exist. The idea of race considers personal characteristics such as appearance, personality, motivation and abilities to be inherited from one racial generation to the next (Alland, 2002). Race emphasises genetically based differences between

individuals based on blood ties. It also emphasises that this difference is fixed and determined by biology and therefore inevitable and unchangeable. For example a woman from Pakistan living in Ireland is Pakistani if we categorise her by race. The fact that she acts like other Irish women most of the time and shares many of their values and beliefs does not change her race and she will still be considered Pakistani.

3.1.2 Culture

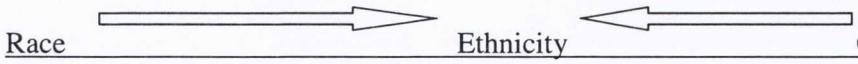
Culture is a concept that has been given many definitions. Some theorists argue that culture refers only to the ideas and values of a people (their inner private world) (Harris, 1999). Other theorists argue that culture refers only to behaviour (observable practices) of a people (Swidler, 2001). The definition of culture offered here is a middle ground, taking culture to mean both the ideas and values and the behaviour of a people. Culture is understood to be passed on through social learning from generation to generation (Harris, 1999). Culture can be defined as the "shared understandings, the values and mores or everyday life and the everyday practices that express and construct those values" (Cushman, 1991, p. 207 in Holdstock, 2000, p. 75). From within the lens of culture, identity is linked more with a sense of belonging than with notions of shared biology or genetic determinism (Roosens, 1995). Culture emphasises social learning rather than inheritance and therefore allows for a more flexible and changeable transfer of characteristics between generations. Also because culture is acquired over a lifetime rather than embedded from birth, it is a concept that allows for a blending of cultures and flexibility between cultures. People can in theory acquire practices and beliefs from more than one culture or drop old practices connected to one culture and take up new practices connected to another. People can move between and within cultures in a way that is not possible with race. For example a woman from Pakistan can move to Ireland because she wants to resist her cultural practices and beliefs with regard to how women should live and be treated (e.g., if she wants to choose her husband, have sexual partners before being married, continue to work, wear "Western" clothes, or be independent after her marriage). This woman, however, may continue to follow cultural patterns in relation to food preferences and family and religious practices. This woman may consider herself both Irish and Pakistani from a cultural perspective.

3.1.3 Ethnicity

Ethnicity has been defined as "a sense of kinship, group solidarity and common culture" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 3). Roosens (1995) emphasised that kinship means "common ancestry" (p. 30). Ethnicity then appears to be like culture but stronger or with something extra. That something extra is ancestry, kinship or ties to a people with a shared history and experience over generations. It is on the basis of this ancestry that ethnicity differs from culture. Ancestry or kinship is different from shared practices and beliefs, being traceable through lineage and family ties. Also ancestry is given to the child at birth. A child is born and becomes a member of a group by virtue of its parents ancestry. Ethnicity then is fixed, in the sense that it has a history. This contrasts with culture which is acquired through social learning during life and is not always predetermined and fixed. The use of ancestry and kinship in defining ethnicity brings it closer to race as a concept. The question is: how is ethnicity different from race? How is a claim to ancestry different than a claim to genetic similarity? The answer may be determinism. Race is considered to determine future characteristics of the person because certain genetic predispositions will determine personality, ability, physical appearance and motivation for example. Ethnicity however, does not refer to genetic inheritance and therefore can be considered not to be deterministic. While ethnicity is fixed by virtue of ancestry and history, it does not necessarily determine future personal characteristics. Despite this difference ethnicity sits close to race and balances precariously somewhere between race and culture as a descriptor of an individual's relationship to a group.

Figure 3.1 below depicts ethnicity's position between culture and race. Ethnicity draws on both notions and seems to be a combination of both.

Figure 3.1 Ethnicity's Position Between Culture and Race



Race	Ethnicity	Culture
Ancestry defined as genetically inherited. Genetics believed to be shared by members of race. Genetics believed to determine future individual characteristics. Fixed	Culture plus ancestry (ancestry fixed but not necessarily genetic and deterministic). Partly fixed (ancestry). Partly fluid (culture).	Socially learned ideas and behaviours. Flexible and fluid. Group myths/stories Partly context and environmentally Shaped

Ideas from both culture and race contribute to our understanding of ethnicity. Ethnicity includes ideas, practices and beliefs but differs from culture in its inclusion of ancestry as a marker of ethnicity. Ethnicity is broader and more flexible than race in that it includes culture and not just ancestry as a marker of ethnicity. Ethnicity is less deterministic than race as it does not emphasise genetic determinism. Race is given to the child at birth through his or her genes, culture is taught to the child in life and taken on or rejected or modified by the child as he or she develops. Ethnicity is both given at birth (ancestry) and taught (culture) during their life. A person must practice the cultural aspects of their ethnicity as well as be born with a particular ancestry to be truly ethnic. Likewise cultural identity can be established without reference to race or ethnicity (like race however, it may at times draw on these notions).

Racial identity is an exclusionary identity based on biological boundaries between groups. Race is defined by exclusion of other groups (Roosens 1995). Cultural identity, however, can be flexible and inclusive. Cultural identity can allow "cultural overlap" (Roosens, 1995, p.30), the blending of different cultures. Ethnic identity as a combination of these can be both inclusive and exclusionary depending which aspect of ethnicity – ancestry or culture - is emphasised and

valued.

Cultural identity as described above emphasises the flexibility and blending of cultures. It is important to note, however, that in practice the idea of culture is not necessarily used in this way. Speakers can mobilise constructions of culture that approximate the terms "race" or "ethnicity".

> "Even the most essentialist of racisms imply that physical degeneracy and cultural degeneracy are mutually reinforcing and that the markers of physical difference warn of moral failings or cultural limitations. In recent times, cultural racism has been increasingly articulated as a response to a perceived affront or threat to Western values, in a continuation of the suggestion that some minorities are resistant to civilisation and, perhaps, evolution. The persistence with which some communities hold onto their own cultural practices and beliefs, particularly where such practices are deemed to be backward, oppressive or anti-Western, is presented as a biologically-based culture. These things may be no more than what people do, but they are as hard to change as blood and bones." (Bhattacharyya, 2006, p.148).

This hybrid culture is very effective as it argues for cultural separateness and protection of specific cultures from other cultures, but in such a way that it appears soft and certainly not racist or exclusionary. This softness is achieved by the use of the word "culture" rather than "ethnicity" or "race". The idea of culture therefore can be rhetorically powerful and can be mobilised in discourse in multiple, heterogeneous ways, and imbued with many different meanings. This idea will be dealt with in the following section.

3.2 The use of Culture in race talk

Haslam et al. (2000) argues that essential notions of culture result in a fixed notion of culture that is similar to the notion of race or ethnicity. They argue that culture is made essential in two ways. Firstly, cultural differences are believed to be naturally occurring phenomena, which have always existed, promoting the idea that it is only natural for differences to continue to exist between cultures. Secondly culture is reified: taken to be a discrete entity that is uniform and homogenous (within each cultural group). These two factors allow people to talk

about cultural differences in the same way as racial differences i.e. inevitable, natural and discrete. The notion of culture therefore functions like the notion of race when used in this way in discourse.

Roosens (1995) argues that culture is often used as a soft substitute for ethnicity in political talk. It is also used in the same way in some lay discourses. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) have demonstrated that culture has replaced race in modern discourses of racism. Their respondents exaggerated cultural differences between white and black Americans and they used cultural rather than racial inferiority to justify racism. The change from "racetalk" (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000, p. 50) to talk of cultural differences is a well documented phenomenon (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Bloomberg & Verschueren, 1994; Buttny, 1999; Durrheim & Dixon, 2000; Verkuyten, 1997). "Dominant discourse on ethnic minorities has shifted from biological theories of inferiority to essential and incompatible cultural differences" (Verkuyten, 2003, p.386). Speakers can make racist statements but deflect accusations of racism by using the word culture. Thus, to follow Haslam et al (2000), when culture is used in the same way as race or ethnicity, culture is reified and made essential. Cultures become fixed and the mixing of cultures is easily construed as problematic. Indeed, specific, seemingly self-contained cultures may be seen as vulnerable to attack from other alien cultures. Such a view of culture makes it possible to argue for separation of cultures and to suggest that immigrants are a threat to the country's culture. Roosens (1995) argues that, thanks to this understanding of culture, modern racist practices need no longer rely on offensive, overtly racist arguments for their rationalisation. The 'race like' concept of culture allows subtle racist arguments that the integration of different cultures is impossible and undesirable. Majority groups can argue for exclusion or deportation of minorities.

An essential view sees culture as "determining peoples' understanding and behaviour and making them easy to identify" (Verkuyten, 2003, p375). Such a view transforms what are socially learned and flexible ideas and behaviours into biologically transmitted fixed characteristics. A deterministic view of culture through ancestry supports the argument that assimilation of minority culture into majority culture is impossible because culture as ethnicity moulds people in a fixed and unyielding way (Verkuyten, 2003). Importantly the use of culture as ethnicity is a rhetorical device used not only by majority members arguing for exclusion of

minorities, but also by minority groups. While majority groups tend to use the notion of culture as race, minority groups might sometimes use a culture as ethnicity concept. Minority groups sometimes use culture as ethnicity to argue against assimilation, which may be seen as a threat to their ancestral culture. When culture is essential assimilation is seen to be a threat to a distinct and fixed culture that will be damaged by changing or mixing with other cultures. Verkuyten (2003) argues that the reification of culture as ethnicity comes from the position of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism tends to equate culture with ethnicity resulting in a fixed and distinct culture that needs to be respected and protected from apparent contamination from other cultures.

Both minority and majority members can employ the essentialist view of culture put forward by multiculturalism. It can be both problematic as well as a useful rhetorical and political tool depending on how it is used, by whom and for what purposes (Verkuyten, 2003). An essentialist view of culture can be used to promote racism and exclusion, it can also be used to help minorities protect their rights and resist assimilation. Thus, both minority and majority groups may in some ways have an interest in maintaining our current notion of culture. As a result, more flexible, inclusive and tolerant notions of culture are marginalized. Essentialist notions of culture function to exclude non members because of the inflexible and strict criteria for what culture is and who belongs to such a culture. When culture is de-essentialised and seen as flexible patterns that interweave and overlap constantly, it functions to include rather than exclude.

3.3 Culture as Patterns

Adams and Markus (2001, p. 287) propose a more flexible definition of culture as patterns. They borrow a definition of culture from Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, p. 357): "Culture consists of *patterns*, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments of artefacts; the core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on one hand, be considered as products of actions and on the other hand as conditioning elements of further action."

Adams and Markus (2001) argue that more fixed concepts of culture have a

tendency to equate culture with group. This equation invokes a sense of membership. A membership notion of culture proposes an "internally homogenous, externally distinctive, collective entity" (p. 286). In contrast, a culture as patterns concept invokes a sense of cultural "engagement" rather than "membership" (Adams & Markus, 2001, p. 287). An engagement concept of culture as patterns proposes a fluid and overlapping culture where influences can mix and mutually influence each other. A person does not have to be a member of a cultural group to engage in cultural practices. Additionally a person may engage in multiple cultural practices.

Other theorists including Holdstock (2000), Adams and Markus (2001) and Roosens (1995) also argue for a more dynamic and fluid concept of culture. Adams and Markus (2001) highlight the socially constructed nature of culture and highlight the act of naming and describing culture as an act of fixing and homogenising and indeed creating culture: "That is, by naming or describing an observed pattern as 'American' or 'Dutch', one takes something that was dynamic and flowing and renders it – at least for a moment – static and fixed...Thus, the act of naming itself contributes to homogenisation and cultural conservatism" (p. 285).

3.4 Towards a Cultural/Discursive Definition of Racism

Contemporary racism draws on notions of culture in justifying racist statements and actions. It seems that culture has become a more acceptable mask for issues that were traditionally put forward in a discourse of race. Racist discourse has appropriated culture and expresses racist sentiments under the cover of culture. A strict definition of racism that refers only to actions, or speech referencing differences based on biological race, is too narrow and cannot deal with racist discourse clothed in cultural semantics. Furthermore, in order to avoid reifying race, any definition of racism must acknowledge the socially constructed nature of race and clearly refute the idea of real, or essential, racial categories. It is argued here that a definition of racism must include a number of elements. Firstly, an acknowledgement of the socially constructed nature of racial and other differences should be included. This will allow us to make space for a social constructionist approach to racism alongside the contemporary and traditional perceptual approaches.

Secondly, the definition must include more than racial differences as a basis for discrimination. The definition must include racial, ethnic *and* cultural differences. This will allow researchers to take a broader look at racism and will allow us to include different expressions or manifestations of racism under the one heading of racism. Winant (2000) suggests that theorists must argue against our supposed overcoming of the concept of race and also against its replacement with another concept such as ethnicity or culture. This is important because such arguments can be used to conceal systems of racism through denial and discursive manoeuvres. Blommaert and Verschueren (1994) provide a useful definition of racism which transcends some of the problems talked about above and provides a broader understanding of racism making it more visible and thus easier to resist. According to these authors,

> "Any form of exclusion based on membership in a subjectively defined group (on the basis of ethnicity, race, skin colour, religion, values, descent, language or language variety) the right to equal treatment of which is not protected by other laws, is definable as racism and is to be situated in the domain of application of the laws against racism and xenophobia. Not only the political racism of the extreme right needs to be attacked, but also every form of everyday racism. Even when the word 'race' is carefully avoided, and when exclusion does not touch racially defined groups (which is rarely the case anyway because of the vagueness of the concept 'race'), one can adopt a 'racist' attitude." (pp. 248-249).

In similar vein, Winant (2000) has put forward a critical theory of the concept of race. Although this is a tentative theoretical perspective it encompasses elements of importance that are necessary in any discussion on racism and race. Winant suggests that a theoretical formulation of race should recognise three factors. The first is the political context of race; that is, how our understandings of race are shaped by contemporary political relationships and agendas. Secondly, we must recognise the global context of race. That is, as the world becomes more multicultural with the movement of labour and capital and the breaking down of nation boundaries, the concept of race itself will change. The simple concepts of minority and majority will begin to blur as majority groups mix with minorities and become less nationalist and more international in culture and appearance. The third factor is the historical context of race, which calls us to place the concept of

race in a chronological and sociohistorical context. Winant's point here is that that our concept of race is historical and time specific; it changes with time.

Throughout this thesis Blommaert and Verschueren's (1994) definition of race and Winnant's three factors will provide a framework for understanding and defining racism. They do not necessarily fit comfortably together, as each lacks something the other suggests is necessary. It is suggested, however, that the way in which they complement each other creates an openness and creativity in thinking about race, which is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the concept and practices of racism. In addition, notions of modern, subtle and new racism referred to above will be touched on.

3.5 Discursive/Post-Structural Approach to Racism

3.5.1 Why Discourse?

Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that traditional approaches to racism share fundamental assumptions about discourse and racism. These assumptions reduce traditional theories' ability to look at issues such as history, politics, economics and social life (Brown, 1995). These theories treat discourse as representative of reality and removed from historical and political processes rather than constitutive of the social landscape. Discourse is seen to represent interior psychological processes either accurately or inaccurately and not as constituting psychological processes. Additionally, in traditional theories, racist talk is seen as representing inner prejudice and not constitutive of a prejudicial act in itself. In contrast with this view of discourse as a mediator between racist individuals and the world, Wetherell & Potter (1992) see discourse as constitutive of individuals, groups, society and the relations between them. They propose a discursive approach to the study of racism arguing that,

> "Our approach will assume that discourse is actively constitutive of both social and psychological processes. The psychological and social field – subjectivity, individuality, social groups and social categories – is constructed, defined and articulated through discourse. Racism, we shall argue, needs to be seen as a series of ideological effects, with a flexible, fluid and varying content." (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p.59)

Potter and Wetherell (1992) argue that our accounts are always constructed in specific and idiosyncratic ways and that 'reality' is constituted in and through the practice of discourse. In other words we cannot escape construction and the problem of multiple versions. They stress that the lack of an objective reality does not mean that we necessarily have to fall into relativism. The solution offered is that we must decide what versions of reality we prefer and are more useful and argue for and support these versions. Significantly, they are not suggesting that discourse is all that exists, but rather that discourse is central to how we come to know and make meaning of the things and events in the world. They recognise that racism is manifest in violence, exclusion and discrimination and not just through discourse. Rather they are interested in looking at how versions of explanation for racism become accepted and how we privilege some accounts over others. For Potter and Wetherell (1992), discursive explanations only offer a partial account and other factors and explanations must be included in any exploration. They do not deny the existence of material reality but stress that how we understand and make sense of it is constituted through our systems of discourse.

3.5.2 Discursive Psychology

Discursive psychology developed from criticisms of traditional psycholinguistics' (Chomsky) focus on idealised language use and the focus on cognitive structures. Discursive psychologists believe that a study of actual, real life language use as opposed to language as a system of abstract rules can reveal much more interesting and relevant information.

The focus therefore falls on everyday language use, and on how people use selected linguistic resources to create different versions of events with varying consequences. One of the main focuses is the function of discourse: what goals are being achieved with talk or text? This view of language as active and performative (doing something) is a radical departure from traditional ideas of language as a passive representational medium. For the discursive psychologist, discourse is not a means of getting to what's really going on inside the person, the internal states; discourse is the phenomena of primary interest.

3.5.3 What is Discourse Analysis?

Discourse analysis involves theories or ways of "thinking about discourse" and methodological elements or ways of "treating discourse as data" (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p.3). It is a relatively new perspective and approach to "socio-psychological research" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p.32). This perspective represents a fundamental shift in the social sciences that has been referred to as "the turn to language" (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p.x). This shift is a turn to looking at discourse and the possibilities it affords to understanding social life (Wood and Kroger, 2000).

3.5.4 Definition of Discourse

Discourse has a number of different definitions. The most common of these are; discourse as talk, discourse as language and discourse as meaning making (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). In this thesis, discourse as meaning making will be used as a definition. This is in line with the Foucauldian definition used by Parker (2002a) which describes discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects, they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so they conceal their own invention" (Foucault, 1972, p.54). That is discourse is a set of statements that construct an object. Discourse can be talk, text and practice (action in context). "Subjects" or subject positions are particular types of objects formed in discourse. "That is, among the signs in a text are those that specify types of person, their character, roles, relationships, responsibilities and emotional lives. Signs are able to bring subjects to life in this way because they are organized into discourses." (Parker, 2002b, p.131). So a discourse can form or construct the object of refugee: this is the subject position or identity given to that person. A discourse can construct a refugee as a criminal and in so doing impose a certain subjectivity upon him or her. This can be achieved through talk, text or through practices that support a construction of refugee as criminal such as the introduction of fingerprinting for asylum applicants or the detention in prison of those awaiting deportation.

Discourse as defined above is radically different from the traditional "realistic" view of discourse, which makes a number of assumptions that discourse psychologists do not agree with. The realistic view of language assumes that

discourse or language is *representative*. This view holds that language is like a photograph in that it accurately depicts an object or event that is real in the world. This suggests that there is an objective observable real world outside of the realm of discourse that language represents either faithfully or falsely. Discourse analysts however, challenge this realistic account by positing that language is "social action" (Wetherell, 2001, p.16). Instead of neutral, passive and mediating representational mediums, discourses are seen as "complex cultural and psychological products, constructed in ways which make things happen and which bring social worlds into being" (Wetherell, 2001, p.16). Discourse is active; it does things in and acts upon the social world. Discourse is constructed from our social world but it also constructs our social world. In short, discourse has a constructive, active and varying function (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

"The principle tenet of discourse analysis is that function involves construction of versions and is demonstrated by language variation" (Potter and Wetherell, 2001, p.199). The notion of construction is central to discourse analysis. Construction means that accounts/stories about the world are built or actively created. The accounts are built using a variety of linguistic resources. This is comparable to the way a desk is built out of pre-existing resources like wood, hammer, and nails and so on. Construction also implies an "active selection" (Potter and Wetherell, 2001, p.199), wherein some resources are included and others not. Finally, construction emphasises the possible consequences of accounts (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

On the topic of racism then, talk is not just an effect of racism or a product of racist cognitions, but rather can play a more active role in the production and maintenance of racist practices (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) and racist cognitions (van Dijk, 1992). Talk about minorities and racist practices have broad social, political and cultural functions. The work of Foucault (2003) contextualises these functions within strategies of power.

3.5.5 The Discursive Construction of Identity

Numerous theorists argue that racism functions to produce and maintain identity distinctions between groups; individuals and groups are defined in relation to an outside other (Hansen, 2006; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Torfing, 1999; Sampson, 1993). Each of these theorists differs slightly in their ideas about the other but all

share the central idea that self is given meaning in relation to the other. Self identity is always shared. For Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Torfing (1999), the self is defined in opposition to a threatening outsider (the radical other or the constitutive outside). This radical other is an oppositional other which threatens not so much to destroy the self as to prevent it from realising its potential; from becoming what it could become.

In contrast, Sampson's (1993) work on self/other identity, sees the relationship between self and other differently. He describes a relationship in which the other is constructed as inferior, and as serviceable, to the self. The other is used as a reference point against which to construct a more confident, strong, superior – or some other form of culturally valued - self identity. The serviceable other is related to the self through a hierarchy of difference. For Laclau & Mouffe, (1985) and Torfing (1999) the other is not just different but in radical opposition to the self, so that the presence of the other negates the possibility of self constitution. That is the other is not just non-self, it is anti-self, an other in total opposition to the self.

In a more integrated approach Hansen, (2006) describes a process of identity construction that involves both differentiation from the other and linking with similarities between self and other. Her idea is that in constructing self identity one links up with areas of commonality shared with an other, while also identifying one's differences from the other. This allows for multiple others to relate with the self, some of which share similarities and others which have differences. She gives the example of how the identity of "woman" is constructed "through a positive process of linking emotional, motherly, reliant and simple, but this female series of links is at the same time juxtaposed to the male series of links through a negative process of differentiation" (Hansen, 2006, p.19).

The analysis in this thesis looks at identity construction of Irish people and the state in relation to the identity construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants following the ideas of the above theorists. From these theorists it is possible to identify four types of self other relationships, 1) other as different and threatening to the self (radical other/constitutive outside), 2) other as different but inferior and therefore serviceable to the self (serviceable other), 3) other as similar to the self (Hansen's linking), 4) other as *both* different from and similar to the self (Hansen's differentiation and linking). We will see in the analysis to follow how

these self other relationships are variously used to constitute Irish and refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant identities.

3.5.6 The link between Identity and Subject Positions

In the coming analysis, identity construction will be analysed, which will include a focus on the function of subject positioning in talk for identity construction and the functions of emotional construction and social/moral positioning. Identity and subject positions are interlinked and as such the analysis will crisscross between the two levels of analysis rather than delineating strictly between them. Identity arises out of our interactions with other people and is based on language (Burr, 1999), and is therefore both relational and discursive. Subject positions together with prevailing discourses and social relations make up identity. Identity then is fluid but not limitless.

One can shift identity by occupying or being made to occupy different subject positions or giving to or being forced to accept different subject positions for those one is in relation to. The range of subject positions available is limited by the prevailing discourses and sometimes limited by the discourses we choose or happen to draw on. For example, an eleven year old girl can position herself as a sister, daughter, friend, gymnast, even feminist or liberal but she cannot legitimately position herself as "a professional", because of the unavailability of discourses and practices of professionalism for eleven year olds. However, she may also be limited by a failure to draw on available discourses on how a girl can be. For example, if she draws only on normative discourses about how girls should be, our eleven year old gymnast will not consider the possibility that she may also be a talented boxer or footballer. These discourses of girls in boxing or football, are marginal but available, and depending on her circumstances and her choices, will remain hidden or be revealed as possibilities.

For an example closer to the current thesis, let us imagine someone who has been given refugee status. Depending on the culturally available discourses (in this thesis those reproduced in newspapers), a refugee has a specific range of options from which they can be positioned or choose to position themselves. The positions given by the media might include those of refugee as thief, refugee as fraudulent and so on. These do not absolutely restrict but nevertheless limit the identity options for this person identified as a refugee. Subject positions refer to

the way in which identity is produced through limited and selective taking up of culturally available discourses in the production of identity. Identity contains numerous and changing subject positions. (Burr, 1995). The subject positions that make up our identity have implications for how we can be and do as people (Burr,1995). People or groups can be positioned morally, "with regard to the moral order in which they perform social actions" but they can also be positioned with regard to individual characteristics and attributes. As such positioning can imply duties, rights, responsibilities and entitlements based on the moral order and also imply motive, mentality, intention and so on based on individual attributes. It is difficult to avoid subject positions, if we accept them or feel unable to resist them we are entwined in the rights and duties that come with that subject position. So even if those people who are positioned as criminals and as fraudulent refugees try to resist such positioning and chooses their own subject positions (e.g. eager new members of Irish society, volunteers, fathers, productive members of society etc.), their identity, because it is relational and subject to imposing discourses, will always be limited by the subject positions made available by the talk of those they are in relation with (in this case Irish society through the media). Likewise, for Irish people, who they can be is limited and facilitated by the culturally available discourses, many of which appear in newspaper text.

Our subjectivity, how we feel, think, experience and intend to be as individuals is not limitless, it is determined in some respects by the subject positions that are available, given to and taken up by us. By looking at what subject positions are available in newspapers we can begin to get a picture of the range of possibilities and limitations that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and Irish people can experience both in relation to themselves and others. Subject positioning play a considerable role in the construction of emotional attitudes (Harré, 1986), and so talk that positions people in specific ways will likely have an impact on emotional attitudes.

3.5.7 The link Between Subject Positions and Emotional Attitudes

According to social constructionist theory (Harré, 1986) discourses shape our emotional attitudes to the objects of the discourse. The phrase emotional attitude is used by Harré (1986) in an attempt to differentiate emotions from the purely physiological. His writing on emotions deals extensively with the difficulty of

defining and researching emotions and he believes that while physiology is an important aspect of emotions, it may be helpful to look at the social practice of emotions from a social constructionist perspective without the over imposition of the physiological understandings. In order to do this without discounting the physiological, he argues for the use of the term "emotional attitudes" which he argues will help researchers turn their attention away from the physiological states of individuals to "the unfolding of social practices" which he believes will "open up the possibility that many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter." (Harré, 1986, p.5). For Harré, he uses this term to avoid over emphasis on either the physiological or the cognitive but rather to focus on the importance of the social in conjunction with theses factors. Harré argues that we learn how to feel about things or people in discourse, by listening to and performing local stories that set down discursive practices and moral values that should be followed by the community. Newspaper articles carry such implicit stories about how Irish people should talk about and interact with refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. It is argued in this thesis that, in positioning migrants and Irish people & the state in relation to them in particular ways, newspaper discourses contribute to the construction of racist emotional attitudes towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. They do this by first constructing particular identities for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as well as for Irish people and the state: for example, the refugee might be constructed as criminal, while the Irish person is positioned as victim of crime.

Subject positions carry with them sets of moral duties, rights and entitlements for all parties involved (Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton Cairnie, Rothbart, & Sabat, 2009; van Langenhove, & Harré, 1999). These positions carry information about what is reasonable to expect from others, offering guidelines for what we should do (duties) and what we are entitled to (rights). These duties and rights are connected to the prevailing cultural morality. Discourses and subject positions do not explicitly prescribe how one should act or feel, but as they delineate stories about immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers and Irish peoples' relationship with them, a set of moral relationships is cultivated and norms of practice are suggested. Talk is never morally neutral. Instead, discourses function to construct a particular moral position. Through subject positioning, newspaper stories contribute to the construction of emotions that the reader is expected to

have in response to the particular way in which refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed and positioned. Newspaper articles, like all social stories and scripts, set up expectations that characteristic X of a situation should elicit emotional attitude Y, based on our knowledge of the cultural practices and moral values embedded within their stories.

Emotional attitudes do not exist independently of our socially constructed moral values and discursive practices, such as those shared through newspaper stories. For example, hatred is never an isolated experience, it is an emotion *about* something (Harré, 1986) and it is either morally justified or not to feel it. Perhaps an Irish man feels hatred for a Polish man he believes to be stealing his job and opportunities. We need to look at what identity constructions, subject positions and moral values facilitate this story of the stealing Polish man and displaced Irish man. What do the discursive positions tell us about the Irish man's rights to feel affronted; about his justifications for hating the Polish man; about the Polish man's duties as an immigrant and his failure to live up to them; about the Irish man's sense of entitlement to Irish resources above the Polish man's? Each subject is given a discursive position in relation to the other. The stories about duties, rights and entitlements are carried in discursive positions but are also informed by already established cultural knowledge of shared moral values or social rules. Our attitude to being positioned in a particular way is often influenced by our knowledge of moral rules and social order. For example, a woman can only feel angry at being positioned as inferior to a man if she has knowledge of the moral value that men and women should be considered equal. In relation to the example above, the Irish man can only feel anger towards the Polish man if he has knowledge of a local (socially constructed) moral rule (amongst others, to be clear) that Irish people have a primary entitlement to resources in Ireland above foreigners, and therefore the Polish man should not have a job unless the Irish man himself has a job. This feeling is justified based on the information from the construction and position of the subjects in particular stories. (Of course, different local and newspaper stories might construct the situation differently, supporting different actions and moral attitudes.)

For Harré (1986), all subject positions are relational so it is impossible to look at only one position in a discourse. The refugee, asylum seeker and immigrants' positions can only be understood when viewed in relation to other

positions available in the discourse for other subjects, such as Irish people and the Irish state. Within all of this constitution of subjectivities, emotional attitudes and self-other relationships, power is ever present. Power influences the discourses that are produced, reproduced and supported. As such, power and identity are interlinked and cannot be analysed in isolation.

3.5.8 The Importance of Power

In theorising discourse and racism, Wetherell and Potter (1992) draw on the work of Foucault. They emphasise the need to analyse how current knowledge or ways of talking about race and racism have come into being and the need to analyse the productive power of such discourses. Discourse ultimately is always productive and situated, drawing on past discourses and power/knowledge structures. The aim of this thesis is not to discover or expose specific discourses as racist or not racist, to categorise, separate and pathologise discourses; rather the thesis aims to examine discourse as "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (Foucault, 1990, p101). This means that discourses are seen as having differing meaning and implications depending not only on what is said but on who said it, why it was said, and what practices may be possible from this discourse. This approach to discourse follows Foucault's (1990) "rule of the tactical polyvalence of discourses" (p100) in which it is assumed that the same words can have very different meanings and implications depending on the strategies of power that they feed into. The meaning of discourses is never fixed but instead always dependent on context and the strategies they are integrated into. The thesis then will examine discourse from a strategic and functional perspective, analysing what strategies, practices and power relations the newspaper discourse supports, reproduces, questions or argues for. This is in keeping with Winant's (2000) critical theory of race and his focus on the socio-political and historical context of racism.

A Foucauldian view looks at the conditions for racist knowledge production focusing on how knowledge is discursively produced. Following from this Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that discourse analysis must look at how racist discourses are maintained by established discourses and practices and power relationships. The discourse analysis of racism must take into account the constitutive power of existing discourses and practices and how new discourses

transform, support or undermine these.

Following this argument, we need to look at how the construction and categorisation of groups and culture etc. might be part of the problem of racism. It is assumed that racism is originated in social and structural entities rather than in individual and psychological phenomena.

> "Of course, the personal and psychological reflect the shape of the social and structural, and we have tried through discourse theory, to indicate how that relation works in practice, but human psychological peculiarities do not dictate the ideological atmosphere and its shifting pattern." (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p.217).

Wetherell & Potter (1992) do not believe that individual psychological change is enough to generate economic and social change. Foucault's work emphasises the importance of discourse, social structures, practices and power and how these relate to existing and new discourses.

Moving with Potter & Wetherall to the work of Foucault we pass from racism understood as a function of individual pathology to racism understood in terms of power and identity. For Foucault, identity and power and inseparable. Who gets to define who, how, when and for what are all issues in identity and power. Bhattacharyya (2006) believes that, "racism is about power not identity" (p.150). However, because the two cannot be separated, for Foucault, racism is about power *and* identity. Political approaches to racism were first put forward by Voegelin (1940) and Foucault (2003), Goldberg (2002) and Lentin & Lentin (2006). These approaches argue that racism is essentially linked to the functioning of the nation-state, rather than to pathological individuals (Lentin & Lentin, 2006). This approach takes us full circle from the highly individual approaches of traditional social psychology, through post-structural identity driven ideas into the realm of the political.

As psychologists it is important to be able to theorise and make sense of racism along this whole continuum rather than remaining trapped in the realm of the individual. This attempt to link up the individual with processes of shared identity formation and the political domain is not altogether new in psychology and has been carried out effectively by numerous writers (Kitzinger and Perkins, 1993; Prilleltensky and Nelson, 2002; Sampson, 1983; Totton, 2000; White and Epston, 1990). The aim of this thesis is to try to offer a psychological account of

racism in Ireland that expands its reach into the social and political in the tradition of post-structural and discursive approaches to psychological phenomena. It will examine racism in Ireland from the perspectives of discursive psychology, post structural identity theories, and Foucault's work on biopower.

3.5.9 Biopower

Biopower is concerned with the maintenance of the norm and homogeneity within the population. The state becomes responsible for the care of life and ensuring that life is lived well, through hospitals, education sites, mental health centres, the social welfare centre and so on. For Foucault this care of life necessarily includes a defence of life from others who threaten the norm and purity of the homogenous population. From this perspective then, the state is inevitably drawn into a form of racism; a racism of "purification and social normalisation" (Lentin & McVeigh, 2006, p.13). Drawing on the work of Foucault (2003), Goldberg (2002), and Lentin and Lentin (2006) on racism and nation-states, it is argued that through biopower technologies aimed at controlling the wellbeing (way of living) of the population, states implement practices such as exclusion, deportation, rejection, and discrimination against individuals deemed non-nationals. Biopolitical governmental technologies include asylum and immigration control, equality mechanisms, citizenship rights, border control, bureaucracy, census, law, policies etc. Such technologies seek to normalise and homogenise the population and exclude difference:

> "In constructing homogeneities, the state not only denies its internal heterogeneities, it is also a normalising, regulating biopower state. As opposed to scapegoat theories of racism, which argue that under economic and social duress, sub-populations are cordoned off as intruders, blamed, and used to deflect anxieties, Foucault's theory of racism is an expression of an ongoing social war nurtured by biopolitical technologies of purification. Thus, racism is intrinsic to the nature of all modern, normalising states and their biological technologies, occurring in varying intensities, ranging from social exclusion to mass murder." (Lentin & McVeigh, 2006, p.13)

In defining biopower, Foucault differentiates between sovereign power, social power, disciplinary power and biopower, as emerging in different historical

contexts. Biopower is the type of power believed to be evident in contemporary society with the other forms of power more evident in the past. Sovereign power is concerned with the rights of the king (one is a subject of the king), and as such is linked historically with feudalism. Modern societies have tended to rely on social power which is concerned with peoples' rights (who you can be), and disciplinary power which is concerned with the targeting of actions (what you can do), while in the postmodern contemporary world, biopower is concerned with how people live (who you are). Power becomes more intense and penetrates more into people's lives as it goes through these historical and social changes but it also becomes less centralised. It is a power that people practice themselves rather than something that is practiced upon them by others (Nealon, 2008). In this view then, biopower is the most intimate and most pervasive form of power.

According to Foucault, biopower dovetails with disciplinary power (Foucault, 1995) in that it integrates and uses some of the practices of the latter. However, its focus of attention is different. Disciplinary power worked on the body through the training and shaping practices of such institutions as schools, hospitals, factories, prisons and armies, but biopower works on the body as a living being. It is concerned less with the actions of the individual (disciplinary power) and instead focuses on how the person lives their life as a whole. This individual life and the way one lives is observed, described, compared and related to the population through the idea of the norm (Nealon, 2008). Biopower "is directed not at man-as-body but at man-as-species" (Foucault, 2003, p.243). It uses demographics to specify individuals according to biopolitical markers like sexuality, race, class etc as opposed to role markers like mother, soldier, or student.

> "Under a regime of biopower, the political task becomes less training people to be docile, and more a matter of producing and classifying ever-more kinds of subjectivities. So far as biopower is concerned, the functioning of power becomes less invested in regulating the behaviour through panoptic, institutionally based training exercises, and more invested in directly targeting life and lifestyles – inside *and* outside the factory, the army, or the school, those recognizable sites of disciplinary power." (Nealon, 2008 p. 45)

As with disciplinary power, biopower still relies on the abnormal as a central

orienting point. However, instead of focusing on the abnormal *act* (disciplinary power), biopower is concerned with the abnormal *subject* – how one lives one's life is more relevant that one's act (Nealon 2008). Even if one does not do anything abnormal as such (no crime committed), one can still be guilty of living an abnormal life (i.e., living outside of biopolitical normality – the delinquent, the monster, homosexual, the immigrant). Biopolitical "delinquency must be specified in terms not so much of the law as of the norm" (Foucault, 1995, p. 253). "In short, the disciplinary criminal is known through her transgressive deeds, while biopower's delinquent is known through his abnormal personality" (Nealon, 2008, p.47). Conduct becomes explained by how one lives. According to Foucault the government and the individual take on the role of policing the norm. Biopower is immanent in the society rather than organising it from above, or from some central location. The government is an organising point for this type of power (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Government involvement is not usually about enforcing these norms through law, but through governmental tactics and policies that encourage and support this auto-control through biopower.

Recent work by Chiyoko King-O'Rian (2006) highlights that such state tactics and policies are not always planned, coordinated or consistent. Her work demonstrated how the Irish state is racialising itself but often in contradictory ways. This work is important in highlighting that a state may have various racial projects running at once but may not necessarily have a coherent racial ideology tying these practices together. Goldberg (2002) explains that states can have different levels of racialisation. The state is made up of different departments and networks that have varying and specific governmental tasks which conflict and compete in the way they construct and practice race (Rattansi 2005).

King-O'Riain's research suggests that variation in state practices and policies will be expected. Her research argues then that the state is not always a monolith of racist practices. Instead, it is seen as a varied cluster of institutions with differing needs and approaches to people from countries other than Ireland. This implies a top down and bottom up process of state practices of racism. The state itself can develop racist practices from its own ideological/political position but these strategies can be influenced by social discourse filtered from the public and elites like the media and other non-state institutions. This conceptualising of the racist state depicts a dynamic nation-state where the government and the

people mutually influence each other in the protection and construction of the nation. This mutual influence follows what Foucault (1990) described the "rule of double conditioning" (p.99). He argues that state strategies and specific actions at a local level interact and are mutually supportive, although still separate and different. This is why the analysis of newspaper articles is particularly important. They represent a nexus point between the state and the national body (the citizens), through which racial projects can be articulated, supported, reinforced or talked into existence or resisted.

In newspaper articles there is an interaction between identity construction and the construction of state power and state rights to use this power for the good of the nation (Kellner, 1995). In this way, biopower can function through newspaper discourses. I agree with Lentin (2006) that the link between racism and the state needs to be acknowledged and integrated into studies of racism, regardless of the discipline. There is clearly a link between government and the individual citizens. According to Lentin and Lentin (2006), "(f)or racism to function, it needs a political apparatus. That apparatus is the state, its bureaucracy and its institutions which in turn influence the hearts and minds of the people who live within it." (p.14)

3.6 Research Question

As elites, newspapers play a significant role in the reproduction of biopower. They not only contribute to these discursive practices but are part of a strategy and as such are mutually influenced and influential by publicly available discourses. It is not the aim of this thesis to suggest that newspapers *cause* particular social practices, rather it is acknowledged that they are part of a reciprocal strategy of discursive practices. Newspapers do not do this neutrally. Editors choose certain stories over others, writers prioritise some voices and ignore others and frame stories one way rather than another (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1992). There is a differential focus and varied support for certain preferred discursive practices over others. This thesis examines how this selective focus on some ways of representing and interacting with refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants influences the types of identity constructions, subject positions and justified emotions and practices that are possible. Based on the assumptions outlined above, my overarching research

question is:

- How are refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants constructed in relation to Irish people and the state, and with what consequences for identity and power, in Irish newspaper discourses between 2001 & 2005?

In order to answer this question the analysis will examine:

  - What identities are constructed for refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and the state?
  - What subject positions are made available in these identity constructions?
  - What emotional attitudes and practices are supported, produced or reproduced from the particular subject positions given to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and the state?
  - What strategies of power are evident in the identity constructions and subject positions identified in the newspaper text?

Linguistic evidence from newspaper articles will be analysed using discourse analysis to answer these questions. Given the links between identity, subject positions and power, the analysis will use all three concepts to develop a thesis on how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in relation to Irish people and the state. The analysis will delineate broad identity constructions for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and Irish people and the state, together with more specific subject positions for each group. These findings on identity and subject positioning will be used to investigate what emotional attitudes (Harré, 1986) and practices of racism are supported, produced and reproduced in newspaper discourse. It is assumed throughout the analysis that newspaper discourse exists in a socio-political space that is dominated by strategies of biopower (Foucault, 2003). As such, all findings from the analysis will be contextualised as strategies of power.

Chapter Four: Historical and Political Context of the Thesis - Concepts and Issues

4.1 Historical and Political Context of the Thesis

There is a myth that Ireland has had no history of immigration, and therefore has not had time to "get used" to in-migration. However, there are numerous accounts of Ireland's encounters with visitors and immigrants from abroad. For example, Rolston and Shannon (2002) give an account of Ireland as a country experiencing people from many different countries from as far back as Viking times. In addition, Ireland has a long history of receiving Jewish refugees and immigrants and with that, a long history of anti-Semitism (Fanning, 2002). Whilst the idea of a homogenous Ireland unused to immigrants is clearly a myth, it is true to say that unlike most Western European countries, Ireland has had a history of more limited immigration. Traditionally, Ireland has been a country of that had more migrants than immigrants. Between 1841 and 1851, an estimated one million people left the country (Johnston, 2002). Even throughout most of the twentieth century Ireland remained a country of emigration, although the numbers leaving were nothing like those of the nineteenth century.

Ireland has experienced less immigration than her European neighbours. Part of the reason for this is its geographical location and history. In the past Ireland was "a poor peripheral European State with no traditional ties to countries in the developing world/Majority world" (Ward, 2001, p. 5). Until recently, Ireland's experience of immigration has involved only small controlled refugee movements and the immigration of Italian and Chinese families (Ward, 2001).

Since the end of World War II most Western European countries experienced large scale immigration. Especially since the fall of the Eastern Bloc, in countries such as the former Czechoslovakia, Romania and the former Yugoslavia, Roma and Gypsies have suffered increased prejudice and have been forced to seek asylum in Western European countries (The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 1998). The arrival of large numbers of immigrants in Europe has been followed by a rise in far right tendencies: in the 1980's in countries including France, Britian, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland (Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1988) and in the 1990's Austria (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

The agenda of these movements has focused on issues such as immigration, asylum policy, and opposition to cultural diversity (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Even in the twenty first century, France saw a dramatic rise in popularity of Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, a nationalist, far right party, whose statements have included "Immigration is the biggest problem facing France" and "we risk being submerged" (Sky News Broadcast, 27 April 2002). In Britain too, there is the British Nationalist Party (BNP). Whilst the BNP maintain only marginal popularity, the recent developments in France have prompted many in England (11 Bishops and the Prime Minister) to openly condemn the BNP and call for people to use their right to vote in the next election as a weapon against the BNP by voting for one the democratic parties (Sky News, 27 April 2002).

Ireland differed in that is did not have the large scale post war migration that characterised the wider labour market in most Western European countries. Until recently, there has been a silence in Ireland around the issues of racism and cultural diversity. They have not been identified as issues within Irish society and have not been addressed in public policy. Even today there is little fruitful debate in Ireland about racism. Whilst the first notable presence of people seeking asylum in Ireland was in 1985, it was only in December 1997 that the Irish Parliament (the Dáil) held its first debate on racism in Ireland, and November 2000 before the procedures for dealing with asylum seekers was put on a statutory footing and in acted into Irish law. The numbers of people seeking asylum has always been small (39 applications in 1992, 91 in 1993), however a slight increase in the numbers in 1997 and the media and government's representation of the issue created the perception that there was some sort of a crisis (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 1997). This response to the increasing numbers of asylum seekers may contribute to fostering racism in Ireland. Thus, for the first time in its' history, Ireland is becoming a country of immigration, rather than emigration, and the issue of racism and cultural diversity are beginning to be brought to attention.

Due to the relative newness of immigration into Ireland as an observable phenomenon, there is a scarcity of academic and scientific literature on the topic, especially from psychologists. Other studies of immigration (refugees and immigrant workers) in European countries have highlighted the prevalence of anti-immigrant discursive practices both in elite discourses (van Dijk, 1993) and

everyday talk (Verkuyten, 1997). The prevalence of such practices highlights to need for continued vigilance for and study of racist discursive practices especially in countries that have thus far escaped the analytic eye of discourse analysis (e.g. Ireland). Importantly, researchers must not be complacent about the locality of such discourses assuming them to exist only in countries with a history of racist and ethnic prejudices (e.g. Austria). Wodak (2000. p. 6) issues a clear reminder of this, stressing that, "The search for a new identity and the (discursive) construction of scapegoats are not just Austrian issues, but also European ones. It is the phenomenon of globalization and the resulting 'competitiveness rhetoric' (neo-liberal concepts) which are at the core of the anxiety concerning the future, reinforcing nationalism and chauvinism as well as xenophobia (Krugman, 1998). Austria is unique in many ways. But, on the other hand, it is a case study for European problems. We should all take this Austrian experience extremely seriously."

4.1.1 Irish-born Children/Citizenship

Citizenship first became a big topic in the newspapers in 2001 with articles describing "soaring" numbers of asylum seekers applying to stay in Ireland based on their being parents to an Irish citizen. Whilst the number of applications granted leave to remain based on parentage did rise between 1999 and 2001 from 1,127 in 1999, 909 in 2000 to 2,398 in 2001 (Dáil Éireann Debates, December 2001), this two and a half fold increase does not necessarily warrant the description "soaring". "Soaring" like the word "influx" has unfortunate connotations and suggests something more than an increase. Soar refers to a rapid increase *above usual levels* or to a *higher* level (according to Oxford and Cambridge dictionaries). The word soaring as opposed to rise or increase suggests an abnormality and imposes a negative value judgement on the described increase.

In 2001 the legal position was that all children born in Ireland regardless of the nationality of their parents were entitled to be Irish citizens. The Irish Constitution, the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Acts, 1956 and 1986, and the Belfast Agreement, 1998, state that anyone regardless of their parents nationality who is born within the 32 counties of Ireland (north and south) are entitled to Irish citizenship (Ward, 2001). In connection with this is the issue of the child's right to the care and company of his or her parents and siblings. In 1987 in the case of

Fajujonu v. Minister for Justice, the high court ruled that as citizens the children had the right to have their mother and father with them in Ireland. This was argued on the basis that deporting the parents would infringe the guarantees contained in Article 41 of the Irish constitution concerning the right to family life and the family unit (Amnesty International, 2001f).

The government succeeded in changing this situation with a referendum on citizenship in June 2004, removing the citizenship by birth rule. In the run up to the referendum, citizenship was constructed as an emblem for all that is Irish and became imbued with meaning that was not necessarily always there. Citizenship became something that is exclusively for Irish people proper, not immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers. One could no longer claim citizenship by virtue of your place of birth; citizenship was reliant on your blood line. The right to citizenship by birth and the care and company of parents and siblings was no longer constructed as a right but instead as a gift that belongs to Irish people that they through their government have the right to give or take away. Lentin & McVeigh (2006) argue that this change from ius solis citizenship entitlement to an entitlement based on ius sanguinis meaning that only the children of citizens could become citizens at birth, is an example of state racism. Garner & Moran (2006) concur with this explaining that "the routes to citizenship favour bloodlines over residency, biology over material engagement" (p.110). This change in citizenship entitlements has led to the construction of a new category of people, "Irish born child", this is a child who continues to have a right to live in the state, but is now deemed to have "insufficient connection" to Ireland to be entitled to citizenship (Lentin & McVeigh, 2006, p 55).

4.2 Concepts and Issues Relating to Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in Ireland

4.2.1 Is Ireland being flooded?

The more conservative estimates of the number of people who have been forced to leave their own country and seek asylum world-wide range between 15 million and 25 million (Amnesty International, 2001a). Of this number 85%-90% stay near their own countries, usually in developing parts of the world like Pakistan or Tanzania (Amnesty International, 2001b). This means that approximately only

10% of the world's refugee population arrive in Western Europe and North America.

Certainly, Ireland has seen an increase in the number of asylum seekers applying for refugee status is recent years. In 2002, Ireland experienced its highest number of applications ever, 11,634. However, in 2002 only 893 applications already in the system were granted refugee status (Office of the Refugee Applications Commission). Even the largest number of applications for refugee status in Ireland looks very small when compared to "Holland, a country about the size of Leinster, has 40-50,000 applications per year" (Amnesty International, 2001b). Amnesty has argued that of the 10% of asylum seekers who make their way to Western Europe and North America, 1% make their way to Ireland (Amnesty International, 2001a). From 1992 when Ireland received only 39 applications for asylum, the figure steadily rose to the 2002 high of 11,634, and has been declining ever since to 3,866 applications in 2008. This may look like a dramatic rise in the years leading up to 2002 but when considered in a European context it is apparent that "this growth is numbers is part of an overall trend throughout Western Europe that has been discernible since the 1980's" (Ward, 2001, p7).

Table 4.1 below details the exact numbers of applications for asylum and applications granted as well as the number of immigrants coming into Ireland each year.

Table 4.1 Applications for Asylum in Ireland 2001-2005 and applications granted

Year	Number of asylum applications	Number of asylum applications granted	Number of Immigrants
2001	10,325	467	59,000
2002	11,634	893	66,900
2003	7,900	345	60,000
2004	4,766	430	58,500
2005	4,323	455	84,600

Source: Office of the Refugee Applications Commission and the Central Statistics Office (annual population and migration estimates).

The figures above only give a sketchy picture of movement of migrants in Ireland between 2001 and 2005. It is recognised that the central statistics figures have many flaws and only give a very vague description of what is actually happening (Lentin & McVeigh, 2006). It is estimated that approximately 10 per cent of the population could be described as non-Irish and that asylum seekers make up just ten per cent of all immigrants.

The following section provides clarification and definitions of some of the terms that will be used in the thesis.

4.2.2 Asylum Seeker

"An asylum seeker is a person who seeks to be recognised as a refugee in accordance with the terms of the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the related 1967 Protocol, which provide the foundation for the system of protection for refugees generally" (Office of Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000). In short, an asylum seeker is anybody who arrives independently in Ireland and asks to be recognised as a refugee.

People may claim asylum at any stage of their stay in Ireland. In most cases, asylum is asked for at the point of entry, either at the port or airport. However, a person may make a claim for asylum directly to the Office of Refugee Applications Commissioner whilst in Ireland.

All of these categories are known as "asylum seekers" until their case is finally decided upon by the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform. At the end of the asylum determination procedure, they are either recognised as "refugees" or they become "rejected" or "failed" or "unsuccessful" asylum seekers (Amnesty International, 2001c). Asylum seekers are given temporary residency in Ireland for the duration of the decision process. During this time asylum seekers are usually housed in hostels throughout the country and are provided for by the system of Dispersal and Direct Provision (Direct Provision only applies to asylum seekers who entered Ireland after April 2000, asylum seekers who entered Ireland before then are entitled to full social welfare payments). These asylum seekers are sent to full-board accommodation (Direct Provision) around the country (Dispersal). Under direct provision asylum seekers receive 19.10 Euros per adult per week and 9.60 Euros per child per week (Ward, 2001; Lentin & McVeigh, 2006). They may apply to the Community Welfare Officer for exceptional needs payments. Asylum seekers can become eligible for normal social welfare payments if any of the following circumstances exist: 36 weeks pregnant; a serious illness which can only be treated in Dublin; some instances of family reunification of immediate family members (Amnesty International, 2001d).

During the time the application is being processed an asylum seeker may not leave the country without the permission of the Minister of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. They are not permitted to seek or enter employment or carry on any business or trade (asylum seekers who have been in the country for more than a year including July 26 1999 are permitted to seek and take up employment), (Ward, 2001). Asylum seekers over the age of 18 do not have the right to state funded education, however, where possible they are given access to literacy, language and culture support (Ward, 2001). Asylum seekers do have the right to medical care.

Asylum seekers who are granted refugee status are allowed to stay permanently in Ireland and are given refugee rights. Asylum seekers, who are denied refugee status even after appeal, must leave the country.

4.2.3 Refugee

"A refugee in Irish Law is a person who, 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular

social group or political orientation, is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his or her former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it..." (Office of Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000). In Ireland, the definition of a refugee is extended to cover those who fear persecution because of their sexual orientation, gender or membership of a trade union. Those who have committed war crimes, violation of human rights and serious non-political crimes are excluded from protection. Economic migrants are also excluded (Amnesty International, 2001c). Therefore people who want to immigrate to Ireland for economic reasons, such as employment opportunity and better pay are not the same as refugees and cannot claim refugee status. The refugees described above are also known as "Convention Refugees" referring to their right to protection under the Geneva Convention and Protocol. These are distinct from programme refugees who are "person to whom leave to enter and remain in the State for temporary protection or resettlement as part of a group of persons has been given by the Government whether or not such person is a refugee within the meaning of the definition of 'refugee' " (Refugee Act, 1996 (as amended)).

All convention refugees (refugees) entered Ireland as asylum seekers and have gone through a very rigorous application procedure. This procedure begins with the initial application for asylum made to the Department of Justice. This is followed by a brief interview and a written questionnaire which the asylum seeker is required to fill in. Sometimes a second interview may be deemed necessary after which the Refugee Applications Commissioner (the Commissioner) will prepare a report making a recommendation for or against the applicants claim to asylum. If the recommendation is positive the asylum seeker at this stage becomes a refugee. If however, the recommendation is negative, the asylum seeker may make an appeal to the Refugee Appeals Tribunal (the Tribunal). The Tribunal may grant refugee status in which case the asylum seeker becomes a refugee. If the Tribunal agrees with the recommendation of the Commissioner the refugee status is denied and the asylum seeker will have to leave the country.

Refugees therefore are people who have gone through a lengthy and stringent process to in order to be given the protection they are entitled to under the

Geneva Convention and Protocol. Despite large numbers of applications for asylum only a very small number are granted refugee status. This is often interpreted as meaning that most asylum claims are bogus. However, "(t)he odds are often stacked against the asylum seeker not least because of the huge burden of proof that he or she must satisfy, the fact that he or she may not have accessed legal aid at all stages of the claim and the quality of interpretation available" (Amnesty International, 2001b).

Refugees have the same social and economic rights as an Irish citizen. They have the right to seek and enter employment, to carry out a business, trade or profession and to have access to education (primary, second level and third level). Refugees are entitled to the same medical care and social welfare benefits of an Irish citizen. Importantly, they are also entitled to language support and employment preparation. Refugees are also entitled to family reunification (Ward, 2001). Refugees are free to leave the state without permission from the Minister of Justice. Instead of a passport they travel with a Convention Travel Document. They are supplied with a Residence Permit as documentation of their right to reside in the country (Ward, 2001).

4.2.4 The Geneva Convention and Protocol

Ireland is part of an international system of law for the protection of refugees. This system came into existence after World War Two with the signing of the 1951 Geneva Convention (the Convention) in 1956. In 1967 a Protocol was added to the Convention and was signed by Ireland in 1968 (Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000). The Convention and the Protocol are designed to offer protection to people who have to flee their country of origin because of persecution or conflict. They also define a refugee and establish a basic set of rights for refugees. The Protocol extended the scope of the Convention for the protection of all refugees (Amnesty International, 2001c). Together they form a global treaty giving protection to refugees and there are currently 141 states that are bound to it. The Convention and the Protocol are legally binding under international law. However, neither was in acted into Irish law in full until November 2000 (Ward, 2001).

4.2.5 The Refugee Act 1996 (as amended)

The Refugee Act 1996, the Immigration Act, 1999 and the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act, 2000 together form the Refugee Act 1996 (as amended). These acts govern Irish Immigration Law and were in acted in full in November 2000. The principle aim of the Refugee Act 1996 (as amended) is to give statutory effect Ireland's obligations under the Convention and the Protocol (Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000). This resulted in the establishment of two independent statutory bodies for the processing of asylum applications, the Refugee Applications Commissioner and the Refugee Appeals Tribunal. The Refugee Applications Commissioner makes recommendations to the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform (the Minister for Justice) as to whether a person should be granted or refused refugee status (the final decision lies exclusively with the Minister for Justice). The Refugee Appeals Tribunal deals with appeals against negative recommendations of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000). Fingerprinting of all asylum seekers over 14 years of age was introduced with the enactment of the Refugee Act 1996 (as amended). Fingerprinting is intended to reduce the number of duplicate applications for asylum (Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2000).

The establishment of the Refugee Advisory Board (the Board) has been provided for in the Refugee Act 1996 (as amended), however, it has not yet been set up. The Board is intended to oversee the asylum process in Ireland and to prepare a report every two years. The report may include proposals to amend legislation and recommendations regarding the practices and procedures of public or private bodies that deal with applicants for asylum and any other relevant matter (Amnesty International, 2001a).

4.2.6 The Dublin Convention

The Dublin Convention (the Convention) is a treaty between the 15 EU Member States that sets up a detailed system to assign responsibility for the processing of asylum applications. The Convention came into force in September 1997. The aim of the Convention is to prevent multiple asylum applications being made throughout the European Union by providing that an asylum applicant must make an application in the first EU country in which s/he has the opportunity to do so. In the event that an asylum seeker does not avail of this opportunity and instead

travels to another EU country, s/he may be sent back to the first country (Amnesty International, 2001e).

The Refugee Applications Commissioner is responsible for the operation of the Convention (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2001) and the Convention investigation is carried out at the initial stage of the asylum application.

The biggest obstacle to the proper functioning of the Convention is proving which state is responsible for the examination of the asylum claim. To assist in this process, fingerprints may be shared with other EU Member States (Amnesty International, 2001e).

4.3 Immigrants

In the above, it is evident that there are very specific definitions for different categories of people arriving in Ireland. Strictly speaking the term immigrant applies to people coming to a country not of their original origin, with the intention of staying permanently in the new country. However, in this thesis a broader definition of immigrant is taken to include those who have come to Ireland to settle for a limited number of years with the intention of working and the possibility of staying permanently. The reason for this broader definition is that in the newspaper articles analysed, immigration is used variously and often used to refer to those staying here on work permits rather than intending to become permanent residents. The thesis focuses on refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants together rather than taking them as separate groupings because this fits closest to how they are talked about in the newspaper articles. The concern of the thesis is how Ireland constructs those classified as non-Irish rather than focusing on a specific sub-group.

4.4 Historical and Contemporary Context

4.4.1 Historical context

This political approach to racism situates racism historically and politically as a social practice with a specific context and genesis. The emergence of racism is

linked with Enlightenment thinking and the beginning of nation-states as a way of organising populations and territories. It is argued that the Enlightenment brought about a rejection of the idea that all people shared a common origin a creation of God and instead offered the possibility that people and groups of people could be inherently different due to varying heritages and beginnings. With the acknowledgement of differing origins came the possibility of classification and differentiation between people (Hannaford 1996). The nation state relied on this notion of a shared territory among people of a shared racial heritage. Racism in the nation-state functions to define the states themselves from each other and secondly to establish a hierarchy of populations with Europeans at the top (Lentin & Lentin, 2006).

Another example of the specific context and history that needs to be accounted for when studying racism is the social construction of the subjects of the discourse. For example, the social construction of asylum seekers arose in a political context. Hindess (2003) argues that the term "asylum seeker" is a product of the international system of nation-states with its origins in the "1648 Treaty of Westphalia". The existence of this system means that each state is responsible of the welfare of its own citizens (p. 28). Gardner & Moran (2006, p.105) and Balibar (1991) argue that if national citizens are "the result of strategies and politico-cultural regimes aimed at "producing the people", then the asylum seeker, like all "non-nationals", is therefore produced in the same process". That is, the non-national is a result of the process of creating national citizens, for this reason, Agamben (1995) argues that asylum seekers are disturbing because they disrupt the certainty of the components of the nation-state. For Ireland, asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants because of their otherness bring to question the homogeneity of the national citizen and indeed the robustness of such a concept, in this way they represent a threat to the smooth running of the nation-state of Ireland.

4.4.2 Contemporary context

The arrival of migrants has triggered many changes in contemporary Irish society. Changes in our demographic make up have revealed an ambivalence and distrust of the stranger but also a desire to understand and welcome. It seems that Ireland,

whilst still having some way to go towards an equal society for all, is nevertheless, on the right path and struggling with her prejudices.

The struggle towards a more welcoming and open attitude to the other is exemplified in government policy toward travellers. There have been 3 major reports commissioned to look at Travellers in Ireland between 1963 and 1995: The Report of the Commission on Itinerancy (1963), the Report of the Travelling People Review Body (1983) and the Report of the Task Force on the Travelling People (1995). Each report has been more progressive that the last and exemplifies shifting state policy towards Travellers in Ireland. This shift is most evident in the explanation given in the reports for the inequalities experienced by Travellers. In 1963, Traveller deviance and cultural inferiority are blamed for their marginalisation. In 1983, poverty and unwillingness to take on settled culture were named as caused of inequalities. In 1995, discrimination from the settled majority is highlighted as a casual contributor to Traveller inequality. These three reports are discussed in detail in Fanning (2002). In his discussion on the states response to Travellers, Fanning (2002) acknowledges the positive changes in the states response to Travellers, but goes on to criticise the 1995 report, and the state, for failing to recognise Travellers as a distinct ethnic minority and for failing to clearly describe Traveller marginalisation as racism. Further developments in the state's approach to Travellers are evident in the Citizen Traveller Campaign which ran in the early years of 2000. This campaign sought to offer positive representations of Travellers in the media, through a billboard and radio advertising campaign (Devereux & Breen, 2004).

Ireland's reaction to immigrants mirrors somewhat that of the state reaction to Travellers, with there being many attempts to develop and open and integrated approach to immigration. Like the state response to travellers these attempts are still developing and have their own problems and critics. For example in 1998 the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism was set up with the aim of promoting "more pluralist and intercultural Ireland". However, critics have argued that the NCCRI is limited by it's lack of "statutory powers" and it reporting relationship to the Minister for Justice (Mac Einri, 2001, p. 75)

Despite not getting things one hundred percent right, the state continues to do much to promote tolerance of difference. A key document from the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform is "Integration: A two way

process" (2000). This document emphasises integration and supports the idea of holding onto ones cultural identity whilst participating as an equal member in Irish society. It defines integration as "the ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in all the major components of society, without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity" p. 9. The document has been criticised however, by Fanning (2002) for its failure to highlight the need for the state to actively resist racism rather than promote tolerance. Nevertheless it should be acknowledged and welcomed for its emphasis on tolerance and integration and for the way it stresses the role of Irish society in making integration successful and a positive experience for all.

The government put its policies into practice in 2001 with the launching of the three year anti-racism campaign called 'Know Racism'. The Campaign aimed to - stimulate public awareness and understanding of racism; affirm cultural diversity as a value in Irish society; help to create the conditions that make it more difficult for racism to exist and to promote an inclusive approach to minority groups. The programmes' activities included national media campaigns supporting integration and anti-racism, funding and support for localised anti-racism initiatives, partnerships and research.

The campaign was followed by the National Action Plan Against Racism (2005-2008). This plan aimed to strategically fight racism and promote tolerance and inclusivity in Irish society. It involved consultation with a range of stake holders. According to the website for the National Action Plan Against Racism, Ireland is one of the leading States in putting a National Action Plan Against Racism in place.

Positive aspects of the plan include the presence of a strategic monitoring group to oversee and ensure the implementation of the plan. In addition, the wide range of stake holders involved, including community group, members from minority groups as well as established groups and government organisations meant that the plan was inclusive from the beginning. A further strength of the plan is its emphasis on addressing issues before they become problematic in the form of diversity management. The plan has linked with other national institutions supporting integration and has emphasised the role of the arts and sport in the promotion of integration and tolerance.

In 1990's the Irish government initially allowed migrants, mostly asylum

seekers, the right to work. However, as numbers of asylum applications increased, the government became increasingly concerned that the right to work was acting as a "pull factor" for illegal immigrants. The government changed their policy and instead set up a work permit system. The work permit system has undergone a number of changes since its first conceptualisation (Allen, 2007). The most significant change to the Irish workforce came about in 2004 with the expansion of the European Union. This expansion represented the largest single expansion of the EU in terms of territory and population. It involved the simultaneous accessions of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

With the accession of these new states, government policy persued filling all vacancies in the Irish labour market from these states rather than non-EU states. According to Allen, (2007) "Ireland adopted one of the most liberal positions on the entry of workers from Eastern Europe and in the Employment Permits Act of 2003 allowed workers from the ten accession states to take up employment without a work permit." (p.91)

A quote from a Dail debate from Minister Dermot Ahern, Minister for Foreign Affairs, exemplifies Ireland's open position to these accession states. He says, "Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom were the only three of the 15 pre-2004 member states to give free access to workers from the ten new countries which joined the EU in May 2004. It is estimated that approximately 275,000 people from those accession countries have been given personal public service numbers in this State, which has a population of 4.2 million, over a relatively short space of time. Approximately 500,000 such people went to the UK, which has a population of 56 million, over the same period. Just 10,000 people from the accession states went to Sweden, which was the only other country to allow free labour market access, in the same timeframe. That is an indication that Ireland has done its bit to provide for free access, by and large." (Dáil Éireann - Volume 626 - 25 October, 2006)

Many Irish institutions have made moved easily and enthusiastically towards integration and welcoming the migrant other. For example, in 2004 the requirement for Garda recruits to speak Irish was dropped with the aim of promoting membership of the Gardai that is more representative of multicultural Ireland. Dail Debates about this issues clearly demonstrate the commitment of the

then Minister for Justice Equality and Law Reform, Minister Michael McDowell's commitment to a more integrated police force in Ireland. He says: "I was keen to make any reasonable changes to the entry criteria that would facilitate recruitment from different ethnic backgrounds in our society. I am of the belief that future intakes of recruits to the Garda Síochána should as far as possible reflect the composition of Irish society, and my view is that this is an opportune time to ensure that the criteria for entry meet the evolving needs of the Garda Síochána and the society it serves...These changes will open up entry to the Garda Síochána to persons in Ireland from all parts of the community and from all ethnic backgrounds. This is a hugely significant step which will help ensure that future intakes of recruits to the Garda Síochána reflect the composition of Irish society to the benefit of the force and the people it serves." (Dáil Éireann - Volume 611 - 29 November, 2005)

Media institutions have opened up to Ireland's new immigrants. Metro Eireann is a multicultural newspaper aimed at immigrants and ethnic minorities. Whilst the Evening Herald has started to produce a polish language edition, Polski Herald, every Friday evening.

A number of non-governmental organisations have been established in recent years with the aim of promoting tolerance and inclusion in Ireland. Many of these are local organisations and do not necessarily have full charity status and national coverage. However, some of the more high profile groups include those mentioned below.

The Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) was established by Sr Stanislaus Kennedy in 2001 to provide an innovative response to changing social needs in Ireland. The Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) is a national, independent non-governmental organisation that promotes the rights of migrants through information, legal advice, advocacy, lobbying, research and training work. The ICI is also an Independent Law Centre.

Show Racism the Red Card is a charity group that is harnessing the profile of sport to educate against racism. The organisation supports programmes that encourage integration and sport.

Residents Against Racism has been campaigning since 1998, with a particular focus on state racism in Ireland. One of the group's main functions is to lobby the government on the Irish asylum process. The group argues that asylum is

fundamentally a human rights issue and should be given over to an independent body.

In conclusion, the Irish government and citizens are currently engaged in a process of adaptation and change with regard to the changing demographic of those living in Ireland. There are many efforts to ensure integration, openness and tolerance and whilst some of these are open to criticism, it is clear that genuine and substantial efforts are being made and that Ireland is moving in the right direction in terms of tolerance of difference.

Chapter Five: Aims, Rationale, and Method of the Thesis

5.1 Aims of the Thesis

In this thesis a discourse analytic method will be used to analyse talk about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in Ireland from two leading Irish newspapers. The papers analysed are The Irish Times and The Irish Independent, these are both broadsheet newspapers and differ in their style from the tabloid press. The analysis aims to explore how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in relation to Irish people and the state, in these newspapers with a view to exploring the links between identity and power in racist practices.

5.2 Assumptions and Rationale for the Methods used

5.2.1 Assumptions of and Rationale for the Method of Discourse Analysis

The method of analysis used is in this thesis is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is allied with social constructionism (Burr, 1995). As such, the method views language as constitutive rather than simply descriptive. It assumes that language performs certain functions, one of which is to construct or create a version of events and people rather than simply offering 'objective' descriptions. The analysis follows the methods of Potter & Wetherell (1987) and van Langenhove & Harré (1999); Davies & Harré (1990) as well as including elements of Parker (1992) and Foucault (1990; 1995; 2003). The use of positioning theory explicitly links the discursive construction of identity with ideas of power relevant for a Foucauldian analysis. Subject positions are discursively constructed and always imbued with power relations. Subject positions are more than discourse as rhetorical function; they are discourse as practice in the Foucauldian sense where, discourse has strategic power functions. Power is evident in the way that one can be positioned intentionally or unintentionally, and by one's self or by others.

By creating a moral hierarchy between subjects, discursive positions always carry with them power relations about who has a right to speak or not, authority or not, duties or not and so on. Subject positions are a "metaphorical concept through reference to which a person's 'moral' and personal attributes as

speaker are compendiously collected." (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, p.17). If one person is positioned as powerful the other is powerless or less powerful (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999). A position is always both relational and political.

Positioning people morally in talk, contributes to the construction of emotions that the reader/listener is supposed to have in response to the particular way in which refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed and positioned. The social construction of emotional attitudes is most evident in the subject positions given to each party in a discourse. Such discourses set up an expectation that X characteristics of a situation should elicit Y emotional attitude based on our knowledge of cultural practices and moral values that are contained in their stories. So the analysis focused on the subject positions and the implied moral relationship. Following this, the analysis examined the emotional attitudes and practices that are implied as appropriate in response to the already identified constructions and particular subject positionings. The analysis used Foucauldian discourse analysis to analyse how the identity constructions, subject positions and emotional attitudes and practices identified function within prevailing strategies of power in Ireland.

The work of Foucault is essential to understanding racism as originating in social and structural entities rather than the individual. Foucault's work emphasises the importance of discourse, social structures, practices and power and how these relate to existing and new discourses. Parker (1992) adopts a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis and his methods will be adopted into the methods of analysis of this research. Parker brings the notion of social institutions into the analysis and by institutions he means medical, psychological, political, religious and state institutions. He is interested in how discourses function to support/reproduce and/or undermine institutional power relations and ideology. More broadly, "Foucaludian Discourse Analysis focuses upon *what kind of* objects and subjects are constructed through discourses and *what kinds of* ways-of-being these objects and subjects make available to people" (Willig, 2001, p. 91 italics in original). Using Parker shifts the emphasis from 1) what types of identity constructions of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and the state exist to 2) what practices, institutions, power relations, norms and/or value systems do these discourses support/reproduce and/or undermine (Parker, 1994)? An emphasis on the role of discourse in reproduction/support of power strategies

allows the analysis to step outside of discourse as text and talk to discourse as practices (Foucault, 1972; Parker 1992), pointing to possible power strategies of discourse in the world.

Combining the approaches to discourse analysis described above allows for an analysis of the constitutive nature of discourse and the strategic power operations of discourse. The combining of the methods of Potter & Wetherell (1987) and Parker (1992) has been advocated by Wetherell (1998). Also, an analysis of subject positions has been used in discourse analysis following Potter & Wetherell (1987) and Parker (1992) in schizophrenia research (Harper, 1996; Meehan & MacLachlan, 2008). Combining methods of analysis allows the

> "discourse analyst to produce a reading that pays attention to both the situated and shifting nature of discourse constructions as well as the wider social and institutional frameworks (of meaning, of practices, of social relations) within which they are produced". (Willig, 2001, p. 105).

In practice this involves reading the text, and after analysing for constructions, subject positions and emotional attitudes, examining how these fit into Foucault's proposed mechaninsims of biopower. Biopower was selected because it is the form of power described as acting in contemporary society. In addition it is a form of power in which racism is identified as an essential tool in its implementation (Foucault, 2003). Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) was considered but deemed unsuitable to the current research question. Whilst critical discourse analysis makes an explicit attempt to link linguistic structure and function, to the political context, it is heavily weighted towards a linguistic analytic tradition. As such, it is more detailed and more concerned with the structure of language than discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis focuses on power but it also focuses on micro structures within language such as lexical and syntactic style, as well as superstructures such as text structure. This is because of its history in development from a linguistic tradition. I chose the methods of discourse analysis used in this thesis because they are more closely linked historically with psychological research and they are more theoretically linked with post structural thinking. Critical discourse analysis is more linked to ideas of social representations and social cognition (van Dijk, 2001) and as such was not a suitable choice for the current study.

5.2.2 Newspaper data

484 articles taken from online archives of the Irish Times and the Irish Independent were analysed to answer the research question (see appendix A for full articles). Broadsheet newspapers, rather than tabloid newspapers were chosen because they offer a less sensationalised depiction of events and thus tend to have a more subtle type of racism than the tabloids which often are explicit in their expression of racism. The Irish Times and the Irish Independent are Ireland's leading broad sheet newspapers. Contemporary theories of racism detailed above demonstrate the more subtle expression of racism and hence the need for analysis of subtle expressions which are more widespread rather than the less pervasive blatant prejudice often expressed in tabloids. The choice to look at the broadsheet's more subtle expression of racism is also motivated by an observation by Blommaert and Verschueren (1994), that, "Extremest rhetoric, on either side of the spectrum, becomes interesting only to the extent that it surfaces in mainstream sources. Otherwise it is of marginal analytical importance because it is completely explicit and devoid of nuances in its articulation of a position concerning ethnic relations" (p.228).

The choice to focus on dominant discourses of newspapers is theoretically driven by the work of van Dijk (1993, 1997) which focuses on elite racism. Van Dijk (1992, pp. 88-89) states,

> "political, media, academic, corporate and other elites play an important role in the reproduction of racism...Although there is of course a continuous interplay between elite and popular forms of racism, analysis of many forms of discourse suggests that the elites in many respects 'preformulate' the kind of ethnic beliefs of which, sometimes more blatant, versions may then get popular currency. Indeed, many of the more 'subtle', 'modern', 'everyday' or 'new' forms of cultural racism or ethnicism are taken from elite discourses. This hypothesis is not inconsistent with the possibility that (smaller, oppositional) elite groups also play a prominent role in the preformulation of anti-racist ideologies."

The important point is that most people get the majority of their information about minority ethnic or racial groups from media sources (van Dijk, 1992). Indeed, he suggests that there are in fact parallels between topics of talk in everyday discourse

and the topics reported in the media. The majority have no real life experience with minority groups and therefore rely heavily on media constructions of these groups. This is clearly problematic, however, when one takes into account the finding that the dominant construction of minorities and immigrants in the media is one of problems (Hartmann and Husband, 1974). Excluding this negative presentation of minorities, there is an overall lack of minority representation by the media. That is minorities tend to be denied by the press. Van Dijk adds that there is a marked lack of minority journalists and in addition to this when ethnic incidents are reported, minority spoke persons are less quoted and less credibly quoted than majority spokespersons. Thus, newspapers function to both accept/reproduce and create/produce racism and ethnic prejudice.

Newspapers occupy a space between the individual and the state, they are socially meditated and are influenced by and reproduce discourses from both individual citizens and state representatives. They occupy a public and elite social space that affords them authority and allows their ideas to have more impact on society than single isolated voices might have. This positioning of the voice of the newspaper means that it is an appropriate choice of data to analyse when concerned with racism as both an individual and state discursive practice, driven by concerns for identity and power. Discourse analysis allows for an analysis of the newspaper data that focuses on power strategies and identity construction in the talk.

Articles from January 1st 2001 to December 31st 2005 (inclusive) were chosen for the analysis. There are a number of reasons for choosing a five year time span. Firstly, it was felt that an analysis over a five year span would offer a more comprehensive account of the talk in Ireland about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, than looking at only one specific year. It was hoped that by conducting an analysis over such a wide time frame it was be possible to identify more robust patterns of talk rather than incidences of talk that were connected to specific political or social issues. Also, there are no existing longitudinal studies of newspaper discourse about immigrants, refugees and/or asylum seekers in Ireland and it was thought that such a study would be a novel and important contribution to knowledge about prejudice and immigration in Ireland. A five year time span was selected because it was considered the broadest possible time span that the author could accommodate in the analysis without becoming overwhelmed

with data, thus making the analysis too broad, complex and indiscriminate. A five year time span was chosen to give the analytic findings breadth and to ensure that findings were robust over time and could not be explained by unique/once off economic or social changes in a particular year (e.g. the citizenship referendum in 2004, or the peak in asylum applications in 2002).

It is not within the remit of this thesis to offer a detailed analysis of the differences between each year and it was not the intention of the analysis to provide such information. The findings reported here are ones that are maintained over the five years and not restricted to particular years or periods of time. However, within the five year time span there were appreciable changes in the *content* of the reporting but the overall *tone* and emotional attitude towards immigrants and asylum seekers and refugees remained the same. For example, some of the 2004 articles reported a decrease in the number of asylum applications whereas previous years had mentioned the increase in numbers and had problematised the numbers of asylum seekers. However, the 2004 reports on decreasing numbers retained the problematised construction of the asylum seeker and the negative emotional attitudes towards them that were evident in other years.

Another reason for choosing 2001-2005 is because it is a time predominately after the sharp rise in asylum applications has passed. Asylum applications to Ireland peaked in 2002 and have been declining since then. This time period includes a peak in asylum applications in 2002 but also includes a period after this peak. This mix of peak and the time after the peak is analytically interesting because I would like to focus on how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in Irish newspapers in relation to Irish people and as such it is interested in the *relationship* between the Irish and those who are deemed non-nationals. The question is concerned with how the Irish construct the other who *now* lives within and who continues to arrive. I also wanted to analyse the period from 2001 onwards because I felt that newspaper stories from the 1990's were more sensational and could be explained by a reaction to 'fear of the unknown' or Ireland 'getting used' to these 'foreigners'. The period from 2001-2005 is interesting because the agenda for newspaper discourses might easily be around the "redefinition of a nation" after an influx of asylum seekers and immigrants, that is, what kind of Ireland do we want after and with immigration? Instead of development talk and nation building, the newspaper discourse

continues to be dominated by discourses of immigration, where immigrants are seen as deviant and not belonging (Garner, 2007, p.128). This talk is interesting because it represents a process of self other construction and definition that has consequences beyond the immediate racist reactions to the arrival of the other, this talk will impact on policy and sociocultural practices in Ireland now and in the future.

5.3 Specific Methods used in the Analysis

5.3.1 Randomised Selection of Newspaper Articles

The 484 articles chosen were randomly selected from a total of approximately 2,500 possible articles. It was decided that two articles would be chosen from each search page of ten articles. This was decided in conjunction with my supervisor and my PhD advisors, my advisors were particularly concerned that I would have too many articles and would not be able to ensure depth of analysis, and wanted me to limit my number of articles. To ensure a spread of topics over each year, I decided to limit my selection to two articles out of every ten available on the search page. I did not set an outer limit on how many I would collect. Instead I decided to continue taking articles until the search indicated that I had exhausted the list of available articles or the search stopped producing a search page of ten articles relevant to the subject matter. So for example, after looking through a large number of articles for a specific year, e.g. 300 articles, the search would either indicate that I had reached the end of the articles and there was no more to be viewed or it would start to produce more and more irrelevant stories. Most often, the search engine indicated that I had reached the end of available articles. The number of 2,500 available articles comes from a back calculation. I had taken 2 articles from every ten available and had initially taken 500 articles (16 of these, I later realised on further reading, were not actually relevant and instead referred to space aliens or foreign travel etc). Knowing that my 500 articles represented one fifth of the articles I could have sampled from, I could calculate that there are at approximately 2,500 available articles on the topic of asylum, refugees and immigration. This is a rough calculation intended to indicate the potential scope of articles available. It is not meant to represent the entire amount of articles available in both of those newspapers over five years. The search archives on the

newspapers are somewhat basic and I knew at the outset that I would not access every available article through this method. While the electronic search had this limitation, it was not a huge concern as I could not include too large a number of articles in my analysis given the nature of discourse analysis. An example of the limits of the electronic search is evident in the distribution of stories from each newspaper that was included in the analysis. There were 343 stories from the Irish Times and just 105 stories from the Irish Independent. This difference occurred (probably mainly) because the search engine on the Irish Times Archive was more sensitive and better at retrieving specific stories than the Irish Independent search engine. It is not easily possible to say how many articles are truly available in each newspaper but it is unlikely that the proportionate difference is as great as represented above.

Search words such as immigrant(s), immigration, foreign, non-national, asylum seeker(s), asylum, refugee(s) and alien were used to find articles in online archives in the Irish Times and the Irish Independent. The search engine retrieved articles in a 'ten per page' format. Two articles were randomly chosen from each group of ten. Randomisation was achieved by the blind selection of numbered (1 to 10) Ping-Pong balls from a box. Two balls were selected from the box each time a new page of ten articles was downloaded. The articles placement within the list corresponded with the number on the ball and those articles were selected for analysis. At the time of selection, each article was scanned to ensure relevance and correspondence with search terms. A small number of times, the article would be irrelevant, for example if it was about aliens in spaceships rather than illegal aliens or the migration of someone's hair line as they became bald rather than the migration of people. Articles such as this were discarded and another article was randomly selected instead.

An article is any full length journalist written piece featured within the main body of the newspaper. This excludes letters to the editor, written by members of the public, newspaper advertisements or articles within the magazines that come as an addition to the newspaper.

5.3.2 Criteria for Selection of Extracts for Presentation in Final Analysis

Once an overall linear structure for the analysis had been developed, the specific extracts were chosen to illustrate findings from the analysis of the full length

articles. It was not possible to include an example from each article analysed in the final analysis, given space limitations and the difficulties that would cause for presentation of the findings. Instead the extracts presented were chosen as *representative* of the 484 articles analysed. Importantly, extracts are intended to act as an example and are there to indicate the type of discourses that I found throughout the 484 articles analysed. Extracts that were not representative could not be used as an example of typical discourse. As such there is a variety of extracts presented. In order to select extracts, the following criteria were used to guide me: Length - which extracts were the shortest extracts where a particular position/identity construction was most clearly demonstrated? The intention here was to find an extract that clearly and concisely *demonstrated* a point that I have found evident throughout the articles analysed; Clarity - Which extracts could be understood easiest without having to refer to the rest of that particular article?; Typical (Mitchell, 1984) – which extracts could be considered the most representative, that is, could the extract be replaced by an alternative extract from the sample without altering the analysis and; Telling (Mitchell, 1984) – which extracts were detailed and interesting enough to elucidate an important theoretical point relevant to the analysis. Within the search for telling extracts, those that demonstrated more than one important point were chosen over those that demonstrated only one. For example, an extract that showed a subject position and the rhetorical moves used to maintain this position as well as details that revealed context, was deemed more appropriate than one that just showed an example of a discursive position.

Importantly, the extracts were *not* chose because they were the *only* ones that could demonstrate the point; rather they were chose because they demonstrated the point more concisely and clearly than other articles.

5.3.3 Reliability and Validity Issues

The analysis ensured validity by adhering to the principles of reflexivity (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999), coherence, new problems and fruitfulness as described by Potter and Wetherell (1987). 'Reflexivity' involves the researcher being aware of his or her biases and constantly reflecting on them. A 'coherent' analysis is an analysis that looks for exceptions to its findings and seeks variation in the data. 'New problems' refers to the ability of the analysis to generate

questions and new problems for future investigation. 'Fruitfulness' refers to the generation of novel descriptions and ideas from the analysis. Investigator triangulation, the reading of the analysis by an independent researcher familiar with discourse analysis (Denzin, 1989), was also used to ensure validity of the analysis.

Triangulation functioned in a similar way to inter-rater reliability in quantitative research. It was used to ensure that the findings were grounded in the data, that the method was applied correctly and that the researcher's biases were minimised. Triangulation was used to ensure dependability of method and results.

The process of triangulation together with further detail on reliability, validity and reflexivity are dealt with in detail in chapter seven (Dependability of Findings) which follows the analysis in chapter six.

5.3.4 Steps in the Analysis

The section below seeks to describe the steps taken in the analysis in a sequential manner. Whilst the analysis loosely followed these steps it is important to point out that there was much overlap between the steps and there was a degree of moving backwards and forwards between the steps throughout the analysis.

Step 1 – sorting

484 articles were included in the analysis. This began with a sorting stage. Articles were sorted into ten piles according to year and newspaper (Irish Times 2001-2005; Irish Independent 2001-2005). Each of these ten piles was analysed, summarised and compared. Each summary was again summarised and compared, and then integrated to produce the final analysis of all 484 articles.

Step 2 – scanning

The next stage in the analysis after sorting was scanning. The aim of scanning was to render the data set manageable and to identify key emergent themes in a manner that would facilitate a subsequent, more systematic analysis. In this stage, each article was read twice for an appreciation of the discursive effects of the text. This reading is designed to examine what the text is doing whereas the question driven formal analysis is designed to find out how exactly the text is doing it, in what context and with what consequences for power and identity.

Step 3 – memos

Immediately after the initial readings of each article I wrote brief memos highlighting interesting aspects of the articles. At this stage, the articles were read for meaning and content and were not primarily read with the research question in mind. However, it is inevitable that the research question coloured the reading somewhat and at the times this happened notes were taken to indicate parts of the articles that stood out as particularly relevant with regard to the research question. Memos were kept of story-lines/ideas, objects, subjects, concepts, context, facts, metaphors and imagery, obvious constructions of protagonists in the stories, surprising articles or statements, rhetorical devices used and so on. This was a very inclusive process casting a wide net including explicit and implicit references of interest. All relevant text was highlighted and a memo made of where it is and what it refers to.

Step 4- categorising

Repeated reading of the articles and memos generated initial broad categories. Categories or themes that were found within an interview were highlighted and this informed the reading of further interviews. When a list of wide ranging broad categories for each year had been made, the articles and memos were re-read and these categories were fine tuned. Fine tuning involved paying attention to where within article categories of interest emerged in other articles and where they didn't emerge and appeared to be unique or once off occurrences. It also involved looking at the surrounding discourse and how this varied for the same theme/category. Once this was done the broad categories for each year were finalised and summarised. It was understood throughout this process, that these initial categories/themes were only provisional and could be discarded or augmented throughout the analytic process (Hollway, 1989; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The provisional nature of the categories meant that the sorting of the articles was not overly constrained by expectations about research question and this freedom left room for novelty and variation in the analysis.

Step 5 – specifying

Following the work of Potter and Wetherell (1986) the analysis specified

all discourses used to construct refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as well as the Irish people and state. In doing this, the analysis identified all relevant talk including identifying specific discourse used, variation, constructions of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and state, discursive strategies and possible functions of the texts. Once these discursive themes and elements had been identified, following Potter and Wetherell (1987) they were subjected to a more rigorous analysis searching for textual evidence to warrant these findings. Through the analysis the text was read with a question in mind, "Why am I reading this passage in this way? What features [of the text] produce this reading" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p.168). The analysis paid close attention to the constructed and functional nature of the text as well as the reflexive nature of the analysis. A focus of the analysis at this stage was on the context, variability, construction of accounts, and construction of subjects and objects. This was achieved by a focus on the terminology, stylistic and grammatical features, preferred metaphors, quoting patterns, use of numbers/facts, and figures of speech used in the text. Numerous discursive and rhetorical strategies were identified in the text and the functions of such strategies are noted.

Step 6 – tracking

The next step involved tracking the findings so far and examining which were robust over time and could be demonstrated to be happening regularly and repeatedly (at least three times each year).

Step 7 – return to research question and literature

The findings so far were examined in relation to existing literature and the research question. This process was the most complex and detailed. It involved openness to understanding the data in its own right, without outside influence. It also required an open and flexible reading of the theoretical material in the area. The combination of focusing on the research question, an attempt to read the articles naively and the reading of the articles then with a theoretical and question driven lens meant that the findings are both grounded in the data, novel, question driven and theoretically relevant. Further analysis focused on the research question and how the findings link with theory and existing literature in the area.

Step 8 – relating the data to the research question

The articles were re-read and extracts and ideas/memos relating to research question were listed. This process included the grouping of memos made earlier in the process and those made later, it involved rereading articles and memos and notes from the analysis and including relevant extracts and comments.

Step 9 – analysing identity constructions

Initial readings had developed identity constructions for Irish people and immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. These constructions were considered in light of existing theory on post-structural identity formation. Fit with existing theory as well as departures were considered and noted. Further analysis and distillation of the data clarified the processes of identity formation in the newspaper articles. This process was then compared to additional theories of identity formation that were considered important based on the further analysis. The analysis moved fluidly between theory, data and research question, with new theoretical issues being introduced as the data analysis presented new issues and novel findings that needed more sophisticated understandings. Identity constructions were identified as well as the discursive manoeuvres used to maintain and produce them and the social context that is constructed in the talk was noted.

Step 10 – analysing subject positions and emotional attitudes

The first step in the analysis of subject positions consisted of identifying the "roles" or positions given to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the newspaper articles. Secondly, these were analysed in relation to the related "roles" given to Irish people and the Irish state. Finally these identified subject positions were analysed for their moral positions looking at the implicit and explicit sets of duties, rights and entitlements that go with these moral positions. These duties and rights are connected to the prevailing cultural morality and value structures. Subject positions within cultural stories of morality and values construct stories about immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers and Irish peoples' relationship with them. Such stories position Irish people and refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in a moral relationship and suggest norms of practice in response to each other. The analysis of these subject positions

involved looking at exactly what was said in the data but also looking at the unsaid, what was implied by the things not being said. Theoretically, looking at the unsaid follows the assumptions of White (2000) and Billig (1991) who discuss the importance of recognizing what is not said as a means of implicitly communicating meaning. Looking at subject positions involved a relational analysis – taking constructions of Irishness in relation to constructions of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. It involved understanding how the positioning of one group influenced or implied a position for the other group. Therefore the analysis required confirmation from the textual data about both groups before it could be said to be dependable. Subject positions were only deemed relevant if they could be found in numerous articles over the five year time span and could not solely be attributed to reactions to a specific sociopolitical circumstance.

Subject positions were given coherence by looking for links and important differences and similarities. Examples from other articles were found and included in order to assess the typicality of these subject positions. This process of filtering, organizing and summarizing subject positions contributed to the framework of the analysis. It became apparent that the most common subject positions could be gathered around the theme of threat and this provided the central theme for the presentation of the analysis. The implications of the positions identified were also analysed. What did these positions support, what types of action, emotional attitudes, moral response, expectations, duties rights and so on did each position bring into play? Throughout the analysis attention was paid to variation and unusual examples that did not fit the main headings. At this stage these were further assessed and the most tangential were discussed as relevant or omitted. The analysis was under a constant process of refinement and tangential theoretical issues regularly developed small sub-analyses. Some of these analyses while interesting in their own right, did not fit within the aims of the dissertation and were considered too tangential to include in the final draft of the analysis. These were retained separately and will be revised in the future and considered for further development.

Step 11 – analysing power

Throughout the analysis the question of power informed the readings of the

texts. At this stage in the analysis particular attention was given to issues of power. Notes were made about biopower and these were used to inform a re-reading of articles and memos in relation to issues of power. The main questions that framed the reading for power were: does this text try to delineate norms; does this text argue for ways of living or being over others; does this text argue for the elimination or exclusion of a person or group; does the text seek to justify actions which are discriminatory based on an appeal to protection of the nation; does the text seek to construct an us and a them and for what purposes does it do that?

5.3.5 Reflexivity in the Analysis

Throughout the analysis there were attempts to ensure theoretical and personal reflexivity. Findings were linked back to relevant research and theoretical literature which could be seen to provide additional evidence for particular discursive manoeuvres and positions already documented elsewhere. Similar findings were considered to provide validation for the current findings while a difference in findings was seen as evidence of the fruitfulness of the current research, in developing novel and interesting conclusions.

Analytic findings were reviewed with personal biases in mind. An effort was made to ensure that the extracts chosen represented something that could be seen to occur numerous times in the newspaper discourse and had not been selected because of analyst bias. Research bias was acknowledged and all findings were examined in light of these biases. This process was complemented by the process of triangulation as well as consultation with a panel of experts on the method and a panel of journalists on the analysis.

5.4 Summary of Steps in the Analysis

The thirteen steps involved in the analysis can be summarized by three headings: open analysis, question driven analysis and reflection driven analysis. These three components of the analysis are depicted graphically in figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 The Analytic Process

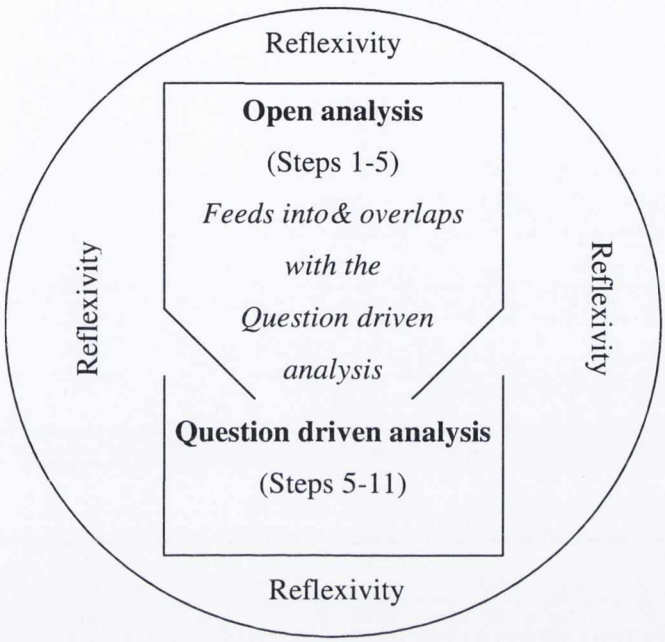


Figure 5.1 above shows both the open and question driven analysis as *embedded* in a process on ongoing reflexivity. The open analysis was concerned with an initial impression of the data and reading the data without imposing assumptions from the literature or from the research question. It was concerned with issues such as dominant story-lines/ideas, objects, subjects, concepts, context, facts, metaphors and imagery. These issues were addressed with steps one to five above. The question driven analysis continued to hold onto the concerns of the open analysis but was more focused on patterns, variations, ways-of-being, identity constructions, subject positions, emotional attitudes, power strategies, practices, institutions, power relations, norms and/or value systems, implied meanings, rhetorical strategies and discursive manoeuvres. These issues were addressed with steps 5 to 11 above. The specific questions used in the analysis can be viewed in Appendix B (questions used in analytic reading). Many of the questions used in the open analysis also featured in the question driven analysis and there is some degree of overlap in the process between the two approaches to analysis as seen in the presence of step 5 in both the open and question driven analysis. The

combination of an initial open analysis with a more focused question driven analysis was used to optimise novelty and the fruitfulness of the analysis. An open analysis functions to ground the findings initially in the data and secondly in the data as read according to the research question, this helps to reduce bias from by expectations coming from the research question.

Chapter Six: Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction to the Analysis

The analysis aims to answer the question of how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in relation to Irish people and the state, and with what consequences for identity and power in discourses evident in Irish newspapers between 2001 & 2005. Given the links between identity, subject positions and power, the analysis will use all three concepts to develop a thesis on how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in relation to Irish people and the state. Firstly, the analysis will delineate broad identity constructions for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and Irish people and the state, together with more specific subject positions for each group. These findings on identity and subject positioning will be used to investigate what emotional attitudes (Harré, 1986) and practices of racism are supported, produced and reproduced in newspaper discourse. It is assumed throughout the analysis that discourses used in newspaper writing exist in a socio-political space that is dominated by strategies of biopower (Foucault, 2003). As such, all findings from the analysis will be contextualised with reference to strategies of power. Finally, the analysis seeks to demonstrate the variation evident in the newspaper reporting on refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. It also aims to show some of the reflexive struggles within the analysis. As such it may appear awkward in places as variation is included along with comments on the reflexive process.

6.2 Analysis part 1 – Identity Construction

As explained above, the following analysis will look at identity constructions for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to the Irish people and the Irish state. The analysis reveals that these identities are variously constructed. This variation seems to have strategic functions and will be discussed throughout the analysis. As already discussed above in section 3.5.5 (The Discursive Construction of Identity) it is possible to identify four ways in which self-other identity can be constructed. These include: 1) the other is identified as different

and threatening to the self who is identified as vulnerable and victim (threatening other/constitutive outside), 2) the other is constructed as different but inferior and therefore serviceable to the self (serviceable other), 3) the other is constructed as similar to the self in a positive way (Hansen's linking), 4) the other is constructed as *both* different from and similar to the self (Hansen's differentiation and linking). We will see in the analysis to follow how these self-other relationships are variously used to constitute refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant identities in relation to Irish people and the state. The analysis also looks at how subject positioning interacts with these identities and links with power.

Each of these constructions is accompanied by multiple alternative constructions of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. There is variation evident in how the other is constructed in relation to an Irish self (the Irish self is also variously constructed). Many of the constructions of the other are sympathetic and positive. Migrants are variously positioned as victims of crime, social inequality and racism; they are depicted as vibrant and energetic contributors to Irish society, and the common humanity between the Irish and the migrant is revealed to the reader by positioning them as needy individuals who deserve compassion and care. Whilst there is considerable construction of the other, in ways that limits their identity to negative and stereotyped positions, there is also a genuine attempt to offer balance in the reporting and space is given to alternative positions at various times throughout the 484 newspaper articles analysed. In the analysis to follow, an attempt will be made to highlight these positive constructions and to demonstrate the range of variation in how the newspaper texts construct refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The aim of the analysis is not to depict the newspapers or their writers as racist or prejudice. Rather the analysis aims to look at what subject positions are predominantly available for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and to explore the possible consequences of such positioning.

6.2.1 Identity Construction through Differentiation and Linking

In this section, Irish identity is considered in relation to refugee, asylum seekers and immigrant identity. There is evidence in the data that as well as using refuges, asylum seekers and immigrants as others against which to construct self identity, the newspapers also use the West to facilitate Irish identity construction. This

follows the dynamics identified by Hansen (2006) whereby Ireland is linked positively with attributes from the Western world and differentiated from the non-Western or immigrant world. In the examples below Ireland is constructed as the same as or similar to the West and different from the world of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The West is constructed in these examples as the superior identity and the immigrant world is constructed as both inferior and threatening to this superior identity. Ireland and the Irish people by implication are constructed as law-abiding & developed; scientific & rational; and English speaking & developed. In relation to these identity constructions refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as criminal & undeveloped; religious & irrational; and non-English speaking & underdeveloped. These are not the only positions available to migrants in the newspaper texts, however, I highlight them here because of the consequences such positions could have for identity in relation to marginalisation and discrimination. They have consequences for how migrants are treated and how this treatment is justified. They are also important because they are constructions in opposition to which Irish identity is constructed. The instances in which the other is constructed positively are times when they are considered the same as Irish identity. In the analysis to follow, I am particularly interested in how the other is used as a differentiated other against which self identity is constructed.

6.2.2 Lawfulness and Criminality

In Extract 1 below, immigrants are constructed as a criminal threat to the Irish people. This is achieved by explicitly describing the specific areas of violence and crime each group of immigrants are involved in: "Chinese triad violence…African Criminals have cornered the herbal cannabis market…Eastern European gangs have used hand-held electronic devices to retrieve an ATM card's data". Describing each immigrant group by their country of origin and attaching a specific criminal action to each group functions to classify each immigrant group as different and distinct, each posing a specific threat.

Extract 1

Globalised crime environment: Connor Lally looks at how immigration has changed the Irish crime scene, especially in the areas of vice and drugs.

On the night of July 10th last year, Chinese triad violence spilled onto Dublin city centre streets, leaving one man murdered and another minus his scalp. Two gangs from rival provinces in their native China had become embroiled in a row over a debt at a triad-run brothel in Dublin... The encounter was proof that bubbling under the surface in Dublin's ethnic minority communities is a world of gang crime, which while smaller than the domestic underworld, is just as organised and violent. Most non-national gangs exist independently, without Irish nationals in their inner circle... According to the Irish Prison Service (IPS), more than one in five, 21 per cent, of inmates committed to Irish prisons last year was a non-national. Of the 9,716 committals, some 209 were British and 70 were from other EU countries. There were 983 committals from "other European" nations, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

Africans were the next most represented with 446 committals, followed by Asians (257), Central/South Americans (58) and North Americans (21).

A spokesman for the prison service said while 21 per cent of committals were in respect of non-nationals, such inmates account for between 5 and 6 per cent of the prison population at any given time. A large number of non-national prisoners are on remand. They are more likely to be remanded in custody for short periods to allow the authorities time to check the authenticity of their names and addresses before they are released on bail.

The National Consultative Committee on Multiculturalism and Racism said it is "concerned" at the numbers of non-nationals in jail. However, its information officer, Ms Jacqueline Healy, said the issue was a complex one.

"You would have to examine whether the prisoners were actually resident here or merely apprehended here. Crime has now become globalised and the issue [of non-nationals being imprisoned] is happening everywhere across Europe.

"We would also make the point that non-nationals are the victims of crime as well as the perpetrators. And into the future we would hope there would be no bias against black people in sentencing, as has been the case in the US".

Vice and drug-trafficking are the areas in which non-nationals have been most active in recent years. Many of the women working in prostitution and lap dancing in the Republic are foreign nationals. According to Garda sources a significant number have been trafficked here, mostly from Eastern Europe and Africa. However, they stress not all lap dancing clubs are involved in illegal activity...In the drugs trade, African criminals have cornered the herbal cannabis market here. Most of the drug is trafficked from South Africa, earning those involved in shipments huge sums of money. In South Africa a kilo of high-quality herbal cannabis can be bought for €30 a kilo; here it sells for around € 2,700 a kilo...Away from vice and drugs, some non-nationals gangs are involved in credit card and ATM card scams. Eastern European gangs have used hand-held electronic devices to retrieve an ATM card's data from an ATM machine just after the card has been used. The fraudsters usually look over the shoulder of the person using the card in order to get their pin number. *(The Irish Times, November 26 2003)*

Here, immigrants are depicted as an underestimated threat, and readers are informed that "bubbling under the surface in Dublin's ethnic minority communities is a world of gang crime, which while smaller than the domestic underworld, is just as organised and violent." The use of the phrase "bubbling under the surface" suggests something unseen but also something threatening to explode. In this construction those outside the ethnic minority communities are positioned as unaware of the extent of the trouble that is brewing. This subtly promotes a position of suspicion towards ethnic minorities. The immigrants are not only threatening but also outsiders: "Most non-national gangs exist independently, without Irish nationals in their inner circle".

Importantly, the article does not claim that there are no Irish criminals. It is very clear in acknowledging an "Irish crime scene". The article also states clearly that the immigrant crime scene is considerably "smaller than the domestic underworld", emphasising that the majority of crime in Ireland is committed by

Irish criminals. In extract 2 below we see an example of crime being committed by both Irish people and non-Irish nationals. The extract explains that Irish crime gangs are working together with "foreign gangs" to falsify Irish passports for use by illegal immigrants and Irish criminals travelling abroad.

Extract 2

Last year the Passport Office replaced more than 22,000 of these precious documents, which had been reported either lost or stolen. The Sunday Independent can now reveal that many of these documents are being sold by members of the underworld, for prices ranging from €400 to €4,000, depending on who is buying them or what type of passport they require.

On Tuesday of last week, we set out to acquire some of these passports as part of an investigation into organised crime and its relationship with foreign gangs who exploit innocent refugees, from various countries, who try and obtain work in this country. We quickly learned about the availability of Irish passports and after two phone calls and a four-hour wait, we had obtained three passports, which we were told could be altered, by inserting the photograph and details of whoever we wished to nominate. We were told that these would be good for travel for people who were unknown to the authorities, but were not clean as they may be reported as either stolen or missing to the passport office. (No matter how professionally a passport is altered, the individual number, which is stenciled by impregnating each page with tiny perforations, cannot be changed.)

The three Irish passports which we obtained were belonging to two males in their twenties and one female of a similar age. Later that evening it was arranged that I meet with an individual from Nigeria who, for a fee of €200, would make the alterations to the passports and I was assured that the finished article would pass any inspection...These foreign passports sell for anything from €3,000 to €5,000 and are often bought on an instalment plan. The main customers are from Eastern Europe and they are primarily serviced by gangs from their own countries, including members of the Russian Mafia, for whom it is a very profitable business...Criminal gang members who travel abroad regularly, buying drugs for sale in Ireland,

> constantly use these. These criminals learned from the high-profile trials of the members of the Gilligan drug gang not to leave evidence of the various foreign trips they make. In the past, the authorities could detect how many times a criminal travelled to places like Amsterdam, which would have set off warnings that they were most likely dealing in drugs. But with the false passports this information is no longer available to the Gardai or the Criminal Assets Bureau.
>
> While the easy availability of these false passports to criminals and immigrants who might wish to defraud the State is worrying, of much more concern is the possibility of these passports getting into the hands of the increasing number of terrorists from around the world. This is a major security risk - at present the Irish passport holder is regarded as a low security risk around the world. But it would only take one Al-Qaeda type incident involving an Irish passport to change all that. (The Irish Independent May 25 2003)

The above article offers balance by showing that Irish people are involved in crime too. There is an example given of how these false passports can be used by Irish criminals: "Criminal gang members who travel abroad regularly, buying drugs for sale in Ireland, constantly use these. These criminals learned from the high-profile trials of the members of the Gilligan drug gang not to leave evidence of the various foreign trips they make" (Extract 2).

Whilst extracts 1 and 2 acknowledge Irish criminality, these particular articles focus more on the foreign criminal. In extract 1 there is a very subtle suggestion that "non-national" criminals may be morally inferior to Irish criminals given the more brutal nature of their crimes as described in the article; we are told that Chinese triad gangs left "one man murdered and another minus his scalp".

Those involved in crime are inferior to law abiding people – this is a moral implication that comes from the acceptance that those involved in crime are bad people rather than in bad circumstances. Agency and intention, and therefore personal responsibility (bad person), is inferred by the use of action words and phrases such as "active", "organised", "working", "the drugs trade", "earning those involved" and labels such as "gang crime", "fraudsters" and "criminals". These types of description set up various assumptions; the criminal other positioned as

motivated by money, responsible for his or her actions, with agency, and as occupying the label criminal as a career choice or lifestyle.

In relation to the immoral and criminal position made available to the migrant other, it is possible that Irish people are implicitly positioned as moral, law abiding and potential victims. The narrative idea of the absent but implicit (White, 2000) is relevant here. It suggests that as well as explicit meaning, a discourse carries implicit meaning. When something is described explicitly, it relies on an implicit unsaid against which the described in understood. So for example the criminal other is positioned and understood best when placed beside the implicit non-criminal self. Whilst there is an acknowledgement of crime in Ireland, it is given a place in the "underworld" and seen as marginal. Legitimate Irish society by implication is positioned in the discourse used as non-criminal. The migrant community, in this article is predominantly positioned as criminal. Ms Jacqueline Healy's (National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism) comments about immigrants also being victims, are important because they offer a potential alternative position to that of the criminal. She states that "We would also make the point that non-nationals are the victims of crime as well as the perpetrators. And into the future we would hope there would be no bias against black people in sentencing, as has been the case in the US". (Extract 1) These comments function to remind the reader to keep a more balanced view of immigrants as victims of crime and potential victims of racism in their sentencing for criminal behaviour. Throughout the articles analysed there are examples of stories that depict the migrant as a victim of crime, racism or exploitation. Extracts 3 and 4 below depict the migrant as a victim of racism and exploitation respectively.

Extract 3

Sharp rise in racist incidents reported over last three year

THE reported incidence of racist assault, abuse, and harassment has risen sharply in the past three years. A new report has revealed that there were 70 racist incidents reported to the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) over the past six months, including assault, bullying, and damage to property.

The same period last year saw 46 incidents reported. In 2001, when

statistics were first compiled, the figure was 41.

However, it is believed that the real figure is much higher because of under-reporting...And there were also complaints about some sections of the media, including radio coverage of the citizenship referendum as well anti-traveller, anti-semitic, and Islamaphobic comments in both the print and broadcast media...The complaints relate to three main areas - assaults, abuse and harassment; delivery of public and private services; and misinformation and circulation of offensive material...The report, launched by Justice Minister Michael McDowell yesterday, found that racism was not linked to people's legal status in this country. "Refugees and asylum seekers, Irish and EU citizens, including travellers and non-EU citizens, are experiencing racism in Ireland. These can include students or people visiting Ireland as tourists," it said.

Mr McDowell said that combating racism and addressing myths and misunderstandings around issues of race had never been more important. (*The Irish Independent November 11 2004*)

Extract 4

Slave labour, Irish-style

After revelations this week that a Filipina beauty therapist was paid €1 an hour at Irish Ferries, and hundreds of similar claims subsequently, Ireland is fast gaining a reputation as a bad employer...When Kathy got a job in one of Dublin's best-known ethnic restaurants, it was the start of a new life. She had left home in Malaysia two years earlier in the hope of a fresh start and better opportunities.

There was no shortage of work in Ireland, she had heard, but finding secure employment in the catering world was a struggle, despite her wide experience from home. At last, the right job had come along and she had got her crucial work permit to allow her to stay in the country.

Kathy was offered the position of waitress in a restaurant admired by food critics across the island. She would earn €4 an hour for five shifts a week - €3 less than the minimum wage, but a fortune compared to what she could make back home...But within weeks of starting, it became clear her

job would involve a lot more than waiting tables. Gradually, the restaurant owner, a well-known figure in Irish restaurant circles, started asking her to do menial chores like making his tea, popping to the shop and doing deliveries. Proving a bright, trustworthy employee, before long she was being told to count the takings and go to the bank... Kathy's fear and exploitation experienced at the hands of a ruthless employer is now widespread among migrant workers in Ireland, according to the country's largest trade union. Following this week's revelations about the Filipina beauty therapist, Salvacion Orge, who was earning €1 an hour on a Irish Ferries vessel, Siptu offices around the country have been flooded with calls from foreign workers who claim they are being treated as little more than slaves by their employers. They say they have no option but to stay in their job because their work permits tie them to it.

"It's just frightening what's happening out there," says Anton McCabe of the Meath Branch of Siptu. "But people are so afraid of coming forward. You have to meet them in the dead of night, behind petrol stations and the like, because they are terrified of being caught by their employer and losing their permits.

"We have heard stories of physical abuse, terrible racism and shocking exploitation at the hands of employers, but because the work permit system has created a form of bonded labor, they feel they have no option but to put up with it." *(The Irish Independent 2 April 2005)*

Extract 3 explains that all those considered different are experiencing racism in Ireland: "Refugees and asylum seekers, Irish and EU citizens, including travellers and non-EU citizens, are experiencing racism in Ireland. These can include students or people visiting Ireland as tourists," (Extract 3). Similarly, extract 4 boldly exposes the victimisation of non-Irish people living in Ireland in this story, with regard to work practices and conditions, explaining "We have heard stories of physical abuse, terrible racism and shocking exploitation at the hands of employers" (Extract 4). The article even criticises the work permit system and blames it for the creation of "bonded labor". These articles are refreshing and valuable in presenting balance in the news and offering a range of constructions for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants.

However, I suggest that the rhetorical weight lies with the criminal position

because it is over represented in the article in comparison with the victim position. As such Ms Healy's comments can only have limited impact in their function of constructing discursive positions for immigrants.

While extract 1 above describes immigrants' involvement in people trafficking for prostitution. Extract 5 below positions refugees as also involved in the sex trade. Whilst sympathy is extended to the "Refugee teen 'forced into sex life'" the article reinforces the construction of refugees as people involved in crime and therefore contributes to a position for refugees as immoral through their links with crime. In the extract, Aishling Reidy from the Irish Council for Civil Liberties is quoted as condemning the abuse suffered by the girl. She speaks both as a representative for civil liberties and a representative of an Irish organisation. In this way an Irish organisation is positioned as sympathetic to the "horrific" circumstances those who comet to Ireland "in hope of a better life" find themselves in.

Extract 5

Refugee teen 'forced into sex life' – headline

The plight of a Romanian teenage girl who was held captive and forced into prostitution in Dublin is unlikely to be an isolated case, the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) warned last night.

ICCL director Aishling Reidy condemned the abuse endured by the girl who came to Ireland in the hope of a better life as "horrific". *(The Irish Independent May 14 2004)*

In extract 5, Aishling Reidy (an Irish person, representing an Irish organisation) exemplifies a morally virtuous position by demonstrating sympathy and understanding for the plight of asylum seekers and refugees. Civil rights are implied as important for the Irish state by the representation of the voice of "the Irish Council for Civil Liberties". Linking Irish identity with the value of civil freedoms implicitly associates Ireland with the Western world where civil liberty is valued and emphasised. Temporally, it places Irish people as progressive and morally developed. This temporal placing gives Ireland an identity position alongside the developed Western world and differentiates it from the world of the refugee which is assumed to be worse than the "better life" one might have in Ireland.

Extract 6 below links refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants to criminality through the use of a drug-dealing metaphor.

Extract 6

While the Taoiseach has pledged to spare no effort to bring those responsible to justice, it would be wishful thinking to believe that this is the last bitter taste Ireland will have of the lucrative worldwide trade in people-smuggling. The organised gangs in the illegal immigrant trade are ruthless and extremely organised. People-smuggling may not yet be as profitable as drug-smuggling but nor is it as risky for the perpetrators who do not travel with their 'clients'. An estimated seven million illegal immigrants are brought to Europe every year by smugglers... Legislation introducing fines for those found carrying passengers without proper travel documents is due to be published within the coming weeks. Such measures, which exist in many EU states including the United Kingdom, oblige carrier staff to check passenger documents for authenticity...However, the proposal to introduce such a law here has met with strong criticism from civil liberties groups and the representative in Ireland of the UN High Commission for Refugees, Ms Pia Prutz Phiri. Ms Prutz Phiri has said such a law "delegates an authority which squarely lies with states. Many refugees and asylum-seekers are not carrying documents or have false ones, and the end result is that people who need access to a territory may be effectively barred," she said earlier this year.

Refugee lobby groups argue that the international community's failure to find lasting solutions for the plight of millions of refugees worldwide is driving them towards human-smugglers. As regular arrival routes are increasingly sealed, many refugees continue to turn to smugglers to reach safety, in spite of the dangers and the financial costs. To overcome immigration barriers, economic migrants potray themselves as refugees fleeing persecution. An independent study commissioned by the UN High Commissioned for Refugees (UNHCR) and published last July called on European Union countries to review their migration and asylum policies to find ways of opening other channels to refugees.

At the heart of this argument is the contention that there is a

> contradiction between enforcement policies and the absolute right to claim asylum enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Under the Convention, states may not turn away people who make claims to be protected as refugees on the grounds that they are fleeing persecution. Until their cases are decided, such people are known as asylum-seekers. If an asylum-seeker is unable, due to stringent security measures, to enter a country to lodge a claim for protection as a refugee, then in effect the right to claim asylum enshrined in the convention is a theoretical one only. If a peotetinal refugee is prevented from boarding a ferry or an aircraft with a forged passport, then his or her options might be being locked in the back of a lorry...Clearly a viable solution has to balance the rights of states to sovereignty and control with those of individuals, whether citizens or refugees. European states, including Ireland, need to balance their responsibilities more evenly. Ultimately, however, human-trafficking will continue to exist as long as "market forces" permit it. It is global inequalities which give people the impetus to flee poor or troubled countries for rich or safe countries." – trying to assert balance and attribute illegal immigration not to bad individuals but to bad society thus invoking structural and systemic factors rather than blaming individuals. *(The Irish Times December 10 2001)*

In extract 6 asylum seekers are compared to drugs being smuggled into Ireland. Words such as "lucrative", "trade", "people-smuggling", "illegal immigrant trade" and "profitable", function to construct asylum seekers as objects to be traded or smuggled for profit. This metaphor objectifies asylum seekers and links them to criminality by their participation in illegal people-smuggling albeit as victims. Further examples of the drug-dealing comparison in extract 6 include; "People-smuggling may not yet be as profitable as drug-smuggling" and "An estimated seven million illegal immigrants are brought to Europe every year by smugglers". In these sentences, one could replace "illegal immigrants" with the words "kilograms of cannabis". Whilst this would change the explicit meaning of the sentence the tone would remain the same. The tone is one of alarm suggesting that there is too much of something undesirable coming into Europe every year. This metaphorical link between asylum seekers and drugs is problematic because subtle rhetoric is often harder for readers to identify and thus be critical of when

processing the information (Pratkanis and Aronson, 2001) and secondly, it implicitly constructs refugees as connected to criminality or illegal activity positioning them as undesirable and a threat. Positioning refugees as linked to crime supports practices of exclusion and inhibits practices that may encourage interaction and understanding between Irish people and newly arrived people of different nationalities.

However, alongside this positioning of refugees as linked to crime there is also an attempt to understand the complexity of the situation and to understand why they might decide to link with criminal gangs of people smugglers rather than take legitimate routes into Ireland. There are numerous instances in the article where the text repositions asylum seekers as victims of crime. The extract references the thoughts of refugee lobby groups and explains that refugees are simultaneously victims of the international community's failure to provide legitimate entry routes to the West and the victims of ruthless people-traffickers who are waiting to take advantage of their desperation: "Refugee lobby groups argue that the international community's failure to find lasting solutions for the plight of millions of refugees worldwide is driving them towards human-smugglers. As regular arrival routes are increasingly sealed, many refugees continue to turn to smugglers to reach safety, in spite of the dangers and the financial costs" (Extract 6).

Extract 7 below also takes a more understanding and empathic tone and positions economic refugees as victims rather than perpetrators of crime.

Extract 7

Progress made in Wexford tragedy inquiry

> Significant progress has been made in the criminal investigation into the weekend tragedy in which eight stowaways were found dead in a packed freight container in Wexford.
>
> As the five survivors of the ordeal recovered in hospital last night, it emerged that Belgian police had questioned a truck driver who had transported the group on the final leg of their journey on mainland Europe... Gardai have said they are convinced the migrants thought they were embarking on a sailing of just a few hours to a British port when they allowed themselves to be sealed in to a 40-ft container by the criminals.

Instead, the container was loaded at the Belgian port of Zeebrugge onto a cargo ship bound for Ireland, and the group, including five children, endured a 53-hour sailing through a force 10 gale.

Gardai believe the stowaways paid between £5,000 and £8,000 each to smugglers who helped them hide in the container.

The group consisted of 11 Turkish nationals, including a Kurdish family, as well as one Albanian and one Algerian who were among the survivors.

The Taoiseach, Mr Ahern will raise the crisis caused by the weekend's tragedy when he meets fellow EU leaders at the Laeken summit in Belgium this week. He will say the EU must direct economic aid to the countries from which the most asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants are fleeing...The Minister for Justice, Mr John O'Donoghue, said the surviving stowaways had been through a terrible trauma and if they were made applications for asylum they would receive "sympathetic and humane" consideration. He added: "There is also the provision, of course, even if they were not to qualify for refugee status, for an order to be made allowing them to stay on humanitarian grounds."*(The Irish Times, 11 December 2001)*

In extract 7, the economic migrants are described as "stowaways" and "survivors". These words and their linking with other words in the extract such as "tragedy", "terrible trauma", "ordeal" and "endured", position the migrants sympathetically as victims of economic desperation, who should be extended sympathy, aid and understanding. This depiction of migrants emphasises their humanity and seeks to describe their circumstances in a way that the reader can understand and empathise with. It contrasts with the positioning of economic migrants as criminals.

At times in the newspapers analysed there is a struggle between supporting the migrant and understanding their story and the need to protect Irish border security. This is evident in extract 6 above. The narrative in this extract is one of a struggle between human rights of individuals and the rights of a state to protect its' borders: "Clearly a viable solution has to balance the rights of states to sovereignty and control with those of individuals, whether citizens or refugees." (Extract 6)

Extract 6 variously positions refugees as linked to crime through the drug dealing metaphor but also of victims of international inaction on migration policy.

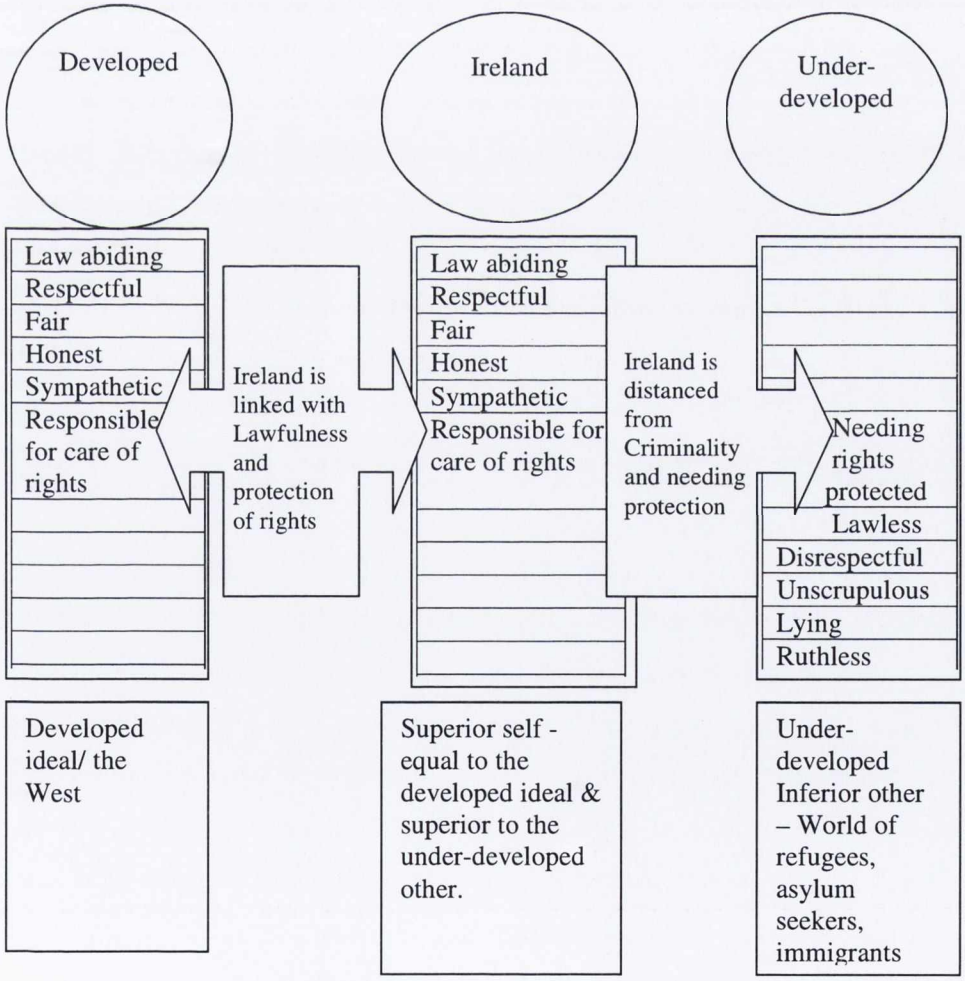
Much of the positioning in this article happens around the Irish state. The Irish state is variously positioned as an entity that has its' own set of rights but also as an entity that has responsibility for the individuals within it. It is criticised for not managing the balance between these sometimes divergent sets of rights: "European states, including Ireland, need to balance their responsibilities more evenly." (Extract 6). In this statement the state is positioned as having duties in addition to rights, it has the duty of ensuring equitable distribution of rights between state and individual, as enforcer of rights and equality.

Similarly the Irish state is constructed as having the duty of enforcing the law and as such is positioned as just in its desire to "bring those responsible to justice". The state is positioned as having the right and the duty to enforce individual and state rights and as an implied duty within that to also enforce the law. The state is explicitly constructed as having the duty of law enforcement/protection of rights by the description of "the Taoiseach" as someone who "has pledged to spare no effort to bring those responsible to justice". Irish state identity therefore, is constructed in relation to ideals of lawfulness, justice and civil rights which are elucidated by the juxtaposition of a description of illegal people smuggling activity engaged in by international criminal gangs and asylum seekers and economic migrants. This is a temporal location of Irish state identity as civilized or developed given its role as guardian of civil and legal rights of both state and individual. This temporal position as developed is clarified by the positioning of the world of the migrant other as under-developed due to its' criminal activity that seeks to rupture the states' laws or it's position as victim in need of protection from this more advanced state.

In the analysis of the 484 articles analysed, Irish identity is constructed as law-abiding, sympathetic, dutiful and responsible. These positions are exemplified in the extracts quoted above. There are of course instances of variation from these positions, for example the acknowledgement of the criminal underworld or a call for the state to take more responsibility in managing state and individual rights. However, there is evidence in the articles analysed that these positions are repeated numerous times in the articles and over time. By positioning Ireland as law-abiding, sympathetic, dutiful and responsible the newspaper texts construct the Irish state as a developed state. It is developed in that it acts as care taker of the rights of the individuals under its protection, it is developed in that it seeks to

uphold and enforce agreed laws and it is developed because it is able to show sympathy and compassion to those who are less fortunate. Below, figure 6.1 represents the process of Irish identity construction in relation to the identities of developed and under-developed as constructed in extracts 1, 2 & 6 above. We see how Ireland is identified with the West but is distanced from the immigrant world, through a process of linking and differentiation. Instead of referring directly to a group, the identity construction refers to ideals that are meant to represent the relevant group. Discourses about fighting crime and respecting/upholding rights imply a developed Irish state. This is contrasted with discourses of crime and needing rights protected by the state which imply that the migrant other is temporally under-developed. We can see this demonstrated graphically in figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1: Identity Negotiation between Developed and Under-developed



In figure 6.1 we see how Irish identity as a developed and superior country is constructed in relation to the idealised others of the developed West and the under-developed world of the migrant. This form of identity construction is very similar to that described by Hansen (2006). She describes the possibility of multiple others rather than a fixed self-other dyad. She also describes a positive and negative form of self construction: positive through linking with existing attributes, saying what the self has in relation to one other; and negative by differentiation, saying what the self lacks or opposes in relation to another other. We see this in the example above. Through identification with the idealised West and differentiation from the world of the immigrant and asylum seeker, Ireland can deny her negative qualities (given to the under-developed other) and reify her positive Western qualities producing an idealised identity as superior to the immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and equal to those in the idealised West. The construction of the immigrant world as inferior because of its links to criminality and victim hood is similar to the self-other relationship described by Sampson (1993). By constructing the other as inferior and rendering them serviceable, Irish identity is supported in its superiority. This superior identity supports actions that seek to control or limit the behaviour of those seen to be inferior. As well as positioning the other as inferior, the other is also positioned as a threat through their construction as violent criminals.

Extracts 8 and 9 below describe a refugee and an immigrant respectively who are involved in violent crime (manslaughter and murder). Here we see the immigrant and refugee constructed explicitly as the threatening other.

Extract 8

> Immigrant found guilty of manslaughter over stabbing: A man on trial at the Central Criminal Court for fatally stabbing another has been found not guilty of murder but guilty of manslaughter. Valerij Makarov (25), a Lithuanian , also known as Andris Simonis, Lucan, Co. Dublin, had pleaded not guilty to the murder of Tomas Lukosevicious (30), on May 11th, 2003, in Lucan. He had also pleaded not guilty to causing intentional or reckless serious harm to Aldevinias Gudavicious (34), and to threatening to harm Jonas Bernotas (21)... His wife left the house, looking for alternative accommodation for the family for the night. Makarov's two

children and sister-in-law were in the home at the time of the incident.

The jury heard that at about 10 p.m., his front door was kicked in and a man confronted him in his kitchen, threatening him. Makarov said he was cornered in the kitchen and reached for a knife out of a drawer "just to pinch him, so he would feel pain and go away".

Mr Bernotas and Mr Gudavicious were outside the house and saw some of the incident through the window, when they also kicked in the door. An altercation ensued in the hallway, where Makarov was still holding the kitchen knife. He had said he was trying to get the men away from his sister-in-law and child.

The court heard that one of the men slipped outside the house and the other ran off and was chased by Makarov to a neighbour's front gate. "I told him I would kill him if he came back to my house," he had said in a Garda interview viewed by the jury.

The State Pathologist, Dr Marie Cassidy, told the court Mr Lukosevicious had bled to death from nine stab wounds.

Mr Gudavicious, who showed the scars of his stab wounds to the court, had received eight "lacerations". There was no evidence that his injuries caused a substantial risk of death.

Makarov said he had not realised a stabbing had occurred until "the garda told me one of them was dead". When he returned to his house, his sister-in-law had wiped up blood off the kitchen floor so the children would not see it. Traces of blood were also found in the hallway, front door and outside the house. In the Garda interview, Makarov was asked: "In view of the fact that we have one person dead and one person seriously injured, do you have any remorse?" "Of course I have remorse," Makarov replied. "These people have parents. They were not firemen or policemen, they did not die in the line of duty. It hurts me to find out that they came to another country to die." *(The Irish Times 3 December 2004)*

Extract 9

Yusif Ali Abdi (30), a refugee from Somalia, has pleaded not guilty to the murder of his 20-month-old son Nathan Baraka Andrew Ali on April 17, 2001, in an apartment at The Elms, College Road, Clane, Co Kildare.

A post-mortem showed that baby Nathan Ali died from massive damage to the brain, with skull fractures resulting from multiple impacts with a hard surface.

Ali Abdi gave evidence to the jury in the presence of his wife, Amanda Bailey and her parents and family in the Central Criminal Court. He told the court that at 4am on the day of Nathan's death, he awoke for his prayers, and as he was going to prepare for them, he saw the bedroom door open. "All of a sudden, I had a feeling", he said, "Someone came up inside my head and said, 'Take him, take him'." The voice spoke Bajun, he said. He went inside and took his son and brought him into the living room, locking the door behind him. *(The Irish Independent May 20 2003)*

In both extracts 8 and 9 the main protagonists are primarily constructed as foreign national men , associated with violent crime, positioning them as different and dangerous (threatening other). They are primarily identified by their otherness by labeling them "refugee" and "immigrant". Through such labeling the (Irish) reader is told that it is members from the other group that have committed the violent crimes being reported on: "Immigrant found guilty of manslaughter over stabbing" and "Yusif Ali Abdi (30), a refugee from Somalia, has pleaded not guilty to the murder of his 20-month-old son". In extract 5 Yusif Ali Abdi is also described as psychotic, positioning him as unstable and unpredictable, or sick and dangerous - ""Someone came up inside my head and said, 'Take him, take him'." The voice spoke Bajun, he said."

In the above articles (extracts 8 & 9) the other is constructed as violent and possibly insane (extract 9) and therefore a threat. This construction of the other as dangerous was evident in the other extracts above (1, 2 , 5 & 6) also. There is some evidence of subtly in the construction of the other in extract 8, where Makarov is constructed as someone who has remorse and empathy for his victims. He is quoted as saying: "Of course I have remorse," Makarov replied. "These people have parents. They were not firemen or policemen, they did not die in the line of duty. It hurts me to find out that they came to another country to die." In extract 8 his crime is put into context and this gives him the position of someone who was caught is a very complex violent situation rather than a mindless, heartless killer. Despite this depiction of him as remorseful, there is a problem that is constructing the other as linked to crime there is an unstated assumption that the

migrant other is potentially threatening. Crime is always a threat and those involved in it are therefore threatening.

It is important to point out that journalists report nationality as a matter of course and it is not a prejudiced act to note the fact of someone's nationality. Ralph Riegel (the Irish Independent) reviewed some of the current analysis and gave me comments on it. He responds to the issue of reporting on nationality saying, "As regards identifying groups for specific purposes, I am in a quandary as to what journalists are supposed to do. In a normal court case, we give a person's full address including, in cases, their place of birth. Should immigrants be treated any differently? I have always approached stories from the factual/accuracy perspective. If something is true, if it is correct and if it is accurate, why shouldn't I write it?" In response to this I need to be clear that I am not implying that journalists are specifically targeting migrants and deliberately stating their nationality when this is not done with Irish people. Rather I am noting the consequence of this neutral act of factual reporting might be to support the criminal subject position for the migrant other.

The migrant other is regularly positioned as a criminal in the newspaper extracts analysed between 2001 and 2005. It is a frequent subject position that is evident in the newspaper articles. The analysis is not concerned with how often the migrant other is positioned as criminal compared to Irish people (the majority of crime reported on is committed by Irish people), but rather with the range of subject positions available to the migrant other in Irish newspapers. The analysis shows that this range is rather limited with criminal being a prominent and regularly given subject position.

Some of the extracts above demonstrate some of the ways in which newspapers construct immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers as criminals and therefore position them in opposition to Irish values of lawfulness and justice, as inferior or threatening others. Irish identity is constructed in the space between two different moral approaches to the world, one which as a developed nation, values principles of justice and the common good and the other as an under-developed collection of states, which is constructed as valuing survival and the needs and desires of the individual over the laws and rules of society. Ireland's identity construction in relation to the criminality of the other is a complex form of identity construction. It involves a negotiation between the idealised West or liberal

democracy as represented by the West, and an inferior and threatening other. Ireland and the Irish people are constructed as victims in relation to this threatening other.

6.2.3 Science and Religion

In the newspaper extracts analysed, the concepts of science and religion are sometimes utilised to support specific constructions of Irish and migrant culture. Irish culture tends to be positioned as allied with science and migrant culture as allied with religion. The issue of circumcision exemplifies this in the following extract.

Extract 10

Surgeon calls for ban on hospital circumcisions - headline

A Dublin surgeon and male circumcision expert has said that the procedure should be banned in Irish hospitals. Describing the procedure as "a mutilation", Dr Matt McHugh said he believed circumcision had no medical justification and exposed patients to various risks. He believed circumcision should "be banned" from all Irish hospitals, despite the cultural requirements of ethnic minorities.

Dr McHugh wrote an influential paper in 1981 in the Irish Medical Journal, advising against the procedure. Circumcision has previously been carried out for medical purposes to address phimosis, a tightening of the foreskin. However, according to Dr McHugh, a "simple dorsal slit" in the foreskin is sufficient to cure the problem.

"What I'm saying here and now is that circumcision is a procedure that should never be performed," he said. "Basically, circumcision can be a dangerous procedure, it can have complications," he said. "It involves a general anaesthetic. It's disfiguring and basically you're removing something that shouldn't be removed." The end of the penis "is exposed to all sorts of trauma", according to Dr McHugh. "The foreskin is not useless, it has a function, and the function is to protect the glans of the penis."

He said he believed cultural reasons, such as in those in the Jewish and Islamic faiths where infant boys are circumcised, were not sufficient. "I am a medical man, I am not a religious expert, but I find it absolutely

incredible circumcision can be initiated for some obscure religious belief."

He said he would never perform the procedure for non-medical reasons. "That's out of the question. I think most of my colleagues wouldn't either." He said he agreed with the current policy in place in the south-east region, where hospitals refuse to carry out the procedure. "Certainly I am not going to do it, I don't care what they want. I'm not going to mutilate any children. If they come to this country they should be educated about the medical complications associated with circumcision. I feel it is unacceptable that this procedure be carried out for any reason, including religious belief."

Dr McHugh's comments contrast with a 2001 report on pregnancy services for asylum-seekers and refugees. The report, commissioned by the Eastern Regional Health Authority, recommended a review of policy in relation to circumcision at maternity hospitals.

According to one of the authors of the study, Dr Jo Murphy Lawless of the Department of Social Policy in UCD, research carried out for the study found access to the procedure to be one of the areas of concern for many women from ethnic minorities.

"We got a strong sense on the ground that there is a demand for it and we needed to put it in place. It was a demand that clearly had to be responded to." According to Dr Murphy Lawless, there has been no significant change in policy towards circumcision in Irish maternity hospitals.

In its ethical guidelines on male circumcision, the British Medical Association said it had no policy on the medical benefits or risks associated with non-medical male circumcision. *(The Irish Times, August 23 2003)*

In the above extract 10 science (in the form of a "medical man") and "religious belief" are pitted against each other, with science being positioned as on the righteous side of the battle. Circumcision for religious reasons is depicted as "mutilation". Those who ask for it are constructed as needing education and as putting their children in unnecessary risk ("they should be educated about the medical complications associated with circumcision"). Although it is just one doctor speaking, he can be considered a vehicle for the Irish identity by his being categorised as a "Dublin doctor", calling for circumcision of young male babies to

be banned in "Irish hospitals". The scientific practice of an Irish doctor is contrasted with the "cultural requirements" of "ethnic minorities". This way of writing constructs circumcision for religious reasons as marginal and un-Irish. The doctor in question appears to be genuinely concerned for the health and welfare of young boys and is exercised about his issue because of his fears for their health: "What I'm saying here and now is that circumcision is a procedure that should never be performed," he said. "Basically, circumcision can be a dangerous procedure, it can have complications," he said. "It involves a general anaesthetic. It's disfiguring and basically you're removing something that shouldn't be removed." The end of the penis "is exposed to all sorts of trauma", according to Dr McHugh. "The foreskin is not useless, it has a function, and the function is to protect the glans of the penis."

Within extract 10 above, there is balance in the reporting on circumcision and the medical doctor's comments are contrasted and put next to contradictory opinions that suggest there is no clear answer to the question of whether circumcision for religious reasons should be facilitated or not. The reader is told that an expert group recommended that circumcision should be facilitated in Irish hospitals and that the British Medical Association has no policy on the risks or benefits of non-medical circumcision.

Extract 11 below discusses the issue in an even more balanced way but nevertheless retains the medical (science) versus religion (culture) split.

Extract 11

Surgical cut an obligation in some cultures - headline

CIRCUMCISION is a cultural/religious obligation for many of the ethnic groups who are making their home in Ireland and having the procedure carried out within the community is the norm, according to a spokesperson for the Irish Refugee Council. Mr Itayi Viriri said the circumcision of young male children is common among many cultural groups who are moving to Ireland and said that this especially applies to males from Islamic communities and from Eastern and West African countries... While there are no specific Department of Health guidelines for cultural circumcision, the Department has said that it is a procedure which must be carried out by a qualified medical practitioner.

In many Irish hospitals, including Waterford, the practice may only be carried out for medical reasons.

Temple St Hospital in Dublin and Crumlin Children's hospital are two hospitals which do carry out circumcision for cultural reasons, in order to dissuade people from carrying out the procedure in unsafe or unhygienic surroundings.

One doctor said yesterday Irish people need to be aware of, and sympathetic to, the different beliefs among the various ethnic groups within Ireland. "We need to share the beliefs and we need to respond to them in an appropriate way so that people aren't driven to do things that are unsafe or that are unwise," said family GP Dr Brendan O'Shea. "The key thing here is we would encourage anyone in the country that if they have significant concerns in relation to any surgical procedure or health issue that they should always attend their general practitioner," he added.

Speaking on RTE radio yesterday, Dr O'Shea said he has encountered one child who had been circumcised. *(The Irish Independent, August 21 2003)*

The above extract 11 states, "there are no specific Department of Health guidelines for cultural circumcision", and in so doing suggests to the reader that the issue of cultural circumcision is one that is unusual or foreign to the Irish system. The reader is invited into the story of Irish state agencies struggling to find a way to make sense of foreign cultural practices. In this way, circumcision is constructed indirectly as an anomaly when considered from an Irish perspective. There is flexibility in opinion in this extract, it is not baldly constructed as something that Irish people should ban or reject, but rather constructed as something that should be tolerated and allowed and then tamed or made safe by encouraging it to become a medical rather than a purely religious practice: One doctor said yesterday Irish people need to be aware of, and sympathetic to, the different beliefs among the various ethnic groups within Ireland. "We need to share the beliefs and we need to respond to them in an appropriate way so that people aren't driven to do things that are unsafe or that are unwise," said family GP Dr Brendan O'Shea. "The key thing here is we would encourage anyone in the country that if they have significant concerns in relation to any surgical procedure or health issue that they should always attend their general practitioner," he added. (Extract 11)

We see circumcision move from an anomaly and something that needs to

be understood, to a threat construction in extract 12 below, when it is compared rhetorically with a "backstreet abortion" by being described as a "backstreet circumcision". The cultural practices of asylum seekers are shown to lead to a criminal investigation by the gardai and the need for the child involved to be seen by a doctor.

Extract 12

Gardaí in Mayo are investigating reports that a backstreet circumcision was recently carried out on an eight-month-old baby boy in Ballyhaunis, Co Mayo. The procedure is alleged to have taken place at a centre for asylum-seekers in the town and was reported to gardaí by community welfare officers after the victim was subsequently examined by a local doctor. The matter was notified on July 28th to the State's Reception and Integration Agency (RIA), which is responsible for accommodating asylum-seekers and refugees and co-ordinating the provision of health and other services to these groups..."An illegal circumcision was carried out last year on a baby in Waterford with tragic results. Public health nurses and other health professionals who have contact with newborn babies and also local gardaí may need to be alerted to the possibility of this illegal activity taking place within their areas." Gardaí in Swinford have confirmed they are investigating. The Western Health Board said when the circumcision was brought to its attention, it notified the gardaí.

"Our social work department also contacted the mother and are happy that all child protection issues have been properly addressed," it said in a statement.

"We have advised management of the hostel and the residents of the hostel that if they require this procedure they should ask their GP to be referred to their local hospital where the procedure can be carried out in a safe environment," it added.

Similarly, the Department of Health said yesterday that people should only attend registered medical practitioners.

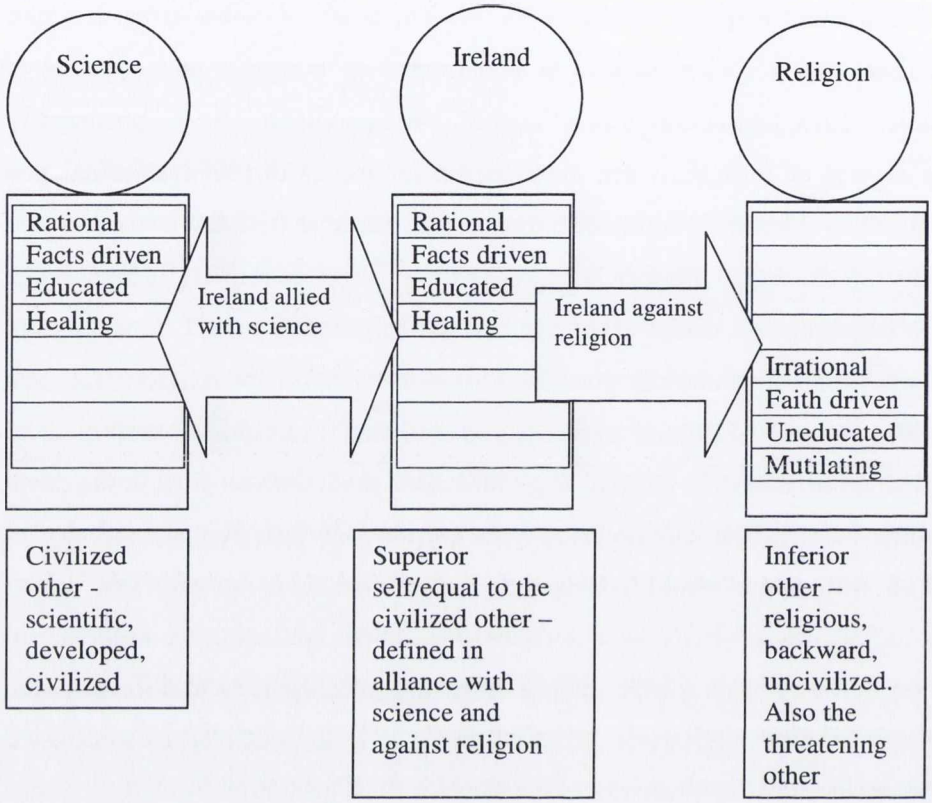
A Nigerian man is on bail having been charged with performing an illegal circumcision with a razor blade on a 29-day- old Waterford boy a year ago. The child subsequently died. His case has been adjourned to the October

session of Waterford Circuit Criminal Court.

After that child's death, the Department of Health established a committee to look at the provision of circumcision for socio-cultural reasons. *(The Irish Times, August 19 2004)*

Above in extract 12, circumcision is constructed as marginal and criminal; a "backstreet" procedure resulting in a "victim". The people involved – presumably asylum seekers or refugees - are therefore positioned as different, criminal and immoral. Their practice is subtly constructed as a threat to Irish law and order and the safety of children. Ireland is linked with science, rationality, education, a desire to help and heal whilst at the same time being differentiated from religion, irrationality, ignorance and the possibility of causing harm for religious reasons. The above extract 12 puts the Irish authorities' attitude to non-medical circumcision into context by explaining that such a procedure resulted in the death of a child, "An illegal circumcision was carried out last year on a baby in Waterford with tragic results". Ireland is constructed as a rational, fact driven society but also as a society who is concerned for the wellbeing of children. In Figure 6.2 below, we can see the linking of Ireland with science and differentiation from religion. The religious practices of the "non-Irish" outsider are contrasted with the science driven practices of Irish culture. This religion versus science dichotomy has the effect of placing Irish people in the higher moral and ethical position. They are constructed as civilized and educated, whereas those who practice circumcision for cultural or religious reasons are constructed as superstitious, reckless, misguided, and possibly even dangerous.

Figure 6.2: Identity Negotiation between Science and Religion



As we can see from figure 6.2, science is positioned as the civilized other and religion as the inferior other. In relation to these, Ireland is positioned in the newspaper discourse as superior to the religion based world and equal to the civilized science driven world.

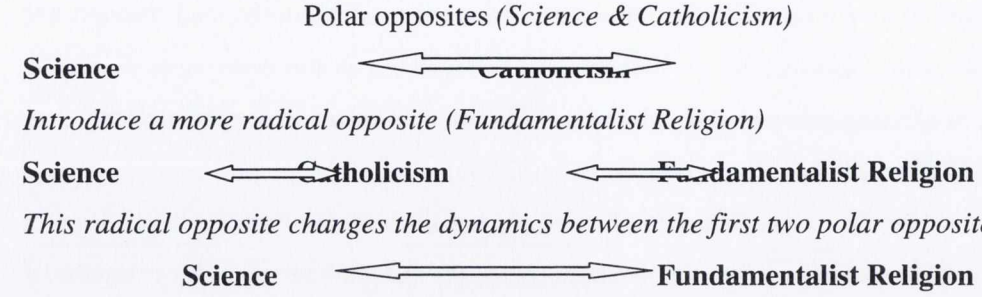
In the above extracts (10-12) there is evidence of both the threatening other and the inferior other in the construction of refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant identity, with different functions or possible consequences. Constructing the other as a threat suggests that it is important to be worried about immigration and that inward movement of non-Irish people is problematic. Constructing the other as inferior allows Irish people to speak about the cultural practices of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants from a position of scientific authority and superiority. This positioning justifies the imposition of Irish values onto refuges, asylum seeker and immigrant practices around circumcision without it appearing racist or discriminatory; it is simply a matter of scientific fact.

In the constructions above we can see the flexibility of identity. A different focus and identification on religion instead of science could easily identify Ireland as a religious nation. The religious identifiers are available to Ireland through her history with Catholicism but they are not brought out in the newspaper discourse thus neglecting this possible other identity. Catholicism is deeply embedded in Irish identity historically. Loyal & Allen (2006) argue that

> "the Irish revolution led to a hyper-Catholicism which served as a compensation for the ensuing poverty and failure to achieve national unification...The "special position" of the Catholic Church was recognised in the constitution and the state embarked on a cultural policy which defined the notion of "Irish" as simultaneously meaning Catholic and Gaelic." (pp. 219-220).

Whilst it is difficult to link a discussion about Ireland's Catholic identity with data from the newspapers analysed (given the lack of newspaper discourse about Catholicism and Ireland), it seems important not to ignore Ireland's strong Catholic history when discussing an identity construction as scientific that uses religion against which to differentiate itself. It is argued here that Ireland can only maintain such a strong scientific identity in the face of her history by arguing *against* religion, by defining herself in opposition to religion. However, it would be incongruent to attack Ireland's own religion of Catholicism, so instead it is only possible to attack the religion of the other, the religion of the refugees, asylum seeker and the immigrant. It is possible then that Ireland can be constructed as scientific without ever having to openly and frankly challenge her Catholic history. Interestingly, such an identity construction allows Ireland to have an identity as scientific *and* catholic without appearing inconsistent. Ireland is against religion, but the religion of the other, the obscure, mutilating, superstitious religion. The newspaper extract says nothing about Catholicism. Thus, Ireland can be at once scientific and Catholic, and at the same time against other religions such as Judaism and Islam. The illustrations below in figure 6.3 demonstrate this idea graphically:

Figure 6.3 The Effect of Introducing a Radical Other



In figure 6.3 above we can see how the introduction of fundamentalist religion becomes a more radical other than Catholicism to science. In this way Catholicism and science can be transformed into allies rather than opposites. The radical other functions to minimise difference within identity of the Irish and to stabilise this difference into a coherent and cohesive identity through the shared opposition to fundamentalist religion.

Of note in the above example, Irish identity is constructed in relation to concepts (science and religion) rather than groups (westerners and immigrants). It is my contention that identity partners need not be actual groups of people but instead can be abstract moral principles or concepts such as religion or science that act as conduits for particular groups. For example, science is allied with the Western world and without explicit definition the connection between the two is evident given the discursive history of science. Likewise religion is allied with the East and the Middle East and as such acts as a surrogate identity holder for the immigrant world. In this way, ideologies or abstract moral principles or values can act as stand-ins for the actual groups they are ideologically linked with. This is an important point because it means that talk that does not refer to the out group or the other, can still be analysed for evidence for how the other is constructed and the self in relation to that other.

6.2.4 Alternative positioning of religion and the consequences for Irish and migrant identity

Within the articles analysed it became clear that religion was positioned both as a negative and backward thing but also as a progressive and compassionate approach to life. In the extracts below, we see religion and the religious in Ireland being positioned as social commentators and as those who have a responsibility to critique unfair practices towards, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants.

Empathy and positive positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, is found mostly in articles where there is evidence of self reflection. Self reflection took numerous forms including: the ability to see the contribution ones self or Irish people in general are making to racism in Ireland; the ability to situate the current problems politically, geographically, and historically; the ability to reflect upon how one would feel in the situation of an asylum seeker, refugee or immigrant. As a general rule, where reflection occurred there was a more open minded consideration of the issues leading to a more empathic and humane positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants.

Interestingly, it is the religious organisations in Ireland who demonstrate the most reflection and hence the most empathic views in the newspaper articles analysed. Consider extracts 13, 14, and 15.

Extract 13

Churches seek repeal of asylum-seeker law - headline

The Glenstal Ecumenical Conference 2004 has claimed that Ireland's legislation on asylum-seekers was "simply unworthy of us and should be repealed".

This was particularly so "against the background of the many thousands, even millions, of Irish people who were forced to emigrate over the years", the conference claimed.

A letter expressing the conference's "serious concerns" on the issue has been sent to the Minister for Justice, Mr McDowell, to coincide with World Human Rights Day on Friday next. *(The Irish Times, December 07 2004)*

In extract 13 above we see how church speakers can place the current problems with immigration and asylum into a historical perspective, thus opening up an alternative moral position of caring for an equal (we were migrants like them). The church asks Irish people to evaluate the current legislation on asylum seekers from a moral perspective that remembers how Irish people themselves struggled in the past and were forced to emigrate. It offers an alternative position for both Irish people and asylum seekers as similar rather than different. This historical duty argument for supporting immigration was found in the analysis of newspaper discourse in Ireland between 1996 and 2004 by Conway (2006). He differs from the current findings in that he argues that the reason for the empathy towards immigrants is not from an enlightened position of self reflection but rather from a functional perspective of making a positive self presentation to the Western world. The current findings contradict his assertion, however, in that the newspaper articles analysed in this research tended to link with the Western world through shared contempt for immigrants rather than trying to show empathy. That is, Ireland connected with Western counties by stating a shared dislike of immigration rather than trying to impress the West by being open to immigration. Extract 14 below is another example of church leaders criticising asylum policy from a position of self reflection.

Extract 14

Bishops urge EU safeguards for migrants and refugees

IRISH bishops yesterday called on the Government to use the "unique opportunity" of our EU presidency to agree a pan-European policy safeguarding the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants.

The Government should take a leading role in preparing such legislation, according to the Committee of the Irish Bishops' Conference on Asylum Seekers and Refugees.

Spokeswoman Sister Joan Roddy said the presidency offered a unique chance for Ireland to lead member states in agreeing a tangible and just policy."Currently there is no common EU policy regarding asylum and immigration and, in many cases, this has led to an erosion of human rights and chaos for all concerned," she said. *(The Irish Independent, December 15 2003)*

Extract 14, like extract 13 shows the church being critical of asylum policy in Ireland and the EU. It calls for respect of human rights and offers an alternative moral position to the Irish government as defender of universal human rights rather than protector of Irish people's resources and rights. Extract 15 below calls for more empathy and understanding from Irish people.

Extract 15

Racism a path to violence, top cleric tells flock

IRELAND needs to build "bridges of understanding" with immigrants, according to one of the country's leading clerics.

The Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin Dr John Neil warned that "ghettos and violence" would develop if relations between Irish people and immigrants were not nurtured.

In his Christmas message, Dr Neill said that immigrants need to be treated with compassion.

"There is a price to be paid in being a welcoming and multi-cultural society. We have to be willing to learn about the way others live and think," he said. "We have to go out of our way to understand that many coming to Ireland today have been traumatised, whether by violence, political oppression, or poverty. "Unless bridges of understanding are built, then the result will be ghettos defined by fear and violence."

Referring to the holy family, Dr Neill said that infants were being slaughtered when Joseph and Mary fled from Judea to ensure Jesus's life would be spared. As a result of their flight, the holy family became refugees. *(The Irish Independent, December 20, 2004)*

In the above extract (15) the church reflects upon the current state of Irish society and makes predictions about what could go wrong if Irish people do not change their way of interacting with non-Irish people. It calls for "understanding" and "compassion" in how Irish people interact with immigrants and shows empathy for the unique position of asylum seekers as "traumatised" people. Reflection again occurs in the piece when the readers are reminded that the "holy family became refugees".

It seems that the religious institutions are aptly positioned to critique Irish society and state. In contrast to this there is very little reflection in voices of

government or state bodies reported in the newspapers with similarly little empathy for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. This is not an unexpected finding. Jung (2005) argued that religion gives people the ability to stand outside of conventional understandings and practices and to have a broader and more reflective perspective. He argues that a religious perspective allows an individual to detach from dominant ideas of the mass and to think in alternative more inclusive ways.

6.2.5 Reflection as a way to increase understanding and empathy

Bakhtin (1993) proposes an artistic or aesthetic contemplation to others as a way to see them outside of the mainstream objectivist view. Both Bakhtin and Jung propose that one should move beyond an instrumental or objective contemplation of the other and instead consider the other as something that is unique and requiring a feeling value position to be taken up in relationship with it. Such a way of relating to the other makes it difficult to degrade or dismiss immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Hicks, 2000). This difference in relating to the other as a valuable being was evidenced in the positive support for individual refugees when they were in trouble and facing deportation in Ireland. Garner (2007) argues that this difference in newspaper reporting on individuals in trouble is related to the idea that it is easier to be empathic to an individual than a collective undifferentiated mass. Taking Garner (2007) with Bakhtin and Jung it seems that the key to a more empathic and understanding relationship with the immigrant other is an ability to see the uniqueness and individuality of the other as well as an ability to reflect upon one's own history, current situation and ongoing prejudices. Both Bakhtin and Jung point to art as another way to achieve this reflexivity and connection with the other. It seems that both Art and Religion are not over invested in conventional knowledge and can confidently support an alternative view to the mainstream. Where reflection occurs outside of the artist and the religious it is achieved by taking a critical view of Irish society and situating our circumstances historically and in relation to other countries. Therefore reflection is achieved through a multilayered understanding of the immigration and asylum issue rather than a limited, unilateral view. The newspaper extracts 16 and 17 below demonstrated how the art of photography and radio respectively provide

space for reflection and critique.

Extract 16

I'm a working artist developing a piece of radio art with the inhabitants of Carlow. It's called Radio Exchange and is an examination of cultural integration in a town which is home to many asylum seekers and refugees... In the afternoon, I pay a visit to Askea Girls School to talk about content for next week's programmes. Helen Dalton runs a class there for children of asylum seekers and refugees. Some of the girls were born here, some were not. It's interesting to spend time with children who are the embodiment of the current discussions about citizenship. They consider themselves to be Irish. Why wouldn't they? They have never lived anywhere else.

The girls are very enthusiastic about Radio Exchange. They want to create programmes about the cultures of their families. We consider topics such as Siberian music and Romanian recipes. They're not interested in talking politics. They want to show off the things they have learned and grown up with. It's hard facing into a monocultural society when your young experience has been so different. *(The Irish Times, March 11 2003)*

Extract 16 demonstrates how art can allow ambiguity and difference to exist harmoniously, whereas it is attempted to be destroyed in conventional discourse as evidenced in the analysis of newspaper discourse above. The artist tells us, without seeing it as problematic, that the "children of asylum seekers and refugees" he meets with "consider themselves to be Irish". The piece also demonstrates the artist's ability to feel empathy for the asylum seekers and refugees in the community, "It's hard facing into a monocultural society when your young experience has been so different". Here we see art allowing empathy and ambiguity to exist in the talk and representation of the other. Extract 17 below again demonstrated the use of art in fostering a deeper understanding and empathy towards the other.

Extract 17

Another portrait shows a Roma girl who looks to be on the verge of her teenage years. She's smiling, cautiously. She looks absolutely determined

and terribly vulnerable at the same time. She's in the centre at Knocknalisheen in Co Clare. The white buildings in the background look barracks-like, but there are swings and slides in the picture, too. *(The Irish Times, June 20 2005)*

Extract 17 above describes a portrait taken by a photographer that is exhibited with other portraits of asylum seekers. The description of an artefact rather than a person labelled asylum seeker, allows the Roma girl to be seen more broadly, outside of her label. The conception of her as art allows the viewer to see her in multiple dimensions as, "absolutely determined and terribly vulnerable at the same time" (Extract 17). Her environment too is given depth through its being framed as art. The writer tells us of the contrasts evident in the background of the portrait, the buildings that "look barracks-like" juxtaposed with "swings and slides" (Extract 17). Here we see how art allows for greater depth in viewing and conceptualising its subject than standard local discourse about immigration and asylum.

While art and religion offer alternative platforms from which to view the issue of immigration, there is also evidence of reflection in some of the newspaper pieces analysed. Extract 18 below demonstrates the journalist's role in reflecting on the position of immigrants in Irish society and linking this back to her own life as an Irish person with a cultural history of emigration.

Extract 18

Shame on us for our treatment of immigrants

Only a sleep-deprived parent of small children would understand this but some time ago Breda O'Brien was secretly thrilled when the doctor decided it would be wiser if she stayed overnight in hospital after a minor surgical procedure.

Twelve hours sleep, and maybe even an opportunity to read beckoned, and undergoing a general anaesthetic seemed a very fair exchange. The next morning, I was sitting up in bed, thoroughly rested and very pleased with myself, when a Russian woman came to clean the room. I could not resist jabbering on to her about the wonders of a night's sleep when your children are five miles away, until I noticed she had gone very quiet.

In her excellent English, she said carefully that while she understood that I might regard it as a treat, she would willingly trade disturbed sleep for the opportunity to be with her children every day. She had not seen them in months, nor would she see them for months to come. They were being cared for by her husband and his mother at home in Russia.

This qualified secretary, fluent in three languages, had taken a contract to clean in Ireland because it meant that she could send home to her family the money they needed to survive in a dire economic situation. She explained that she was in hostel accommodation provided by her employer, and that she could not afford to rent a place for a family. More importantly, even if her husband was able to secure a permit to join her, under current Irish regulations he would not be allowed to work, and the money that she was now sending home would be spent on keeping him and her family with her.

My glee at being temporarily child-free disappeared faster than the germs and dust which she was efficiently despatching from the room. The parallels were obvious and depressing; all those lonely Irish emigrants, supporting families and longing for home in years gone by...Once this Russian woman and her predicament came to my attention, I began to see people like her everywhere. Familiar with the plight of asylum-seekers and refugees, I had not realised that so many other immigrants to Ireland are in difficult and precarious situations...Of course, in 2002, just under 40 per cent of immigrants were Irish people returning from emigration themselves. However, the figures of Irish people returning will fall in the future, simply because so many have already come home, and fewer are leaving in the first place.

One would think that our history of emigration would make us kind to those who come to live with us either temporarily or in a more long-term way; sadly, the ICI report is replete with examples showing that little of such fellow-feeling exists. (The Irish Times, October 18 2003)

In extract 18 above the writer is able to position herself and Irish people as similar to rather than different from the Russian immigrant: "The parallels were obvious and depressing; all those lonely Irish emigrants, supporting families and longing

for home in years gone by...Once this Russian woman and her predicament came to my attention, I began to see people like her everywhere." (Extract 18). This positioning opens up a range of alternative ways of viewing immigrant workers for the author and this in turn revealed to her a number of abuses which these workers sustain. The author reflects on Ireland's history of migration and makes links with the current inward movement asking why we have such difficulty extending empathy to migrant workers: "One would think that our history of emigration would make us kind to those who come to live with us either temporarily or in a more long-term way; sadly, the ICI report is replete with examples showing that little of such fellow-feeling exists." (Extract 18) This reflection allows for alternative conceptualisations of immigrant workers as like us and hence makes it more likely that Irish people will have more empathy towards immigrants.

Reflection provides alternative moral positionings and moral rules. It allows one to step outside of the taken for granted norms and reassess them from a broader perspective. Importantly then morality and moral rules are multilayered. Moral rules based only on limited cultural practices or norms will inevitably be limited. Reflection allows for broader moral principles and rules to be examined and hence allows for a more nuanced and informed emotional attitude towards the other to be constructed. Reflection takes us away from dichotomous thinking and towards more subtle and inclusive discourses about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. In looking towards the development of more inclusive and empathic discourses about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants we need to pay attention to the value of reflection and the contemplation of the other from a different less objective perspective as evidenced in the articles above.

6.2.6 English and non-English Speaking

In extract 19 below, Ireland as an English *and* Irish speaking nation is constructed in relation to the Western world of "Britain and the US", and the world of the immigrant.

Extract 19

Irish-speaking parents in Gaeltacht areas are to be targeted in a €300,000 campaign aimed at persuading them to use the national language more

frequently at home...Although Irish use is enjoying a revival among young parents, as reflected in new gaelscoileanna, there is still a strong memory in Gaeltacht areas of the hardship experienced by emigrants who had little or no English when they left to seek work in Britain and the US.

"That experience left an indelible mark and there are many parents in the Gaeltacht who don't want their children to suffer in the same way and who will opt to speak English to them at home," Mr Ó hEallaithe, maths lecturer at Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology says.

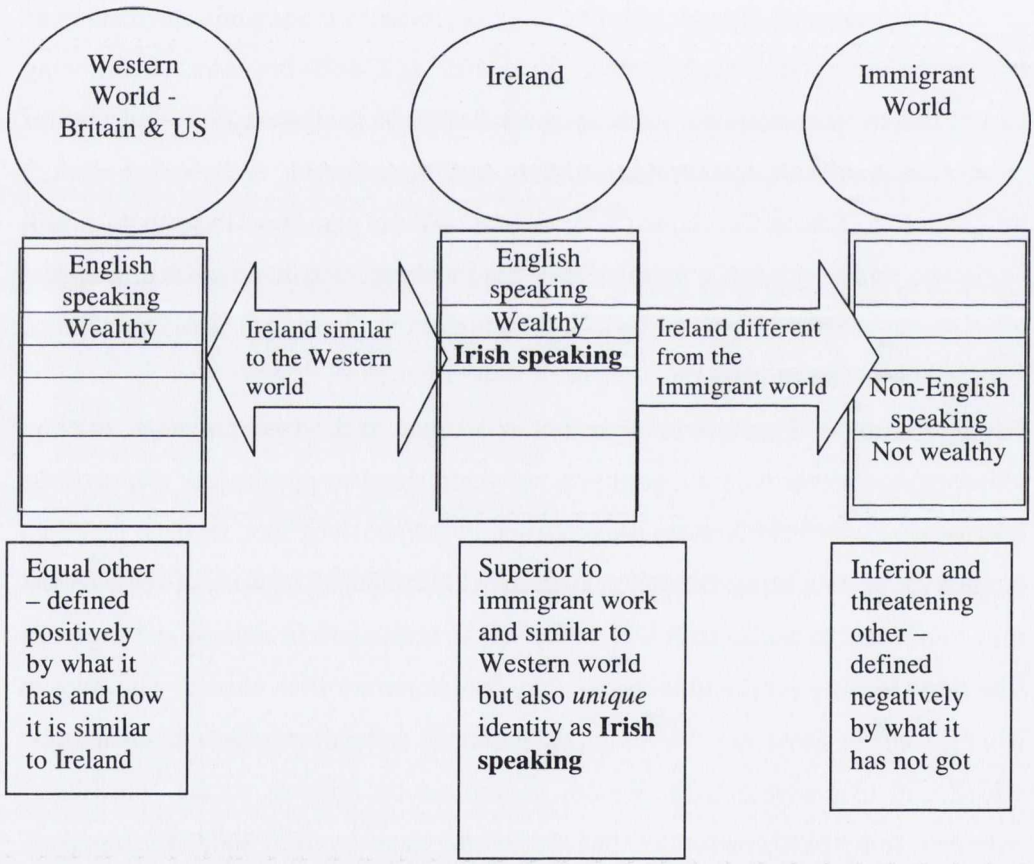
Immigration rather than emigration is now perceived to pose a new threat to the language. A study carried out by Mr Ó hEallaithe earlier this year showed that only a quarter of Gaeltacht communities could claim it as the majority language. Mr Ó Cuív has promised a comprehensive study of the use of Irish with a view to reassessing Gaeltacht areas and allowing certain communities, such as several suburbs in Galway, to "opt out" of designated Gaeltacht regions if they so choose.

Under Co Galway's new development plan, housing schemes will be refused planning permission if the local authority believes it might have a significant negative impact on Irish and the Gaeltacht. *(The Irish Times, December 11 2003)*

Extract 19 above describes immigration as a threat to the Irish language, stating: "Immigration rather than emigration is now perceived to pose a new threat to the language". Two Irish identities are proposed in the above extract, the first of which is the Irish as poor emigrant, who experienced "hardships" because of the fact that they "had little or no English when they left to seek work in Britain and the US". The other identity proposed is the wealthy contemporary Irish citizen, who lives in a world where there are "development plan(s)" and government "campaign(s)" which aim to promote Irish. Wealth is implied by contrast to the "hardships" experienced by past generations and also by the mention of "€300,000 campaign" to promote the Irish language. In the above extract there is an underlying tension between being English speakers and maintaining identity as Irish speakers. This tension is somewhat resolved by the introduction of immigrants as a threat to the Irish language. There is no explicit description of how immigration could be a threat to the Irish language, it is simply assumed. This is probably because historically, the Irish language played a major role in defining the Irish as clearly

"Irish" and not "English" (King-O'Riain, 2006, pp. 273-293). Thus, from the conception of the state, the Irish language was racialised as being fundamentally Irish. Those who are not Irish then are by default a threat to the language and Irish identity. Immigrants constructed as threatening outsiders functions to introduce an other, in opposition to whom Irishness can be defined. We now have two others, the English speaking world (Britain and the US) and the world of immigrants, with Irish identity being constructed in relation to both of them. Figure 6.4 below demonstrates this graphically.

Figure 6.4: The English Speaking Western World and the non-English Speaking Immigrant World



We can see from figure 6.4 above that Irish identity as Western is achieved by a delicate negotiation between a similar other (West) and an inferior but also threatening other (Immigrant world). This negotiation results in an Irish identity as superior to the immigrant world and equal to the Western world but also *unique*.

Ireland is defined as Western through a positive process of linking through

speaking English and wealth. At the same time Irish identity is constructed as different from and superior to the Immigrant world through a negative process of differentiation, a denial of links or similarities, and an outright rejection of immigrant identifiers. The process is similar to Hansen's (2006) differentiation and linking but it is different in that there is also a process of individualisation, Ireland defining herself as unique in relation to both the West and the Immigrant world. However, this uniqueness is not so great as to displace Ireland from her established Western identity. We see Irish identity constructed in tension between a similar Western other (Britain and the US) and an inferior non-western/immigrant other. Ireland both wants to be part of the western world, but at the same time, through the Irish language asserts its identity as different and separate from the West. A western identity is problematic for the Irish because historically Irishness was constructed in opposition to the British identity (Britain being an established member of the West) (O, Toole, 1999). This traditional opposition to British identity makes it difficult for Ireland to be fully part of the West. It is possible that one way to negotiate this, is to position Ireland as against something Britain and the West are also against - immigration, therefore identifying with what they are against, without an explicit declaration of sameness. This is demonstrated in figure 6.5 below

Figure 6.5 The effect of introducing a radical other into a pair of antagonists

Historically antagonists (Ireland & England)

Ireland ⟷ **England**

Introduce a more radical antagonist (Immigration)

Ireland ⟷ **England** ⟷ **Immigration**

This radical antagonist changes the dynamics between the first two antagonists

Ireland ⟷ **Immigration**

England

Both Ireland and England are ***against*** *immigration; therefore they can become* ***allies*** *who are allowed to exist coherently together in the same identity construction - Western.*

So by openly stating opposition to immigration or viewing immigration as a threat,

Ireland can separate herself from identity markers that link her with the non-west (non-English speaking and not wealthy) and ally herself with the western world without saying that she is exactly the same as the West. Ireland becomes English speaking, wealthy *and* Irish speaking. Ireland's antagonism against immigrants, as portrayed in the newspaper articles, gives her definition as a country in favour of Western ideals. This is an example of the immigrant world as constitutive outside, a threatening other that Ireland is in an antagonistic relationship with.

Importantly, in the above examples identity is not fixed or stable. If we shift the focus away from western links and instead focus on links to the immigrant world we can develop a different form of Irish identity, one that has a history of emigration, poverty, non-English speaking, non-Western. Likewise if we occlude all links and differentiations and only focus on Irish language as a single feature of Irish identity we see Ireland fiercely nationalistic and determined to maintain its cultural heritage by the promotion and maintenance of the national language. Finally, one could ignore the Irish speaking aspect of identity and Ireland's links with the immigrant world and instead focus on the links with the West, such a focus would define Ireland simply as another wealthy Western country within Europe with no defining features. The above example shows that depending on what is focused on and supported, identity can change.

In keeping with the work of Hansen (2006), the analysis above uncovered Irish identity as constructed in relation to numerous others. Some of these others were considered different while others were linked through similarities. The analysis also found that despite mainly following Hansen's form of identity construction, Irish identity was also constructed along the lines described by Laclau & Mouffe (1985) in discussing the other as threatening and Sampson's (1993) work on the other as inferior. This shows a degree of variation in how Irish and refugees, asylum seeker and immigrant identity is constructed. It is argued here that this is not unusual, and that identity construction by its very nature is variable and flexible, sometimes there are multiple partners, at other times only one. Importantly, these identity partners can be real others (Britain, immigrants etc) or they can be imagined or ideal others or principles (justice, lawfulness etc). Throughout the articles analysed for this thesis, the majority of self-other constructions identified, positioned the other as threatening. Due to the prevalence of the positioning of the other as a threat, the following section of the analysis is

devoted to Ireland's positioning in relation to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in terms of the threatening other.

6.3 Analysis Part 2: Subject Positioning – Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants as the Threatening Outsider

6.3.1 Introduction

Throughout all the newspaper articles analysed over the five year span, the most enduring subject positions used are refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as threatening. Threat is a common theme in reporting on minority groups (Teo, 2000; Hartmann and Husband, 1974). Constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in such ways positions them as the aggressor to Ireland's victim position. In the analysis which follows refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are positioned as a threat to Irish identity in various ways with differing consequences. It is important to point out that whilst the threatening position was predominant in the articles analysed, it was not the exclusive position. There was considerable variation both between and within articles in how the migrant other was constructed. There are many examples of articles striving for balance and also examples of more positive and varied subject positions for the migrant other. Through the discussion on the analysis below, this variation and these alternative subject positions will be explicated.

6.3.2 Protectionist Approach to Irish Culture and Identity – the Threat of Dilution

Extract 20 below offers a description of immigrants as a threat to Irish identity through a dilution of the culture. Identity is essentialised in these extracts, constructed as something fixed and linked to specific groups. By fixing identity and giving it ownership to a native group, it becomes easy to position the other as a threat to this identity.

Extract 20

Anti-immigration group to field two candidates in poll

The anti-immigration group, Immigration Control Platform (ICP), has announced it is to field two candidates in the general election. Founder

member Ms Áine Ní Chonaill is to leave her Clonakility, Co Cork base to run in the Dublin South Central constituency, while a Cork city native, Mr Ted Neville, will stand in Cork South Central. Both are running as single-issue candidates, campaigning entirely on the immigration question.

They are calling for Ireland's withdrawal from the Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees, the revocation of citizenship rights to children born here to foreign nationals and a speeding up of deportations of asylum-seekers whose applications have been refused...Ms Ní Chonaill told a campaign launch yesterday she had selected Dublin South Central because it was in a state of flux with one sitting TD retiring and the constituency increasing in size from a four-seater to a five-seater.

"It can afford to elect one candidate from those five to be a voice on this issue in Dáil Éireann," she said. Both Ms Ní Chonaill and Mr Neville said they believed they represented the silent majority of Irish people who, they contend, are opposed to immigration.

Mr Neville said it was costing the taxpayer too much to support asylum seekers who "dilute" Irish culture which was essential to attract tourists. Ms Ní Chonaill said she was not opposed to programme refugees such as the groups of Bosnians and Kosovars who had come by arrangement with the United Nations, but said she had the right to defend her homeland from uninvited immigrants just as she had the right to prevent an uninvited guest "barging" into her house. She claimed Ireland was being turned into the "maternity ward for West Africa". *(The Irish Times, February 23 2002)*

The above extract uses various rhetorical features to place immigrants in a position of threat to Irish identity. Firstly, it states that an "anti-immigration group" argues that the "majority" of Irish people are "opposed to immigration". In doing this it uncritically reports the anti-immigration position and in so doing, I would argue, lends credibility to this position by quoting Aine Ni Chonaill's assertion that is it the majority position: "they believed they represented the silent majority of Irish people who, they contend, are opposed to immigration."

The article not only has 'us versus them' (Tajfel, 1970; 1982) rhetoric but goes further in constructing an 'us OR them' argument in the text. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed in the discourse as too many and

unwelcome/uninvited. Importantly, the analysis does not argue that the journalist is doing anything but rather that the discourse used presents a particular construction of the migrant other whether the journalist or the ICP meant it or not. The analysis does not aim to look at the motivation of the writer or speaker but rather the possible constructions available from the talk used. For example, an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986), suggesting that they are turning Ireland "into the 'maternity ward for West Africa'", functions to construct them as too many and as overwhelming Ireland. Extreme case formulations exaggerate or emphasise the point being made by using extreme examples making the argument rhetorically powerful. Additionally, they are *described* as uninvited and compared to "an uninvited guest 'barging'" into one's house. In this way, Ireland is constructed as homogenous and as the powerless victim of too many incoming, uninvited, different others; as unable to cope with this influx; a victim of a threatening other.

It is argued that Irish culture will be diluted as more asylum seekers are admitted. The argument is that if "we" allow too many of them, "we" will be so diluted as to lose Irish culture altogether. Refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers are positioned as people who inevitability "'dilute' Irish culture". Culture is subtly aligned with race, only Irish people with Irish biological ancestry can be carriers and protectors of Irish culture. Irish identity or culture is constructed as belonging to Irish people as a commodity as well as ethnic heritage. The article reports the Immigration Control Platform members' voices who say that "we" (Irish people) need to protect "our" commodity and keep it pure because it is "essential to attract tourists" – "Mr Neville said it was costing the taxpayer too much to support asylum seekers who 'dilute' Irish culture which was essential to attract tourists". That is, pure Irish identity is essential, if Irish people are to be able to use it to derive an income from.

Identity is constructed as something that is vulnerable and needs protection. This kind of story sets up particular subject positions for Irish people and refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to each other. Irish people are positioned as having the right to feel negatively towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants because they are positioned as a threat to Irish identity. From these positions it becomes possible to introduce state intervention as a justified action in the protection of Irishness. For example, it is implied in the above extract

that the best way to protect Irish identity is from a position in government. The fact that the Immigration Control Platform feels the need to run candidates in the general election suggests that they believe that protection of Irish culture is an issue for the state, and that the government should intervene.

There is a tension in the newspaper articles in how the other is constructed in relation to Irish culture and the Irish economy. The other is predominately positioned as threatening to a homogenous Irish culture but there are numerous alternative examples of the other being positioned as enriching and important to the Irish economy, such as in extracts 21 and 22 below.

Extract 21

Introduction of skilled workers is key to growth in economy

Research indicates that immigration into Ireland from central Europe after EU enlargement will be a trickle rather than a flood, writes John FitzGerald

With two centuries of experience behind us, every family in Ireland understands the process of migration: the pressures to leave; the factors that affect where migrants go; the vicissitudes that migrants face; and, finally, why many people - our returning emigrants or "homing pigeons" - ultimately return here to live. Given that we know so much about our own experience of emigration, it is surprising how many myths have developed around the reverse process, as foreigners come to live in Ireland.

The factors which saw so many of our parents' and grandparents' generations emigrate in the past are very similar for young people in central Europe. Emigration is difficult for those who leave and all the evidence indicates that, far from there being a "flood" of immigrants into Ireland from central Europe on EU enlargement, the reality will be closer to a trickle...A recent German study also shows that emigrants from central Europe are skilled, having more extensive education than the average German. We have known for generations that Irish unskilled workers in the UK tended to do less well than their English counterparts, whereas those who were well educated did very well. Recent research confirms a similar pattern for immigrants from central Europe, which explains why unskilled migration is unattractive today for the less-skilled of Slovenia or Estonia...The same has been true of immigration into Ireland in recent

years. A study with my colleagues Alan Barrett and Brian Nolan, to be published later this year, shows that the immigration of skilled labour into Ireland (both foreign and returning emigrants) has allowed the economy to grow faster than it would otherwise have done. This helped push up wage rates for unskilled workers, narrowing the gap in earnings between skilled and unskilled labour, and it made a significant contribution to solving the problem of unemployment. Immigration has thus played a very important positive role in the Irish economic success...The extensive research in Ireland and elsewhere on migration suggests that, far from enlargement causing a "flood" of unskilled migration from central Europe to the EU, the flows will be limited by the expectations of the potential emigrants themselves. Thus the extra numbers attracted to Ireland will be small. Those who do move will be well-educated with valuable skills. Ireland has fared well in recent years, partly as a result of skilled immigration. Therefore, we should welcome the prosperity and diversity which incoming migrants bring. Dr John FitzGerald is a research professor at the Economic and Social Research Institute (The Irish Times, September 3 2002)

Extract 22

Spreading the good news on immigration

OPINION / Fintan O'Toole: It struck me last week, listening to people talking about the awful story of Denise Livingstone being turned away from Monaghan hospital and losing her baby after giving birth on the road to Cavan, how often the image of Mary and Joseph finding no room at the inn came up.

This may be a post-Christian society, but it is also one with a deep and abiding memory of the condition of being away from home and feeling scared, lonely and abandoned...Likewise, the studies found that immigration does not have a measurable effect, either positive or negative, on unemployment among the native population: "If there is an impact of immigration on unemployment then it is statistically poorly determined and probably small in size."

Furthermore, as the studies note: "Migrants can indirectly generate economic activity elsewhere (through knock-on effects), create jobs by

> employing people, and also help to develop new sectors and new ideas, resulting in some restructuring of the economy." Selfish as our society now is, we probably need to be told these things if we are to take a more benign attitude to the newcomers in our midst. Simple human compassion, and the memory that we too have been "strangers in the land of Egypt" ought to urge us to make room at the inn. But it wouldn't hurt if our leaders reminded us that the strangers can also make the inn bigger for everyone. (The Irish Times, December 17 2002)

In extract 21 and 22 above, the positive contribution of immigrant workers is emphasised. The reader is told: "the immigration of skilled labour into Ireland (both foreign and returning emigrants) has allowed the economy to grow faster than it would otherwise have done. This helped push up wage rates for unskilled workers, narrowing the gap in earnings between skilled and unskilled labour, and it made a significant contribution to solving the problem of unemployment. Immigration has thus played a very important positive role in the Irish economic success", (Extract 21). The extract is unequivocal in stating that immigration is positive and necessary for Ireland to be successful economically. The extract also argues that these immigrants will not overwhelm Ireland and will mostly not settle in Ireland for the long term. Discourses that position migrants as contributors tend to construct difference as welcome: "Ireland has fared well in recent years, partly as a result of skilled immigration. Therefore, we should welcome the prosperity and diversity which incoming migrants bring" (Extract 21a). Extract 22 makes the same point about the contribution of the other and also functions to critique government approaches to immigration: "Furthermore, as the studies note: 'Migrants can indirectly generate economic activity elsewhere (through knock-on effects), create jobs by employing people, and also help to develop new sectors and new ideas, resulting in some restructuring of the economy'." Selfish as our society now is, we probably need to be told these things if we are to take a more benign attitude to the newcomers in our midst. Simple human compassion and the memory that we too have been "strangers in the land of Egypt" ought to urge us to make room at the inn. But it wouldn't hurt if our leaders reminded us that the strangers can also make the inn bigger for everyone." (Extract 22). Unfortunately, the discourses used in extracts 21 and 22 are in the minority in the newspaper

articles analysed and they are outnumbered by the use of discourses that construct difference as dangerous and as such imply that difference should be monitored through immigration controls in order to protect Irish culture and identity. This is evidenced in extracts 23 and 24 below.

Extract 23

Up to now, the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here...However, the number of asylum-seekers applying to remain here on this parentage rule has *soared* in the past year. By the end of October, 4,500 such applications had been lodged this year, representing one-third of all asylum claims. With Ireland being the only EU member to grant citizenship automatically to children born in the State, the Department believes many failed asylum-seekers are using this loophole to stay in the country... Almost 2,500 applications to remain in Ireland on the parentage rule have been approved so far this year. The overall number of asylum applications has stabilised. There were 7,724 applications in 1999, 10,938 in 2000 and 8,461 in the first nine months of this year. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added)

Extract 24

Surge in births leads to Department move. – Headline

Faced with a *surge* in births to asylum-seekers running at about 3,000 a year – the Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that up to now has given residency to the parents of an Irish-born child, no matter where they came from...So the authorities are looking to other ways to reduce Ireland's attraction for asylum-seekers. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added)

Extracts 23 and 24 above set up a context in which Ireland is a fair and generous country, ("up to now the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here" Extract 23) that has been taken advantage of and overwhelmed by rising numbers of asylum seekers ("However, the number of asylum-seekers applying to remain here on this parentage rule has *soared* in the past year" Extract 23). This positioning allows for a change in citizenship and

residency procedures to be justifiably proposed. The state is positioned as *having to* make changes in the face of attack/invasion from asylum seekers. The state is given both the power and the responsibility to respond to this attack. Again it is important to note that the point of interest here is not the author of the statements. The views and policy in extracts 23 and 24 are clearly attributed to the Department of Justice and not the opinion of the specific journalist. The analysis is concerned not with the author but rather the function of this way of talking and representing the other in how migrants are constructed. There is a tension between acknowledging that the numbers reported are facts and the ability of the analyst to critically reflect on the consequences of reporting the numbers in the way and in the context they are reported. I am not attempting to say that the newspapers are not fact based but rather am interested in how the reporting of facts in a specific way might influence how migrants can be viewed by Irish people.

Positioning the other as a threatening outsider functions to support a protectionist approach to Irish identity. In addition it is also a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middelton & Radley, 1988; Kleiner, 1998; Petttigrew & Meertens, 1995; van Dijk, 1992) Irish people (self) are presented as fair minded people who have tried to help asylum seekers by giving residency to non-nationals who have children born in Ireland – "Up to now, the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here" (Extract 23*). It is the opinion of the analyst that in this extract,* asylum seekers and refugees (other) are presented as taking advantage of Irish kindness by having too large a number of members of their group applying for residency – "Faced with a *surge* in births to asylum-seekers running at about 3,000 a year – the Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that up to now has given residency to the parents of an Irish-born child". This is similar to the strategy of victim blaming (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Van Dijk, 1992; Verkuyten, 1997) where the asylum seekers and refugees are blamed for the proposed changes in rights to residency because their numbers are too big. One way to think about this rhetorical strategy is that it might possibly function to avoid blame being attributed to Irish people and avoids accusations of racism and prejudice. It is my opinion that it also positions Irish people in a morally superior position as fair, in contrast to refugees and asylum seekers, the threatening outsiders, who appear to be taking advantage of this fairness. Support for this idea

can be found in the statements "Up to now the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here" and "Faced with a surge in births to asylum-seekers" – both these statements position the state as morally superior in that they have been willing to offer help (be moral and kind) in the past but this kindness is being taken advantage of. The one taking advantage is by implication morally inferior to the one being taken advantage of. The issue of limiting immigration and asylum numbers is "moved out of the realm of the strategic and 'selfishly national' and re-located within the 'higher grounds' of the morally good." (Hansen, 2006, p. 50). Thus, exclusion of the other in the form of "looking to other ways to reduce Ireland's attraction to asylum-seekers" is justified by appealing to a higher good, the maintenance of Irish values of fairness. We must keep them out because they are flouting our laws and our generosity. Such a construction functions to reproduce Irish identity and norms as lawful, fair and generous, while simultaneously justifying discrimination. This is an example of what we might call value-practice management – where the practice of discrimination is justified and made possible by appealing to shared values of the dominant cultural group (the Irish) such as fairness and lawfulness.

In extract 23 it is put forward that the number of asylum seekers applying to remain in Ireland is too high according to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. Therefore the department is warranted in its decision to change its treatment of asylum seekers with Irish children. Subtle rhetorical moves further reinforce this warranting. The too high numbers of asylum seekers are discursively constructed. We are told that the numbers of asylum seekers applying to stay in Ireland "has soared in the past year". This phrase functions to construct the numbers as rising rapidly in a short space of time – the past "year". We are then told that "4,500" applications were made "by the end of October" this again suggests a big number in a small time frame. This is an example of an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986). The coupling of a big number with a small time frame is rhetorically effective as it emphasises or exaggerates the bigness of the number by contrasting it with the smallness of the time in which it has grown. The use of opposites is an effective way to construct strong images. The journalist is not crafting these numbers, they are simply reporting the facts as stated by the Department of Justice. Numbers are important rhetorically because the threatening outsider position sets up a story in which difference of the other is the threat,

therefore the more others there are the larger and more relevant the threat. Interestingly, we see variation in the use of numbers even within this article. In extract 23, the numbers of those applying to stay in Ireland based on parentage are constructed as soaring whilst the article simultaneously reports on a stabilisation in the numbers of those applying for asylum in Ireland. The article allows the reader to understand that overall numbers of applicants are coming down but simultaneously constructs the numbers of those applying to stay under parentage rules as rising dangerously.

In extract 24, The Department's change in policy is constructed as motivated by need to respond to the pressure coming from too many asylum seekers applying for asylum in Ireland under the parentage rule. The headline is the most read part of the article (Teo, 2000) and as such represents a key point in analysis of discourse. This headline constructs the Department's actions as prompted by the numbers of applications to remain as parents of an Irish child - "Surge in births leads to Department move". Thus, the increase in numbers is *reported and believed to be* the cause for the Departments discriminatory actions. In extract 25 below, the number of asylum seekers is also discursively constructed.

Extract 25

> Fianna Fail Senator Paschal Mooney told the Seanad yesterday that he did not want to see Irish nationality devalued. Referring to the *large numbers* of foreigners obtaining asylum here as a result of giving birth, Mr Mooney said that 2,300 of the 2,700-plus asylum seekers who had gained asylum here in the last 12 months had done so as a result of having babies born here.
>
> We were unique in Europe and the wider world, in that as a consequence of the Good Friday Agreement, we regarded nationality as extending to all born on the island and as a consequence people from anywhere in the world could avail of it. Reacting to comments, Fine Gael Senator Maurice Manning said: "I greatly regret the sentiments expressed by Senator Mooney. They were little short of racist, and I call upon the Taoiseach to clarify Fianna Fail policy on this issue" *(The Irish Independent, December 19 2001)* (Italics added by author)

Asylum seekers are constructed as a large number in extract 25 above - "Referring

to the large numbers of foreigners obtaining asylum here as a result of giving birth, Mr Mooney said that 2,300 of the 2,700-plus asylum seekers who had gained asylum here in the last 12 months had done so as a result of having babies born here." The volume of the asylum seekers is being constructed and used to justify punitive practices towards them and their children. The article balances these sentiments however, by quoting Fine Gael Senator Maurice Manning, who stated that such comments about the link between rising numbers of asylum seekers and their effects on Irish nationality were "little short of racist"

Importantly, in the above extracts we see the introduction of state intervention in the control of citizenship and the make up of the population; the state is positioned as having the power and responsibility for the protection of the native population from outside invaders who threaten to overwhelm the national body with their numbers. Importantly, it is worth noting that the state is seen by many as naturally having this function. However, I would argue that it has become naturalised but that this function is historical, it is constantly maintained through discourses used about citizenship and the state and is a historically and culturally specific function of the state. In extract 24 "the Department of Justice" is attempting to reduce the availability of "residency to the parents of an Irish-born child". In extract 23, "the authorities" are positioned as responsible for the "many failed asylum-seekers" who "remain here on this parentage rule". In extract 20, the ordinary citizen positioned as voiceless and powerless – "the silent majority" are constructed as needing government intervention to protect them from "uninvited immigrants". In these extracts, the state is positioned as justified in excluding the other to protect the cultural and national norms and values. In excluding the other, the government acts to reaffirm and consolidate Irish values and norms. In constructing the other as deserving exclusion, the newspaper articles are at the same time constructing the Irish as fair, egalitarian, and just. Above in extract 25 we see a Senator argue that Irish nationality can be "devalued" by the arrival of too many asylum seekers with the assumption that the state must intervene in the protection of Irish nationality.

In extract 25, the reader is told that the numbers are "large" and then to back up this assertion factual evidence in the form of numbers is put forward, "2,300 of the 2,700". Interestingly the "Fianna Fail Senator Paschal Mooney" gives us these facts not just anybody and not the writer either. This lends a sense

of authority and credibility to the figures and hence the construction of asylum seekers as numerous or too many, functioning as a category entitlement (Sacks, 1972; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter 1996). The statement of Paschal Mooney is given category entitlement and hence status by virtue of his position as "Fianna Fail Senator". Thus, politicians, lawyers, community and church leaders are constructed as having more legitimacy and veracity to their talk due to their social position. Rhetorically this means that utterances attributed to such speakers carry more argumentative weight that utterances attributed to minority speakers or indeed ordinary citizens. Culturally, those who are given voice and authority are often attributed with more moral weight and authority also. Thus their voices not only carry more power but function to morally legitimise negative emotional attitudes towards asylum seekers. This is not to say that the newspapers deliberately ignore some voices over others out of prejudice or bias. Carol Coulter (a journalist who commented on the analysis, see Appendix D for full reproduction of comments) stressed that it is the norm for journalists to quote political figures and not "just anybody". She did not see this as problematic, and felt that I was over analysing and over stating the issue of category entitlement. This is a tension point between my analysis and the commentator. I acknowledge that there is no malice or prejudice on the part of the journalist in selecting the voice of important figures but I also feel that this being the norm does not take away the fact that the voice of a political figure carries additional weight and therefore their comments as reported by the journalist, carry more rhetorical force than the comments of "just anybody". Breen, Haynes & Devereux (2006) point out that the reliance on reporting verbatim the voice of politicians from Dail debates albeit factual, nevertheless, had the consequence of setting a "significant and highly directional frame for the public debate" around citizenship in 2004.

In the extracts 20, 23, 24 & 25 analysed above refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as a threat to Irish culture and identity through dilution. Their difference is constructed as something that will disrupt the purity of Irish identity and that cannot be accommodated without threatening to dilute and ultimately destroy Irish culture. The extracts suggest two incompatible cultures coming together in conflict with only one possible winner. The other is positioned as threatening. This is a functional construction in that it serves the purpose of constructing Irish culture as in danger of annihilation. Such

constructions argue that Irish ways of life are being gradually diluted by "foreign" cultures. The argument takes an essentialist view of culture and identity, an idea of only one pure way to be Irish. This fixed view of Irishness assumes an Irish way of life that by definition cannot survive the diversity and difference that will inevitably come with the arrival of people from other countries. Absorption and dilution are used as metaphors for cultural change; there is an assumption that there is one homogenous Irish culture/society that is now being overwhelmed by an influx of immigrants. The absorption metaphor assumes that there are a set number of immigrants and asylum seekers that Ireland can take before Irish culture becomes saturated and dies. This depiction of Irish culture betrays the reality of an ever changing and flexible culture that is multifarious and complex (Adams and Markus, 2001; Avruch 2001; Roosens, 1995). Instead it suggests an Irish identity or culture that is fixed. Thus the idea of the threatening other is grounded on the idea of an Irish identity that is inflexible and brittle, a self that cannot sustain itself in the presence of a threatening and incompatible other. Difference itself becomes dangerous in such a construction. In this way, the presence of difference constitutes a huge risk to the indigenous and homogenous (constructed as such) population. Following this, as the number of non-Irish people increases, so too does the threat.

Carol Coulter (journalist for the Irish Times) comments in relation to the above, that "there are multiple examples of different views being aired in the Irish Media, particularly the Irish Times." I agree that this is true and the extracts below represent some of the alternative views presented in the newspapers analysed. These views exist alongside the view of the other as threat; they do not erase this construction. There is ongoing tension in the newspapers analysed between the other as threat and the other as making a welcome contribution to Irish society. Extract 21 and 22 above demonstrate the type of articles referred to by Carol. In both of these articles, the positive economic contribution of immigration is clearly stated and emphasised.

6.3.3 Multiculturalism – A Threat to the norm

The tension between the contribution of immigrants and the fear of immigrants is most evident in articles that acknowledge the confusion that Ireland faces around multiculturalism. In extract 26 below there is an acknowledgement of Ireland's lack of knowledge around multiculturalism and instead of being seen as a direct threat, it is constructed as an unknown entity that could be bad but that also may be good.

> **Extract 26**
>
> Confining debate on multiculturalism merely to issues surrounding asylum, however, would be intellectually dishonest. The truth is, the Nice debate was also subliminally about the same subject, the notion of enlargement not universally accepted. We don't know how multiculturalism works, what constitutes cultural incompatibility, what norms we could legitimately insist on. And in this quest we are not alone. Nation states everywhere are asking the same question. *(The Irish Independent, October 20 2002)*

Extract 26 above acknowledges lack of knowledge on the part of the Irish around the issue of immigration and multiculturalism, stating, "We don't know how multiculturalism works, what constitutes cultural incompatibility, what norms we could legitimately insist on." It recognises a collective lack of experience in Western democracies with the process of large scale inward migration. The extract states, "we are not alone", in having concerns about how multiculturalism will work and that "Nation states everywhere are asking the same question". In this article, Ireland is constructed as one within a membership of concerned states. It is constructed as a nation-state with a homogenous population that is under a subtle threat by diversity. Ireland's position as a homogenous nation-state is one of innocence and inexperience; Ireland doesn't know "how multiculturalism works". Diversity is constructed as so rare that "nation-states everywhere" are unsure as to how to deal with it. Diversity is positioned as extremely rare and unique, such positioning functions to consolidate and verify Ireland's position as culturally homogenous as the norm. Extracts 27 and 28 below describe how Australia and Britain respectively are reacting to the threat of asylum seekers and immigrants.

Extract 27

AUSTRALIA is considering the drastic step of changing the legal status of Tasmania, the island state south of the mainland, in order to prevent boat people landing there from claiming asylum...No boats have attempted to reach Australia in the past six months, and the government is signalling that it will take whatever measures are necessary, including lopping off bits of the country ad hoc, to keep illegal immigrants out. *(The Irish Independent, June 11 2002)*

Above, the Australian state is constructed as protector of the national citizens above all else, even above the land of the state. Australia is prepared to disown sections of land in order to keep "illegal immigrants out", to protect the integrity of the population. Here, diversity is posited as a threat to the state's biopower; the power to control the activities of the population; to regulate and sustain the norm. The strategies of biopower are so ingrained in the system that the government is willing to cut off part of the country so that the strategies of power will not fail.

Extract 28

Blunkett signals intent to bring in ID card scheme - headline

BRITAIN: The British home secretary, Mr David Blunkett, called yesterday for a national ID card scheme to be included in the government's next legislative programme after admitting he has no accurate idea how many illegal immigrants are in the UK.

Asked for his best estimate of how many unregistered people are in the UK who do not have the legal right to be in Britain, Mr Blunkett admitted: "I haven't got a clue." Mr Blunkett acknowledged that there is a "vigorous" debate going on within the Labour cabinet over ID cards. But he argued the case for a scheme to be included in the queen's speech on November 26th, which details the legislative programme. A robust identity verification system was important to efforts to combat illegal immigration, he maintained. *(The Irish Times, 22 September 2003)*

The effect of the above extracts is to tell a story of other countries who, like Ireland, want to control or limit the amount of asylum seekers and immigrants that are allowed entry. By providing stories of other countries, these reports legitimise Ireland's position, and place it morally on a similar level as those countries. The

Irish state, is through its Western identity linked with Australia and Britain, a nation-state, one which seeks to defend the integrity of its national population and it's norms and values from the imposing threat of the other and their difference. Thus, the action of limiting or excluding or controlling the other becomes a normalised concern for a nation rather than an act of individual prejudice.

In the above articles constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as threatening outsiders has implications for how the Irish state is expected to react to this threat. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as threatening outsiders. Their difference is threatening and their numbers compound this threat. Their constructed large numbers positions them as a direct and prominent threat to this delicate Irish identity.

The state is introduced as the solution to this imminent attack from dangerous outsiders. The state is positioned as guardian of Irishness and protector of the purity of the national body. In this way it is justified in its desire to keep others out by the already established argument that the national culture is in grave danger by in entry of too many different others. State intervention into immigration control, for the protection of the culture and national identity, is regularly *reported* in the newspaper articles analysed and will be discussed further in the extracts to follow. Importantly here we see value practice management in the positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to Irish people. The practice of exclusion is warranted by its function of protection of Irish culture (values and norms). Secondly, the practice of defining refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as different and in need of exclusion, functions to simultaneously define Irishness in opposition to the outsider. The definition of Irishness that is produced reaffirms Ireland's shared cultural norms and values.

Below we see this call for state protection at its most fervent when refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as terrorists and therefore a direct threat to the lives of Irish people.

6.3.4 Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants as a Terrorist Threat

Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are often linked to terrorism in the newspapers articles analysed. If not explicitly described as terrorists, there is an implicit link made between being a foreign national and being a terrorist.

Extract 29

Islamic terrorist sought asylum here - headline

A LIBYAN asylum-seeker associated with a radical Islamic group in south Dublin is believed to have been killed in the Iraqi city of Fallujah in May this year after volunteering to join the terror group led by Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi, which was responsible for murdering Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan... Little is known about al-Libi other than he was an asylum-seeker here and did come to the attention of both Garda and Army intelligence services because of his connections with a number of suspected Islamic terrorist supporters here. *(The Irish Independent, November 28 2004)*

Extract 29 tells the reader about an "asylum seeker" who volunteered "to join a terror group". The label asylum seeker and terrorist become rhetorically and conceptually linked by this pairing. Carol Coulter (Irish Times journalist who read this section of the analysis) feels that I am underestimating the intelligence of the readers in this part of the analysis. She feels that the readers can clearly distinguish the difference between an asylum seeker and a terrorist. I tend to disagree with this, believing that some people will make the distinction while others will use stories like this to confirm their negative stereotypes about asylum seekers. I feel the issue is not an argument over whether readers will or won't make the distinction but rather I am making an observation about what possible attributions might be made about asylum seekers given the available discourses in the newspapers. The extract goes on to say that the group he joined "was responsible for murdering Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan". This link between terrorism and the death of an Irish, albeit "Irish-born", person functions rhetorically to connect more strongly with the Irish reader and reinforce the fear that terrorism is a threat to Irish people. The death of Margaret Hassan (an Irish citizen) implies that the Irish are not immune to the threat of terrorism and therefore might need to be vigilant. Extract 15 below describes Britain as a country also concerned with the link between terrorism and asylum. Having stories about the British and their concerns about asylum seeking and terrorism functions to strengthen the argument. Readers are told that other countries are worried too, therefore putting greater onus on Irish people not to ignore or

underestimate the problem. Carol Coulter (journalist, the Irish Times) suggests that another reading here might be that the British being concerned about asylum seekers and terrorism might weaken the argument for the Irish reader. She feels that the British linked Irish and terrorism in the past and that the readers will draw on this and instead of being equally concerned about terrorism will rather be less concerned given the British government's history of stereotyping a large group of people with the label terrorist. I think this is an interesting and reasonable reading of the text and is also a likely alternative outcome of that particular article. However, I wonder, if this link is so obvious, why none of the articles analysed critically reported on the British reaction to asylum seekers and terrorist linking it back to their reaction to Ireland? If the journalists do not make such links in their writing, how can we expect this to be a standard reaction from the reader?

Extract 30

Britain: The British Conservative leader, Mr Michael Howard, has insisted his proposals to cut immigration are not racist and would result in more "genuine refugees" being settled in the United Kingdom. However, he declared Britain was at "a turning point" yesterday when he unveiled a package of measures designed to dramatically reduce the number of people – currently running at an average of 153,000 – settling in Britain each year. The Tory leader invoked the terrorist threat in a world changed by the September 11th attacks in the US as he claimed Conservative plans to "break the link" between people arriving in Britain and claiming asylum would also help smash the criminal gangs engaged in people smuggling... In addition, the Tories would take new powers to permit the immediate removal of asylum-seekers whose claims were clearly unfounded, and to detain in existing asylum centres claimants without documents, at least until identities were established.

The Conservatives were warned their proposals would run counter to European law, while charities said the plans would put refugees' lives at risk.

However, the shadow home secretary, Mr David Davis, confirmed the Conservatives would derogate from the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, which he described as a "product of the cold war".

Declaring that a Conservative government would no longer consider asylum applications from people already in the UK, Mr Davis said they would instead take a specific number of "genuine" refugees already in the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Mr Habib Rahman, chief executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said he was shocked by the proposal to withdraw from the convention: "The political parties continue to focus on abuse of the asylum system at the expense of stressing the human rights protection it affords." While stressing the contribution made by immigrants to the economy and culture of Britain, Mr Howard insisted: "I think most people would agree that Britain has reached a turning point. They know that our communities cannot successfully absorb newcomers at today's pace."

(The Irish Times, 25 January 2005)

In the above extract the issue of terrorism is thrown in, by the Tory leader, without any explanation as to why it is relevant. Readers are told that because of terrorism we must "help smash the criminal gangs engaged in people smuggling". The implication is that the people being smuggled into the country are terrorists. One of the possible impacts of stories such as these is to encourage Irish people to want to exclude non-Western people from Ireland and feel morally justified in doing so. Such constructions and positioning mean that morally, it becomes imperative that Irish people, like the British, try to protect their country. It therefore becomes acceptable and justifiable to have dislike, fear, mistrust or hatred towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Further it is implied that the correct action is to exclude or deport these people who are constructed as a terrorist threat. Within extract 30 however, there are voices of decent with regard to this position that it is acceptable to deport migrants because of assumed terrorist threat. For example, "The Conservatives were warned their proposals would run counter to European law, while charities said the plans would put refugees' lives at risk." Also, the "chief executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said he was shocked by the proposal to withdraw from the convention: "The political parties continue to focus on abuse of the asylum system at the expense of stressing the human rights protection it affords." Such voices and comments offer balance and reflection on the dominant narrative. However, they tend to be overwhelmed by the emotive power of the terrorist construction.

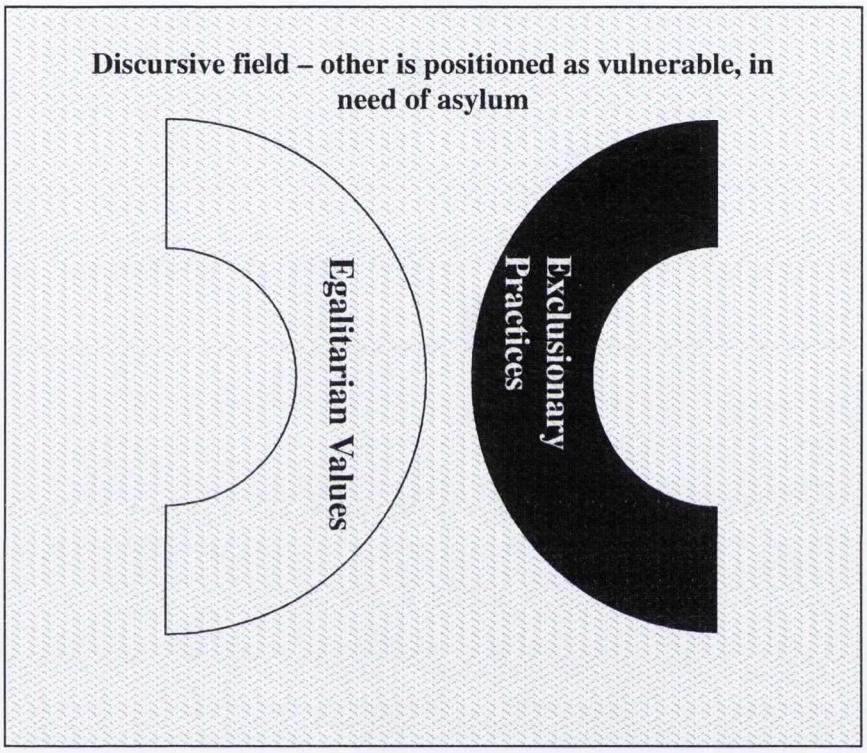
By positioning immigrants as a potential terrorist threat, the extracts in turn position Irish people or in extract 30 British people as potential victims. The victim position in only implied and not stated explicitly, it exists alongside the construction of the other as threat. This position allows for societies interested in fairness and care for the needy to exercise exclusion towards immigrants based on the potential threat posed. This enables a democratic state to behave undemocratically without being seen to act against its own norms, values and democratic principles. This is value practice management in action. Exclusion can happen from within an inclusionary principle if the issue of threat is argued for. The element of threat allows egalitarian principles to be breached, paradoxically, in the name of protecting them. Thus the practice of exclusion can be managed in a way that allows the practice to appear congruent with the prevailing values of the society.

The argument tends to follow that the more foreign nationals Irish people allow in the more likely it is that one of them will be involved in terrorism, therefore to stop terrorism the Irish should stop all immigration of people from countries linked to terrorism, the majority of which are non-Western counties. It becomes a moral imperative to stop immigration of non-Westerners in order to protect Ireland. So in excluding one group (non-Western immigrants), the Irish are saving another group (themselves). This is simultaneously an act that is unfair by trying to exclude those in great need, and just, by protecting the right to live in a free and democratic state of the Irish people.

By positioning the other as a terrorist threat, the Irish government are positioned as having a responsibility for national security, and therefore, allowed to exclude the other. Irish people become positioned as the ones in need of care. Through the construction of the other as a terrorist, the self as different is by implication not a terrorist. The non-terrorist construction of Irish people in relation to the terrorist construction of the other, functions to reinforce values of non-terrorism that exist in Irish society. Such values are unsaid and not made explicit but might include freedom, peace, democracy, diplomacy, care for others, and so on. So in constructing the other as terrorist, there is a very subtle implication about the values of the non-terrorist Irish people. How can these values exist together with a practice of exclusion of the vulnerable other, the asylum seeker? If the context or discursive field is one in which the asylum seeker is not a vulnerable

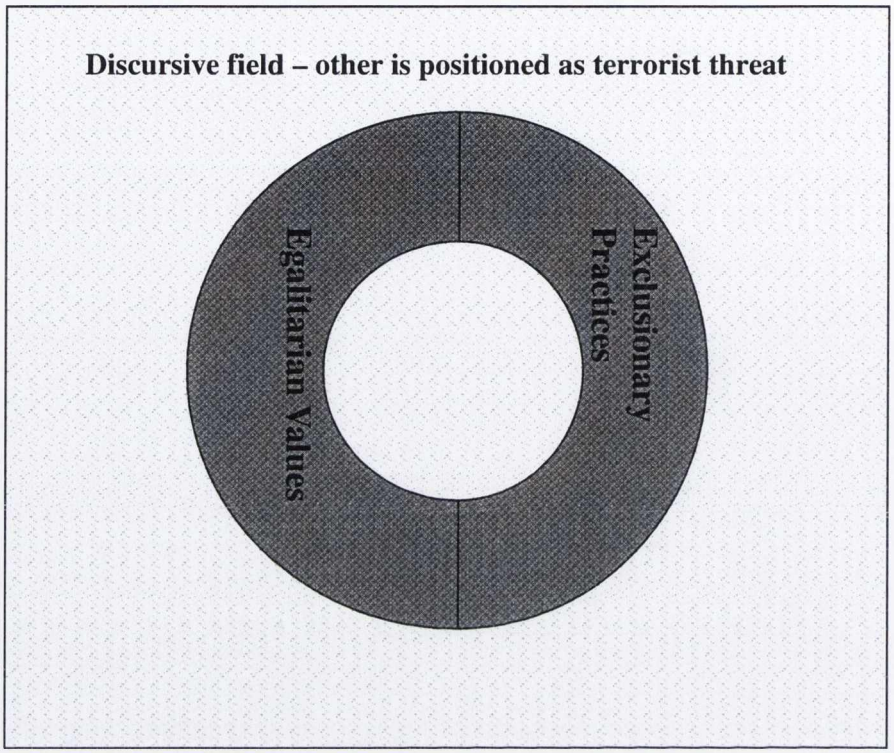
other but instead a terrorist threat, then these values and practices can exist congruently. The imposition of congruence through the discursive field is demonstrated graphically in figure 6.6 and figure 6.7 below:

Figure 6.6 – Incongruence between Values and Practices when Asylum Seeker is Positioned as Vulnerable and Needy within the Discursive Field



In figure 6.6 above the values of democracy, freedom, peace and protection and care for others are incompatible with the practice of exclusion and restriction of entry of those in need of asylum. The discursive field is one in which the asylum seeker is positioned as vulnerable and in need of help. Within this the practice of exclusion cannot be reconciled with egalitarian values. In figure 6.7 below however, we see that by changing the discursive field to one where the asylum seeker is positioned as a terrorist threat, egalitarian values and exclusionary practices can be reconciled and seen as congruent.

Figure 6.7 - Congruence between Values and Practices when Asylum Seeker is Positioned as Terrorist Threat within the Discursive Field



When the other is positioned as a threat, it is possible to manage the incongruence between practice and values. The Irish nation-state which is democratic and concerned with care for the other, human rights and freedom is not considered inconsistent or to be in breach of the democratic values if the other is positioned as a threat within the discursive field or context. That is, the change in positioning of the other changes the context so that exclusion becomes a reasonable practice and a practice that is in keeping with democratic principles.

As well as reproducing these governmental discourses of exclusion, the newspapers play a role in challenging these discourses and offering alternatives. This is evident in extract 31 below, in which the journalist criticises the government and the EU approach to asylum and immigration control. She highlights the state's involvement in over controlling and trying to exclude the other rather than working towards understanding why they want to come to Ireland and how we can live in a sustainable and integrated way.

Extract 31

Government has failed to examine why immigrants are coming here.
In the absence of a coherent policy, the Government bears a responsibility for the creation of anti-immigrant feeling, writes Carol Coulter.

It may be that the RTÉ exit poll, which showed that a substantial proportion of those who voted Yes in the citizenship referendum did so out of hostility to immigrants, was not scientific...This should not surprise us. Since the growth of immigration into Ireland at the end of the 1990s the response of the Government has been to attempt to prevent people coming here and to get rid of those who were here illegally, rather than to examine why they were coming and deal with the new phenomenon.

Terms like "bogus asylum-seekers" were introduced into the discussion by Government figures. The impression was created that the Republic was under siege.

There is no doubt that our asylum system was ill-equipped to deal with the increase in numbers it experienced at that time. There is also no doubt that these numbers were inflated by people who wanted to come to the State primarily for economic reasons. Their presence in the asylum-seeking process contributed significantly to its inability to cope. But they were there because there was no other way for them to seek to enter the State.

The first explanation for the increase in people seeking to come to Ireland offered by spokespeople for the Department of Justice was our reputedly "generous" social welfare system for asylum-seekers. No explanation was offered for the fact that in previous years, when our social welfare system was not significantly worse, there was no such demand.

There was no willingness to recognise the obvious - a growing economy attracts immigrants. As our own history should have taught us, people in poor economic circumstances emigrate to other countries for work, often intending to send remittances home. They are attracted to countries where work is available, as happened in the Republic in the late 1990s...There was, and is, no way for a non-EU national to come to the Republic speculatively to seek work, despite the widespread evidence of demand for workers on the one hand, and for access to the Republic on the

other. Those who came as asylum-seekers were denied the right to work, in case this would act as a "pull" factor.

As long ago as 1999 the then minister for justice, Mr John O'Donoghue, said during a debate on the 1999 Immigration Bill that he favoured a quota system to allow legal immigration. However, five years later nothing has been done.

Instead, every single piece of legislation on this topic has sought to curtail people coming into the country or get rid of those deemed to be illegal.

The 1999 Immigration Bill had little to do with immigration, and instead dealt with deportation orders, exclusion orders, the removal of non-nationals and the imposition of various penalties. It also amended the 1996 Refugee Act to set up the Refugee Applications Commissioner, the Refugee Appeals Tribunal and various other parts of the necessary asylum infrastructure.

The Illegal Immigration (Trafficking) Act of 2003 covered people-trafficking and additional measures on the arrest, detention and deportation of failed asylum-seekers...The message from the Government and the raft of legislation and initiatives is clear - Ireland is threatened by people coming to our shores, and we need to restrict this as much as possible.

Yet, as Nuala Kelly pointed out in her report for the Migrant Rights Centre on work permits in Ireland, there has been no corresponding enthusiasm for creating a coherent immigration system. Referring to the development of a common EU policy on managed migration, she writes, "Various EU Directives remain to be implemented towards this end in most EU states, including Ireland." (The Irish Times, June 6 2004)

In extract 31 above, the government is criticised for its lack of action on implementing positive immigration strategies. It is argued that the government has an anti-immigration agenda "The message from the Government and the raft of legislation and initiatives in clear – Ireland is threatened by people coming to our shores, and we need to restrict this as much as possible" (Extract 31). The writer explicitly condemns the government for practices of exclusion and names the discursive practices used by the government to exaggerate the numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers coming to Ireland: "Terms like 'bogus asylum-

seekers' were introduced into the discussion by Government figures. The impression was created that the Republic was under siege." (Extract 31. This type of critique is very powerful and important; it shows the dominant discourses of the day being publicly challenged. Whilst there is a need for much more of this type of critique in the media there is evidence of it emerging from time to time. In extract 32 below, we see an immigrant voice as a journalist from overseas critiques the government discourse around "foreign employees".

Extract 32

Immigrant workers are not the State's flexible friends.

Tanaiste's description of foreign employees as a "safety valve" is careless by Karlin Lillington

For some time now, I've had a reasonably clear idea about what I am doing in this country. First, I came here to study. Then, after a while, I joined the ranks of working people.

But now, I am surprised to discover, I have a far more important role. One that makes clear once and for all that I'm not just here to write the odd column and feature, and hang out at First Tuesday. No, I am more worthy than that: it turns out that I am also a "safety valve" for all of you as well...You see, she has decided to emphasise yet again that "foreign nationals" (of which I am, inarguably one) are flexible friends when it comes to working in this State. Although unemployment remains at a slim 3.5 per cent, there's an election coming and Ms Harney wants to make sure that all of you know that I, and all the other 59,999 foreign nationals who were given work here over the past few years, are expendable. We are here to take the blows, a dedicated army of sacrificial employees who know our place – which is elsewhere, if the downturn continues.

We are, as she says, a "safety valve" for the State. We can give up the jobs that, in many cases, Irish-based companies begged us to take. Jobs that could not be filled because there just weren't enough Irish candidates for them. And, sometimes, not enough people here with the right "skills" (as the phrase goes), especially for the employee-hungry technology industry. Or simply, many here just didn't want to do so many of those "unskilled" jobs in the service industry any more...But nonetheless I

> wondered a bit about all those Irish people who accepted those thousands of Morrison and Donnelly visas, where they could spend the rest of their lives in the United States, even though at the time the US was in the midst of a bad economic slump. I don't remember the Irish Government giving the visas back, saying: "Hey, that's OK, we know you need all your jobs for your American people".
>
> Nor do I remember the US government saying: Oops, we were kidding! We need those visas back so that Americans stay employed, but we know your Irish people won't mind being our safety valve! We'll just ship you back!"...The more I think about it, the more I conclude that being told I am a safety valve for the potential economic woes of a nation is unbelievably patronising. More, I think it is appalling that such statements are made if they are only intended as a political sop. I think they are damaging to the global image of the country, a raging headache for the indigenous and multinational companies trying to recruit in a challenging global market, and unbecoming of a nation pitching itself as a small but mature and productive part of that market. (The Irish Times, November 2 2001)

In the extract above, government constructions of the foreign worker as "expendable" are severely criticised. There is a comparison made between the treatment of foreign workers in the US and Ireland. The Irish governments use of biopolitical discourses that warrant exclusions of the other based on national need are described as deeply problematic and disturbing, as well as "unbelievably patronising" to immigrants. This variation in the production of stories about immigration is vital in supporting counter discourse to the dominant anti-immigrant rhetoric evident in publicly available discourses in Ireland. It is important to note them and to highlight the media's role in producing counter-narratives.

6.3.5 War Metaphor

Whilst there is some criticism in the media of government discourses of exclusion and devaluation of the migrant other, there is also evidence of reproduction of discourses of threat. The positioning of asylum seeker, refugee and immigrant as

an enemy force or terrorist threat is reinforced by the use of a war metaphor in many of the newspaper articles analysed. Throughout the texts analysed there was evidence of "us versus them" positioning. This is evident in the use of war metaphors. War metaphors are woven into the discourse constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants not just as "them", but as enemy. The positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as a threat, particularly a terrorist threat, is facilitated by the use of the war metaphor. In extract 33 below the word "weapon" evokes the idea of battle and war. The tone of the article is celebratory as the reader is told that "Happily...the State has another weapon to protect the rule of law and common sense"

Extract 33

Until quite recently we've been sleepwalking through the issue of "asylum-seekers", allowing piety and the fulsome waffle of the professional anti-racism lobby to be a substitute for policy. Happily, we've seen a harder edge appear towards self-styled asylum seekers in recent times; and the Supreme Court ruling - that parents of children born here do not have the right to remain - has given the State another weapon to protect the rule of law and common sense... We have no idea how many al-Qaeda operatives are based in Ireland. But what we do know is that 1,200 British Muslims went through al-Qaeda training in Afghanistan. Some of them were killed when then Taliban regime was overthrown. Most have probably since returned to Britain, where they no doubt have formed a welcoming net for other al-Qaeda operatives, and from where, of course, they can have unhindered access to al-Qaeda cells in Ireland.

In part, we are the victims of the brainless British social services culture, which up until recently saw every wide-eyed foreigner on a quayside, clutching a bag and looking tearful, as a victim. Not merely did we import that culture; we probably imported sleeper terrorists with it. Thousands of "asylum-seekers" in Britain simply vanished the moment their application for "asylum" was rejected. Of the 16 Algerians detained for alleged involvement in terrorist conspiracies in Britain recently, 10 were "asylum-seekers". These include the man accused of murdering PC Oakes in Manchester... Other terrorists have probably arrived in Britain claiming

protection without documentation, under the UN Convention on Refugees. Freed of any need to prove who they are, they can invent an identity, and the British State then provides them with the documents which confirm the fiction. Even in the absence of a terrorist threat, such a frivolous approach to "asylum" would be absurd: but given that the West is facing the largest non-state terrorist threat in its history, this is bureaucratic criminality.

Already, more than 3,000 Algerian "asylum-seekers" have disappeared in Britain. If they wanted to come here, of course, they could do so without even a cursory check of their passports. And they could easily be detected in Dublin Airport by their gales of hysterical laughter, once they discovered that passport control is purely voluntary. Because since passengers from Britain and Europe arrive at the same terminal, and pass through the same gates, immigration officers are reduced to shouting, "Passport holders, this way please". This is moral infantilism. As we face up to the world we are actually living in, rather than some Tir na nOg, happily free of adult concerns, we're going to have to protect our State against internal threat. And that threat is real. What precautions have been taken against terrorist attack at Shannon Airport? What security precautions exist for internal flights in Ireland? Kenya thought it was safe. Tanzania thought it was safe. The Indian Parliament thought it was safe. Bali thought it was safe. The US thought it was safe. No doubts poor PC Oakes, RIP, thought he was safe. Why, he even actually removed the handcuffs from an arrested terrorist, who then promptly returned his kindness by killing him.

(The Irish Times, January 29 2003)

Above asylum seekers are constructed as a threat to the egalitarian values of the Irish nation-state, described in the article as the values of "the rule of law and common sense". The institutions of the Irish state "the Supreme Court" and "the State" in contrast are positioned as protectors of democracy. The reader is told that instead of "sleepwalking" the Irish state now has "another weapon to protect the rule of law and common sense". The implication of course is that the asylum is somehow a threat to law and common sense. In extract 33 it is suggested that kindness can itself be immoral if that kindness is extended to a member of the enemy group. In the above extract, it is implied that acting morally towards asylum

seekers could get you killed. The example is given of a police man, "poor PC Oakes" who was kind, "removed the handcuffs" and was killed "returned his kindness by killing him". This argument is bolstered by the link between asylum seekers and terrorism and the assertion that the "threat is real". The state is positioned as protector but constructed as failing in this role with the citizens calling for more protection from their government. The article states that the states approach to asylum is "frivolous" and "bureaucratic criminality" and that this approach to asylum is leaving the West open to "the largest non-state terrorist threat in its history". In the face of the state failing to live up to its duties of protecting the country from terrorism, the journalist takes the responsibility of speaking for the citizens and calls for more security against asylum seekers, "we're going to have to protect our State against internal threat".

It is important to point out that extract 33 is taken from an article by Kevin Meyers, a well known Irish writer who is known for his controversial.. As such, it is in danger of being unrepresentative of the generally available newspaper discourses. For example, other articles tend not to say things like, "In part, we are the victims of the brainless British social services culture, which up until recently saw every wide-eyed foreigner on a quayside, clutching a bag and looking tearful, as a victim." I struggled with the inclusion of his articles as extracts in the analysis but resolved this by examining the commonality between the content of his texts with those generally available.

This raises the question of how to read or analyze texts, and what sort of contexts we should use to aid this analysis. For Foucault, statements exist in the context of particular fields of discourse in which they arise. The discursive context of relevance here is the one in which the interrelated issues of threat and asylum are constructed and practiced, both in their geographical and historical dimensions. Statements then – such as those of these articles – must be seen as being in dynamic relationship with, indeed, in dialogue with (Falzon, 1998), other practices and statements concerned with these issues (e.g., other newspaper texts, government and legal decisions, ordinary - "in the street" - practices of integration, discrimination, and so on). This does not mean that we should read a text in terms of the personal history or articulations of its particular author. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), such an insistence of authorial or speaker consistency threatens to render invisible the variations inevitably present in their texts.

Durrheim (1997), for instance, has shown that the talk of even the most consistently conservative and authoritarian of politicians (in apartheid South Africa) reveals apparently liberal elements.

Foucault's (1984) notion of the "author function" is of relevance here. This refers to our tendency – as readers or interpreters - to use authors' names for our own interpretive and classificatory functions; to produce types of texts by imposing consistency and coherence on the variations inherent in an individual's work. In this light, the author's name – Meyers in this case - is a problematic method for orienting to textual analysis. It is an inappropriate interpretive lens, which reproduces the individualism of which Foucault was so critical. Nevertheless, it was important in this analysis to attend to the broader discursive context, and in this regard it seemed that many of Meyers' texts reproduced a range of discourses and subject positions that were in keeping with those of other newspaper articles. I think it is reasonable to suggest that while much of what he says is unique to his own style, the general gist or content is similarly reproduced, albeit more subtly in other newspaper articles. For example, in extract 34 below, we again see the reference to threat and battle with the article reporting that "applications for asylum have plummeted by almost two-thirds in the past three moths as a result of new measures directed against illegal immigrants by the Government and the Garda Siochana". The war rhetoric is evident with reference to "new measures directed against illegal immigrants" and "other strategic moves". On a positive note, the article is going against the trend of reporting increases in numbers of migrants and instead is fairly reporting a sharp decrease in the number of asylum applications.

Through language that references measures and moves, the other is positioned as something to be manoeuvred against, an enemy and in so doing supports practices of exclusion and deportation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The positioning also supports the normalisation of values of honesty as something inherent to the Irish people, but as lacking in asylum seekers making "bogus claims". Again the state is positioned as protector of democracy and morality, a guardian against lying asylum seekers.

Extract 34

APPLICATIONS for asylum have plummeted by almost two-thirds in the past three months as a result of new measures directed against illegal immigrants by the Government and the Garda Siochana. The massive fall-off in asylum seekers from October to the end of the year signals a trend that is expected to continue throughout this year as the authorities adopt a tougher line with bogus claims by asylum seekers. A higher rate of deportation, likely to be stepped up again this year, and the elimination of the rent supplement are other strategic moves that had an impact on the bogus applications. *(The Irish Independent, January 3 2004)*

Morality is always adjusted in war. In the above articles it is considered reasonable that the reader be happy that the State is taking a "tougher line" (extract 34) and a "harder edge" (extract 33) against asylum seekers. This moral position is assumed and is not questioned. Perhaps the reader should be concerned that the state is cruel and harsh and that perhaps "bogus" asylum seekers are vulnerable people who need help. Instead the reader is given only one possible moral positioning - to protect your people and to hate the enemy. It becomes moral to want to hurt and feel no sympathy for the enemy. A lack of empathy is evident is extract 35 below.

Extract 35

The Waterford shipping company which brought the container holding 13 asylum seekers into Ireland last week is to step up security checks as a result of the tragedy. Eight of the 13 were found dead when the container in which they had stowed away opened at Wexford Business Park on Saturday morning. *(The Irish Times, December 10 2001)*

Once again, refugees are constructed as a *threat to security*. This construction is achieved by the suggestion that in response to the above tragedy, "security checks" need to be stepped up. This is the only response suggested in the article; there are no suggestions for humanitarian responses appealing to asylum seekers and refugees needs. This allows for the situation described (people stowing away in a truck in order to leave their homes in search of somewhere else to live because of the terrible conditions of their lives at home) to be constructed as a security issue rather than a humanitarian or moral issue. The concern in this story is not for the

victims of the tragedy but rather for Ireland's security. Framing the story in this way allows the moral element of the story to be overlooked by the reader. It also allows the reader to dehumanise asylum seekers and refugees seeing them as a nuisance requiring increased security rather than as vulnerable, ordinary people. As we saw in extract 7 above, there are examples of newspaper reporting where the migrant is constructed as a victim in need of sympathy and the reader is drawn into their story and allowed to consider the humanity of the economic migrant. This is an example of variation in the way the economic migrant is constructed in the newspaper discourses. Depending on the rhetoric used the story becomes one about victims needing empathy after a traumatic event, or one about Irish security. Security discourses tend to be more prevalent that those supporting the human side of immigration, a further example of such security discourses are evident in extract 36 below.

Extract 36

ITALY: European ministers in Rome yesterday proposed creating a joint border police unit to crack down on illegal immigration at airports, a large and growing problem in the 15-member union... "We don't want Europe to turn into a fortress, but we want to promote an integrated model that will guarantee the security of our citizens within our common space," Italy's Interior Minister, Mr Claudio Scajola, told delegates in Rome before presenting the feasibility study and pilot project...Internal security has become an EU priority since the September 11th attacks on the United States and since far-right parties across Europe jumped in popularity due to their anti-immigration and anti-crime platforms.. Britain announced a tightening of its immigration laws yesterday, forbidding rejected asylum seekers from launching an appeal within the country. The news came as new figures showed Britain received 19,520 asylum applications in the first quarter, up 1,520 from the previous three months - and that 75 per cent were rejected.

Nearly 3,000 failed asylum seekers were removed from Britain over the period as the government processed claims more quickly and chartered flights to ship people out en masse.

Greek officials yesterday criticised the idea of turning the EU into a

"fortress" in the fight against illegal immigration, declaring such a move would pander to Europe's far-right political parties. *(The Irish Times, May 31 2002)*

The above extract tells us that "we" (Europeans) need increased security "to crack down on illegal immigration" and that this need has become a priority since "the September 11th attacks on the United States" as well as growing anti-immigration sentiment among voters across Europe. Immigration control and anti-terrorism security are grouped together as the same thing, supporting the link between immigration and terrorism. The need to "crack down" is justified and neutralised (not seen as anti-democratic) by stressing that these measures are necessary to "guarantee the security of our citizens". In addition, the article tells us that anti-immigration feeling exists in many people across many states and it describes the EU as "our common space". The positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as a threat and, within the war metaphor, as enemy, is intensified by positioning Ireland as a member of an allied force that has joined together to fight a common enemy. A number of articles function to inform the reader that other countries dislike refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants too and to inform the reader exactly who their allies are. Terms like "Fortress Europe" are often used when writers are criticising harsh immigration policies in Europe but such terms nevertheless function to reinforce the idea that "we", the Irish people are part of Europe and "they" the refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are outsiders. In the above article, however, "Fortress Europe" is presented in tension as something that is both needed and undesirable. A number of sentences function to justify the need for increased security while others explicitly state that the aim is not to form a fortress: "We don't want Europe to turn into a fortress, but we want to promote an integrated model that will guarantee the security of our citizens within our common space," Italy's Interior Minister, Mr Claudio Scajola, told delegates in Rome before presenting the feasibility study and pilot project (extract 20). Space is allowed for outright criticism of the fortress concept: Greek officials yesterday criticised the idea of turning the EU into a "fortress" in the fight against illegal immigration, declaring such a move would pander to Europe's far-right political parties (extract 36). Within the article there is a tension between supporting the rights of citizens to security and the avoidance of far right extremism in the pursuit of security.

Within this tension, Ireland is positioned as a member of a group of guardians of democracy with the assumption that the citizens of Ireland are democratic people like the other EU citizens. This way of positioning Irish people in relation to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, functions to allow the state to exercise its power to exclude or limit entry of the other. This is the exercise of biopower (Foucault, 2003), excluding the other but doing so from within a democratic value base. Exclusion is justified as needed for the protection of democracy and the citizens of a democratic state. Thus, the state is controlling who comes in and who goes out but also reinforcing the norms of the society as it exercised its control, in this case the norms of democracy. In extract 37 below Ireland's power to exclude and control population make up is normalised by linking with EU actions towards asylum seekers.

Extract 37

> Mr McDowell will now try to reach agreement with his EU counterparts to put in place minimum standards and procedures in each state so that asylum seekers cannot gain any advantage by seeking entry through any one member state.
>
> To further this, he will also be asking his EU colleagues to look at ways of tightening the Dublin Convention, which requires an asylum seeker to make their application in the first EU country in which they arrive.
>
> Over recent years, several countries, including Ireland, have experienced asylum seekers arriving in one EU country but managing to cross frontiers to make their application in another member state. *(The Irish Independent, January 7 2004)*

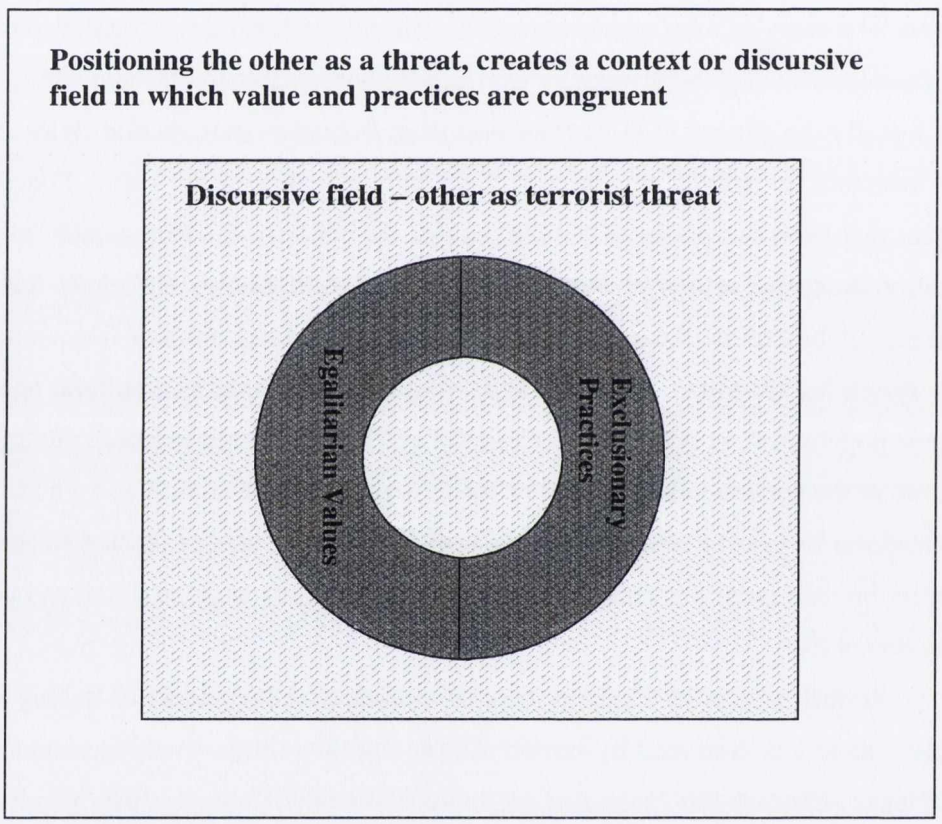
In the above extract, the first paragraph outlines the argument that there is strength in numbers and that Ireland needs her allies. Readers are told that by reaching "agreement" with Ireland's "EU counterparts", the Irish can ensure that "asylum seekers cannot gain any advantage by seeking entry through any one member state". This sentence also implies that asylum seekers are sneaky and looking for weaknesses that they can penetrate to "gain advantage". This is an example of victim blaming – it suggests that asylum seekers are doing something wrong and should be punished for it.

The war metaphor continues throughout the article and is evident in the description of asylum seekers crossing "frontiers" of states to make asylum applications. The Irish state is constructed as responsible for the protection of national borders. In this role, the exclusion of the other is sanctioned through the implementation of "standards and procedures in each state so that asylum seekers cannot gain any advantage". This description of new procedures that seek to exclude and deport those deemed unwanted by the state is sanitised by describing it as "standards and procedures". This is a good example of what Foucault describes as the states power to "make live and let die" (Foucault 2003). He argues that state racism which excludes, deports, or neglects unwanted others functions to "let die" those immigrants deemed unacceptable to the state. They do not literally die but are dead by their exclusion from the comforts and rights that are available to national citizens and those allowed entry to the state. Foucault argues that states use power to "let die" so that the majority citizenry can be "made live" productively, effectively, safely, happily and comfortably. He argues that in the use of biopower, the state concerns itself in making citizens live well, it focuses on health, mental health, material wealth and adherence to cultural norms by the population. In order to use biopower effectively in this way the state must also have the power to exclude those who do not adhere to the norm and who can't be made to live in the desired way. As such racism becomes connected to social control on the part of the state, a strategy of influencing how citizens live and how they do not live.

In the extracts 33-37 above, there is evidence of the process of linking and differentiation as described by Hansen (2006) and seen in the analysis conducted on identity construction in the first section of the analysis above. Irish identity is linked to a community of Western states and democratic values; it is differentiated from the asylum seeker, immigrant and refugee world that is positioned as terrorist, enemy threat and anti-democratic. Linking with a *community* of others also functions to legitimise and normalise democratic values as the dominant and majority value system in the world. By connecting with other EU states that share democratic values, the articles function to construct a norm for values and practice that democratic states should adhere to. If, in other European states, democratic values can exist alongside practices of exclusion of non-Europeans, then this is legitimized as the normal state of affairs. The following drawings demonstrate this

graphically. The point has been made earlier in the thesis that how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are positioned changes the discursive field and in so doing it is possible to construct practices of exclusion as congruent with egalitarian/democratic values. The diagram used to demonstrate this point is reproduced in figure 6.8 below:

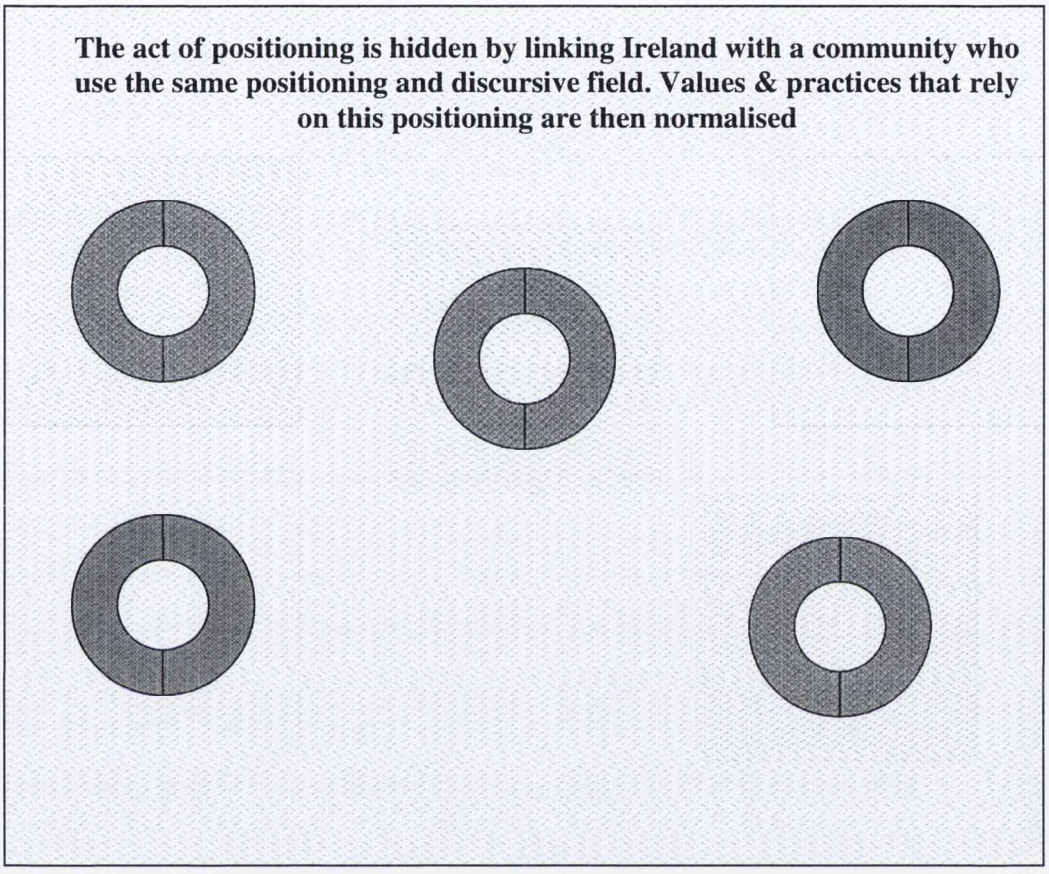
Figure 6.8: Congruence between Values and Practices when Asylum Seeker is Positioned as Terrorist Threat within the Discursive Field



The positioning of the asylum seeker as terrorist threat creates a context or discursive field in which practices of exclusion seem congruent with egalitarian values. This congruence is achieved through positioning the other as terrorist. However, it is possible to obscure the discursive positioning and to make it appear that the context is natural and the norm rather than a construction. This can be achieved by situating Ireland within a group of nation-states that practice the same positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. We can see in figure 6.7 below that when more examples of this positioning practice are placed together, the result is a normalisation and concealing of the process of positioning and

discursive construction, so that the discursive field is taken as normal rather than discursively constructed.

Figure 6.9: Concealment and Normalisation of Discursive Positioning



The discursive manoeuvres used to render the process of exclusion acceptable within a democratic value system become almost invisible by the inclusion of multiple examples of where the process is happening. Normalisation makes it difficult to see the process of positioning and the effects of positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. In the newspaper articles each EU state is described as positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in a similar way. This normalisation makes it appear that this discursive field is a fact and conceals the process of discursive construction of such a field as well as the other possible alternative positionings and accompanying discursive fields. This construction of Ireland as a member of a community of allies is a theme that is evident in many of the newspaper articles. In the extracts below, Ireland is positioned as one of a number of Western countries that are concerned with multiculturalism.

6.3.6 Disease - Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants as a Threat to the Health of the Citizenry

In the extracts below, the state is again constructed as responsible for the welfare of the citizenry, responsible for them living well, being healthy and free from disease. *Carol Coulter (journalist from the Irish Times who commented on the analysis) feels that this is obvious, that all states are always responsible for the welfare of the citizenry. I would argue that this is not necessarily the case. Foucault (2003) describes the process whereby states have, over time, become responsible for the welfare of the citizens and he shows that this was not always the case historically. Additionally, modern states differ in the degree to which they are responsible for the citizens. For example, welfare states like Ireland and many European states have more state involvement in citizen welfare than more individualistic societies. We see the issue of state involvement in the welfare of the citizens debated regularly in the United States between the democrats and the conservatives.* Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are positioned as a threat to this and as such it is considered reasonable that they be "let die", as Foucault might have said, or refused entry if they are diseased.

In the newspaper articles analysed, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are sometimes positioned as threatening through being constructed as diseased or potential carriers of infectious diseases like HIV, hepatitis and tuberculosis (TB). The fact of their potential infection justifies the desire to keep them out of Ireland or to at least screen them so that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants with transmissible diseases will not be allowed in (i.e., "let die").

Extract 38

Mandatory refugee screening mooted

IF OFFICIALS at the Department of Justice get their way, Ireland's asylum-seekers could soon be facing compulsory health screening for various diseases. The issue has been the source of ongoing tension between the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and has the potential to split the public and the medical profession.

While the Government decided some time ago that health screening for asylum-seekers should remain on a voluntary basis, the Department of

Justice has been lobbying for this policy to be reviewed. How would the public react to such a move? There seems to be some support, but is it well-informed?

When the issue of compulsory screening was first mooted, a national poll found that more than seven in 10 Irish people favoured mandatory health screening of all refugees and asylum seekers on entry into Ireland. Just one in four respondents were opposed to compulsory health screening of refugees.

The screening would be aimed at identifying cases of HIV, hepatitis and other transmissible diseases. Implicit in such screening is the suggestion that refugees are a threat to public health and may bring to Ireland an increased incidence of less common diseases.

Certainly refugees may have very specific medical problems, less common than those usually found here. A study at the National Maternity Hospital covering 1999-2000 examined 271 refugees who were pregnant. It found that 36 had specific illnesses: 17 cases of hepatitis B and C, 10 cases of sickle cell disease, seven cases of HIV and two cases of TB. It showed that this group had a high level of HIV and hepatitis.

There are now tens of thousands of refugees in Ireland and around 11,000 apply for asylum each year. Currently, asylum-seekers are entitled to a medical card for GP visits and are given voluntary health screening. When asylum-seekers arrive in Ireland, they are offered medical screening. Around 80 per cent usually take up the offer.

Two years ago staff at a Limerick hostel for asylum-seekers were offered treatment after it was discovered that nearly one in ten of the asylum seekers had previously been infected with hepatitis B.

According to the Irish Refugee Council (IRC), asylum-seekers suffering from non-communicable chronic illness are not generally facilitated, and they often must wait a number of months to receive a medical card where they face considerable obstacles securing a general practitioner, the Refugee Council adds. Some health boards report that GPs have refused to take asylum-seekers as patients. The IRC wants the current programme of voluntary health screening, of which over 70 per cent of asylum-seekers avail, to be built on.

It argues that compulsory health screening for asylum-seekers amounts to discrimination, given that they account for no more than 20 per cent of non-EU nationals from all corners of the globe now arriving in Ireland.

The introduction of compulsory health screening of refugees could lead to them becoming a criminalised and marginalised section of society, according to the Refugee Information Service. Even with the voluntary screening programme there are problems. The language barrier and the lack of a proper interpreter service for doctors is a major difficulty.

There are divided views in the medical profession on the issue of compulsory screening for asylum-seekers. The Irish Medical Organisation has warned that moves to impose screening on refugees could be unlawful.

Tension is reported to exist between the Departments of Health and Justice over the issue, with health officials pointing out that no other developed country has made health screening compulsory for asylum-seekers. The controversy also highlights the curious position of the Department of Justice being the body pushing for compulsory health checks an area in which it has little or no role or indeed expertise. The Department of Health has itself sought expert advice on whether screening should be mandatory.

Doctors who oppose compulsory screening say that asylum-seekers and their families, in general, are in excellent health, and where diseases exist, they are capable of being treated successfully.

A service to target asylum-seekers who have not yet been medically screened, was established by the Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA) over a year ago. There are thousands of asylum-seekers in the Eastern region who have not been medically screened. The cost of screening is put at around €150,000 a year.

It is not uncommon for people to believe that immigrants may introduce infection and thus numbers should be restricted on these grounds. However, no hard evidence has been produced to back up this argument about a serious public health threat. What we should be providing is quality healthcare service which recognises different needs and attitudes to health that refugees may have. *(The Irish Independent, November 17 2002)*

Extract 38 above emphasises the controversial nature of compulsory health screening and the possibility of it leading to stereotypical assumptions about the health of asylum seekers. It is considered controversial because: "There are divided views in the medical profession on the issue of compulsory screening for asylum-seekers. The Irish Medical Organisation has warned that moves to impose screening on refugees could be unlawful.

Tension is reported to exist between the Departments of Health and Justice over the issue, with health officials pointing out that no other developed country has made health screening compulsory for asylum-seekers"(extract 38). Whilst acknowledging that it is controversial the article tends to add to the controversy by reproducing the problematic stereotypes that compulsory health screening evokes. In this case, the stereotype is of asylum seekers as a potential "threat to public health" through their ability to carry "transmissible diseases" and the likelihood of their bringing "an increased incidence of less common diseases" to Ireland. The extract backs up this implied threat by providing numbers as facts to construct an argument about the high level of disease in this group: "A study at the National Maternity Hospital covering 1999-2000 examined 271 refugees who were pregnant. It found that 36 had specific illnesses: 17 cases of hepatitis B and C, 10 cases of sickle cell disease, seven cases of HIV and two cases of TB". The article concludes that one study showed that pregnant refugees in the study had "a high level of HIV and hepatitis".

Ralph Riegel (the Irish Independent) feels that the reporting of high incidence of disease in certain countries is a matter of public interest and that the protection of public health does not constitute racism. He argues, "If hospitals, the HSE and health campaigners are worried about a link between a specific disease and migration, why shouldn't it be highlighted if it is of public interest? Which carries greater weight – the right of a society to inform itself of a potential public health issue or the risk of offending a person who happens to come from an area where there is a high specific disease rate?...Up until a few years back, the US insisted on X-ray for prospective migrants because of concerns about TB. To the best of my knowledge – and my mother emigrated to the US in the 1950s – the practice was never regarded as racist or biased but rather a practical response to a public health concern. In Hong Kong a few years back, police screened individuals on specific flights for SARS – I was one of them – and no-one said it was racist or

biased." I think Ralph has a legitimate point and what seems to be of importance is how the disease discourse fits in with other discourses about immigrants in country at a particular time. In this analysis I am seeking to understand how the disease discourse might work together with other discourses of threat to construct a subject position for migrants, rather than to look at disease discourse as an isolated piece of talk.

There is considerable variation in the text with the article also reporting that migrants are no more likely to be a threat to public health than Irish nationals: "Doctors who oppose compulsory screening say that asylum-seekers and their families, in general, are in excellent health, and where diseases exist, they are capable of being treated successfully...It is not uncommon for people to believe that immigrants may introduce infection and thus numbers should be restricted on these grounds. However, no hard evidence has been produced to back up this argument about a serious public health threat. What we should be providing is quality healthcare service which recognises different needs and attitudes to health that refugees may have." (Extract 38)

Whilst there is contradictory positioning of refugees as healthy and carriers of disease, there is a strong positioning of the state as guardians of national health and security, giving it rights to exclude groups of people who present a threat to the native population through disease. This positioning is evident in the description of a split between "the Department of Health" and "the Department of Justice" on how to manage security and health issues. They are positioned as primarily responsible for this issue. This is a good example of both sides of biopower, the power to "make live and let die". In "making live" the state aims to control how the members of the population live, they should live well and be normalised. Compulsory health screening is an example of the state's power to "make live": to test for health and ensure health through treatment. Fairchild (2003) argues that health screening is an attempt to include rather than exclude the other, by disciplining the other into becoming a healthy worker. By ensuring health, the government ensures a productive member of the workforce and absorbs the immigrant into the working population. Likewise, it is an example of the state's power to exclude or "let die". Those who are deemed unacceptable or a threat to the well being of the population must be screened and then treated (made live) or excluded (let die). We can see in the biopolitical example how disease becomes

politicized. Similarly, Wen-Yu and Ren-Fenq (2007) demonstrated how talk about SARS was taken out of the realm of the purely medical and politicised in newspaper media.

In extract 39 below, we see the acceptance of the idea that population movement can impact negatively on the national population health.

Extract 39

> More HIV cases are now being diagnosed in the immigrant community here, but Cronin says this is merely a reflection of changing demographics and the prevalence of the virus in some parts of the world. "It isn't surprising that we've seen a rise in HIV from people coming from sub-Saharan African countries in particular and that's reflected in the demography", she says. *(The Irish Times, November 29 2005)*

At the core of the article is the assumption that people from "sub-Saharan African countries" have a higher incidence of HIV than Irish people – "More HIV cases are now being diagnosed in the immigrant community here". Both extracts 38 and 39 construct asylum seekers/refugees as being more likely to carry transmissible disease, particularly HIV. This is a position of the other as threatening, sick and dangerous. Discourses of disease carry within them positions of disease carrier, negligent, and dirty all of which function to further stigmatize the diseased and reinforce the righteousness of any position that seeks to keep the diseased out (rather than, for example, to treat them). In relation to such positioning Irish people are positioned implicitly as healthy, diligent and clean. Thus the desire to keep refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants out is not because they are diseased but because Irish people want to keep the Irish population healthy. It becomes an action of protection of the norms and well being of the Irish rather than a discriminatory act against the sick.

6.3.7 Implications of Being Positioned as Threatening

One could say that the majority of people in newspaper stories are positioned as either victim or aggressor. So it is not unusual that there are stories available where refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as a threat in a newspaper story. In fact the majority of threatening figures in newspaper stories will by default be Irish people – because the crime and violence reported on will be

in the majority that conducted by Irish people. However, within the newspaper articles analysed it is fair to say that the majority of subject positions available to migrants is that of a threatening other. This analysis is not arguing that Irish people are not also constructed as a threat but rather the analysis is interested in the range of subject positions available to migrants and what the possible discursive effects of such positioning might be. The analysis has found that the migrant is constructed predominantly as a threatening other and only occasionally as a victim. This over representation of the other as a threat contributes to a negative dominant narrative about the other in Irish society. Positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as potentially diseased or as potentially threatening as liars, criminals or terrorists can have the effect of placing Irish people in the position of victims, trying to protect themselves and their nation-state. Such positioning of the other as threat has implications for how Irish people can be constructed in relation to them. As such, Irish people are constructed as morally entitled to protect Ireland and Irish people from threat by controlling the movements and behaviour of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants that are in Ireland or restricting the entry of new entrants. More importantly, the Irish state is positioned as responsible for the protection of the citizens through the positioning of the other as threat, and is given to power to take action in the name of protection. Discourses of threat and security:

> "invest those enacting security policies with legitimate power to undertake decisive and otherwise exceptional actions, but they also construct those actors with particular responsibility for doing so. These mobilizations of power and responsibility are intimately linked: the construction of something as so threatening as to warrant decisive action is followed by a responsibility for answering those threats" (Hansen, 2006, p. 37).

Actions that are justified by this way of positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and Irish people include deportation, refusal of admission, detention of suspected illegal immigrants and an assumption of illegality with subsequent detention until asylum claims have been processed and verified.

These actions suggest a right of control over refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Such control positions them as having no fundamental rights in the face of Ireland's right to protect herself. This idea becomes more evident as we look at what is not said, rather than only at what is said. In most incidences where

measures relating to the control (movement, new rules governing their rights, new steps that they must adhere to etc.) of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are discussed, it is presented in an unproblematic way. Irish peoples' right to control or put restrictions or conditions on refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants is not questioned but rather assumed to be legitimate and in fact essential. For example, see extract 40 below

Extract 40

State housing for new asylum-seekers

Newly-arrived asylum-seekers are now obliged to live in State-provided full-board accommodation or else forgo their right to anything more than scant welfare supports.

In a significant departure from the previous social welfare regime, new refugee applicants are no longer entitled to claim rent supplement to allow them to live in private rented accommodation.

The measure means that asylum-seekers will be effectively tied to living in their State-provided full-board accommodation in large centres around the country if they are to receive State support.

Most asylum-seekers have been allocated accommodation in "direct provision" centres such as former hotels since the system was introduced in April.

However, community welfare officers have until now had the discretion to allow asylum-seekers who were pregnant or those with other special needs to quit direct provision accommodation and live in the private rental sector, claiming rent payments.

Since direct provision was introduced more than three years ago, some 10,000 people have left it and claimed ordinary welfare benefits, according to the Department of Justice.

These people had been able to claim standard welfare benefits on the same basis as citizens, including basic weekly Supplementary Welfare Allowance, currently set at €124.80, and Rent Supplement.

The new measures are aimed at ensuring that all asylum-seekers remain instead in the "direct provision" system, where they receive a reduced Supplementary Welfare Allowance of €19.10 per adult per week,

as well as having food and laundry services provided.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said new asylum-seekers who turn down their allocated direct provision accommodation will still be entitled only to the same reduced payments.

The new arrangements stem from the recently-passed Social Welfare (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, which states that asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants are no longer entitled to Rent Supplement.

A spokesman for the Department of Social and Family Affairs said it was now expected that newly-arrived asylum-seekers would be accommodated in the direct provision system, apart from "exceptional cases".

The department made payments totalling €111.5 million to asylum-seekers, refugees and people with leave to remain in the State last year, according to estimates released under the Freedom of Information Act.

Of this, €7.6 million was paid to people in direct provision, with €103.9 million paid to people not in direct provision. This spending accounted for about a fifth of the total of expenditure under the social welfare allowance scheme, and included almost €40 million in Rent Supplement payments.

About €75 million was spent last year on housing asylum-seekers in direct provision accommodation, according to the Department of Justice spokesman. Up to 5,500 people can be accommodated in such housing, but it is usually 80 to 85 per cent full.

The spokesman said it would be impossible to calculate the future savings the new arrangements will bring as this depended on the numbers of asylum claims made this year.

The Irish Refugee Council yesterday criticised the move as a "serious retrograde step" in asylum policy. *(The Irish Times, June 12 2003)*

In extract 40 above we again see evidence of biopower with the state giving asylum seekers only two options "make live" the way we say you should ("live in State-provided full-board accommodation") or else to be "let die" by forgoing your rights. There is an almost unquestioning acceptance of the state's use of biopower in the above text, it is assumed to be normal and justified. The only criticism of this approach to housing asylum seekers is placed immediately after a

statement about how much money the approach will save the state: "The spokesman said it would be impossible to calculate the future savings the new arrangements will bring as this depended on the numbers of asylum claims made this year. The Irish Refugee Council yesterday criticised the move as a "serious retrograde step" in asylum policy." (Extract 40). This critical statement can only have limited impact due to its isolated nature at the end of a long article which makes not other critical comments to which it could ally itself.

This idea of the Irish state as having a right to exercise biopower in relation to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants is reinforced by positioning them as guest as seen in extracts 41 and 42 below.

Extract 41

Campaign for asylum controls being put to voters

ANALYSIS: Social and Racial Affairs Correspondent, joins Áine Ní Chonaill on a canvass in Dublin

Áine Ni Chonaill's election spiel goes like this: "We are worried about the asylum issue. We feel there's a need for more control. We are not getting a say and there's a need for a voice in the Dáil."

The Cork teacher is travelling far to bring her message to the Dublin South Central constituency where she is running as an Independent candidate on the single issue of a tightening of asylum and immigration policy.

She spent last weekend canvassing voters and facing down the vigorous negative campaigning of Anti-Fascist Action and Residents Against Racism who are distributing leaflets saying Ní Chonaill's Immigration Control Platform is intent on increasing racial tensions in the area.

At another house, Ms Ní Chonaill met Ms Mary Corrigan, who along with her husband are declared supporters. Ms Corrigan stood at her front gate, saying the candidate was "definitely right, 100 per cent or more". She talked about how the Irish migrant in England and America worked hard and how she sees "so many of them that you would think it was Beirut". "They're very aggressive, aren't they?" she said finally, searching the candidate's face for a reaction. "I'm not going to classify them

at all," replied Ms Ní Chonaill. "All I want is for them to ask for permission to be here."

At another door a middle-aged woman stood in her hall in large fluffy slippers and inquired of Ms Ní Chonaill: "It's about the people coming in? The coloured people?"

There were "coloured" people living next door for the past six months, she continued. "They don't do the garden or anything, but they are nice people," she said. The woman totally disagreed with the fact that there was no mandatory health screening for asylum-seekers who could be bringing in diseases. "That's very important and there's so many diseases. Have you thought about that yourself?"

"It's not something I have put an emphasis on," replied Ms Ní Chonaill, before recounting how migrants to Canada have to undergo strict health checks.

(The Irish Times, May 13 2002)

Extract 42

The judge told him: "People who are guests in Ireland should not be obstructing or causing hassle to gardai, and his friends should be told that as well." *(The Irish Independent, October 15 2004)*

Above refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are assumed, by their construction as guests, to be here under Ireland's invitation and therefore subservient to Irish rules and reliant upon Ireland's "permission" to stay. The guest/host construction positions Irish people as having the moral right to decide how they will treat their "guests"(Extract 42), how to insist their guests live while visiting and when the guests should leave; the right to "make live or let die". In extract 41 the issue of health checks and disease comes up, together for the "need for more control". Again the article is interesting in its variation. It reproduces the comments of an anti-immigration candidate but at the same time uses sarcasm to critique this candidate. The article functions to reproduce problematic constructions of migrants but at the same time to subtly critique those who produce such constructions. Constructing Irish people as hosts implies that they should have more rights than the guest migrants.

In extract 43 below asylum seekers and refugees are constructed as

implicated in illegal activity through their being described as being involved in a "Baby scam" and using a "legal loophole". We see how positioning asylum seekers as involved in illegal activity and therefore as immoral and deceitful can support, produce or reproduce practices that are harmful or discriminatory towards them, in this case the restriction of their children's right to Irish citizenship.

Extract 43

"Baby scam" uncovered as refugees use legal loophole - headline

Thousands of asylum seekers are using a loophole in Irish nationality laws to stay in the country. The Department of Justice now believes that it has fallen victim to an international "baby scam" operating out of Nigeria. Ireland is the only country in the EU, and one of only a few worldwide, where a child born in the state has an automatic right of citizenship. And a Supreme Court decision in 1990 says the child is entitled to the "company" of its non-national parents and siblings. The number of asylum seekers seeking to remain here claiming parentage of an Irish child has soared in recent months...Officials in the Department are convinced that the parentage rule has become an asylum seekers "magnet" for Ireland with criminals in Lagos organising transport to Ireland for pregnant women. Some are making the journey close to their full term.

The majority of births to asylum seekers in Dublin's hospitals are to women of Nigerian origin – guaranteeing them the right to stay in Ireland. That is despite the fact that more than 90pc of Nigerian asylum applications are turned down after their cases are examined. A recent repatriation agreement signed by the Justice Minister with the Nigerian government is powerless to stop the scam. And because asylum applications are taking up to 18 months to process, more and more aspirant female refugees are becoming pregnant and giving birth. However, despite this, any effort to change the law would be fraught with difficulty.

The right of citizenship for people born on the island of Ireland is enshrined in Article Two of the Constitution – which was endorsed by way of a national referendum as recently as 1998. In all other EU member states, the citizenship of a child born in that state is dependent on the nationality of its parents and how long they have been resident in that

particular country. Ireland's law is designed to recognise the right of people born in Northern Ireland to be citizens of the Republic. (*The Irish Independent, November 29, 2001)*

Extract 43 above links asylum seekers to criminal activity through explicitly positioning the Department of justice as a "powerless" "victim". In addition, by describing asylum seekers as involved in a "baby scam" and using a "legal loophole", they are linked to criminal activity. It is rhetorically powerful to talk about asylum seekers as involved in illegal activity and to position them as perpetrators to Ireland's victim position as it constructs them as criminals and thus positions them as people Ireland is warranted in keeping out. This deflects blame away from Ireland's immigration and asylum system. In addition, it warrants any policies which the government want to put into place to reduce numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants by suggesting that the people they are trying to keep out are criminals, immoral and deceitful. The construction of the immigrants in this story as criminals contributes to the unhelpful confusion over the definitions of asylum seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants. In contrast to refugees and asylum seekers who are fleeing their home countries because of persecution, an illegal immigrant is a person who has chosen (often because of severe economic pressures) to come to live (without official permission or documentation such as a visa) and seek work in Ireland based on economic and quality of life factors (Cullen, 2000). The article refers to asylum seekers throughout, but constructs them as coming to Ireland through illegal avenues therefore concealing the fact that they have a legal right to be in Ireland and making an asylum application. This perpetuates the myth that asylum seekers and refugees are really economic or illegal immigrants with no right to claim asylum. Such positioning strips asylum seekers and refugees of their moral and legal rights and allows Ireland to avoid accusations of withholding these inalienable rights from them. Ireland can justify withholding these rights by appealing to values of justice and fairness, and in so doing consolidate the Irish identity as one in which justice is an important value. The article tells the reader that the baby scammers must be kept out because their being in Ireland is a distortion of citizenship law that must be corrected. "In all other EU member states, the citizenship of a child born in that state is dependent on the nationality of its parents and how long they have been resident in that particular country. Ireland's law is designed to

recognise the right of people born in Northern Ireland to be citizens of the Republic". Here we see Ireland positioned as concerned with fairness and upholding a normative legal process for citizenship access rather than a country taking discriminatory action to exclude undesirable others.

By constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as connected to crime, Irish people are placed in opposition to this position as victims of crime. As victims, Irish people are positioned as morally superior to the immoral perpetrators of crime. Such positioning creates a sense of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as dishonest and unsavoury, that is, people which Irish people would be morally justified in not wanting in their country. In constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the ways described, the articles function to prescribe subject positions and hence moral and social roles. These positions and the allocated moral place feed directly into the types of emotional attitudes it is possible for readers to have about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. In the cases above, readers are invited to have negative emotional attitudes of outrage and suspicion towards asylum seekers (especially Nigerian asylum seekers) who are positioned as immoral and without right to be in Ireland. As well as supporting a particular emotional reaction, the article supports certain positioning of Irish people as moral and concerned with justice. Any action to exclude immigrants based on this current positioning cannot be called racist because it is based on values of fairness and justice and one cannot be both fair *and* racist. By identifying the actions of excluding the other as based on the need to defend just and fair citizenship laws it deflects the possibility of such actions being described as racist.

Constructing Irish identity in opposition to refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant identity has a number of functions. Firstly, Irish identity is constructed as superior to the identity of the inward migrants who are constructed in the vein of Sampson's serviceable other (1993), as inferior morally. Their deficits in morality and honesty define Irishness in opposition as moral and honest. Secondly, defining the other as immoral and criminal legitimises actions such as deportation and inoculates those proposing and supporting such actions against accusations of racism. It is not a racist action to suggest deportation rather it is a reasonable protective measure instigated by a fair and moral society against a manipulative, fraudulent, and immoral other. These two functions, of identity construction and

practice justification, function jointly to manage the practices of exclusion of the other whilst simultaneously emphasising Irish values and therefore consolidating Irish identity. Thus in discriminating against the other the newspaper articles are at the same time constructing and reproducing Irishness and Irish values around a common shared normalised version of the ideal Irish identity. This management of discriminatory practices and consolidation of values (i.e. value practice management) is evident in the extract 44 below.

Extract 44

> Mr McDowell said cases from "prioritised countries" such as Nigeria, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and South Africa were being dealt within 15 days, with appeals taking on average a further 12 to 13 days. Asylum applications from these countries were 40 per cent of the total. He said prioritisation has had a significant effect on the speed of processing. Previously applicants would appeal, and then "rely on the bureaucracy" to create a two – or three-year delay and make their presence here a fait accompli. *(The Irish Times, December 16 2005)*

Extract 44 defines people from "Nigeria, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and South Africa" as people who manipulate the system or "rely on the bureaucracy" of it to ensure that they can stay illegally in Ireland. In the extract, a number of nationalities are positioned firstly, as illegitimate in their claims for asylum, and secondly, as sneaky. Listing "prioritised countries", constructs people from these countries as illegitimate because the presence of your country on the list denotes an absence of humanitarian crises and danger to nationals of that country. The asylum seeker's stated illegitimacy is blamed for their not being allowed to stay in Ireland rather than any possible prejudice. By positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as illegitimate, it becomes possible to talk about deportation from Ireland without Irish people being positioned as immoral, unjust or prejudiced. The illegitimacy claim functions to inoculate the speaker from accusations of unfairness. In addition to inoculation, however, the illegitimacy claim positions Irish people in relation to these dishonest others, as honest people. In constructing dishonesty as an undesirable quality of asylum seekers, honesty is implied as a value of the Irish. This is not to say that there are no constructions of

the Irish as dishonest in newspaper articles (in fact there are many such constructions), the point of interest here, is on the relationship between Irish subject positions and the position of the migrant. Since identity construction is relational, the construction of one subject in a story has implications for the other subjects in the story. For example, if a story has an aggressor as a subject it must also have a victim subject. Thus, in constructing the other as illegitimate, the rhetorical move functions to firstly inoculate against accusations of racism and secondly to reaffirm Irish values of honesty in opposition to asylum seeker identity. Illegitimacy allows deportation to be constructed as merely the moral and logical conclusion to a failed asylum application and Irish people are reconfirmed as honest.

By positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as illegitimate and Irish people as honest, it is possible to limit their rights from a position based in morality and justice. It is possible to say that if the criteria for legitimacy are not met, then the entitlement to rights will not be granted. This is not seen as discriminatory, but instead depicted as Irish people being responsible citizens, upholding the values of their democratic nation state. The other is excluded and this is justified by appealing to a shared value base of the democratic nation state.

In extracts 45 and 46 below we can again see normalised values being used to justify exclusionary practices against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. By positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as liars and fraudsters the articles position them as immoral. Immoral people are understood to be less entitled than moral people. The moral rule suggests that if you behave in an immoral way you deserve to lose your rights. Extracts 45 and 46 below demonstrate this rule.

Extract 45

The parents of two Romanian teenagers claim their children were refused entry to the State and subsequently deported by immigration gardaí yesterday, despite their efforts to contact them.

The family claims the children, a 16-year-old boy and a girl aged 15, had intended to seek asylum in Ireland and were travelling on false Moldovan passports. They say they were held by immigration gardaí in

> Cork since last Monday, after arriving on a flight from Paris, and sent back to France yesterday... A person seeking refugee status is automatically entitled to remain in the State until their claim is processed. An asylum-seeker may, however, be detained under the Refugee Act (1996) on a number of grounds, such as possession of forged documents. *(The Irish Times 29 May, 2003)*

The extract presents the idea that you forfeit your rights if you behave immorally. The article tells us that refugees are "automatically entitled to remain in the State until their claim is processed" unless they behave in an immoral way such as having "possession of forged documents". In the extract, the moral rule is used to justify the deportation of a 16 and a 15 year old teenager. The state is positioned as justified in upholding its rights to protect it's borders. The extract serves two functions. It justifies the deportation but it also reinforces Irish values of honesty by emphasising it as an important rule that the government is bound to respect. Similarly extract 46 below also upholds this moral rule. We are told that "people seeking asylum who tore up their passports" or used a false identity would be automatically refused the right to live in Britain.

> **Extract 46**
>
> ASYLUM-SEEKERS in Britain who cannot produce identity papers will be deported under a Bill being prepared by David Blunkett, the Home Secretary.
>
> Mr Blunkett said yesterday that people seeking asylum who tore up their passports or used a false identity would be automatically refused the right to live in Britain. *(The Irish Independent June 9 2003)*

The above extract functions to tell the readers the rule, "if you lie or act immorally you forfeit you rights" but also subtly implies that it is a moral rule enforced not just by the Irish; the British Home Secretary also believes in this rule. Including an international example of enforcement of the moral rule strengthens the rule and reinforces Ireland's position as moral, democratic and law abiding. Thus, Irish identity and values are linked to British values and hence Western values. This functions to reinforce the norm of honesty as a Western norm to which Ireland adheres.

In the extracts analysed, constructions of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as immoral (inferior) and as threatening are variously used. In the articles threat and moral discourses are also intermingled. For example, the action of limiting rights or access is constructed as one of a moral imperative in the face of an external threat from criminals and from immoral others. The argument becomes - they are not entitled to be here so they should go, and secondly they are a threat so they should go. With this argument Irish people no longer have to think about making room for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants; because legally they have no right to be in Ireland in the first place and morally Irish people have a right to want to get rid of them because they are dangerous. This allows arguments for repatriation agreements and even constitutional amendments on citizenship laws to be aired without accusation of prejudice or immorality by offering legal and moral justifications for the proposed practices. It allows Ireland to exclude non-Irish others from a position of moral strength based on the nation-states stated and practiced democratic values. Again this is an example of value practice management, basing excluding the other on normalised democratic values and in so doing inoculating the Irish against accusations of racism and secondly reinforcing democratic values.

Above, we have seen identity construction go hand in hand with justification of discriminatory or exclusionary practices against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. This way of positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as having no rights in relation to Irish people has implications for moral responsibility, raising questions such as: Whose responsibility is it to look after immigrants and asylum seekers? What is their responsibility towards Ireland? This will be explored below.

6.3.8 Moral Responsibility

In keeping with the positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as threats, it follows that they are rarely positioned as victims, but rather as challenging and strong invaders. This has implications for moral responsibility. If newspaper discourse denies refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants the position of victim then it also denies them the moral rights of victims. Irish people, then, can be constructed as having no moral responsibility towards them. Rather, as strong and challenging people, it is these others who are positioned as morally

responsible, both for their own fate and for the fate of multicultural Ireland. It becomes their responsibility to integrate with "us", and Irish people are absolved of their duties to facilitate this integration. Irish people are constructed as the victim of unfair and immoral practices at the hands of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Such constructions enable a surrendering of responsibility on the part of Irish people and the state and in so doing place full responsibility for successful intercultural living with those newly arrived. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extract 47

The African community in Ireland has come a long way in a very short time. In size, it has gone from a few hundred to about 30,000 in the space of a decade. Meanwhile, derelict inner city streets have gained new life with the arrival of Nigerian businesses. Back lanes are the homes of flourishing evangelical churches. New publications have sprung up to serve the community.

Yet the community lives with constant uncertainty. The Government makes no secret of its desire to deport many Africans whose applications for asylum have been rejected. Even those with refugee status are struggling to find work and affordable housing in Celtic Tiger Ireland. Unlike eastern Europeans, black-skinned immigrants have nowhere to hide in the face of racist behaviour.

At the same time, the community must wrestle with other demons. The negative image of Nigerians is due, at least in part, to the involvement of some members of that community in crime, particularly credit-card fraud and child-trafficking. There is little integration with Irish communities and undoubted tensions in some working-class areas...One constant for all Africans in Ireland is the threat and reality of racism. Black immigrants simply stand out more than other groups, and many Irish people aren't too fussy about their insults. Black equals asylum-seekers, equals Nigerian, equals sponger - goes the most virulent form of racist thinking. For a while after September 11th, anyone resembling a Muslim - including women wearing African gowns - was fair game.

"What we generally get in Ireland is a very naïve and ignorant form

of racism, rather than the organised or ideological forms you see in other countries," says Philip Watt, director of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI).

A typical problem arises when a gang of youths picks on an immigrant family in its neighbourhood, breaking their windows and harassing the children. When this happened recently on a housing estate in Tallaght, neighbours came to the aid of the beleaguered Congolese family, but Watt says combined action is needed from gardaí, residents groups and local authorities.

The NCCRI logged 81 racist incidents between May 2001 and last March, but Watt believes the real number is far greater. Relations between the black community and the gardaí have sometimes been difficult. *(The Irish Times, July 30 2002)*

In extract 47 above, the African community in Ireland is constructed as strong and self sufficient. The reader is told that "it has gone from a few hundred to about 30,000 in the space of a decade" and that African immigrants are responsible for the setting up of "Nigerian businesses", "evangelical churches" and "New publications". The article aims to be balanced in its acknowledgement of racism towards Africans. It also describes the African community as energetic and vibrant, bringing life back to inner city streets. It moves onto looking at the problems the African community brings with it to Ireland, such as crime, "particularly credit-card fraud and child-trafficking". The article acknowledges racism towards the African community (by quoting official sources from the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism) but struggles to explore the role of Irish people in general in facilitating integration and reducing racism. Finally, the article does not explicitly blame African communities for lack of integration but nevertheless constructs it as a problem resting with them. The article states, "There is little integration with Irish communities and undoubted tensions in some working-class areas". It is implied that the lack of integration comes from the African community. This is achieved by the use of "there is little integration" instead of saying "they have not integrated" which would be more explicit. Nevertheless, "there is" places blame obliquely with some force, that is not the Irish community.

Irish people are freed from the responsibility of integration and the blame is

placed on 'that' or 'them', whatever "there is" applies to. Ireland represented by "communities" in the plural, is constructed as functioning well and already integrated as a society. It gives the impression of many members coming together to negotiate shared living with various communities. This is something which the African community has implicitly failed to do. Extract 48 subtly places the problem of integration within the immigrant community also.

Extract 48

The presence of large numbers of immigrants will continue to pose intractable policy questions for Ireland and Europe, a conference in Paris was told yesterday..."France does not think of itself as a country of immigrants or a multi-cultural society," Prof Stora said. Jacobinist centralism, the legacy of the French revolution, created a sacrosanct belief that public schools should assimilate immigrants into the Republic.

But Algerian immigrants have not assimilated like earlier waves of Polish and Italian immigrants, though they eventually abandoned the "myth of return" to their country of origin.

All studies of immigrants show a similar phenomenon, he added. "After 20 or 30 years, they never return. The third generation (in exile) doesn't leave, but it looks for its identity."...Across Europe, attitudes towards immigrants are shifting towards civic integration policies. "We expect more of immigrants in the process of immigration than previously," Prof Ingram said.

"There is no more a blanket acceptance of 'I have a right to 'x' because it's my culture'. *(The Irish Times, October 18 2004)*

This extract takes an explanatory tone which appears to be trying to educate the reader about the reasons immigrants tend to not integrate well. It tells the reader how immigrant populations instead of integrating, tries to find people of similar cultural background, "looks for its identity", thus creating pockets of immigrant cultural groups that are separate from the mainstream. The article says that "all studies of immigrants show similar phenomenon", implying that this ghettoisation of the other is inevitable and their preferred choice. In response to this lack of integration the article suggests a hard line approach and a reduction in a "blanket acceptance of 'I have a right to 'x' because it's my culture". Extract 49 below

takes a different tone but also blames refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants for lack of integration rather than the indigenous population.

Extract 49

Walk the streets of Dublin's Liberties, the area with the highest concentration of asylum-seekers and refugees in the country, and you hear the same story again and again. Local people say they have little cause to mix with immigrants, who now represent almost 25pc of the area's population. "They keep themselves to themselves," the locals say. "They have their own way of doing things and it's very different to ours."

Some local women, waiting to collect their children from school, say they never come in contact with people from immigrant communities, even though there are hundreds living close by. "We're not being unfriendly but we just have nothing in common with them," says one. "They have different customs, speak a different language. You'd never see them down the pub. They just don't seem to mingle with the rest of us."... The multicultural mix in Dublin's south inner city is the most colourful in the country, with more than 30 nationalities from countries as far apart as Poland, Sierra Leone, Egypt and Trinidad. But despite the pessimistic findings of the new report, there is one place in the community where international relations are thriving and foreign residents feel truly welcome - at one of the biggest schools in the Liberties, Presentation Secondary School.

A fortnight ago the school, which educates more than a dozen nationalities, celebrated One World Week, an annual event where pupils learn about different cultures in a hands-on way.

All week the school's spacious library is taken up with all sorts of exotic activities, from henna body painting to belly dancing. Different nationalities get to sample each other's cooking and there are workshops focusing on different religions, customs and languages. The culmination of the week involves a concert - this year the programme included an eclectic mix of music from Hindu dancing to African drumming.

"The girls love this week," says English resource teacher Helen MacMahon. "But most importantly they learn about other cultures. The

foreign kids have a much higher profile in the school afterwards. The Irish girls love learning how to put African plaits in their hair or getting a henna tattoo. Even learning how to make a Chinese meal can help break down barriers."

Taphilwa Mabvaro is a 16-year-old Zimbabwean pupil at Presentation who came here two years ago when her father got a job as an engineer with Irish Rail. She loves school and is popular among staff and fellow pupils but encounters occasional problems when she leaves the school gates.

"I have noticed that people tend to ask you first if you are an asylum-seeker and, when they have established that you aren't, they seem to be friendlier, " she says. "It depends who you are dealing with. Irish people who have travelled and seen the world are the open-minded ones. They ask you about your country and your life but the ones who haven't gone further than their front door usually don't want to know."... But some, like Pat Guerin, who work at the cutting edge of immigration, accuse the Government of sowing the seeds of racist disharmony. "If you sat anyone down and asked them about racism in Ireland, refugees and asylum-seekers would be the first words they'd use," he says. "We have to ask where these negative images of foreigners are coming from? Most of them come from State agencies. Every time you turn on the news, you hear some Government spokesperson restating the fact that 90pc of our migrants come here for economic reasons.

"There's been a huge fall in the number of asylum-seekers but they are still chanting the same mantra. In every other country economic development goes hand in hand with immigration. These people want to work but they are forced to stay in the system. That reinforces the stereotype. If you are black, you must be a refugee and a scrounger." *(The Irish Independent, February 12 2004)*

In the above extract, it is immigrants' differences that are initially blamed for lack of integration – "They have different customs, speak a different language. You'd never see them down the pub. They just don't seem to mingle with the rest of us". The argument goes, if they were more like us, we would talk and interact with them, but they are not like us, so we have no responsibility to try to get to know

them. The pub functions as an exemplar of Irish culture that immigrants are seen to be rejecting by their lack of engagement in the Irish custom of going "down the pub". Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as aloof and distant and not making enough of an effort, "They keep themselves to themselves/they just don't seem to mingle with the rest of us". In contrast to the dominant negative reporting on integration possibilities, the story highlights the school as a place where integration can work and gives a concrete example of one particular school where migrants are making a positive contribution and where integration is working well: "But despite the pessimistic findings of the new report, there is one place in the community where international relations are thriving and foreign residents feel truly welcome - at one of the biggest schools in the Liberties, Presentation Secondary School. A fortnight ago the school, which educates more than a dozen nationalities, celebrated One World Week, an annual event where pupils learn about different cultures in a hands-on way." (Extract 49). The article goes on to question if there is a slight racism in the reluctance of Irish people to mix with immigrants. However, it does not overtly challenge the notion that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants should be held responsible for making an effort on their side to integrate, and thus, while being open to the question of racism from the Irish, still subtly blames refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants for the lack of integration with the community. In being constructed as objects of blame, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants have no access to a position that entails rights or entitlements, but instead, only duties. If you are to blame for something it is morally your duty to fix it. This construction absolves Irish people from responsibility for integration and instead places the burden on refuges, asylum seekers and immigrants. In addition, it normalises Irish people's lack of responsibility or attempts to integrate, and constructs their unwillingness to integrate as reasonable given Irish norms and values. The articles tell us, if they made an effort, of course we would integrate, but they haven't done that, so we the Irish are being reasonable and fair by not integrating with them -"We're not being unfriendly but we just have nothing in common with them," says one. "They have different customs, speak a different language. You'd never see them down the pub. They just don't seem to mingle with the rest of us."

The article goes beyond blaming the migrant for lack of integration and instead also points to the role of government policies and practices in limited

integration: "But some, like Pat Guerin, who work at the cutting edge of immigration, accuse the Government of sowing the seeds of racist disharmony. "If you sat anyone down and asked them about racism in Ireland, refugees and asylum-seekers would be the first words they'd use," he says. "We have to ask where these negative images of foreigners are coming from? Most of them come from State agencies. Every time you turn on the news, you hear some Government spokesperson restating the fact that 90pc of our migrants come here for economic reasons. There's been a huge fall in the number of asylum-seekers but they are still chanting the same mantra. In every other country economic development goes hand in hand with immigration. These people want to work but they are forced to stay in the system. That reinforces the stereotype. If you are black, you must be a refugee and a scrounger." Here we see the article place the responsibility for integration, not on the individual Irish citizen but on the shoulders of the state. This act of placing responsibility on the migrant of the state is reproduced across many of the articles analysed, rarely is the Irish citizen asked to take responsibility for racial harmony or multiculturalism in Ireland.

In most of the extracts analysed and in the examples given above the other is positioned as threatening. Blaming the other for lack of integration together with their being constructed as a threat is very powerful. Irish people are constructed as having no responsibility for integration or the successful living together of Irish with people from elsewhere. Also, because refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are considered to be threats, the only responsibility given to Irish people, positioned as victims of this threat, is to protect Ireland, Irish people and the Irish way of life. These ways of constructing the relationship between Ireland and her immigrants, prioritises Ireland's safety over all else. Integration is given to refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers as their issue and therefore taken off the table as something Irish people should be concerned about.

6.4 Discursive Manoeuvres Identified in this Research and how they relate to Contemporary Findings

The current analysis identified numerous discursive manoeuvres that the newspaper writers used for rhetorical and functional effect. The majority of these have already been identified by contemporary research on racism from a discourse

analytic/social constructionist perspective such as the work of van Dijk (1987, 1992, 1993 and 1997), Potter and Wetherell (1988), Wetherell and Potter (1992), Teo (2000), Wood and Kroger (2000), Augoustinous, Tuffin and Rapley (1999), Blommaert and Verschueren (1994), Miles (1989) and Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000). The analysis of Irish newspaper discourse about refugees and asylum seekers has revealed discourses which function to support, produce and reproduce racist practices in Ireland. This finding concurs with the findings of the work mentioned above and other studies which have found that talk and text about immigrants, foreigners, black people and other minority groups can have a discriminatory function and that such discourse is achieved using numerous discursive and rhetorical strategies. Earlier studies on racism and discourse tended to focus on specific discursive strategies employed in the talk. While the current thesis identified many discursive strategies as part of the method of discourse analysis, these strategies were not the primary focus of the investigation. However, there is a considerable degree of overlap and commonality to be found in the area of discursive strategies when comparing the current research thesis to research papers that have gone before it. The following details many of these commonalities in the discursive strategies used in Irish newspaper discourse and other talk about immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in other countries.

Irish newspaper articles were found to employ a number of discursive strategies already documented elsewhere. For example, the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation has been documented in the research of van Dijk,(1992) looking at everyday discourse and elite discourse in the Netherlands, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in conversational discourse and the discourse of elites, and by Kleiner (1998) in natural conversational discourse in the United States of America. This is a strategy in which negative constructions of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (other) are always followed by positive constructions of Irish people (self). An example of this is the negative presentation of asylum seekers and refugees as taking advantage of Irish kindness by applying for residency in too great a number and the positive presentation of Irish people as fair and generous and trying to help asylum seekers by giving residency to non-nationals who have children born in Ireland (Extract 23). This is also an example of reversal (van Dijk, 1992) whereby the perpetrator of racism reverses the scenario by

constructing themselves and their group as the victims who are treated unfairly by the original victim. This use of victim blaming and reversal allows blame to be put on refugees and asylum seekers for the changes rather than being attributed to Irish people/Irish government and thus avoids accusations of racism and prejudice.

Victim blaming is a discursive strategy whereby the victim of prejudice or the minority individual or group are blamed for their position in life as marginalized and discriminated against. That is their own actions, culture or character are appealed to as reasons why they have less opportunity, rights or money for example than people in the majority group. Such an argument places blame on the victim and deflects blame away from majority individuals, culture and politics. Verkuyten (1997) in the Netherlands and Augoustinos, Tuffin and Rapley (1999) in Australia, both studies looking at everyday conversational discourse, documented a strategy of victim blaming and reversal which was also documented in research by van Dijk (1992). This strategy was identified in the current thesis. An example of this in the articles analysed is evident in Extract 22. In this extract asylum seekers are positioned as wrong doers. They are constructed as at fault by the suggestion that they are gaining unfair advantage of the open immigration system in the EU.

Category entitlement (Sacks, 1972; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter 1996) and stake inoculation (Potter, 1996) are used in the discourse. Category entitlement refers to the category entitlement of the speaker quoted. That is, members of different social categories for example official and non-officials are expected to know certain things or have a certain amount of authority in what they say. Thus the veracity of discourse is mediated by "the entitlements of the category membership of the speaker" (Edwards and Potter, p. 60). Thus the use of authority voices such as politicians ("Senator Paschal Mooney") or the authorities in Ireland ("the Department of Justice") (Extract 25; Extract 24) functions to make the claim more rhetorically powerful, that is, more believable. It also functions to inoculate the writer from claims that the opinion put forward is biased. The writer can say that he or she is merely reporting what the authorities told them. This is an example of stake inoculation (Potter, 1996). Reference to the authorities as the source of the information also lends the description pseudo-factual weight – it has come from an authoritative source therefore it must have some truth. Category entitlement allows stake inoculation (Potter, 1996), this means that by putting the

opinion as coming from someone else the writer of the article can report without being held accountable for what he/she is saying, it becomes the opinion of the Department of Justice not the writer's.

Extreme case formulations were identified in this thesis as a strategy employed in the newspaper articles analysed these have been well documented by Pomerantz (1986). Extreme case formulations exaggerate or emphasises the point being made by using extreme examples making the argument rhetorically powerful. In Extract 20 it is put forward that the number of asylum seekers applying to remain in Ireland is too high and that they are turning Ireland into the "maternity ward for West Africa". Extract 11 tells the reader that the numbers of asylum seekers applying to stay in Ireland has "soared it the past year", while Extract 12 tells the reader that there is a "surge in births to asylum seekers". Extreme case formulations are achieved by the use of phrases such as "soared" and "surge" when talking about numbers of refugees and asylum seekers coming into Ireland. These phrases function to exaggerate the numbers and construct an extreme image of the number of asylum seekers and refugees seeking asylum in Ireland, which is depicted as the "maternity ward for West Africa".

Numbers and statistics are selectively used as facts in some of the articles analysed and this strategy has been found in other research on racism and discursive practice (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). In the Extract 23 readers are told that "4,500" applications were made "by the end of October" this suggests a big number in a small time frame. The coupling of a big number with a small time frame is rhetorically effective as it emphasises or exaggerates the bigness of the number by contrasting it with the smallness of the time in which it has grown. This represents a use of numbers and time as facts used rhetorically. In Extract 25 too, refugees and asylum seekers are constructed as too many. We are told that the numbers are "large" and then to back up this assertion factual evidence in the form or numbers is put forward, "2,300 of the 2,700". The use of numbers is rhetorically powerful in these extracts. Numbers are presented in a descriptive way without the inclusion of other meaningful information that would allow for comparisons and contrasts to be made thus allowing for a greater understanding and depth. There tends to be no information given that can help construct a picture of refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland as a portion or small part of a much larger group. This makes it very difficult for the reader to put the numbers given

into perspective.

A strategy of attributing individual characteristics/personality to a group is employed in the discourse. In Extracts 1, 2 and 6 refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as dishonest, sneaky, and immoral. Individual characteristics - unlike culture - can be applied to an individual rather than a group and as such represents a trait which is changeable to some degree, unlike culture which is less malleable. By attributing individual characteristics to a group the discourse functions to imply that the group could change or not be dishonest, sneaky and immoral should they so wish. This potential for change places responsibility on the shoulders of the victim (the minority group) and allows majority members to blame them for not changing. Thus the argument becomes: they are sneaky and dishonest and they choose to be like that; they won't change so why should we be expected to allow them into our country? This is rhetorically powerful because it allows speakers to blame characteristics of individuals rather than recognise their own prejudice. This construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants is similar to constructions of immigrants documented by Verkuyten (1997). It was found that Dutch speakers use notions of mentality in their talk about immigrants to construct them as responsible for not fitting in to Dutch culture. Whilst the actual word 'mentality' was not used in these extracts there is a subtle construction of character or personality type which is attributed to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants.

Metaphor and imagery are utilised in the text. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that interpretive repertoires are often constructed around one consistent image or metaphor. Images and metaphors function as powerful rhetorical tools to give an account coherence and impact. Images and metaphors are powerful story telling devices and lend to easy understanding and quick absorption of meaning (Pratkanis and Aronson, 2001). The most powerful metaphor drawn on in the articles was the war metaphor (Extract 33; Extract 34), which functioned to position the other as enemy and to delineate moral positions within which Irish people are morally obliged to want to hate and exclude this enemy. An image of Ireland as a solution or liquid that is unable to withstand dilution was also drawn upon in the articles (Extract 20, 23, 24 & 25). In the extracts, Ireland was constructed as a delicate cultural entity that was in danger of being overwhelmed or diluted by the arrival of too many people with different cultures. Refugees,

asylum seekers and immigrants are compared to drugs through a metaphorical link between people smuggling and drug smuggling in Extract 3. Words such as "lucrative", "trade", "people-smuggling", "illegal immigrant trade" and "profitable" function to construct refugees as objects to be traded or smuggled for profit. A metaphor is constructed through which refugees are compared to drugs being smuggled into Ireland. This metaphor objectifies refugees.

Van Dijk (1992) found that disclaimers are strategically used in text when immigration or issues of race are discussed. A disclaimer is a statement which functions to inoculate the speaker against negative depiction following a statement which may be offensive. Disclaimers include "I'm not racist but...", " I like blacks but..." or "No offence but...". The beginning of the utterance functions to present the speaker positively and act as a disclaimer or inoculation against accusations of racism which may follow the speaker's next more negative utterance. There was little use of disclaimers in the articles analysed. This may be linked to a difference in discursive style evident in Irish newspapers compared to research in other countries. Although discursive strategies are used in Irish newspaper discourse to inoculate against accusations of racism, they appear to be used somewhat less than they are in other countries as identified by research. It is my opinion that heavy reliance on the threat position in the construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in Irish newspaper discourse negates the necessity of using disclaimers and inoculation devices. Positioning the other as a threat acts as a gross strategy of victim blaming – they are a threat therefore they are to blame and we the Irish are the victims. This construction means that because the Irish are the victims there is no need to use discursive devices to protect ones self from accusations of racism, a victim cannot be on the attack or be racist. A discursive field in which the other is a threat does not allow for the possibility that actions of exclusion are racist therefore there is little need for face saving devices. Racism is denied by constructing the other as threat, transforming actions of exclusion into actions of protection and not racism. Exclusion is based on a duty to protect Ireland rather than individual prejudiced attitudes.

In the text analysed there are numerous constructions achieved using various discursive and rhetorical strategies and serving many different functions. Other researchers looking at racist discourses in other countries and using different methods and samples have also identified some of the constructions, functions and

discursive strategies identified in this analysis. The finding that discursive strategies identified in this analysis have also been identified elsewhere by other researchers functions to give depth to the current findings and shows coherence in the analysis of this thesis with contemporary research on racism and discourse. This coherence functions to support the validity of findings in published research. Smith (2008) contradicts the findings of the current analysis by arguing that the Irish have been tolerant of immigration and that the broadsheet newspapers are "unlikely to whip up anti-immigrant sentiment" (p.425). However, her article does not look at newspaper discourses per se, rather at the political atmosphere and she uses an interview with an Irish Times journalist to justify her statement above adding that the Irish broadsheets "tend to be liberal leaning" (p.425). Her analysis focuses only on blatant racism and does not look at the subtle discursive manoeuvres that contribute to racist practices and the reproduction of racist stereotypes. Her assertion that Ireland has been tolerant of immigration is contradicted by this analysis and numerous studies on Ireland and the Citizenship referendum (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2007; Garner, 2007; Hess & Shandy, 2008; Lentin, 2003; Shandy, 2008; Shandy & Power, 2008; and White & Gilmartin, 2008).

6.5 Summary and Discussion of Results

The aim of this analysis has been to demonstrate the various ways in which refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and the state are discursively constructed in newspaper articles. In so doing, the analysis has sought to explore the differing discursive positions available to each of these parties and to show the role of power in this positioning. The discourses used in newspapers construct positions for refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and Irish people and in so doing suggest how Irish people should feel about them based on these positions. In the newspaper extracts, discourse provides a moral guide about who fits where, who is right, who is entitled, and who is just, and in so doing delineates how the reader should feel about each of the protagonists of this moral tale. These moral tales are facilitated by subject positioning which are determined by the identity constructions given to each party through the discourses. In the newspaper discourses analysed, there are varying identities with different subject positions for

Ireland and Irish people in relation to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Firstly, the Irish are positioned as victims in relation to the refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant identity as attacker or threatening outsider. Such positioning justifies a counter attack or defensive strategy such as deportation, exclusion or strict immigration policies on the part of the Irish. Secondly, the Irish and Ireland are positioned as superior in relation to the inferior immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. This positioning justifies the imposition of Western and Irish values on those coming into Ireland. It sets Irish cultural practices as the norm to which the other must adapt or be excluded. As the inferior ones, responsibility rests with the immigrant, the refugee and the asylum seeker to change and adapt so that they can live up to the superior norm. Finally, Ireland is positioned in between different worlds: the immigrant world and the Western world. This process of differentiation and linking in the formation of Irish identity allows for a very flexible construction of Irish identity that can move easily between the victim and the superior subject position. Sometimes as well as moving between these identity constructions, Ireland is also allowed to develop a unique identity that is separate from both these. The strategies of differentiation and linking (Hansen, 2006), positioning the other as inferior (Sampson,1993) and positioning the other as a threat (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Torffing, 1999) were all evident in the construction of Irish identity in the newspaper articles analysed. The current analysis found that identity construction uses these strategies together and variously, rather than just one fixed strategy as described by the above authors. Irish identity was observed as being constructed between two others – the inferior or threatening immigrant/asylum world and the superior or equal Western world. Each of these ways of positioning the self and the other have different strategic consequences for moral positioning and the subsequent emotional attitudes and practices that can be produced, reproduced or supported.

The most recurrent positioning in the analysis is that of Ireland as victim and the immigrants and asylum seekers and refugees are the threatening and immoral ones who will ultimately destroy Irishness. In the analysis above refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constantly positioned in ways that give them an inferior but threatening moral position to Irish people. They are variously positioned as criminals, terrorists, a threat to order and homogeneity and a threat to public health. Irish people and the Irish state, in contrast, are positioned as victims

and therefore morally virtuous. These moral positions carry with them differing entitlements, rights and duties. Irish people, as moral superiors, are entitled to Irish resources as well as dignity, safety, protection and care of the state. Likewise Irish people have established rights, such as the right to cultural and religious freedom, the right to freedom of movement and the right to health care, education, housing and so on. The Irish are positioned as having no duties toward refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Their duties are towards their fellow Irish people in the form of vigilance against the threat from the threatening other and a duty to take difficult but tough positions towards refugees and asylum seekers in the name of protecting the state. In contrast to the rights and entitlements afforded to Irish people, the discursive positions of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants do not afford them any such privileges. Instead, as immoral subjects, their positions carry with them many duties and responsibilities. These include being responsible for integration, for Ireland's reaction to them, for security, homogeneity and health. This way of positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants means that it is more likely that actions against their best interests can be taken in the name of an abstract moral good rather than a relational or individual good based on the needs of individuals in a social relationship with other individuals and a country. The Irish state and Irish people can more easily relate to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as abstract objects in a moral dilemma rather than real individuals with various presentations and multiple genuine needs.

Thus while refuges, asylum seekers and immigrants are considered as less than or not real individuals they are nevertheless functional and needed within the system of discourse that defines Irish identity. By naming the other as different and outsider they are given a place within the discursive system as the 'outsider'. Thus, their otherness becomes part of the discursive field. In order to have self identity in relation to a shared norm, a different outsider is needed to be defined in relation to. In this way, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are given a defined place in relation to the norm, as different, and in such a way are not allowed to escape the power of the norm. They are defined as different in relation to the norm. Identity is relational and cannot be separated from the strategy of normalisation.

Torfing (1999) describes the threatening other as the constitutive outside and defines it as "a beyond that is not simply one more difference, but something

that poses a threat to all the differences within the discursive formation" (p. 124). In this definition, the constitutive outside or threatening other is an external enemy that prevents the self identity from being fully constituted. The threatening other is discursively separate and outside the system of meaning. However, it has been shown above that the other is included within the norm by its being defined as different in relation to the norm. In a biopower system that relies on norms, the individual or identity is measured by "gaps" rather than deeds. "(N)ormative discourse doesn't function primarily to exclude persons, topics or acts; rather, norms do their work precisely by trying to include – which is to say, examine, test and classify – as much raw data as possible." (Nealon, 2008, p. 50). Nothing escapes the norm. The other is given the position of outsider in relation to the norm, which effectively includes them in the strategy of normalisation. Such inclusion of the other as delinquent or inferior in relation to the norm is more consistent with Sampson's (1993) description of the inferior other than the threatening other. The inferior other (Sampson, 1993) is within the boundaries and defined as other in relation to the norm. In contrast, the threatening other (Torffing, 1999) is outside the boundaries and is not part of the system at all. Hansen's work with differentiation and linking resolves this divergence and brings the threatening other inside the norm. Her work is concerned with the constitutive outside which she argues can never fully be outside the system. This is consistent with Nealon's argument that the biopower system seeks always to include so much so that even the radical other is discoursed into the system through the use of the norm. Been constructed as radical, abnormal and outside is a construction from within the prevailing discourse of the norm, and therefore from within the biopower system. From this, we can see that the other cannot remain outside once that other comes under the attention or becomes subject to the prevailing normalising discourses. Thus, to be considered threatening, means that one is under the gaze of the normalising system of power and therefore part of the system of meaning.

The work in this thesis, following the work of Hansen (2006), Foucault (2003) and Nealon (2008) proposes that the threatening other is essential to the constitution of the self and is therefore inside and a part of the system of meaning. "Threats and insecurities are not just potentially undermining of the state and things that could be eliminated, they constitute the state: the state only knows who and what it is through its juxtaposition against the radical, threatening other"

(Hansen, 2006, p.36). So the threatening other is used relationally to define the self. Following this idea, the threatening other, in terms of power strategies, is internal to the system of meaning, even when it is literally outside. That is, a Roma gypsy woman living in Romania, can be part of the discourse that constructs Irish identity as settled, clean, wealthy, hard working etc without her having to be literally inside the country. The discourse of Roma gypsies as threatening others (dangerous because of their radical otherness) becomes serviceable to a particular Irish identity. The construction of the other as a threat is *serviceable* to the construction of Irish identity. For example, constructing the other as threat to Irish identity through dilution, serves the purpose of constructing Irish identity in relation to the other as culturally pure, and culturally delicate. Additionally, the Irish are positioned as superior and therefore given power over the inferior refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. One of the main ways in which they are constructed as inferior is in the domain of morality. By constructing the other as criminals the newspaper articles position them as morally inferior. By constructing the other as morally deficient, the responsibility is placed on them to change and address this deficiency. They are expected to catch up with the more developed Irish nation and there is no responsibility placed on the Irish to wait for them or make any accommodations for their integration.

Contemporary Western societies and their citizens are expected to be democratic and liberal, concerned with fairness and liberty for all. These states or citizens cannot be openly racist or discriminatory because such behaviour would go against all their stated principles and values. We see this in the recurrent state denial of racism, the refrain that racism is a thing of the past (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, 1999; van Dijk, 1992). Yet racism continues. It has not been the aim of this thesis to examine a causal link for racism in Ireland, rather it is to examine the factors that make racist practices possible in a democratic state. It is my contention that subject positioning plays a major role in the maintenance and the production and reproduction of racist practices. From my analysis, it appears that very specific types of subject positions are created in the talk about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants and the Irish state and people in relation to them. It is these interrelated positions, I argue, that facilitate racist practices.

Following from Foucault (2003) I argue that racism is endemic to governmental practices and indeed functions to regulate normalization within

society. I also agree with Foucault's suggestion that contemporary citizens and societies seek to find ways to be racist that allow them to hold onto their common decency, democracy and a respect of the laws and human rights. I have termed this negotiation between the practice of racism and the maintenance of the shared values of democratic nation states as *value-practice management.* I believe that value-practice management is best achieved and most evident in the practice of discursive positioning. In particular, this refers to the way in which subjects of discourse are given specific moral/social positions depending on how each is constructed in the discourse. I believe that in order to act or support practices that have racist effects, one's practicing or supporting racism must appear to stem from a value base that is democratic, fair and just, thus inoculating them from accusations of not only racism but of stepping outside the norm of democratic practice. Thus, the value-practice management strategy not only functions to legitimise racism or inoculate against accusations of racism, but most importantly allows the subject to stay within the norms of their society. That is, one can be racist (essentially undemocratic, unfair and unjust) but do so based on values of democracy, fairness and justice. In that way one can simultaneously act outside the norm whilst staying firmly within it. The positioning is not just about positioning the other (refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants) as immoral, threat etc it is equally about positioning the Irish as fair, just, democratic. My argument is that in performing racism, we are also performing identity and doing this within prevailing power strategies, in this case that of biopower. In this way, racist practices function to exclude the other but also function to construct in preferred ways the identity of those being racist. In this analysis Ireland in being discriminatory is also constructed as fair, just, normalised, concerned and loyal.

In constructing the other we are always constructing the self (Sampson, 1993; Torffing, 1999) and we do this through a power strategy that seeks to mould the self as closely as possible to the societal norm (Foucault, 2003). So in reproducing racist discourses we are excluding the other but also demonstrating our values and norms and how we use them to live. We are saying "this is who we are…this is how we live". In this way value-practice management functions via subject positioning to produce and reproduce racist discourses and practices whilst simultaneously confirming and reiterating the value base, identity and norms of the society and its' citizens.

Chapter Seven - Dependability of findings

7.1 Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

The current analysis underwent a series of checks with respect to validity and dependability of the findings. Within qualitative research the issues of validity and reliability have been written about in great detail. Criteria for conducting good qualitative research do exist and many of them have been applied to the current analysis. Lincon and Guba (1985) and Golafshani (2003) argue for the use of the term dependability over reliability in qualitative research. They suggest that to use reliability is misleading as it is not fully realisable in qualitative research in the way that it is for quantitative studies.

Validity refers to the extent to which an account can be said to accurately represent the "truth" or in this case the societal phenomena to which it refers (Kenwood & Pidgeon, 1993). In qualitative research, the problem of validity occurs where there is a question about the extent to which findings are based on a genuine critical reading of the data rather than on anecdotalism. Whilst discursive analytic research is not generalisable or valid in traditional positivist sense, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest three validity criteria of relevance to this research: coherence, new problems and fruitfulness. Coherence refers to the way in which the discourse fits together and how discursive structure produces effects and functions. A coherent analysis covers both the broad pattern and accounts for the many "micro-sequences" (p.170) in the discourse. Under this definition then the analysis can be argued to be a coherent analysis. Further analysis could increase the coherence by focusing on the exceptions to the analytic scheme identified in the research.

New problems refer to the requirement that valid discourse analysis not only solves problems but also creates new problems. New questions that arise from the analysis include: what other discursive and power strategies are used to justify inconsistent practices other than value practice management? What feeds into newspaper discourse and to what extent does newspaper discourse feed into the talk of the general population and with what consequences? How can we position self and other differently, as similar or interesting rather than different and threatening? The analysis in this thesis achieved this requirement and constantly

strove to answer new questions as they arose, however, many are still left unanswered.

Potter and Wetherell's (1987) final criterion for validity is fruitfulness and this refers to the "scope of the analytic scheme to make sense of new kinds of discourse and to generate novel explanations" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p171). In this analysis identity theories were integrated and positioning theory was used to uncover a strategy of value practice management in self other constructions.

The analysis also ensured validity by adhering to the principles of reflexivity (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999). 'Reflexivity' involves the researcher being aware of his or her biases and constantly reflecting on them. A 'coherent' analysis is an analysis that looks for exceptions to its findings and seeks variation in the data.

In order to increase dependability, Silverman (2006) suggest that researchers clearly explain the criteria for including certain examples of text and not others and to clearly explain how they justify a particular example of text as "typical" or "representative". Secondly, he suggests that researchers provide lengthy extracts of text so that the reader might choose to look for alternative interpretations of the text. I have aimed to fulfil both of these criteria in the current research. To further increase transparency, I aimed to thoroughly describe my research strategy and steps in my analysis as well as outline the theoretical stance which guided the analysis (Silverman, 2006). In continuing his recommendations for increasing the quality of qualitative findings, Silverman (2005) argues for constant comparison within the data and for a search for variation within the data. In the analysis of the data, I sought to compare my findings across all of the articles. In keeping with this cross comparison, I actively sought out variation or deviant cases and incorporated these into the analysis. While my initial draft of the analysis failed to adequately demonstrate this, the current analysis has included more of the variation that I found and attempts to engage more fully with these deviant examples.

7.2 Reliability through Triangulation and Peer Review

Investigator triangulation, the reading of the analysis by an independent researcher familiar with discourse analysis (Denzin, 1989), was also used to ensure

dependability (reliability) of the analysis. Silverman (2005, 2006) argues that triangulation is an appropriate method to ensure reliability in the analysis. In conjunction with triangulation, Silverman (2005, 2006) argues that reliability can be enhanced by clearly describing the methods used in the analysis and by quoting long extracts of text so that the reader can have access to a substantial section of the data analysed. Both of these criteria were adhered to in the current thesis.

Triangulation was used to ensure that the findings were grounded in the data, that the method was applied correctly and that the researcher's biases were minimised. Triangulation was used to ensure dependability of method and results. This dependability check involved both triangulation and peer review. The triangulator engaged in two functions. Firstly, as a triangulator of the method, she checked that the steps described in the analysis were followed with consistency and that these steps could be said to be in line with discourse analytic methodology. Secondly, the triangulator acted as a peer reviewer (Elliott, Fischer & Rennie, 1999), giving comments on her reading of the analysis, her impression of how the data compared to my reading and so on.

The Triangulator (Antoinette Copley) is a colleague I know from a previous workplace, who was also in the process of writing up a qualitative research thesis at the time she acted as triangulator for me. I asked her firstly because she was very familiar with and interested in the method and theory that I was using and therefore I thought that she would be suitable to assess the fidelity of my method. Secondly, my relationship with her was a factor. I felt that because she was a colleague and not a close friend, she would not feel uncomfortable criticising or commenting on my work. I feel that Antoinette worked very well as a triangulator and she was critical and challenging of my work. However, it is important to state that because Antoinette was working with qualitative methods herself she was not only suitable because of her familiarity but likely to be somewhat sympathetic to the method and theory given her own theoretical leanings. Given the requirements of a triangulator, Antoinette was a suitable choice, and it would not be appropriate to use someone unfamiliar with the method as a triangulator but nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that someone from a quantitative perspective would likely have had very different criticisms of the work.

Triangulation involved Antoinette agreeing to read the analysis as well as

at least 20 articles. She was given the number 20 when initially asked to be part of the process, so that she could have an idea about how much work might be involved in the role. I felt that 20 articles would allow her to sample the types of articles that I used. As it happened, she read more than this and often referred back and forth between the extract and the article it came from. Reading of data analysis summaries and process notes was also included in her readings during triangulation. She checked for fidelity to the method and also that the interpretations were grounded in the data and could be followed and agreed upon by another analyst. The triangulator examined the analysis for quality in analytic process and dependability in the findings produced. Antoinette sat down with me and went through her findings and ideas. I incorporated her comments and recommendations into the analysis.

Triangulation is different from inter-rater reliability in its assumptions. In qualitative research there is a danger of bringing positivism into the work if pure inter-rater reliability is sought. Inter-rater reliability assumes that another analyst could provide the exact same interpretation. However, it is argued that this ignores the detailed reading, theoretical work and contextual analysis done in discourse analysis. Triangulation then seeks not to confirm that the interpretation of the data can be repeated but rather that it can be followed and can be said to be grounded in the data and achieved by following a robust method of analysis and that my biases have been acknowledged and paid attention to.

The triangulator/peer reviewer made notes on the analysis around items she felt were contentious and we met to discuss these points. Discussion between the triangulator and myself centred on instances where she agreed and disagreed with my findings. Where disagreement was evident, we would discuss it with the onus being on me to clearly demonstrate from the data why I chose to draw a particular conclusion. This process went back and fourth with me sometimes being able to clearly demonstrate my argument and then adding the required data or explanation into the text and sometimes with me realising that my conclusions were difficult to justify based on the data and then I would review and adjust my conclusions accordingly.

For example, I had written a section in the analysis comparing quotes from the Immigration Control Platform and the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism in relation to the newspaper text. Antoinette felt that

this piece deviated considerably from my described method and in addition, did not stay within the stated research questions. She also felt that the piece was "self indulgent" and possibly "in danger of being overly biased". It was decided in conjunction with her, that I would not include that piece as part of my analysis for the thesis. There were also times when she felt that my analysis did not have enough evidence in the form of extracts presented to warrant my findings, with this criticism, I endeavoured to include more and longer extracts to back up my findings. Finally, there were times when she felt that I was stating the obvious and over interpreting what the extracts were saying. For example, she noted "Extracts 6 & 7 felt more like instructive pieces ...I'm not sure that the tenet of them was an intolerant one intended to marginalise these groups...It is a simple statement of fact to state that in Ireland circumcision is carried out only if clinically indicated and is not guided by religious desires or beliefs." In order to address this concern, I included more extracts and lengthened my discussion about the issue of circumcision for religious reasons in Ireland.

To summarise, the triangulator/peer reviewer had 3 main criticisms of my analysis: 1) At times I deviated from my stated aims and method; 2) I made some statements without the necessary extracts to back them up; 3) Certain claims appeared exaggerated, and so she would remind me to stay grounded and not to over interpret the extracts.

One problem with the use of triangulator/peer review in the current thesis was timing. I wrote up what was nearly the final draft of the analysis and gave it Antoinette and she gave me her comments. I made revisions and discussed changes with her. However, as the thesis write-up progressed, I went back to the analysis and reorganised and tightened up the presentation, taking out some sections from the original analysis. This final version was not reviewed again by the peer reviewer. I think that this was a mistake as she would have pointed out that the changes had made the analysis too simplistic and that in making the changes I had taken out too much of my analysis of variation, making it seem like I had not considered alternative interpretations. Thus the final written version of the analysis became overly simplistic and lacking in critical evaluation that the earlier version had benefited from given the triangulation. To ameliorate this, I have recently asked the triangulator to look over the current version of the analysis and to give me updated comments, which she was more than happy to do. Her

comments have been used to shape the current analysis as presented in this copy of the thesis. An example of this in her comments on my section on the positioning of migrants as criminals, especially extract 1. She commented that Extract 1 "feels like less of an attack on ethnic minorities and more like an attack on the world of 'gang crime' positioning all gang members as less moral than the rest of us law abiding citizens (The encounter was proof that bubbling under the surface in Dublin's ethnic minority communities is a world of gang crime, which while smaller that the domestic underworld, is just as organised and violent). This article also goes on to state that the prison service reports that 21% of inmates are non-national leaving a full 79% of them Irish. The underestimated threat from the ethnic minorities (criminal classes) is well stated but I feel that this is more of a comparison between the Irish criminal classes and the less savoury contingent of ethnic minorities coming to live here in Ireland." In order to address this concern, I included more extracts and included more variation in how migrants are positioned in relation to crime, for example, migrants as victims of crime. I also lengthened my discussion about these extracts, trying to take into account her issues. The work I included had already been done as part of my analysis, but I had neglected to include it in the final version.

7.2.1 Further steps to ensure dependability and validity

There are numerous ways put forward relating to how dependability of findings could be achieved but they all share common assumptions about analysis from a constructionist perspective. Firstly, it is assumed that meaning and how the world is experienced are socially produced rather than discreet fixed entities within individuals (Burr, 1995). From this perspective, the analysis in this study, conducted from a constructionist perspective, is unable and does not aim to focus on "motivation or individual psychologies, but instead seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts, and the structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 85).

The following criteria for enhancing dependability of finding are outlined in Braun & Clarke (2006) and were implemented in the current study:

1) Data – ensuring that the data presented is an exact reproduction of the written text.
2) Coding - Each data item has been given equal attention in the

coding process. Arguments have not been generated from a few vivid examples (an anecdotal approach) but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive.

3) All relevant extracts for each idea have been collated

4) Emerging ideas have been checked against each other and back to the original data set.

5) Arguments about the data are internally coherent, consistent, and distinctive.

6) Data have been analysed, interpreted, made sense of, rather than just paraphrased or described.

7) Analysis and data match each other the extracts illustrate the analytic claims.

8) Analysis tells a convincing and well-organized story about the data and topic.

9) A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided.

10) Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly. I feel that this step needed significant improving because enough time was not given to the organization and writing up of the final draft of the analysis and this resulted in making it impossible for the reader to see the rigor that had gone into the original analysis.

11) The assumptions about, and specific approach to the analysis are clearly explicated.

12) There is a good fit between what you claim you do, and what you show you have done, i.e. described method and reported analysis are consistent.

13) The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis.

14) The researcher is positioned (through reflexivity) as active in the research process.

For the initial analysis I engaged in these methods to ensure validity and dependability as well as using triangulation/peer review. However, the initial

examination of the thesis raised the issue of how these processes could be improved and made more rigorous. As part of the examination process, it was recommended that I engage an expert panel "to obtain further independent validation on the appropriateness and execution of the method used". This in essence was an example of method triangulation and added to the initial method triangulation conducted by one person during the initial analysis.

7.2.2 Method Triangulation Continued - Responses of the expert panel consulted on methodology used

The process of consulting with other experts in the field, on my method, was very helpful and the comments from the panel were generally very supportive of the process engaged in during the analysis, thus supporting the method used. Experts consulted were Professor Erica Burman (Division of Psychology and Social Change, Manchester Metropolitan University where she is Co-director of Discourse Unit and Co-convener of the Women's Studies Research Centre), Dr. John McCarthy (lecturer in the Department of Applied Psychology in University College Cork) and Dr. Elaine Morariarty (post doctoral researcher on the Migrant Careers and Aspirations project. She also teaches research methodology and social policy on the MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies in the Department of Sociology, TCD). Their reports varied in the comments made, with some of the panel making suggestions or comments about specific elements of the method or analysis. These were taken on board and woven into the analysis; the full reports from the expert panel are available to read in appendix C (Report from Expert Panel on method). The following documents how the comments of the expert panel further influenced the development of the thesis:

- *Variation and exceptions (the problem of a one dimensional analysis)* – Both John and Elaine felt that the analysis would benefit from inclusion of more depth and variation, particularly inclusions of exceptions to my points. The analysis was further developed to show the variation, exceptions and differences evident in media representations of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants
- *Selection of extracts* – John stated that he found the selection of extracts very appropriate and Erica did not note any problems with the selections of

extracts, yet Elaine had some concerns. To address this issue I have reviewed the way I have explained the selection of extracts to make sure that the process is rendered transparent and easy to follow.

- *Critical Discourse Analysis* – Elaine suggested that critical discourse analysis might be a better approach to use. With respect to her suggestion I have explained my reasons for not using it for the current analysis.
- *Reflexivity and dependability* – John commented on the use of triangulation noting that he feels it is better described as "peer review". In an attempt to follow his suggestions and those of my examiners, I re-engaged with my triangulator. In addition as suggested by John and the examiners I have used this chapter to develop and make more explicit the section on reflexivity and dependability of findings. I have used the publications by John and Erica to help with this process.

Consulting with the expert panel functioned to validate the method used but also to develop and challenge my approach further, ensuring that I fully engaged with issues of variation and reflexivity.

7.3 Reflexivity in the Analysis

Reflexivity in the thesis took on three modes – reflexive engagement with journalists in an attempt to allow their voice and ideas about the analysis to be aired and considered, theoretical reflexivity looking at criticisms of my dominant theoretical approach, and personal reflexivity about my own personal biases. Each of these approaches to reflexivity will be dealt with in turn below.

7.3.1 Reflexive engagement - consulting with journalists

As the thesis progressed, it became apparent that one area, particularly lacking reflexivity was my approach to the media makers themselves. I had not included any comments on what members of the media might say about the analysis or anything about the context of journalism in Ireland. At first I resisted this idea. I resisted consulting with journalists because I had gone to great pains to avoid making the thesis about journalists as individuals. I wanted to use media texts as an example of available discourses and not focus on any journalist or newspaper as

the *cause* or source of particular ways of talking. In this research project, I view the newspaper text as a source of data and not the author's voice as the object of interest. I want to comment on what ways of talking are available and not to suggest that journalist or editors themselves are saying or causing specific practices. As such, I worried that focusing on journalists in my reflection, would confuse things and make it seem like I was trying to say something about journalists rather than discourse.

However, it was decided that I would go ahead and consult with journalists, and having done so I can say that it was a very beneficial and enriching experience. I am happy that I got their comments and I think it has added a lot to the thesis. The section below looks at the comments two journalists have made in response to selected sections (14 pages) of my analysis. I invited 11 journalists in total, from the Irish Times and the Irish Independent, to comment on the analysis, via an email letter. Out of the 11 invited, two kindly agreed to comment - Ralph Riegel from the Irish Independent and Carol Coulter from the Irish Times (see full comments in Appendix D). Both of the journalists gave me lengthy feedback via email, and Carol sent me my analysis in the post with hand written detailed comments on it.

Their comments were very influential and impacted on me considerably. They particularly made me mindful of the context of how the news gets made in Ireland, the difference between comment and fact, and the efforts that journalists go to - to ensure balance and accuracy in their work. Below, their comments and how these comments influenced me are summarised under specific headings.

The context of news making

One of the most enlightening issues raised by the journalists was the information they provided about the process of news making in Ireland and how this influences the way and the types of stories that get written. Ralph Riegel explained to me that there are a number of pressures on journalists when writing stories and he feels that I have assigned "far too much planning and deliberation to the stories both in terms of their formulation and construction. Forgive me but to suggest, even in an unconscious way, that stories were deliberately written in a co-ordinated manner to portray or suggest that immigrants posed a threat to Irish society is so far removed from the reality of Irish journalism as I know that it is hard to lend credence to. I

would also point out that any suggestion of deliberation in the use of language, story preparation etc to deem immigrants to be 'a threat' to Irish society is very much undermined by the sheer pressures that Irish journalists are now under on a daily basis." Ralph explained that journalist have huge time pressures as well as a pressure on space within the newspapers. He said that he generally files "on average between four and six stories a day." With reference to other journalist, he adds, "For instance, the majority of the reporters involved in the stories you quote – and I know most of them – are expected to produce anywhere between three and six stories a day. In my case, I work for The Evening Herald, The Irish Independent and The Sunday Independent – and my 'record' is filing 10 stories in one day. Obviously none were of Pulitzer standard – but it gives an idea of the pressure that regional/news reporters are often under in terms of production demands. Hence, just being able to write and file stories is sometimes an achievement – most reporters simply do not have the time to sit and debate whether they are going to adopt a specific ideological position to an issue. Needless to say, the above position does not hold true for commentators/columnists/colour writers who do have the time and space to give considered positions."

Ralph explains that the pressure to write many stories is compounded by the pressure to write hard news stories that are factual but also compact. Ralph explained that "in 10 or 14 paragraphs it is often 'a miracle of the loaves and fishes' to write a story that will catch the eye of a news editor, contain the maximum of detail, give the history to a particular issue, an update on the position and all sides of the argument. And this does not allow for the fact that balanced or 'fair' articles then have to endure the tender mercies of a sub-editor who might have to slash a 14 paragraph story to fit a seven paragraph hole in a page."

Ralph was fair in his acknowledgement about the use of specific language in the media but explained that this may have more to do with production pressures than any specific prejudice. He says, "Admittedly a significant weakness of the modern print media is its love affair with specific verbiage – for instance words like 'surge', 'slashed', 'axed', 'fired', 'lashed', 'blasted' etc etc. This, I suspect, has evolved for two reasons – stories that are 'punchy' tend to get used and every reporter wants every story that he/she writes to appear in the following days paper. Secondly, such phrases suit sub-editors in terms of lending themselves to headline

writing – with, again, the obvious benefit that they are more likely to be used. Hence, while I can understand your attribution of certain characteristics to the use and choice of language in some reports you have cited, the reality is that there are also other reasons for those words/phrases being used."

Carol also felt that I had a gross lack of understanding about how the news gets written. She stated that I confused the reporting of facts with comment, stating, "What a third party says (if quoted correctly) is a fact. An opinion about that statement is comment. The onus is on newspapers to quote accurately what others say and, in the case of The Irish Times, to quote as wide and representative a range of views as possible. It is not our function, indeed it is contrary to the Deeds of our Trust, to censor what people say, whether or not we like them. In editorials, opinion pieces (like the one I sent you) etc journalists or others may agree or disagree with the views expressed." For Carol, this means that I "conflate the people quoted in what are news reports, that is factual reports, with the media themselves." She states, "The issues you have (and some of the conclusions your draw from what is stated are, in my view, tendentious, but that is another issue) are with those who express these opinions, not those who report them. You imply that the newspapers are "constructing" a view to justify certain policy decisions. You do not state this explicitly, but imply it through your use of syntax, particularly by your use of the passive mood - e.g "identity is essentialised". If anyone is "constructing" such a view – and that is in itself arguable – it is those who are expressing these opinions."

Another problem Carol highlighted was my use of what she calls "the passive mood". She makes the suggestion, "Go through your thesis and turn every passive sentence into an active one. Thus, for example, the passage, "culture is subtly aligned with race, only Irish people with Irish biological ancestry can be carriers and protectors of Irish culture. Irish identity or culture is constructed as belonging to Irish people as a commodity as well as ethnic heritage" would become "X subtly aligns culture with race … X constructs Irish identity or culture as belonging to Irish people as a commodity …" etc. This would force you to think about who is using the language you are analysing, and to what end, and link it to specific aims and outcomes, examining its effectiveness in this regard."

There are two issues raised by Ralph and Carol in the above section. They converge on the point that I should not be focusing on the journalist specifically

and they both believe that I am over interpreting grossly when I imply that there is deliberate crafting by journalists of ideology within newspaper writing. To answer this, I need to say that I agree with both Carol and Ralph, I do not believe that specific authors are *deliberately* trying to push an anti-immigrant agenda in the articles they write, I agree that most of the time (except when giving opinion), the journalist is simply reporting the facts as they believe them to be true. It is for this reason that I chose newspaper texts as the data source for my analysis. I agree with Carol that the journalist's function is to "quote accurately what others say and, in the case of The Irish Times, to quote as wide and representative a range of views as possible. It is not our function, indeed it is contrary to the Deeds of our Trust, to censor what people say, whether or not we like them." It is this wide and representative quoting of views that makes newspaper texts an ideal data source from which to gain access to a range of available discourses about migrants in Ireland. In addition, while the newspapers represent a wide range of views, Carol acknowledges that they tend to not quote "just any one", and instead privilege political voices. Breen, Haynes and Devereux (2006) criticise this privileging of political voice together with the journalist's commitment to reporting facts rather than making comment (as described by Carol). They argue that these two characteristics of reporting can have the unintended consequence of "amplifying or reinforcing negative perceptions about non-citizens by its lack of analysis and its necessarily selective style. Precisely because there are Dail reports, the politicians' words are repeated directly and without comment." (p. 67)

Given that both Carol and Ralph read my analysis as targeting the author rather than the discourse, I feel it is very important for me to reiterate the above point clearly. I do not believe that a journalist has consciously and deliberately picked certain ways of talking over others in order to construct a prejudiced story about migrants but rather it is my opinion that journalists draw on available discourses and reproduce them in their writing, sometimes producing alternative discourses but that this happens through a process of dialogical engagement with culturally available ways of talking, and are not novel discourses generated and designed autonomously by the individual author. In response to Carol's criticism of the passive mood, I hope the above has gone some way to address it. If I replaced X in her exercise, I would not put a person in there, rather I would put the word discourse. I believe that discourses produce objects, that discourse is active

and that talk functions in a social discursive context independent of the intentions of the author or speaker (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The focus of the current research thesis is on how meaning is made and represented to others. Along with Parker (2004) I argue that "The accounts that people give for what they do may or may not correspond to what they actually think about those things. But the 'discovery' or 'production' of meaning is a necessary aspect of the scientific study of human psychology." (p. 5)

I feel it is necessary to reflect on the genuine efforts of the journalist and the real pressures they face in producing quality news. I think Ralph has clearly explained these pressures and I would simply like to draw attention to them and remind the reader that I believe most journalists have a genuine commitment to fair, factual and balanced writing and that I understand that many of the linguistic styles I have picked on in this thesis reflect the production pressures upon the writer rather than specific malice or desire to be sensational or provocative in the reporting of the facts. I believe the section below, detailing the tremendous fear journalists have about being considered racists, gives the reader as sense of the genuine struggle journalist engage in when reporting on minorities in the media in Ireland today.

Fear of being cast as prejudice versus need to report the facts

Both Ralph and Carol felt that the Irish Times and the Irish Independent are fair and balanced in their representation of migrants. Both gave me examples of reporting that confirm their assertion and contrast with the negative types of reporting exemplified in the current analysis.

Ralph explained that there is great effort to report accurately the facts whilst avoiding prejudice or unfairness. He said, "If anything, I think that broadsheet newspapers in Ireland have, if anything, got themselves tied in knots in their efforts to be fair and balanced in terms of their reporting of ethnic issues – with a few notable tabloid exceptions which I think we can ignore as not reflective of a serious Irish media agenda." He highlights this struggle as a serious issue stating, "My concern is that newspapers are caught between trying to report fair and accurate facts – and the all-pervading fear of being branded 'racist' if they carry any story which offends a specific ethnic group despite the fact that it might be accurate or in the public interest. As a friend once told me, once the 'race' card

is played, the argument is over and you've lost irrespective of the facts." Ralph describes a valid concern about how we can discuss the serious and important issue of immigration in a useful and open way without journalist constantly being silenced by fears of being branded racist. He is concerned that reporting on issues in the public interest is being avoided due to fear on the part of the journalist, stating, "Is it not in the public interest to highlight issues and ask why these things are happening – in this case the economic marginalisation of immigrants, abuse of foreign nationals by members of their own communities, the introduction of organised crime gangs from foreign countries via the victimisation of their own nationals here, the exploitation of female migrants for the purposes of sexual exploitation and the blatant abuse by some migrants of specific regulations to allow them to stay in Ireland? I think, regrettably, we have again fallen into the self-censorship mode"

I have to admit that I never really considered the issue from the journalist's perspective. Given Ralph's comments, I feel a sense of responsibility around the findings of the thesis. I would be very concerned that the findings might be used to suggest that journalists are racist. That is not the intention of the thesis. The intention is to look at what talk in publicly available with what possible consequences for power and identity (Irish and migrant). The aim is not to look at racist individuals but rather to look at how talk might be made available to and used in the production and reproduction of prejudice discourses and practices. I have included some comments from Ralph and Carol in the analysis so that the reader might get a sense of the journalist's point of view and to get a sense of the journalist as a fair and balanced commentator rather than biased author of hate speech. In keeping with this, is the issue of balance in reporting, and both Carol and Ralph feel that there are many examples of pro-immigrant reporting.

The newspapers generally try to be balanced

Both Carol and Ralph provide evidence where the newspapers either support migrants or undermine those who are prejudiced. Ralph explains that the Irish media have been very critical of Aine Ni Chonaill (Immigration Control Platform) – "if anyone in Ireland over recent years got a ferociously 'bad press' it was Aine Ni Chonaill – to the point where publicity about her, in my opinion, was overwhelmingly negative." He points out that there was much positive support for

the early refugees from Kosovo, stating, "I covered the arrival of Kosovan refugees and the first flights at Farranfore Airport in Kerry. The publicity was overwhelmingly positive/rhetorical in every single Irish newspaper in the days and weeks that followed. But does that mean it is biased in favour of immigration?" Carol states, "there were many, many articles in The Irish Times which contradict the views you put forward."

In response to this I have tried to include more variation in my analysis and to present some extracts which offer a more pro-immigrant stance. I feel, however, that it is important to add that the articles I analysed were randomly selected and my analysis found that the majority of the articles presented negative constructions of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. This is not to say that there are no positive constructions only that in the selection of articles I analysed the negative outweighed the positive. One possible reason for this that needs to be taken seriously, is Ralph's point that good news stories generally do not get selected for print, they do not make good and exciting news. So it is very fair to say that the dominance of negative stories is a reflection of the news making process and is in no way a reflection of specific bias or prejudice towards migrants on the part of the author of the articles. Ralph's point has two functions, it reminds me as an analyst that negative stories will be dominant because that is how news stories get selected, and secondly it supports my finding of more negative stories than positive stories about migrants in Ireland. I think this problem needs to be handled carefully. The predominance of negative stories needs to be seen in the context of news making as a practice that searches for the negative. Finally, as an analyst I need to include more positive stories in my analysis because they do exist out there and they are an important piece of the discursive landscape.

Immigration is a huge issue – we have come very far in short space of time

Ralph makes the very important point that Ireland has "come a long way as a society in a very short time." He gives a lovely example of this, and reminds me than my analysis can at times be overly harsh. He tells the story of his home town in Cork: "My father was American and, in Cork in the 1970s, there wasn't even a traditional fast food restaurant let alone a multi-ethic society. In Fermoy, where I now live, a black man walking down the street in the 1970s would have brought the entire town to a standstill. Today, Fermoy has six Chinese restaurants, one

French, one Thai, one Turkish, one Italian and a Polish-Lithuanian grocery store. I'm a coach in Fermoy GAA club and, at one time, we had U-9s who were of Brazilian, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Turkish. Nigerian and Turkish extraction. In Carrigtwohill, five of the 15 members of their U-10 hurling side are Irish-Nigerian. Integration is happening in every Irish parish, village and town – the pity is that, most of the time, it doesn't get the headlines it deserves. I think this has more to do with the fact that good news stories don't tend to sell newspapers than any question of reporters or editors being biased towards a racially 'repelled' society.

Is Ireland "constantly racialised" as you argue? Undoubtedly, there have been terrible examples of bigotry, ignorance and racial hatred. But there have been, I would argue, far more examples of kindness, understanding and integration as evidenced by the dozens of campaigns nationwide by ordinary Irish citizens for local migrants who did not adhere to asylum rules to be allowed stay within those communities.

Newspapers, I feel, have at times been to the forefront of highlighting examples of integration and cross-cultural co-operation though undoubtedly they could do an awful lot more. The examples are available from any newspaper archive."

I think this is a vital point. Ralph is right, Ireland has come a very long way and we are making huge strides towards understanding and welcoming the migrant other. Ireland should be commended for that. I feel that the above comments from Ralph remind me as an analyst of the historical context of immigration and the huge changes that have occurred in Ireland in recent years. Ralph's comments also remind me that the media has an alternative role to play in being to the forefront in highlighting integration, positive stories about immigration and engendering hope about the future of a diverse Ireland. In response to his comments, I have made a greater effort to put his point across about how much progress Ireland has made with regard to integration and welcoming the other in writing my chapter on history and context of immigration in Ireland. I hope that I was able to put across some of the sentiment he expresses in the above.

7.3.2 Theoretical Reflexivity – against the racist state

The findings of the thesis fall within the realm of the racist state model popularised by the writing of sociologists Ronit Lentin (2000, 2003, 2006; Lentin & Lentin, 2006; Lentin & McVeigh, 2006). Within this model, state discourses and practices are seen to play a major role in the continuation and production of racism. The current research, like that of the above authors, seeks to understand prejudice in the theoretical context of biopower and the sociocultural context of the power dynamics of the contemporary nation-state. The post-structural psychological theory which forms the backbone of this thesis considers power significant and argues for the impossibility of separating power and discourse.

This current research follows a shift lead by discursive/post structural studies of racism, from belief acquisition and attitude to "understanding the discourses of race and how these create individuals and ideologies about individuals" (Kivel, 2005, p26). The current analysis as well as Irish research on state policy (Devine, 2005) argues that state practices, together with a construction of Irish identity as homogenous functions to position the refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant as 'other'.

One of the strongest opponents to the racist state model is Bryan Fanning (2009) who recently argued against using the racist state approach in the Irish context. Fanning (2009) has a number of criticisms of the racist state argument, these will be dealt with below.

Fanning (2009) makes the argument that the racist state model does not explain reasons for anti-immigrant feeling within the Irish public. He believes that anti-immigrant feeling cannot solely be explained by racism and must have other explanations that are concealed by the racist state argument. There are two points to this argument, first he is arguing that we need a different model to explain prejudice *the public* feels towards immigrants as opposed to the prejudice of the state. He argues that discrimination (treatment of travellers, asylum seekers and fortress Europe) cannot be solely explained in terms of the state. Fanning (2009), I think may have a point here. There are many ways to approach the study of racism and the racial state idea is just one of these. More traditional psychological approaches put more emphasis on the individual and look at attributional and perceptual accounts of racism. In contrast, discursive research asks how differences are created, maintained and given meaning and how this occurs within

a socio-political context. I argue along with Parker (2004) that "Qualitative research often engages in intensive case studies that are not directly extrapolated to populations, or in studies of collective activity that are not directly extrapolated to individual members. The scientific task in this work is to account for specific nature and limits of the account, and for what may be learnt from it." (p. 5) The current thesis is not arguing that one approach is better than another but rather that the two approaches are different and that both offer valuable insights into racism. I agree with Fanning, that the racist state does not explain every aspect of racism in Ireland. However, I think if its limits are made clear, it still has a valuable contribution to make towards understanding the phenomena of prejudice in Ireland.

Secondly, Fanning (2009) argues that anti-immigrant feeling amongst the public is not fuelled totally by racism. He states that instead of others being defined as outsiders based on ethnic status, that in Ireland, otherness and outsideness is defined by economic status driven by "anxiety arising from past distributional conflicts where outsiders were defined by economic rather than ethnic status." (Fanning, 2009, p.112) I think this issue depends on how one defines racism. If by racism you mean the belief in biological racial distinctions and that there is a hierarchy of races, then I would have to agree with Fanning: anti-immigrant feeling in Ireland is probably not fuelled by an old-fashioned racial superiority type prejudice. However, more contemporary definitions of racism take into account cultural and ethnic differences as being relevant in what is considered subtle or modern racism. I think there is certainly an element of subtle racism in Irish society today, so I would disagree with Fanning that anti-immigrant feeling is not fuelled by racism. However, I think it is likely that he is correct in saying that racism is not the *only* factor relevant in understanding anti-immigrant feeling. I also agree that an exclusive focus on the racial state argument may function to conceal these other factors. With this in mind, the current research may function to reify racial explanations for anti-immigrant feeling and conceal non-racial (racial as broadly defined to include culture) explanations. Future directions for research then might include discourse analysis of newspaper texts with a view to looking for discourses that support anti-immigrant feeling without relying on concepts of race. Fanning (2009) calls for more empirical research on racism in Ireland and I can only support this call.

Another point Fanning (2009) makes against the racial state model is that politics can fight racism. He states that, "it must not be forgotten that racism, discrimination and sectarianism can be and are opposed within the political system. At its best, politics can provide the basis for tolerance, pluralism, innovation, peace and prosperity." (p.67) I think Fanning is correct in saying the above but I do not feel that it negates the racial state argument. I believe rather, that he has a different (not better or worse) concept of politics than the theorists of the racial state. Those who argue for a racial state model believe that democracy relies fundamentally on difference and antagonism for its functioning (Foucault, 2003; Mouffe, 2005). This is not to stay that governments cannot be involved in supporting peace and tolerance but rather that there is always difference and that concepts such as tolerance and peace rely on this. This means that tolerance is a fluid and dynamic process that needs constant care and attention, in an antagonistic world, not an absolute static peaceful state.

In conclusion, despite disagreeing with his conceptualisation of racism and seeing his idea of politics differently, I agree with Fanning (2009) that the racial state model is in danger of excluding other explanations of racism and anti-immigrant feeling in Ireland. I agree that we do not know enough at this time and that considerably more empirical research is required before we make blanket conclusions about racism, prejudice and immigration in Ireland. I believe that, because he represents an alternative view, Fanning is a particularly important academic in Ireland currently and I hope that future research in this area will engage with his ideas and concerns.

7.3.3 *Personal Reflexivity*

Discourse analysis is an ongoing process which never reaches a final finishing point and is constantly open to revision. Parker (2004) describes personal reflexivity as a vital part of any good qualitative research project. He challenges the researcher to be able to step back from the analysis and to give the reader a sense of the "institutional vantage point from which the story is told" (p. 4). With this in mind, it is important to note that this analysis is only one person's reading of the text and although all claims are warranted by the text they are subjected to biases of the researcher which cannot be avoided. As such the following is a section devoted to an acknowledgement of the researcher's biases with the hope

that by acknowledging my biases I can limit, though not eradicate, their impact on the analysis. Throughout the analysis I constantly questioned my biases and sought to warrant each claim firmly in text rather than based on a particular desire to say something in the analysis.

I found the process of questioning my biases very difficult, almost impossible at times, and so I needed other people to support me and provoke me in this. The role of the commentators played a vital role in supporting my reflexivity. The comments from the expert panel on method were very helpful in making me question why I had chosen discourse analysis over other methods of analysis and at provoking me to look at my triangulation process in more detail. It was the comments from the journalists that played a particularly significant role for me in encouraging and forcing me to be more reflective and open in my interpretation of the texts analysed. When faced with a real person to engage me and challenge my conclusions, it was impossible for me to have black and white thinking and to oversimplify. I needed to accommodate the view of the other, even if I did not fully agree with their view, I had to listen, take it on board and include it in my thesis in a genuine and integrated way. I do not think that I could have achieved a good level of reflexivity without the engagement from these people. My triangulator had given me some initial reflexivity but I feel the use of journalists as peer reviewers substantially changed the extent to which my thinking was challenged.

I approached this thesis with a number of personal biases that have unavoidably coloured my interpretation of the articles. While I cannot eradicate these biases, I feel it is important for the reader to be aware of these and to take them into account when reading my analysis. I feel that some of my biases developed as the thesis progressed and were not there initially. For example, I did not initially have a bias towards finding evidence for the racist state. I did not know that states could be racist, when I first began this research. However, as I read more of the articles and then liked what I was reading with theory, I became more interested in this idea. From this point of linking data with theory, I may have become biased in the sense that my theoretical readings from this point focused on the racial state idea. I was so excited to find a theoretical framework for the findings I was seeing in my analysis that I may have over focused on this idea.

The need to create a consistent and linear story in research presented another problem for me as a writer. In creating a story around the research findings one always makes selections around what to include and what to exclude. Readers must be aware that this process of constructing an argument is not without bias, it is the voice of one author and it is one particular way of looking at events. This problem of distortion is exemplified in the problem of linearity. I have already mentioned that there can be no one final version of the analysis, yet the process of writing a linear and succinct thesis shapes the analysis and requires it to appear coherent and to say something.

For the record some of the more personal biases I bring to the analysis are as follows: I am a white Irish female. This means a number of things to me. Firstly, I as white I am a member of the majority in terms of race in Ireland. The fact that I even consider myself in terms of whiteness means that I am biased towards racial conceptualisations. I could as easily focused on defining myself nationalistically as Irish, but I did not, instead I focused firstly on race. This bias means that in reading all of the articles, I have probably been biased to seeing racial categories even when there are other available categories for identity categorisation. Secondly, I categorise myself as female, this means that I am part of a historically suppressed group. The fact that I say that reveals my feminist and hence, liberal, empancipatory political leanings. I am university educated and this has further deepened my liberal political leanings which biases me to a more inclusive and open asylum policy in Ireland. My motivation for doing this thesis comes from my belief that asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants in Ireland are being treated with prejudice and this belief may bias me to see more instances of discourses of prejudice than more tolerant and inclusive discourses.

I feel solidarity and compassion for oppressed groups and feel that I have a duty to support and enable such groups. As such my thesis represents a political act – an act of naming and identifying discourse that could function to suppress and discriminate. This commitment to revealing such discourses may have overly biased me towards seeing these discourses and missing contradictory discourses.

Also, I am Irish, being Irish means that I am taking a uniquely Irish position in the analysis and cannot analyse the discourse outside of my position as Irish. So perhaps then I try to hard to get away from sympathy and understanding

for the Irish, for fear of being biased and instead become biased and see too many problems with Ireland?

In addition, I am from a working class family, my father always voted Labour. I have a fundamental mistrust of "the man" and have a natural paranoia towards state institutions. I grew up with the assumption that those 'who have' are out to take advantage of 'the have nots'. This is ingrained in me and I find it hard to totally deviate from this way of thinking. Thus the theory of the racist state sits easy with me because I sometimes imagine that those rich, suit wearing politicians really do not care about and probably actively want to disenfranchise those who are less able to stand up for themselves in society. That is the extreme, underlying part of my psyche that is always lurking underneath the rational, academic brain. I take it with me into all aspects of my work whether I wish it to be there or not, I manage through training and rigorous adherence to method to limit it but nevertheless it must always be playing a role, even a small one in the way I formulate my thinking. This part of my history has led me to consider power and discourse as theories of empowerment and critique, and my default critical leaning predisposes me to a critical reading of newspaper discourses and issues of state, identity and power. This natural paranoia predisposes me to the critical leanings of discourse analysis as described by Parker (1992): "Foucault's work could also be seen as adopting a hermeneutics of suspicion and forms of discourse analysis have been described within such a context: rather than taking on trust what interviewees say, discourse analysis attends to every word with a *suspicious* eye" (p. 124, emphasis in original).

Thus, my personal history and my choice of discourse analysis as a method predisposes me to be critical. Foucauldian discourse analysis always aims to critique and emphasizes power. It does not look for collaboration and equality; instead it is predisposed to look for conflict and inequality. For Foucault, all practices and discourses are ultimately a product of conflict. Another analytic lens would have focused more on the open and positive stories in the media. There probably are media reports that are more open and positive. It was not that I decided to look only at negative stories (the search for variation required that I look at the positive also), however the research question is itself biased towards the influence of power in identity construction, and as such will find conflict and negativity more easily than it finds the inclusive. So in reading the articles with

the question in mind I tended to focus on instances where identity was constricted or limited. This analysis is just one version of events that is part of the discursive struggle within the research field. My arguments are offered as hypotheses – my own proposals are subject to operations of power, they participate in the shaping of talk around the media if published and also I am necessarily responding and working within a specific discursive framework in Ireland – my resistance against what I perceive is shaped and shapes what is going on around me.

Finally, I am married to a white South African. He has experienced racism in Ireland, not because of his skin colour but because of his difference. I have been to South Africa and experienced what it feels like to be the minority (white people are less than 14% of the general population in South Africa). These experiences have given me a sense of what it feels like to stand out and be a minority because of your colour but also that you can experience racism even when you are the same colour as those being racist against you. I am deeply aware of the devastation, particularly state supported racism can reap as exemplified in the apartheid era in South Africa. I am very biased towards seeing racism, and so at times I find it hard to notice instances of inclusion and tolerance.

All of theses things about me have coloured my reading of the newspaper texts and has influenced my theoretical and methodological leanings. Readers of this thesis are therefore advised to evaluate the findings for themselves, while taking my own personal biases into account.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Further Discussion

8.1 Contribution of the Findings from this Research

This study is distinct from previous studies in that it focused on subject positions and resulting power relationships, constructed in media discourse about immigration & asylum. This analysis leads to the positing of 'value practice management'. Specifically, this refers to the positioning of the other so that incompatible values (universal human rights, democracy) and practices (detainment of asylum seekers in prison and deportations) appear congruent. In this way the relationship between values and practices can be managed in talk through subject positioning. For example, positioning refugees as terrorists legitimises the practice of deportation of failed asylum seekers even though this practice can be argued to go against Ireland's allegiance with the doctrine of universal human rights. A joint analytic focus on positioning and biopower allows us to envisage how identity is constructed through practices of positioning and normalisation as well as differentiation and linking. In the case of this study, such mutually referential self-other construction is seen to occur through a power strategy that seeks to mould the self – through various subject positioning manoeuvres – as closely as possible to the societal norm.

Tying this in with existing literature enables us to set forth a system for understanding racism that is identity and power driven rather than driven by individual pathology. This departure from individual to the socio-political is relevant to psychology. Identity has always been a concern for psychology with many theorists working in this area. However, the issue of social power has been ignored by mainstream psychology. There is the exception of some critical theorists (Kitzinger & Perkins, 1993; White & Epston, 1990; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002) who have brought the issue of power to the fore in psychology. The idea that the personal is political and that the intra personal is interpersonal informs the current analysis and calls for a discursive and relationally focused study of racism rather than the 'individual-within-a-group' model of traditional social psychology.

This focus on the political in social psychology opens up interdisciplinary

links with sociology (Lentin, 2006) and political theory (Hansen, 2006). It is important to link with these disciplines because social psychology is in danger of being limited to small scale analysis of particular cognitive quirks or specific mechanisms (e.g. the role of economic security - O'Connell, 2005) which fuel racism rather than being able to offer a contemporary, flexible and relevant analysis of current forces impacting on racism and prejudice that can address multiple variables and causes. The notion of the personal as political is central to psychology's future ability to remain relevant and adaptable rather than a science that looks back at what happened attempting to identify the causes. The psychological is impossible to disconnect from the political and this assertion makes psychology more able to connect with contemporary issues as they happen and to be more relevant and more able to contribute to real and meaningful policy and social change.

Describing linking and differentiation in identity formation in the current analysis is an example of this more flexible and inclusive approach to understanding racism that can be included in social psychology. Using a strong discursive and relational concept of identity allows the analysis in this thesis to legitimately and coherently link with Hansen's (2006) political theory of identity construction. The use of discourse and post structural approaches to identity in the current research, means that Hansen can be linked with others from her own field such as Laclau & Mouffe (1985) but also with theorists from psychology such as Sampson (1993). This interdisciplinary linking functions to allow an understanding of identity construction as composed of multiple processes with various functions.

The analysis deals with identity construction and subject positioning as well as power relationships in the construction of self and other in Irish newspaper discourse about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The analysis found that Irish identity construction follows Hansen's (2006) dynamics of differentiation and linking. In the newspaper discourse, Ireland is linked positively with the West as lawful and moral, scientific and rational, and English speaking and developed. Irish identity is differentiated from the world of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants which is constructed as unlawful and immoral, religious and irrational, and non-English speaking and underdeveloped. Following Hansen it is important to point out that whilst the processes of differentiation and linking can be analysed separately, they are "both part and parcel of identity construction and enacted

simultaneously" (2006, p. 19). Also like Hansen's work, the current analysis highlights the instability of meaning and identity, showing how a change of focus from one discourse to another or on one aspect of identity rather than another can change identity construction.

Hansen's work draws on the idea of the constitutive outside (Laucau & Mouffe, 1985) which describes the other as being constructed as a threat, which thereby helps to produce an internal unity or unification: a 'we'. The other as threat was evident in the current analysis. Differing from Hansen's findings, the analysis found that the other is also at times constructed as inferior. This is in keeping with the work of Sampson (1993). It appears that this movement between threatening and inferior positions in constructing the other has varying functions. For example, constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as criminals functions to position them as threatening. Additionally, the construction of criminal carries the inferior position of immoral because those who commit crimes are generally considered to be weak morally. The religious beliefs of the other (refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants) are constructed as irrational and backward (inferior) as well as dangerous (threatening).

Constructing the other as inferior has the effect of justifying the imposition of Irish cultural practices and ideal upon immigrant culture. Irish culture is positioned as superior and having the authority to impose and direct the way in which the other is expected to integrate. The other's inferiority legitimises the expectation that they give up their culture in favour of a superior Irish way of life. As inferior and immoral others, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants have diminished rights but enhanced duties to those who are superior to them.

This construction gives Irish people and the state the responsibility and power to exclude the threatening other. The 'other as threat' position also legitimises negative emotional attitudes from Irish people towards an other who is deemed worthy of repulsion, fear, hatred, mistrust and so on. This construction of the other has an effect on the dynamics of self construction. Constructing self identity in opposition to a threatening and different other allows for inconsistencies in self identity to remain unchallenged. Introducing a more radical other compared to the otherness inherent within the self identity has the effect of minimising differences within self identity through the exaggeration of differences between self and other. The focus on the function of the construction of the other as

threatening is one contribution this research makes to existing knowledge. Triandafyllidou (1999) speaks about the inevitability of othering in national identity formation and that the other will be seen as a threat to homogeneity, and Conway (2006) documents this process in Irish newspaper discourse. However, neither comments on the possible functional benefits of positioning the other as different and threatening.

The other as threatening and radically different is the most obvious and frequent discursive subject position found in the newspaper articles analysed for this thesis. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are positioned as a threat to Irish identity in various ways. The other is positioned as a threat to the purity of Irish culture through dilution and multiculturalism, a terrorist or criminal threat and a threat to Irish health through disease. Language of invasion and dilution and a threat to health in political discourse about citizenship in Ireland was identified by Tormey (2007), Watt (1997) and Moriarty (2006). Camaroff & Camarroff (2001) found that political talk in Ireland constructed the government as responsible for the safeguard of the citizens through protection of the right to citizenship from selected non-Western others.

Irish identity is positioned as in danger of being overwhelmed or wiped out by the inclusion of difference. This emphasis on the protection of culture functions to justify discrimination and this strategy has been found in other discourse driven research by Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Rapley, (1999), McCreanor (1989), Verkuyten, (1997) and Wetherell and Potter (1992). In each of these articles (Augoustinos et al. 1999; McCreanor, 1989; Verkuyten, 1997; Potter & Wetherell, 1992) the participants interviewed tended to replace race talk with talk about culture. There was an underlying theme of cultural togetherness and a link between cultural purity and national identity. With regard to the Irish context, such ways of talking function to strengthen the construction of Irish identity as a homogenous thing and in so doing reinforces the myth of Irishness as a specific and fixed material entity that can be changed or damaged by the other's difference. Anderson's (1991) work reminds us that the threatened national identity is just an "imagined community" (p. 6) rather than a material reality. Roncarati, Perez, Ravenna and Navarro-Pertusa (2009) also identified the use of the myth of cultural purity being used to induce a fear of contamination from the immigrant or asylum seeker/refugee other. The myth of the imagined community functions to

necessarily position the different other as a serious threat to the imagined homogeneity. As part of the imagined community of Ireland, Europe and the West are linked positively to Irish identity. It is necessary to point out this linking as contemporary research into national identity tends to see it as "identified negatively by the exclusion of the cultural 'other' – the immigrant" (Mantouvalou, 2005). Whilst Mantouvalou is correct in identifying the negative differentiation between self and immigrant other, the current research and that of Hansen (2006) points out that self identity is also achieved by linking positively with an admired other, in this case, the West and the European Union.

Using more intense metaphors, the newspaper articles analysed positioned the other as a terrorist and enemy threat. This way of positioning refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants functions to legitimise Irish exclusion of the other. To save Irish lives it becomes necessary to exclude and limit the entry of the dangerous and threatening terrorist other. The use of war rhetoric and the social construction of migration as a security threat in Greece, is the topic of the work of Mantouvalou (2005). She has found that the media as well as the government play a significant role in the construction of the immigrant as a criminal or terrorist threat. The construction of the immigrant as a criminal threat was also found in the research of Bakalaki (2003) and Konstantinidou (1999) in Greece and Bodossian and DeNecochea (2007) in the USA. The immigrant as terrorist threat was evident in the work of Jordan, Strath and Triandafyllidu (2003) in looking at European immigration policy. The other as a criminal and/or a terrorist threat were significant constructions that were evident in many of the newspaper articles analysed in the current thesis. Mantouvalou's (2005) ideas on the function of the other as security threat are in keeping with the findings from the current analysis. She argues that the construction of the other as security threat leads to a "moral neutralisation" (Karydis, 1998, p.356) so that Greek citizens are exonerated for acts of violence against immigrants. In making this argument she is approaching a description of value practice management but does not elaborate her findings towards a final conclusion and instead offers a more descriptive analysis of the Greek talk about immigrants. The current thesis builds on this descriptive work by offering a theoretical elaboration based on biopower and positioning theory, of the ways in which this "moral neutralisation" is achieved and why it is necessary to achieve it.

Finally, the other is positioned as a threat through their ill health. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as carriers of contagious and transmissible diseases and in this way positioned as a threat to the health and well being of the Irish people. It is possible to justify their exclusion by appeals to the protection of Irish health and safety. The link between immigration and disease is nothing new, it was very prevalent in discourses of immigration in the nineteenth century in Britain and America. In the 1840's and 1850's even Irish immigrants were stigmatised as diseased, they were "linked with typhus in Britain and, at the same time, blamed for the importation of cholera into America" (Maglen, 2005, p 80). It is not surprising then that the discourse of the asylum seeker, refugee and immigrant as diseased is readily available in Ireland and in other Western countries. In the Irish case it is interesting that there is a complete absence of reflection on the country's own history of disease and immigration. The newspaper discourse is as if Ireland had always been a Western, developed state free of the stigmatisation of disease and undesirability. Pringle (2009) argues that the way newspapers report on TB, HIV and immigration could have the effect of encouraging xenophobia. He argues that while immigrants may have higher rates of particular diseases that there is a dangerous lack of awareness about how this is conveyed to the public in the media. Perhaps there is a need to turn away from the history of the diseased Irish and that this makes Irish discourse on immigration more prone to linking the other with disease than contemporary states who tend to rely more on the construction of the other as a threat to security or culture. Epstein (1996), using the example of homosexuals and HIV, demonstrates how individuals can become objects of discrimination simply by belonging to an at risk group. Ireland was historically in the 'at risk' group for disease and therefore discriminated against. By placing the other in the at risk group, that space becomes occupied and it becomes less likely that Ireland will be placed there again.

Subject positioning implies moral responsibilities and duties for each of the subjects involved (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999; Harre, Moghaddam, Pilkerton Cairnie, Rothbart & Sabat, 2009). As a threatening other, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers are positioned as dishonest, immoral and illegitimate and therefore as forfeiting all of their rights. Values of justice are used to justify this withdrawal of rights. The discourse of threat argues that those who are dishonest or

illegitimate are without rights and that this is just. Only those people (Irish) who are legitimate members of the Irish community and who are honest and moral have rights. Usually rights carry with them responsibilities, however, in the articles above Irish people are freed from their responsibilities to immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees by positioning the other as a threatening aggressor and Irish people as the victim. Victims have no responsibility to their aggressor and as such this type of positioning alleviates the burden of responsibility for the successful future of multicultural Ireland from Irish people and instead places it firmly at the feet of the immigrant aggressor who is constructed as to blame and whose presence in Ireland is problematized (Devereux & Breen, 2004). This positioning and appeal to morality and responsibility and duties is interesting in that the media appeals to morality and Western democratic values in order to justify the exclusion and/or dislike of the other. Tormey (2007) observed this same use of morality and exclusion in political talk. He saw the other being constructed as an "amoral" being that is "unacceptable" to the rational Irish nation-state (p.85). Tormey sees this negotiation (i.e., between the aim to uphold liberal multiculturalism, universal human rights and the governments aim to restrict citizenship availability those without Irish blood in their heritage) as ironic in the sense that the two aims are in conflict. His findings support the assertion within this thesis that subject positioning of self and other plays a significant role in the negotiation of these democratic values and the undemocratic practices of the Irish state.

As well as value practice management, positioning also plays a role in identity construction. In positioning the other as threatening, the newspaper discourse functions to construct a normalised and idealised version of Irish identity. So called Irish values are extracted from Ireland's opposition to the immigrant world. In opposition to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, Ireland appears egalitarian, democratic, lawful, moral, rational and developed. So, recalling that in constructing the other we construct the self, when the newspaper discourse considers the other undemocratic, unlawful, immoral, irrational and underdeveloped, it simultaneously constructs an Irish identity that is different and in opposition to that. Biopower is a strategy in which the self and the population is moulded closely to the norm. So, this norm is central to differentiated self-other construction. Thus, Irish identity is considered the norm, while the other is considered a violation of the norm. The other is held with the power strategy as an

example of non-conformity to the norm but without them the norm would have little meaning. So the other becomes integral to the construction of the self as normal.

The norm around which Irish identity is constructed is that of the democratic and liberal Western state. Irish values are considered to include care and concern for the other, morality, lawfulness, rationality and development. The practice of limiting asylum seeker numbers, deporting those claiming asylum and those in need of a new life, and excluding some deemed undesirable is incongruent with these normalised Western values. Garner (2007) highlights the fact that talk in Ireland about immigration is more in line with the far right than other European states. This is interesting in that even with this far right leaning to the discourses, the newspapers continue to try to maintain Ireland's identity as a liberal democracy. It is argued in the analysis that the incongruence between Western values and practices of exclusion and discrimination against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants is resolved by re-positioning the subjects in the discursive field. For example egalitarian values are incompatible with the practice of deportation of asylum seekers when the asylum seeker is positioned as vulnerable and needy. However, if the asylum seeker is re-positioned as a terrorist threat, the need to protect and care for the Irish citizens renders egalitarian values and practices of exclusion of asylum seekers, congruent. This re-positioning is a discursive manoeuvre (with power effects). However, the manoeuvre and its power sequelae become invisible when newspaper articles give examples of other countries who practice the same discursive positioning of the other. What was a specific power/exclusion manoeuvre becomes normalised and naturalised by the operation of this manoeuvre on a wide scale. Asylum seeker as threat appears to be a fact rather than a discursive construction.

The other is also necessary in the Irish case as analysed above, for the achievement of identity consistency and coherence. The other is introduced as a more radical other which functions to reduce difference and antagonism between disparate elements of identity. For example the other as religious fundamentalist, allow Catholicism and science (usually incompatible) to exist side by side and be considered the same (anti-fundamentalist) and therefore coherent.

In sum, much of the work done in the newspaper articles analysed was about achieving Irish identity consistency through discursive construction and

positioning of the self and the other. The act of identity construction and positioning is a discursive achievement that functions to manage the discrepancy between stated values and actual practice and elements of identity that are often incongruent. The role of power in identity construction and subject positioning is evident in the pull to the norm. In constructing the other, we are always constructing the self and we do this through a power strategy that seeks to mould the self identity as closely as possible to the societal norm.

8.2 How the Current Research fits with Existing Literature

The majority of research on Ireland's response to immigration and asylum seekers comes from those in the field of sociology, with the most prolific writer being Ronit Lentin (2000, 2003, 2006; Lentin & Lentin, 2006; Lentin & McVeigh, 2006). Notable others outside of psychology who write about Ireland's experience of immigration are Conway (2006), Cullen (2000), and Devereux & Breen (2004). Devine and colleagues have published work looking at the immigration and school aged children and their teachers in Ireland (Devine, 2005; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Devine, Kenny & Macneela, 2008). Pollak (1999) was perhaps to first writer to identify the Independent Newspaper group in Ireland as being sensational and essentialising in its reporting about asylum seekers and refugees. Pollak is followed by Curry (2000) who feels that the media have played a role in the formation of public opinion in relation to asylum seekers and refugees and Guerin (2002) whose research suggests that the media has played a role in the development of anti-immigration feeling in Ireland. Within psychology, there has been limited research in the area of racism and immigration. An edited book by MacLachlan & O'Connell (2000) offers perhaps the most comprehensive piece of writing from Irish psychologists in response to the changing demographics of Ireland's population. This work provides insights into the experience of both Irish people and those newly arrived to Ireland. Attitude research by MacGreil (1970; 1996) is another notable contribution from psychology. The focus on experience and attitudes makes this work difficult to compare with the current discourse analysis.

The bulk of research on immigration in Ireland has focused on the recent citizenship referendum (June 2004) which succeeded in changing the requirements

for citizenship. It meant that Irish citizenship could only to given to those who could claim an Irish bloodline instead of being able to claim citizenship based on being born in the island of Ireland. Much sociological research from sociology (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2007; Garner, 2007; Hess & Shandy, 2008; Lentin, 2003; Shandy, 2008; Shandy & Power, 2008; White & Gilmartin, 2008), concurs with many of the findings of the current analysis in that the state talk and practices are seen to play a major role in the continuation and production of racism. The current research has the most in common with the work of Lentin, with regard to a focus on biopower and an understanding of racism contextualised within the power dynamics of the contemporary nation-state. The post-structural psychological theory which forms the backbone of this thesis considers power significant and argues for the impossibility of separating power and discourse. Whilst the combination of discourse and power is common place within the realm of sociology and social studies, it is relatively uncommon within the discipline of psychology. The current research's focus on power differs from other contemporary discourse driven research on racism and prejudice within psychology (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Blommaert & Verschueren, 1994; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Buttny, 1999; Dixon & Reicher, 1997; Edwards, 1991; Konstantinidou, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1988).

This current research together with contemporary discursive/post structural studies of racism demonstrate the outcome of a shift in focus from belief acquisition and attitude to "understanding the discourses of race and how these create individuals and ideologies about individuals" (Kivel, 2005, p26). We can see from the findings above that racism is maintained through a process of constructing the immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker as an other within a biopolitical discursive structure. The current analysis as well as Irish research on state policy (Devine, 2005) demonstrates how state practices together with a construction of Irish identity as homogenous functions to position the refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant as 'other'. Mainstream scientifically based models are limited in how they can help us understand the mechanics of self other construction and how positioning has political consequences. "We need to shift away from the individual and attend to issues at institutional levels where problems of power and socially constructed categories of race are created, normalized and maintained." (Kivel, 2005, p.26)

Traditional research focused on perception and attribution asks questions such as "is the attribution of cultural differences to minorities an expression of racial prejudice?" (Vala, Pereira & Costa-Lopes, 2009); does the perception of difference create prejudice? (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahy & Hough, 1976); and does similarity (or competition) create prejudice? (Tajfel, 1970). However, discourse driven research asks how are these differences created, made meaningful and maintained and with what consequences and in what socio-political context. The current thesis is not arguing that one approach is better than another but rather that the two approaches are different and that both offer valuable insights into racism.

8.3 Dependability of the Findings

The research findings presented are robust by their concurrence with existing findings in contemporary research on racism and prejudice. Whilst discursive analytic research is not generalisable or valid in traditional positivist sense, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest three validity criteria of relevance to this research: coherence, new problems and fruitfulness. Coherence refers to the way in which the discourse fits together and how discursive structure produces effects and functions. A coherent analysis covers both the broad pattern and accounts for the many "micro-sequences" (p.170) in the discourse. Under this definition then the analysis can be argued to be a coherent analysis. Further analysis could increase the coherence by focusing on the exceptions to the analytic scheme identified in the research. Whilst variation was noted as a step in the analysis, it was not the primary analytic focus, and further analysis of variation within the data would be required to enrich this knowledge base.

New problems refer to the requirement that valid discourse analysis not only solves problems but also creates new problems. New questions that arise from the analysis include: what other discursive and power strategies are used to justify inconsistent practices other than value practice management? What feeds into newspaper discourse and to what extent does newspaper discourse feed into the talk of the general population and with what consequences? How can we position self and other differently, as similar or interesting rather than different and threatening? The analysis in this thesis achieved this requirement and constantly

strove to answer new questions as they arose, however, many are still left unanswered.

The final criterion for validity is fruitfulness and this refers to the "scope of the analytic scheme to make sense of new kinds of discourse and to generate novel explanations" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p171). In this analysis identity theories were integrated and positioning theory was used to uncover a strategy of value practice management in self other constructions.

The current research can be taken and added to an already robust knowledge base on racism, prejudice, discourse and rhetoric. From this knowledge base of divergent but inter-related research one can see an understanding of racism/discrimination emerging through consensus, comparison and contrast of different studies looking at different sources of data using always qualitative but sometimes different methodologies. Through looking at these seemingly separate pieces of work we can begin to piece together an understanding of discourse and practices of racism and discrimination throughout the world. This understanding will not be one blanket theory attributing racism to cognitions or to personality characteristics. Instead it will be an understanding with subtleties and nuances allowing us to see variance and consensus in racist practices worldwide. Such an understanding will allow us to better resist systems of racism and adapt our resistance to the forms of racism we encounter as they change and adjust throughout place, history and political climates. This study contributes to this understanding by looking for discursive practices in newspaper writing which function to produce and reproduce racism and prejudice in Ireland towards refugees and asylum seekers. This is a fluid understanding giving us not so much a theory but rather, a systematic way of looking at, highlighting, understanding, and ultimately resisting racism.

8.4 Criticisms and Future Research

The current research findings should be contextualised within the process of news making itself and it should be understood that along with the current findings, there is also evidence of variation from the main findings in some of the articles analysed. Firstly, the journalists who gave comments on the findings were anxious to emphasis that the process of making news stories places certain pressures on

them which in turn shapes their writing. These pressures include time pressures, pressure to produce a number of stories every day, the pressure to be factual but also succinct and punchy in the language used and the pressure to write interest and newsworthy stories which tend to be negative rather than focusing on the positive. All of these pressures influence the language used in the articles and play an important role in shaping the final news story that is printed. As such, in critiquing discourses used in newspapers, it is vital to acknowledge that the discourses used are not assumed to be the responsibility solely of the author but rather to be understood to represent a social process of culturally available discourses mixed with the practice of news making.

Secondly, there are many instances where newspaper articles criticise or resist the dominant discourses around migration. These include, recognising the positive contribution of the other, seeing the other as a victim of crime and economic circumstances rather than a threat and a genuine attempt to position the other so that the reader will be able to empathise with them. Additionally, many articles critique government discourses and practices around immigration and asylum. The analysis has included some examples of these articles which represent variation from the findings presented here. This research is limited by its research question and the use of Foucauldian discourse analysis which focuses on the problematic constructions of the other in Irish society. Whilst the positive constructions of the other are limited, it would maybe be an interesting project to focus exclusively on the positive and to see what types of positions are evident. I assume the there are more available than the ones identified in this current study.

The current research is limited by its focus on discourse; it does not look at what is outside of discourse. Specifically discourse analysis does not examine the extra-discursive features of space, gestures, clothing, the physical environment (Durrheim, 2005). These factors are important for several reasons. Firstly, they might usefully mediate the way in which the discourses used by participants are interpreted. But secondly, and with specific reference to this study, they might reveal important meanings about self and other that are not explicitly noted in talk. For example, the way refugees are housed collectively in state accommodation, or the requirement that immigrants hold specific documents that the Irish population are all practices of discourse and power that could not be analysed within the discourse analytic frame of the research. Non-linguistic material factors are

increasingly being highlighted as important in the analysis of the constitution of meaning and subjectivities. One means of addressing this limitation might be the complementary use of alternative methods such as observational methods (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994), or which could permit examination of such non-discursive factors in the construction of self construction. Additionally, Durrheim & Dixon (2001) and Dixon & Durrheim's (2004) analyses of place and identity can provide an insight into the spaces occupied and delineated for use by Irish people and those considered immigrants or refugees, and the meaning of those spaces for identity construction and the maintenance and production of prejudice.

The current research was limited by its focus on newspaper texts. A more comprehensive analysis would take into account other media discourses such as television and radio. This would have enriched the data sample and provided a more robust and nuanced picture of discourses in Ireland about self and other. The analysis of television images or photojournalism could have facilitated this and would have broadened the analysis into the realm of visual imagery and provided a further layer of data to support the conclusions. Such an analysis would allow comparisons to be made across mediums and thus would lead to a more coherent account of discourses producing and reproducing racism towards refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland. A broader analysis would also be more fruitful in that it would be able to point to practices in the media in general which are undesirable rather than the discursive practices of two Irish newspapers.

The time span chosen for this research could be criticised. Firstly it could be considered too broad. Taking a five year span meant that the exploration of nuances, variation and similarities was limited. The huge amount of data that required analysis meant that subtle variation was noted but not explored to great detail. For example, the current analysis identified no differences between the construction of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. If the analysis had been more detailed, would a subtle difference have been evident? What would a more detailed analysis have said about the origin of immigrants, and why some immigrants are considered valuable while others are considered unwanted?

Likewise, the analysis could be criticised for having a time span that is too short. It could be argued that a longitudinal analysis of Irish newspaper discourse would require an more lengthy period and that it does not allow for a variation

across real time (years/decades) in how newspapers talk about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants.

Whilst the analysis was mindful of context it nevertheless can be said to lack comprehensive historical and political context. Had this been present the analysis could be contextualised more, and could have linked newspaper discourse up with other concurrent discourses for example government debates or the talk of voluntary bodies and non-governmental organisations. An emphasis on historical context would have allowed the analyst to ask: how does Ireland's colonial past influence current discourses about others? Does Ireland's experience of migration influence how Irish people experience immigration and how? Does Ireland's experience of discrimination against Travellers predispose her to racism to different but white people? These are issues raised by Garner (2004) and are important in their ability to ground analytic findings in real historical and cultural events.

Hanyes, Devereux and Breen (2004) argue for the use of Thompson's tripartite model (1990) in the analysis of newspaper discourse. Thompson's model focuses on how media texts are produced (how information is selected for writing and how the structure and content of articles are decided upon). Following this model would involve interviewing those who make the news, journalist, editor, photographer and so on. This would provide two functions which would improve the current research. Firstly, it would enhance the analysis of context and power by questioning those involved about how they are influenced in the selection of topics and construction of newspaper stories. Secondly, it would allow those journalists who wrote the pieces in the analysis to respond to the analysis and to critically evaluate and reflect on the findings and have a role in the production of the final conclusions through their thoughts on the findings. This model is limited by a lack of focus on power and was not considered for the current research because of this. Nevertheless some aspects of it especially the focus on the newsmakers could be incorporated into further research coming from this thesis.

The media's position between elite discourse and everyday discourse suggests that it is in a unique position to influence discourses of immigration (van Dijk, 1993). Rather than merely reproducing or producing racist discourses, the media is in a position to challenge and resist these discourses and the power strategies that maintain them in society. This study aimed to highlight examples of

discourse which function to produce and reproduce racism through the media and to show how biopower is implicated in such discourses. An interesting next step would be to highlight instances when media discourses actually function to resist discrimination and to suggest ways in which they could increase and build on such instances of resistance. Teo (2000, p. 44) suggests that one way to do this is by introducing more minority voices and faces into the media so as to construct society and multicultural and diverse rather than static polarised society consisting of us and them. Future analysis should concentrate on the representation of minority voice compared to dominant voice in the media with a view to highlighting imbalance and consequences of imbalance and suggesting ways to address this. This study did not cover this issue and it remains an area in need of further research. Therefore, future research should highlight positive presentations of minorities in the media and suggest ways to increase such presentations and decrease the use of negative presentations. Questions relevant to this would be: What makes the positive stories possible; why are there not more; what types of stories allow for positive constructions of the other; if the other is positioned positively, how are Irish people positioned in response to this? Garner (2007) argues that it is easier to feel positive towards individuals rather than a mass and points out those individual asylum seekers who have been given support by the Irish and positioned positively.

The current analysis tentatively opened up the possibility of looking at the use of reflection (taking history, context and one's own role in contributing to racism) as a valuable approach to fostering a more empathic understanding and positioning of the other. The analysis found that when the other was considered from a position of self reflection and from a position that de-objectified them, there was more access to positive constructions of them and more empathic emotional responses. There is scope for future research to explore these ideas further.

Another interesting avenue for research on positive stories is an exploration of the function of positive positioning of the other. Moriarty (2006, p.305-307) argues that positive presentations of the other functions to construct the "caring nature of Irishness" and to "reclaim" past memories of emigration and to invoke a perception of "ourselves" as "charitable and generous". An analysis with this focus on alternative constructions of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants could also look at the presence of refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant voice in

newspaper articles. Within the current analysis there was a clear under-representation of the voice of the non-Irish other, but further analysis could provide a more detailed picture of this and look at what contextual factors make it possible for non-Irish voices to be given space in newspaper discourse.

The current findings indicated that while Irish newspaper discourse tends to rely on differentiation in the construction of identity, it also uses linking in a similar process to that described by Hansen (2006). Whilst traditional social psychological research says much about how differentiation occurs between groups there is little research on linking. Future research could look at how linking can be encouraged. In order to move from a pathology view of racism, it is necessary to have a discursive and relational based psychology rather than a self contained individualistic, fixed traits notion of psychology. The discursive view of self allows for a self that is multivoiced and multilayed, a self that is constituted through language and the relationships one has with the world and others in it. The discursive self is a self at the boundary between the self and the other. It is neither wholly individual nor wholly eclectic. This concept of self can allow for a person to have a mixture of cultural influences and does not demand that we use fixed notions of race or culture to capture a person. It allows for a personal identity that is fluid and changing and has a mixture of many influences that change in quantity and mix with time and circumstance. So that as well as seeing differences we can be encouraged to notice and make relevant similarities. Relating to the other through linking will provide different subject positions with alternative moral roles and duties thus providing an alternative dynamic to the victim threat positions observed in the current analysis. Future studies could look for evidence of linking and explore under what conditions it exists in order to look at how linking can be encouraged.

Mouffe (2005) writes about linking within antagonism, the selective alliances that can be made between very different and divergent groups. They argue that antagonism can never be eradicated, and is in fact necessary for democracy to work but that the existence of tension and difference does not preclude the coming together to serve shared interests and shared goals. They suggest that different groups can come together for a limited time to work together on a shared outcome. For example, Irish women and refugee women could theoretically come together in alliance against rape or domestic violence. Or Irish

travellers and settled Irish people could align against immigration. Looking at possibilities for linking or alliance between Irish people and refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants would reduce prejudice and provide meaningful opportunities for joining and a blurring of group differentiations.

A focus on biopower and other models of power is necessary to remember that states, citizens and minority and majority groups have vested interests in maintaining the current notion of essential cultural or racial differences. Together with a focus on power, future psychological research could link up with political theorists to develop notions of culture that are more politically relevant. Consider, for example, the idea that cultural practices can be described from an engagement rather than a membership perspective. One can engage in cultural practices without necessarily being a cultural member of the community. Such a shift would open the door for linking between those engaged in similar practices regardless of cultural or racial group membership. Taking the above into account will help us mover from a pathology view of racism to a truly social notion of racism and prejudice.

With regard to the findings on positioning, interesting future avenues would include an investigation into how positioning might be resisted. If positioning is resisted what consequences does this have for identity and linking and differentiation, as discussed above? Future research could also explore the process of value practice management in other forms of talk and practice. Finding value practice management in other discourses would provide support for the current conclusions. With regard to support for the current findings, this thesis would benefit from similar studies against which it could be compared and contrasted. More discourse analysis of Irish newspaper discourse would be beneficial to provide a comparison and an alternative reading of the newspaper discourse.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research in this thesis comes from one person with her own biases and cultural knowledge. My aim nevertheless has been to contribute to the development of a knowledge base about how those seeking asylum and immigration into Ireland are talked about in the media and how this talk is

supported by and contributes to power, identity and subject positioning. The research highlighted discourses and practices of biopower which function to produce and reproduce racist practices, discourses, subject positionings and negative emotional attitudes towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in Ireland. Ireland is going through a time of increasing change, in order to appropriately face this new period in her history Ireland must be open to the interrogation of her own prejudices. Discourse analysis offers a way to do this and as such offers hope and a way towards an Ireland that is sensitive, tolerant and welcoming of difference in all its forms.

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Appendix A

Full Text Articles that Extracts were taken from

Article for Extract 1

International aspect to gangs, violence and trafficking

Globalised crime environment: Conor Lally looks at how immigration has changed the Irish crime scene, especially in the areas of vice and drugs.

On the night of July 10th last year, Chinese triad violence spilled onto Dublin city centre streets, leaving one man murdered and another minus his scalp. Two gangs from rival provinces in their native China had become embroiled in a row over a debt at a triad-run brothel in Dublin.

Zhang Da Wei (26), with an address in Dublin's North King Street, visited the brothel with a friend in the weeks before the violent July encounter on O'Connell Street. They used the services of Chinese women at the "business" but left without paying. Another 23-year-old Dublin-based Chinese national, Chen Long, and his gang were given responsibility by the triad-owners for collecting the debt.

When creditor and debtor failed to come to an agreement over the money, it was decided to settle the score with a gang knife fight.

During the mini-riot, one man was stabbed in the chest and died. Part of Zhang's scalp was sliced off. It was found on O'Connell St and later surgically reattached. Another man, Yang Wang (23), was mistakenly stabbed in the neck by one of his own gang but survived.

The encounter was proof that bubbling under the surface in Dublin's ethnic minority communities is a world of gang crime, which while smaller than the domestic underworld, is just as organised and violent. Most non-national gangs exist independently, without Irish nationals in their inner circle.

According to the Irish Prison Service (IPS), more than one in five, 21 per cent, of inmates committed to Irish prisons last year was a non-national. Of the 9,716 committals, some 209 were British and 70 were from other EU countries.

There were 983 committals from "other European" nations, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

Africans were the next most represented with 446 committals, followed by Asians (257), Central/South Americans (58) and North Americans (21).

A spokesman for the prison service said while 21 per cent of committals were in respect of non-nationals, such inmates account for between 5 and 6 per cent of the prison population at any given time. A large number of non-national prisoners are on remand.

They are more likely to be remanded in custody for short periods to allow the authorities time to check the authenticity of their names and addresses before they are released on bail.

The National Consultative Committee on Multiculturalism and Racism said it is "concerned" at the numbers of non-nationals in jail. However, its information officer, Ms Jacqueline Healy, said the issue was a complex one.

"You would have to examine whether the prisoners were actually resident here or merely apprehended here. Crime has now become globalised and the issue [of non-nationals being imprisoned] is happening everywhere across Europe.

"We would also make the point that non-nationals are the victims of crime as well as the perpetrators. And into the future we would hope there would be no bias against black people in sentencing, as has been the case in the US".

Vice and drug-trafficking are the areas in which non-nationals have been most active in recent years. Many of the women working in prostitution and lap dancing in the Republic are foreign nationals. According to Garda sources a significant number have been trafficked here, mostly from Eastern Europe and Africa. However, they stress not all lap dancing clubs are involved in illegal activity. When trafficked women arrive on Irish shores, they often owe the gangs substantial amounts of money for their passage. They are forced to work in prostitution until their debt is paid.

The Chinese triads have also cornered a significant corner of the vice market in Dublin, although they are engaged almost exclusively in brothel keeping as opposed to lap dancing.

In the drugs trade, African criminals have cornered the herbal cannabis market here. Most of the drug is trafficked from South Africa, earning those involved in shipments huge sums of money. In South Africa a kilo of high-quality herbal cannabis can be bought for €30 a kilo; here it sells for around € 2,700 a kilo.

Away from vice and drugs, some non-nationals gangs are involved in credit card and ATM card scams. Eastern European gangs have used hand-held electronic devices to retrieve an ATM card's data from an ATM machine just after the card has been used. The fraudsters usually look over the shoulder of the person using the card in order to get their pin number.

One Garda source in Dublin told The Irish Times that "Romanian and Russian-speaking" gangs are engaged in organised shoplifting all over the country.

"Even if they are eventually deported a lot of them don't seem to have any problem getting back into Ireland. Some Garda stations near big shopping centres are like the United Nations at times". *(The Irish Times, 26 November 2003)*

Article for Extract 2

The trade in 'lost' Irish passports

THE Irish passport, once a coveted document, respected around the world, is in danger of losing its value and risks no longer being trusted by customs and airport officials around the world. Once we were scandalised by politicians proving that a profit could be made from the sale of Irish passports. Now they can be bought on the streets of Dublin as easily as a copy designer shirt.

Last year the Passport Office replaced more than 22,000 of these precious documents, which had been reported either lost or stolen. The Sunday Independent can now reveal that many of these documents are being sold by members of the underworld, for prices ranging from €400 to €4,000, depending on who is buying them or what type of passport they require.

On Tuesday of last week, we set out to acquire some of these passports as part of an investigation into organised crime and its relationship with foreign gangs who exploit innocent refugees, from various countries, who try and obtain work in this country.

We quickly learned about the availability of Irish passports and after two phone calls and a four-hour wait, we had obtained three passports, which we were told could be altered, by inserting the photograph and details of whoever we wished to nominate. We were told that these would be good for travel for people who were unknown to the authorities, but were not clean as they may be reported as either stolen or missing to the passport office. (No matter how professionally a passport is altered, the individual number, which is stencilled by impregnating each page with tiny perforations, cannot be changed.)

The three Irish passports which we obtained were belonging to two males in their twenties and one female of a similar age. Later that evening it was arranged that I meet with an individual from Nigeria who, for a fee of €200, would make the alterations to the passports and I was assured that the finished article would pass any inspection.

I was shown a sample of this man's work, and with 20 years experience in the print business I could not tell original passports from forged ones. I was told that it takes two days for a passport to be altered and no money is paid until you collect the altered passport. He also told me that he could obtain passports from most countries and these are normally bought by people who come to this country and them wish to acquire two identities - one with which to seek refugee status and draw benefits, and another to apply for an RSI number and a work permit.

These foreign passports sell for anything from €3,000 to €5,000 and are often bought on an instalment plan. The main customers are from eastern Europe and they are

primarily serviced by gangs from their own countries, including members of the Russian Mafia, for whom it is a very profitable business.

The Nigerian man I was dealing with told me that the Irish passport is easy to alter and is now easy to obtain. It used to be worth more on the black market but the greater availability has resulted in the price people are prepared to pay dropping substantially. Apart from stolen passports, the organised crime gangs have another valuable source of supply. They target vulnerable individuals such as drug addicts and get them to apply for passports, which are then purchased by the criminals for about €200. These are the most valuable passports because they have not been reported as lost or stolen and the unalterable number is therefore not on any wanted list.

Criminal gang members who travel abroad regularly, buying drugs for sale in Ireland, constantly use these. These criminals learned from the high-profile trials of the members of the Gilligan drug gang not to leave evidence of the various foreign trips they make. In the past, the authorities could detect how many times a criminal travelled to places like Amsterdam, which would have set off warnings that they were most likely dealing in drugs. But with the false passports this information is no longer available to the Gardai or the Criminal Assets Bureau.

While the easy availability of these false passports to criminals and immigrants who might wish to defraud the State is worrying, of much more concern is the possibility of these passports getting into the hands of the increasing number of terrorists from around the world. This is a major security risk - at present the Irish passport holder is regarded as a low security risk around the world. But it would only take one Al-Qaeda type incident involving an Irish passport to change all that.

THE Irish passport is not the only official document to become part of our crooked currency. Work permits, which in their ordinary legal existence are supplied free to valid applicants by the Department of Enterprise and Employment, have also acquired a black market value of their own.

There are many cases of people from countries outside the EU, who wish to come to Ireland to live and work, being charged many thousands of euro for these work permits, and this money is shared between the prospective employer and the agent in the country of origin.

In recent years, as thousands of relatively low-paid jobs could not be filled by EU nationals, extensive contacts have been developed with these mainly former Soviet-bloc countries. Tens of thousands of work permits were handed out, but the follow-up procedure to make sure these people end up working in exact accordance with their permits is so inadequate as to allow widespread abuse of the scheme.

However, the good news is that this will change at the end of the year. In March,

the Tanaiste Mary Harney announced that from January 1 next, citizens of the 10 EU applicant countries will no longer require work permits. That move is expected to help take up the slack in the job market, leaving little if anything for the work permit crooks to feed off.

However, for those from outside the proposed expanded EU - victims in this fraud - it makes it more difficult for them to come here and work. But if they are desperate enough, they will still pay the greedy middlemen. And while the new rules will tighten the illegal market, supply and demand dictates that the price will go up, imposing even more hardship on these would-be immigrants.

YET another scam involving official documents involves the misuse of study visas. The hotel and catering industries have been the big beneficiaries of this scheme. They have overcome their staffing problems by registering their non-EU staff in colleges where they are supposedly learning English. The staff themselves have to pay the registration fee, which can be as high as €1,300. A loophole in current legislation means there is no restriction on the number of students that enter this country to study.

The exploited in this case are mostly Chinese. We have a Chinese community of 40,000 plus in this country. In the last four years alone, over 30,000 student visas have been issued to applicants from China. They have come into this country after paying high fees to private schools, on the premise that they will attend classes. They are allowed to work up to 20 hours per week to assist them in funding their education. The reality is that a lot of these schools are no more than rooms where sometimes more than five times the capacity are booked in, and in some cases no classes take place at all. Many of the "students" never study a single day, but become full-time workers, mostly in the catering trade. The schools do, however, provide the students with attendance sheets which they can present when renewing their student visas. *(The Irish Independent May 25 2003)*

Article for Extract 3

Sharp rise in racist incidents reported over last three years

By Martha Kearns

THE reported incidence of racist assault, abuse, and harassment has risen sharply in the past three years.A new report has revealed that there were 70 racist incidents reported to the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) over the past six months, including assault, bullying, and damage to property.

The same period last year saw 46 incidents reported. In 2001, when statistics were first compiled, the figure was 41. However, it is believed that the real figure is much higher

because of under-reporting. Separate figures compiled by the Department of Justice showed the number of racist attacks reported to gardai in the year to date was 42. Last year, the figure for the whole year was 69 - down from 102 in 2002.

The NCCRI also received a number of complaints about the content of some websites including an

anti-traveller one which referred to those living at Dunsink Lane in Dublin. And there were also complaints about some sections of the media, including radio coverage of the citizenship referendum as well anti-traveller, anti-semitic, and Islamaphobic comments in both the print and broadcast media. Of the 70 incidents over the past six months, 63pc happened in the greater Dublin area and the majority were targeted at adults.

Some 22pc happened in urban areas outside of Dublin and 15pc in rural areas. The complaints relate to three main areas - assaults, abuse and harassment; delivery of public and private services; and misinformation and circulation of offensive material. The report, launched by Justice Minister Michael McDowell yesterday, found that racism was not linked to people's legal status in this country.

"Refugees and asylum seekers, Irish and EU citizens, including travellers and non-EU citizens, are experiencing racism in Ireland. These can include students or people visiting Ireland as tourists," it said. Mr McDowell said that combating racism and addressing myths and misunderstandings around issues of race had never been more important. "Whatever the individual motivation for moving to Ireland, it is vitally important that we treat people from different backgrounds with respect and fairness," he said.

The NCCRI, which was established to provide advice and develop initiatives to address racism in Ireland, made a number of recommendations including the need for a racist incidents monitoring officer and the strengthening of legislation. It said that crimes motivated by hatred of particular communities including minority ethnic groups and other vulnerable communities should be considered as an aggravating factor in sentencing. The NCCRI is concerned about the adequacy of present legislation and its enforcement.

Chairperson of the NCCRI, Anastasia Crickley, said racism was a problem for all governments in the EU. "We need stronger co-operation within EU states and between EU states if this problem is to be adequately addressed," she said. (The Irish Independent, *November 11 2004)*

Article for Extract 4

Slave labour, Irish-style

After revelations this week that a Filipina beauty therapist was paid €1 an hour at Irish Ferries, and hundreds of similar claims subsequently, Ireland is fast gaining a reputation as a bad employer. Gemma O'Doherty reports

When Kathy got a job in one of Dublin's best-known ethnic restaurants, it was the start of a new life. She had left home in Malaysia two years earlier in the hope of a fresh start and better opportunities.

There was no shortage of work in Ireland, she had heard, but finding secure employment in the catering world was a struggle, despite her wide experience from home. At last, the right job had come along and she had got her crucial work permit to allow her to stay in the country.

Kathy was offered the position of waitress in a restaurant admired by food critics across the island. She would earn €4 an hour for five shifts a week - €3 less than the minimum wage, but a fortune compared to what she could make back home.

Sharing a cramped house with a group of friends, her rent was manageable. Although she would have little left to spend on herself, she would earn enough to send money home every month to her mother, whom she had supported since the age of 17.

But within weeks of starting, it became clear her job would involve a lot more than waiting tables. Gradually, the restaurant owner, a well-known figure in Irish restaurant circles, started asking her to do menial chores like making his tea, popping to the shop and doing deliveries. Proving a bright, trustworthy employee, before long she was being told to count the takings and go to the bank.

Her eight-hour shifts turned into 13-hour days, and soon she was expected to open and close the restaurant so he could go home early. Her working day would start at 11am and not end until after midnight, with little more than an hour's break in between.

The extra work did not mean extra cash. Kathy rarely came out with more than €275 for a 60-hour week - even though she was almost running the restaurant by now. Instead of rewarding her for the extra workload, her boss became threatening and abusive, shouting at her when she made even simple mistakes on jobs she had not been trained to do.

Kathy started to dread going to work, but she was trapped. She knew if she turned her back on the job, she could wave goodbye to her work permit and her future in Ireland.

"I was just a waitress but I was expected to do everything. In two years, I never took a holiday. I worked so hard; but if I made just a simple error, like forgetting to enter something on a credit card, he would give out and curse me at the top of his voice. 'I can't leave you to do a basic job,' he'd shout.

"Once, on my day off, he gave me a torrent of abuse because he had been left to run the restaurant. He made me cry so many times but there was nothing I could do. If I

was Irish, I could have walked away; but I was tied to him because I was afraid of losing my work permit."

Kathy's fear and exploitation experienced at the hands of a ruthless employer is now widespread among migrant workers in Ireland, according to the country's largest trade union. Following this week's revelations about the Filipina beauty therapist, Salvacion Orge, who was earning €1 an hour on a Irish Ferries vessel, Siptu offices around the country have been flooded with calls from foreign workers who claim they are being treated as little more than slaves by their employers. They say they have no option but to stay in their job because their work permits tie them to it.

"It's just frightening what's happening out there," says Anton McCabe of the Meath Branch of Siptu. "But people are so afraid of coming forward. You have to meet them in the dead of night, behind petrol stations and the like, because they are terrified of being caught by their employer and losing their permits.

"We have heard stories of physical abuse, terrible racism and shocking exploitation at the hands of employers, but because the work permit system has created a form of bonded labour, they feel they have no option but to put up with it."

One Siptu official this week learned of a young Eastern European man working a 65-hour week on a farm in the east for "a pillar of society and the Church". He is paid less than €3 an hour.

"This farmer is the sort of person you'd see handing out Communion on a Sunday morning; but a few weeks ago, neighbours saw another side to him," says the trade union official.

"He was having a late night in the pub when somebody asked him did he not have to get up early to milk the cows in the morning. 'Sure I have a little Ukrainian slave to do that for me,' he was overheard telling his friend. 'You should get yourself one.'"

The *Irish Independent* has also learned of a group of Slovakian workers who came to Dublin three months ago on the promise of €100 a day to carry out a tiling contract.

They have not yet been paid their wages having done hundreds of hours of hard labour, and are now destitute, trying to scrape together the money to go back home.

The recent case of Kilkenny farmers accused of paying asylum seekers €1 an hour to pick stones - which was highlighted by the local diocesan outreach service for refugees - is further evidence of the depraved exploitation being suffered by some of the country's most vulnerable immigrants.

The imminent publication of the report into Turkish construction firm, Gama, which has been accused of the most "primitive techniques of worker exploitation" on Irish building sites, is expected to shed even more light on the treatment of a host of workers in this country.

After a two-year nightmare, Kathy finally got the courage to leave her job. Shortly afterwards, she had an unplanned pregnancy, and now has a two-month-old daughter to care for, complicating her life even further.

Her boyfriend pays for their keep from his limited wages, but with a child to feed and living in a one-bedroom apartment with four people, she can no longer afford not to work.

As far as the State is concerned, Kathy does not exist. After she left the restaurant, she automatically lost her work permit. Without one, she is entitled to nothing from social welfare, and could be automatically deported if found by the authorities.

'My only hope is that they don't usually focus on Indians or Malaysians. It seems to be the Nigerians and Romanians, so I'm not too worried about being found. Nobody knows how badly foreigners are treated in the workplace in this country, especially in ethnic restaurants, which are a secret world.

"In my case, you are talking about one of the top restaurants in Dublin run by a man who puts on a big smile for his customers but is so bad to his staff. They are prepared to put up with it because what you can earn in a week here is what you would earn in a month back home.

"I want to stay in this country. I came to Ireland for a better life but I'm not sure if I'll find it here." *(The Irish Independent 2 April 2005)*

Article for Extract 5

Refugee teen 'forced into sex life'

THE plight of a Romanian teenage girl who was held captive and forced into prostitution in Dublin is unlikely to be an isolated case, the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) warned last night.

ICCL director Aisling Reidy condemned the abuse endured by the girl who came to Ireland in the hope of a better life as "horrific".

"Unfortunately, however, she is unlikely to be the only such victim, and certainly such trafficking and sexual abuse is a global phenomenon among women who are desperate to move countries for a better life," Ms Reidy said.

Maria Alexi (18), who is now under Garda protection, came to Ireland two years ago after she fell in with an older Romanian man.

But after only a few months here, he forced her to have sex with other men, claiming he needed the money. The woman estimated she had sex with more than 200 men before ending up in hospital after a beating.

A Garda investigation is underway.

(The Irish Independent May 14 2004)

Article for Extract 6

Asylum-seekers find first world hard to reach

Nuala Haughey looks at the desperation that drives people to risk their lives, as regular arrival routes to the rich world are barred. When the bodies of 58 Chinese immigrants were discovered in a container in the British port of Dover last summer, the Irish authorities breathed a sigh of relief that it hadn't happened here. But as the weekend's developments have show, it was only a matter of time before the tragic reality of the lengths desperate people will go to was driven home.

While the Taoiseach had pledged to spare no effort to bring those responsible to justice, it would be wishful thinking to believe that this is the last bitter taste Ireland will have of the lucrative worldwide trade in people-smuggling. The organised gangs in the illegal immigrant trade are ruthless and extremely organised. People-smuggling may not yet be as profitable as drug-smuggling but nor is it as risky for the perpetrators who do not travel with their 'clients'.

An estimated seven million illegal immigrants are brought to Europe every year by smugglers. Worldwide estimates of the gangs' total turnover ranges between about £8 billion and £20 billion. The 58 Chinese people discovered dead in Dover in June last year paid up to £20,000 each to Chinese "snakehead" gangs for the journey. Some was paid up front and the rest promised over a period of years. In other words, they had agreed to become slave labourers for the organised gang. Since the numbers of asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants coming to Ireland began increasing sharply in the late 1990's, several steps have been taken by the authorities to target people-smugglers and traffickers. The Garda National Immigration Bureau was established in summer 2000 and has appointed liaison officers in London and Paris. The bureau has been expanded significantly in a attempt to combat trafficking by transnational criminal gangs.

The bureau has direct responsibility for immigration duties at Dublin Airport and indirect responsibility for more than 200 gardai with immigration duties at other points of entry to the State. A law was introduced last year providing for 10-year imprisonment or an unlimited fine for people found trafficking illegal immigrants into the State. The Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act also gave gardai powers to seize and forfeit vehicles used by traffickers. There is a distinction, though one that is often overlooked, between people-traffickers who coerce people to go abroad to work for example, as prostitutes and people smugglers who simply arrange transport for a fee. There has been one prosecution under this law, and 20 others are pending. Ferry companies and airlines are the next to be

targeted by the authorities. Legislation introducing fines for those found carrying passengers without proper travel documents is due to be published within the coming weeks. Such measures, which exist in many EU states including the United Kingdom, oblige carrier staff to check passenger documents for authenticity.

However, the proposal to introduce such a law here has met with strong criticism from civil liberties groups and the representative in Ireland of the UN High Commission for Refugees, Ms Pia Prutz Phiri. Ms Prutz Phiri has said such a law "delegates an authority which squarely lies with states. Many refugees and asylum-seekers are not carrying documents or have false ones, and the end result is htat people who need access to a territory may be effectively barred," she said earlier this year.

Ms Phiri said fines should be waived for carriers of passengers who, upon arrival in Ireland, apply for refugee status. The Road Haulage Association of Ireland has also spoken out against fines for carriers, saying that its members should not become scapegoats in any clampdown on traffickers.

At the time of the Dover incident, the association pointed out in the past that many Irish long-distance drivers had discovered refugees in their trucks after parking them overnight in Belgium or along the French corridor into Calais. The majority of drivers were unknowingly involved, and most were now becoming more vigilant in an attempt to stop refugees using their vehicles, it said. Instead of fines, the association wants the authorities at ports to introduce compulsory and stringent checks.

Few could dispute the state's right to control its borders and target those who make handsome profits out of the desperation and misery of others. But while controls will stop some smuggling and trafficking and save some lives, there is also a very real risk in that tighter restrictions make the trade more lucrative for the organised gangs as well as more dangerous for the people resorting to their services.

Refugee lobby groups argue that the international community's failure to find lasting solutions for the plight of millions of refugees worldwide is driving them towards human-smugglers. As regular arrival routes are increasingly sealed, many refugees continue to turn to smugglers to reach safety, in spite of the dangers and the financial costs. To overcome immigration barriers, economic migrants potray themselves as refugees fleeing persecution. An independent study commissioned by the UN High Commissioned for Refugees (UNHCR) and published last July called on European Union countries to review their migration and asylum policies to find ways of opening other channels to refugees.

At the heart of this argument is the contention that there is a contradiction between enforcement policies and the absolute right to claim asylum enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Under the Convention, states may not turn away people who make claims to

be protected as refugees on the grounds that they are fleeing persecution. Until their cases are decided, such people are known as asylum-seekers. If an asylum-seeker is unable, due to stringent security measures, to enter a country to lodge a claim for protection as a refugee, then in effect the right to claim asylum enshrined in the convention is a theoretical one only. If a peotetinal refugee is prevented from boarding a ferry or an aircraft with a forged passport, then his or her options might be being locked in the back of a lorry.

A relaxation of European asylum policy or international laws against trafficking or smuggling is clearly not the answer. But neither are blanket enforcement measures alone enough. What groups like the Irish Refugee Council advocate is that governments should have in their sights not just the traffickers and smugglers but also the people being trafficked an smuggled. As well as legal restrictions, there must be opportunities for refugees and asylum-seekers both in host countries and their countries of origin. Legal and safe migration opportunities are also part of a comprehensive approach. The authorities in Ireland point out that most people use the asylum system to enter the Republic without the need for protection from persecution. Up to 7 per cent of applications for refugee status processed are successful.

For people who wish to come to Ireland for economic reasons, there is a work-permit system under which 34,500 people have entered the State this year. But last week's announcement that this system is to be tightened up will restrict that legitimate channel for many. Clearly a viable solution has to balance the rights of states to sovereignty and control with those of individuals, whether citizens or refugees. European states, including Ireland, need to balance their responsibilities more evenly. Ultimately, however, human-trafficking will continue to exist as long as "market forces" permit it. It is global inequalities which give people the impetus to flee poor or troubled countries for rich or safe countries. *(The Irish Times, December 10 2001)*

Article for Extract 7

Progress made in Wexford tragedy inquiry

Significant progress has been made in the criminal investigation into the weekend tragedy in which eight stowaways were found dead in a packed freight container in Wexford.

As the five survivors of the ordeal recovered in hospital last night, it emerged that Belgian police had questioned a truck driver who had transported the group on the final leg of their journey on mainland Europe.

Belgian police have also located and forensically examined a "safe house" in

Brussels where it is believed most, if not all, of the 13 mostly Turkish migrants had gathered before embarking on their clandestine journey to Ireland, sources told The Irish Times.

Gardai have said they are convience the migrants thought they were embarking on a sailing of just a few hours to a British port when they allowed themselves to be sealed in to a 40-ft container by the criminals.

Instead, the container was loaded at the Belgian port of Zeebrugge onto a cargo ship bound for Ireland, and the group, including five children, endured a 53-hour sailing through a force 10 gale.

Gardai believe the stowaways paid between £5,000 and £8,000 each to smugglers who helped them hide in the container.

The group consisted of 11 Turkish nationals, including a Kurdish family, as well as one Albanian and one Algerian who were among the survivors.

The Taoiseach, Mr Ahern will raise the crisis caused by the weekend's tragedy when he meets fellow EU leaders at the Laeken summit in Belgium this week. He will say the EU must direct economic aid to the countries from which the most asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants are fleeing...

Defending the Government's policies, Mr Ahern's spokesman said: "We could take hundreds of thousands and it would not be a drop in the ocean." The EU is not "Fortress Europe", but is must have rules to govern immigration, he added.

Meanwhile, gardai are liaising closely with police forces in Britain, France, Italy, the UK and Germany in their efforts to track the criminals behind the tragedy. A member of the Garda National Immigration Bureau has travelled to Belgium and another to France. Belgian police said last night they would not comment on an ongoing investigation.

The Minister for Justice, Mr John O'Donoghue, said the surviving stowaways had been through a terrible trauma and if they were made applications for asylum they would receive "sympathetic and humane" consideration. He added: "There is also the provision, of course, even if they were not to qualify for refugee status, for an order to be made allowing them to stay on humanitarian grounds." *(The Irish Times, 11 December 2001)*

Article for Extract 8

Immigrant found guilty of manslaughter over stabbing

A man on trial at the Central Criminal Court for fatally stabbing another has been found not guilty of murder but guilty of manslaughter.

Valerij Makarov (25), a Lithuanian, also known as Andris Simonis, Lucan, Co Dublin, had pleaded not guilty to the murder of Tomas Lukosevicious (30), on May 11th,

2003, in Lucan. He had also pleaded not guilty to causing intentional or reckless serious harm to Aldevinias Gudavicious (34), and to threatening to harm Jonas Bernotas (21).
The jury delivered a majority verdict of 11 to one yesterday after deliberating for nine hours and 28 minutes over two days.

Makarov was found guilty of causing harm, a charge lessened from causing serious harm, and found not guilty of threatening to harm. Mr Justice White remanded him on bail until sentencing on January 11th.

The court heard that on May 11th, 2003, Makarov spent the day at the zoo with his family and later went to a friend's house, where he began to receive a series of threatening phone calls on his mobile.

When he returned to his home in Lucan, a car in his driveway, belonging to his sister-in-law, had a cement block smashed through the windscreen and lights smashed.
"We all had a shock," he said. "If they can come in the middle of the day and break our lights, they could come in and kill us at night."

Makarov made three phone calls to local gardaí to report the incident, waiting in his home for them to arrive.

His wife left the house, looking for alternative accommodation for the family for the night. Makarov's two children and sister-in-law were in the home at the time of the incident.
The jury heard that at about 10 p.m., his front door was kicked in and a man confronted him in his kitchen, threatening him. Makarov said he was cornered in the kitchen and reached for a knife out of a drawer "just to pinch him, so he would feel pain and go away".

Mr Bernotas and Mr Gudavicious were outside the house and saw some of the incident through the window, when they also kicked in the door. An altercation ensued in the hallway, where Makarov was still holding the kitchen knife.

He had said he was trying to get the men away from his sister-in-law and child.
The court heard that one of the men slipped outside the house and the other ran off and was chased by Makarov to a neighbour's front gate. "I told him I would kill him if he came back to my house," he had said in a Garda interview viewed by the jury.
The State Pathologist, Dr Marie Cassidy, told the court Mr Lukosevicious had bled to death from nine stab wounds.

Mr Gudavicious, who showed the scars of his stab wounds to the court, had received eight "lacerations". There was no evidence that his injuries caused a substantial risk of death.

Makarov said he had not realised a stabbing had occurred until "the garda told me one of them was dead". When he returned to his house, his sister-in-law had wiped up blood off the kitchen floor so the children would not see it. Traces of blood were also

found in the hallway, front door and outside the house. In the Garda interview, Makarov was asked: "In view of the fact that we have one person dead and one person seriously injured, do you have any remorse?" "Of course I have remorse," Makarov replied. "These people have parents. They were not firemen or policemen, they did not die in the line of duty. It hurts me to find out that they came to another country to die." *(The Irish Times, 3 December 2004)*

Article for Extract 9

Father claims voices told him to kill his son

A FATHER has told a murder trial jury that he swung his infant son's head against a kitchen wall two or three times "like someone possessed" because a voice came inside his head and told him to do it.

The jury heard that the man, Yusif Ali Abdi, was transferred to the Central Mental Hospital six months after he was remanded in custody for the murder, and that he has been on anti-psychotic drugs since. Yusif Ali Abdi (30), a refugee from Somalia, has pleaded not guilty to the murder of his 20-month-old son Nathan Baraka Andrew Ali on April 17, 2001, in an apartment at The Elms, College Road, Clane, Co Kildare.

A post-mortem showed that baby Nathan Ali died from massive damage to the brain, with skull fractures resulting from multiple impacts with a hard surface.

Ali Abdi gave evidence to the jury in the presence of his wife, Amanda Bailey and her parents and family in the Central Criminal Court. He told the court that at 4am on the day of Nathan's death, he awoke for his prayers, and as he was going to prepare for them, he saw the bedroom door open. "All of a sudden, I had a feeling", he said, "Someone came up inside my head and said, 'Take him, take him'." The voice spoke Bajun, he said. He went inside and took his son and brought him into the living room, locking the door behind him.

"At the time I was just, I don't know, like a zombi, or possessed or something like that", he told Mr O'Connell. "It was like a different land, a completely different land.

"I felt like my brain was taken out and nearly somebody else's brain was put inside mine, because that's not me at all." He said he was in the living room, standing there, and the voice told him, 'Hit him, hit him'. "And just like the same way, I was like someone who was possessed I went and hit him on the wall. I hit him two or three times and I was still in that state."

Nathan was not moving and he put him on the floor, the accused said. He then decided to pray. "I guess I realised what had happened and the only thing I could think of was to do a prayer, maybe he would wake up or something", he said.

Mr O'Connell earlier told the jury that the defence would seek to prove a case of insanity and would show that Mr Abdi suffered from "command voice hallucinations" at the time of the killing. When he killed his son, "he acted as a result of an irresistible impulse caused by a disease of the mind", the defence counsel argued. The trial continues today before a jury and Mr Justice Carney. *(The Irish Independent May 20 2003)*

Article for Extract 10

Surgeon calls for ban on hospital circumcisions

A Dublin surgeon and male circumcision expert has said that the procedure should be banned in Irish hospitals. Describing the procedure as "a mutilation", Dr Matt McHugh said he believed circumcision had no medical justification and exposed patients to various risks. He believed circumcision should "be banned" from all Irish hospitals, despite the cultural requirements of ethnic minorities.

Dr McHugh wrote an influential paper in 1981 in the Irish Medical Journal, advising against the procedure. Circumcision has previously been carried out for medical purposes to address phimosis, a tightening of the foreskin. However, according to Dr McHugh, a "simple dorsal slit" in the foreskin is sufficient to cure the problem.

"What I'm saying here and now is that circumcision is a procedure that should never be performed," he said. "Basically, circumcision can be a dangerous procedure, it can have complications," he said. "It involves a general anaesthetic. It's disfiguring and basically you're removing something that shouldn't be removed." The end of the penis "is exposed to all sorts of trauma", according to Dr McHugh. "The foreskin is not useless, it has a function, and the function is to protect the glans of the penis."

He said he believed cultural reasons, such as in those in the Jewish and Islamic faiths where infant boys are circumcised, were not sufficient. "I am a medical man, I am not a religious expert, but I find it absolutely incredible circumcision can be initiated for some obscure religious belief."

He said he would never perform the procedure for non-medical reasons. "That's out of the question. I think most of my colleagues wouldn't either."

He said he agreed with the current policy in place in the south-east region, where hospitals refuse to carry out the procedure. "Certainly I am not going to do it, I don't care what they want. I'm not going to mutilate any children. If they come to this country they should be educated about the medical complications associated with circumcision. I feel it is unacceptable that this procedure be carried out for any reason, including religious belief."

Dr McHugh's comments contrast with a 2001 report on pregnancy services for asylum-seekers and refugees. The report, commissioned by the Eastern Regional Health

Authority, recommended a review of policy in relation to circumcision at maternity hospitals.

According to one of the authors of the study, Dr Jo Murphy Lawless of the Department of Social Policy in UCD, research carried out for the study found access to the procedure to be one of the areas of concern for many women from ethnic minorities.

"We got a strong sense on the ground that there is a demand for it and we needed to put it in place. It was a demand that clearly had to be responded to."

According to Dr Murphy Lawless, there has been no significant change in policy towards circumcision in Irish maternity hospitals.

In its ethical guidelines on male circumcision, the British Medical Association said it had no policy on the medical benefits or risks associated with non-medical male circumcision. *(The Irish Times, 23 August 2003)*

Article for Extract 11

Surgical cut an obligation in some cultures

CIRCUMCISION is a cultural/religious obligation for many of the ethnic groups who are making their home in Ireland and having the procedure carried out within the community is the norm, according to a spokesperson for the Irish Refugee Council.

Mr Itayi Viriri said the circumcision of young male children is common among many cultural groups who are moving to Ireland and said that this especially applies to males from Islamic communities and from Eastern and West African countries.

He added: "This is definitely a cultural and in some aspects a religious tradition. It is legally available in Ireland and is carried out by qualified personnel.

"However, most of these communities, even when they move away from home, would have somebody who is designated to carry it out within the community. In Africa you would not need to go to a hospital for the procedure and in most cases everything is fine.

"Even if a family are modernised and affluent enough to have the circumcision carried out in a hospital, it would not matter, as it is a question of cultural beliefs," he added.

Mr Viriri said that the question of female circumcision was one that raises debate but was not something which he was aware was taking place in this country.

While there are no specific Department of Health guidelines for cultural circumcision, the Department has said that it is a procedure which must be carried out by a qualified medical practitioner.

In many Irish hospitals, including Waterford, the practice may only be carried out for medical reasons.

Temple St Hospital in Dublin and Crumlin Children's hospital are two hospitals

which do carry out circumcision for cultural reasons, in order to dissuade people from carrying out the procedure in unsafe or unhygienic surroundings.

One doctor said yesterday Irish people need to be aware of, and sympathetic to, the different beliefs among the various ethnic groups within Ireland. "We need to share the beliefs and we need to respond to them in an appropriate way so that people aren't driven to do things that are unsafe or that are unwise," said family GP Dr Brendan O'Shea. "The key thing here is we would encourage anyone in the country that if they have significant concerns in relation to any surgical procedure or health issue that they should always attend their general practitioner," he added.

Speaking on RTE radio yesterday, Dr O'Shea said he has encountered one child who had been circumcised. *(The Irish Independent, August 21 2003)*

Article for Extract 12

Gardai investigate alleged backstreet circumcision

Gardaí in Mayo are investigating reports that a backstreet circumcision was recently carried out on an eight-month-old baby boy in Ballyhaunis, Co Mayo.

The procedure is alleged to have taken place at a centre for asylum-seekers in the town and was reported to gardaí by community welfare officers after the victim was subsequently examined by a local doctor.

The matter was notified on July 28th to the State's Reception and Integration Agency (RIA), which is responsible for accommodating asylum-seekers and refugees and co-ordinating the provision of health and other services to these groups.

The agency, in a recent letter to health boards, said the practice was allegedly being carried out "by a white male, age unknown, blond-haired with blue eyes and glasses, approximately 5 ft 11 in in height and a black woman, approximately 50 years of age, who travel in a red Alfa Romeo motor car, registration number unknown".

The letter, seen by The Irish Times, added: "The procedure is carried out for a sum of €175 which may be paid in instalments. The pair are apparently canvassing pregnant women offering their services if baby boys are delivered." It continued: "It is possible that this couple are travelling around the entire country offering their services to persons living in RIA accommodation centres and/or private rented accommodation.

"An illegal circumcision was carried out last year on a baby in Waterford with tragic results. Public health nurses and other health professionals who have contact with newborn babies and also local gardaí may need to be alerted to the possibility of this illegal activity taking place within their areas."

Gardaí in Swinford have confirmed they are investigating. The Western Health

Board said when the circumcision was brought to its attention, it notified the gardaí.

"Our social work department also contacted the mother and are happy that all child protection issues have been properly addressed," it said in a statement.

"We have advised management of the hostel and the residents of the hostel that if they require this procedure they should ask their GP to be referred to their local hospital where the procedure can be carried out in a safe environment," it added.

Similarly, the Department of Health said yesterday that people should only attend registered medical practitioners.

A Nigerian man is on bail having been charged with performing an illegal circumcision with a razor blade on a 29-day- old Waterford boy a year ago.

The child subsequently died. His case has been adjourned to the October session of Waterford Circuit Criminal Court.

After that child's death, the Department of Health established a committee to look at the provision of circumcision for socio-cultural reasons. *(The Irish Times, August 19 2004)*

Article for Extract 13

Churches seek repeal of asylum-seeker law

The Glenstal Ecumenical Conference 2004 has claimed that Ireland's legislation on asylum-seekers was "simply unworthy of us and should be repealed".

This was particularly so "against the background of the many thousands, even millions, of Irish people who were forced to emigrate over the years", the conference claimed.

A letter expressing the conference's "serious concerns" on the issue has been sent to the Minister for Justice, Mr McDowell, to coincide with World Human Rights Day on Friday next.

It is signed on behalf of the conference by the Abbot of Glenstal, Dom Christopher Dillon; the Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, Dr Willie Walsh; and the Church of Ireland Bishop of Limerick and Killaloe, the Right Rev Michael Mayes.

It is the first time in its 41 years that the Glenstal Ecumenical Conference, which represents all major Christian denominations in Ireland as well as many of the smaller congregations, has made a public pronouncement.

The signatories criticised "the inordinate amount of time taken to process applications for refugee status". It was a matter of record, they said, that such applications "take two, three or even four years to process".

This, together with procedures "incomprehensible to all but fluent English

speakers with legal knowledge, casts doubt in many minds on the standards of justice that this country claims to uphold", they said.

Another area of concern was "the criminalisation of paid work during the application process".

It effectively declared all asylum-seekers had nothing to contribute to the economic well-being of the country. *(The Irish Times, December 07 2004)*

Article for Extract 14

Bishops urge EU safeguards for migrants and refugees

IRISH bishops yesterday called on the Government to use the "unique opportunity" of our EU presidency to agree a pan-European policy safeguarding the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants.

The Government should take a leading role in preparing such legislation, according to the Committee of the Irish Bishops' Conference on Asylum Seekers and Refugees.

Spokeswoman Sister Joan Roddy said the presidency offered a unique chance for Ireland to lead member states in agreeing a tangible and just policy."Currently there is no common EU policy regarding asylum and immigration and, in many cases, this has led to an erosion of human rights and chaos for all concerned," she said. *(The Irish Independent, December 15 2003)*

Article for Extract 15

Racism a path to violence, top cleric tells flock

IRELAND needs to build "bridges of understanding" with immigrants, according to one of the country's leading clerics.

The Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin Dr John Neil warned that "ghettos and violence" would develop if relations between Irish people and immigrants were not nurtured. In his Christmas message, Dr Neill said that immigrants need to be treated with compassion.

"There is a price to be paid in being a welcoming and multi-cultural society. We have to be willing to learn about the way others live and think," he said.

"We have to go out of our way to understand that many coming to Ireland today have been traumatised, whether by violence, political oppression, or poverty. "Unless bridges of understanding are built, then the result will be ghettos defined by fear and violence."

Referring to the holy family, Dr Neill said that infants were being slaughtered when Joseph and Mary fled from Judea to ensure Jesus's life would be spared. As a result

of their flight, the holy family became refugees.

"The 'Ireland of the Welcomes' must take a deep breath. Does the welcome extended really reach beyond those well-heeled returning emigrants and the traditional big-spending tourists from the western world?" he asked.

"What about those who come to our shores with little or nothing? "The Lord who lived as a refugee child in Egypt said years later back in his own country: 'I was a stranger and you did not welcome me . . . '," he said. "When people were puzzled, he simply replied: 'Just as you did not do it for one of the least of these, you did not do it for me'."

Archbishop Neil said that there was a sense of excitement and expectancy as Christmas approached. "Throughout December, and even long before that, everything is geared to Christmas - there is a sense of excitement and expectancy all around," he said. "Most people are that bit more friendly and feeling quite generous if they can afford to be! All this is good. But what then?

"The people and the causes that stir our hearts at Christmas don't all disappear from the scene at the end of the month," he pointed out. The annual Christmas message was released yesterday. *(The Irish Independent, December 20, 2004)*

Article for Extract 16

Paying more than lip service to change

All in a day's work: Daniel Jewesbury, artist, co-ordinator of Radio Exchange, Carlow

I'm a working artist developing a piece of radio art with the inhabitants of Carlow. It's called Radio Exchange and is an examination of cultural integration in a town which is home to many asylum seekers and refugees.

I often drive from my hometown of Belfast to Carlow in the morning, but three hours there and back is arduous. I've taken to staying in a local B&B. It's like a home away from home now and the breakfast has won me over.

A project like Radio Exchange has an important social dimension. It brings a lot of people into the process. It is education in the broadest sense of the word - it's not institutional. At first, we were all worried that the project would just be a talking shop. Then we realised that the process was the outcome - people talked.

I spend the morning planning programmes, meeting with all sorts of people from the community - from refugees to local politicians, business people to school children.

I'm very interested in radio as a medium for both art and education. It is a tool of mass communication, but it speaks to each listener individually.

We're keeping this local. Radio Exchange concerns itself with the experience of being an immigrant in Carlow. There are enough people considering the national

dimension.

At lunchtime, I catch up on the news. It's interesting that the furore over a judge's remarks in Longford should coincide with our project in Carlow. Longford residents - new and established - are finding new ways to accommodate their changing population. I don't believe that this national discussion of their situation really represents the feelings of people on the ground. The national media can't address a local issue meaningfully.

I take my video camera around town for an hour after lunch. I'm compiling material for a short film about Carlow for the local Cineplex. There's a rich mine of material here. I'm looking forward to the finished product.

In the afternoon, I pay a visit to Askea Girls School to talk about content for next week's programmes. Helen Dalton runs a class there for children of asylum seekers and refugees. Some of the girls were born here, some were not. It's interesting to spend time with children who are the embodiment of the current discussions about citizenship. They consider themselves to be Irish. Why wouldn't they? They have never lived anywhere else.

The girls are very enthusiastic about Radio Exchange. They want to create programmes about the cultures of their families. We consider topics such as Siberian music and Romanian recipes. They're not interested in talking politics. They want to show off the things they have learned and grown up with. It's hard facing into a monocultural society when your young experience has been so different.

In the evening, from six to eight, I chair a discussion programme between some local politicians on air. We discuss the solutions that local residents have found for the inevitable pressures of a growing multicultural population. Communities are dealing with the outcomes of decisions made at national and European level. They have no control over those decisions. They must work out their own strategies. The people of Carlow have had a very positive experience of immigration. Radio Exchange has no imperative to speak beyond this community because our experience is unique.

We have no particular format to follow on Radio Exchange - we're not bound by any conventions. This is not RTÉ, it's not a commercial project. It's public art on the radio, so we have no boundaries except the desire to retain balance. We are careful not to overload the content with dry, factual pieces. The next programme this evening is a celebration of Nigerian music.

I have become very comfortable in this town. Creating Radio Exchange proved easy because so much good work had already been done. This town is finding its own route to integration. *(The Irish Times, March 11 2003)*

Article for Extract 17

Faces show the true picture of refugees

Pictures of innocence: photographer Howard Davies with his work in Temple Bar Photograph: Eric Luke

The moving pictures on display in Temple Bar feature people seeking asylum in Ireland. Photographer Howard Davies talks to Susan McKay

She's a tiny African girl, her face framed by tight black plaits, but her anxious brown eyes look as big as the world. She's the subject of one of the powerful photographs which have been stopping passers-by in their tracks on Dublin's Curved Street in Temple Bar for the past week. The pictures face outward from the windows of Film Base. The little girl is the child of parents who have come to Ireland seeking asylum. The caption on the photograph says she is "waiting for a decision that will define her life". The people in most of the portraits that make up British photographer Howard Davies' new Asyland exhibition are either seeking asylum here or have been granted refugee status.

There's an older African girl, too. Her face is gaunt and haunted, and it's clear her eyes have seen deep trouble. She's standing in the direct provision centre at Mosney in Co Meath. Her caption says that "many refugee children arrive here traumatised by the harrowing experiences that have forced their families to leave their homeland".

Another portrait shows a Roma girl who looks to be on the verge of her teenage years. She's smiling, cautiously. She looks absolutely determined and terribly vulnerable at the same time. She's in the centre at Knocknalisheen in Co Clare. The white buildings in the background look barracks-like, but there are swings and slides in the picture, too.

Other children in the pictures are laughing and messing around. There's one family portrait of a handsome, smiling woman, one hand on her hips, the other holding a buggy, surrounded by a tumble of bright eyed children. Her son, beside her, grins impishly at the camera. "I like her confidence," says Davies. "She looks like she's a very strong person inside. We talked to her for a long time before she agreed to be photographed. She wanted to know what the exhibition was about. It's not my style to show people as victims. I don't go seeking out misery."

Davies has been photographing refugees for two decades now. It started with Vietnamese "boat people" he met in England. He has been to Hong Kong, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Balkans and many African countries. He is struck by the tenacity with which people stay in beleaguered places. Doctors, for example, who keep clinics open even when mortars are hitting the hospitals. "They only leave in extremis," he says.

Davies spent time working in Sri Lanka after the Tsunami, and is about to return there. It is the only natural disaster he has covered. "It was immense and terrible but it was different from mass rape, torture, massacres and the firebombing of villages. Man doing it to man has a different impact. We had a catastrophic decade of wars in the 1990s. All of

them generated internally displaced persons or refugees," he says.

Asked what drew him to these people in flight from war and persecution, he sighs. "I've not chosen to go into war photography," he says. "But I feel passionately about the effect of war on children." He has seen many children dying in refugee camps. Now that he has children of his own, he finds it harder and harder to photograph children in distress.

There are a few of his photographs from other parts of the world in the exhibition. One shows a panoramic view of a vast, tightly packed refugee camp in Tanzania, to which many of those who took part in the Rwandan genocide fled in 1994. There is a wrenching one of a Kosovan mother on a bus which is transporting refugees to camps in Macedonia in 1999. "It has a peculiar quality to it, that one," says Davies.

There's also one of a woman from Tuzla, sobbing as she mourns her husband and children who were among the thousands massacred at Srebrenica by the Serbian army in 1996.

"I did a talk to a group of gifted children in the south of England recently and none of them had heard of Srebrenica," says Davies. "It was the biggest massacre in Europe since the second World War and they just hadn't even heard of it."

Photography can be a powerful educational tool, he has found. "I did a talk at a big comprehensive school in Glasgow to coincide with an exhibition. There were a lot of asylum seekers among the students. Afterwards, I was told that their status among their peers really changed. Instead of being treated as if they were second rate, they were being looked up to. The overriding objective is to undo some of the negative images that have been put about."

In this regard, he feels Ireland has managed to avoid the excesses of the UK. One photograph in the exhibition shows a middle-aged white British woman, goggle-eyed with rage, shouting abuse outside a centre for asylum seekers. "Holiday bargain accommodation - free to asylum seekers - crazy Brits will pay," says a banner behind her. Another says, "UK Freeload Central." There is an "obsessive level of denigration" of asylum seekers, he says, reflecting, he thinks, "the paranoia of middle England".

He was impressed by the fact that children are bussed out of centres to Irish schools, bringing at least a measure of integration. However, many of those he spoke to described acute boredom and a sense of isolation after months and even years of waiting for their applications to be processed. "They want to work and make a contribution," he says.

He sensed that there was a lot of underlying tension - and issues of safety for women among a lot of single men.

"People have a lot bottled up," he says. "Mental health issues tend to be neglected." Some of the accommodation is also fairly basic. "Mosney was surreal, all these people in a disused holiday camp. You're wandering through old pool halls."

But if he thinks Ireland seems less racist than the UK, where even Pakistani taxi drivers

vent their rage on asylum seekers, he is shocked by our Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell.

"Does he not know what is going on in the world? I couldn't believe it when I heard that he'd talked about people coming here with "cock-and-bull stories". I'd despair of that. It is inflammatory and could have immense repercussions. There is a tiny minority of people who are criminals and racketeers but if you have a good legal process, they can be screened and extradited. Your Minister should go out and see some of the situations that people are fleeing from. Or he should at least read a few Amnesty reports."

He could start by taking a walk down Curved Street one of these days, and meeting the eyes of some of the people in Davies' photographs. *(The Irish Times, June 20 2005)*

Article for Extract 18

Shame on us for our treatment of immigrants

Only a sleep-deprived parent of small children would understand this but some time ago Breda O'Brien was secretly thrilled when the doctor decided it would be wiser if she stayed overnight in hospital after a minor surgical procedure.

Twelve hours sleep, and maybe even an opportunity to read beckoned, and undergoing a general anaesthetic seemed a very fair exchange. The next morning, I was sitting up in bed, thoroughly rested and very pleased with myself, when a Russian woman came to clean the room. I could not resist jabbering on to her about the wonders of a night's sleep when your children are five miles away, until I noticed she had gone very quiet.

In her excellent English, she said carefully that while she understood that I might regard it as a treat, she would willingly trade disturbed sleep for the opportunity to be with her children every day. She had not seen them in months, nor would she see them for months to come. They were being cared for by her husband and his mother at home in Russia.

This qualified secretary, fluent in three languages, had taken a contract to clean in Ireland because it meant that she could send home to her family the money they needed to survive in a dire economic situation. She explained that she was in hostel accommodation provided by her employer, and that she could not afford to rent a place for a family. More importantly, even if her husband was able to secure a permit to join her, under current Irish regulations he would not be allowed to work, and the money that she was now

sending home would be spent on keeping him and her family with her.

My glee at being temporarily child-free disappeared faster than the germs and dust which she was efficiently despatching from the room. The parallels were obvious and depressing; all those lonely Irish emigrants, supporting families and longing for home in years gone by.

I was also reminded of the South African women who cleaned house and minded children for the wealthy white people, while their own children were forced to suffer neglect. How callous have we become, that we accept the right to benefit from the labour of people like her, without caring how it disrupts families or distresses children?

Once this Russian woman and her predicament came to my attention, I began to see people like her everywhere. Familiar with the plight of asylum-seekers and refugees, I had not realised that so many other immigrants to Ireland are in difficult and precarious situations.

Some do not fit our stereotypical image of the migrant worker. So much have things changed, that we now have Americans as migrant workers in Ireland, not just in the familiar high-skills jobs but in low-paid employment.

I met one in a situation where, despite paying tax and PRSI, neither he nor his employer had realised that he needed to register with the Garda National Immigration Bureau. As a result, he is now an undocumented worker, and like so many Irish in the past, afraid to go home in case he can never return.

It is still a shock to us that immigration has become a fact of Irish life, and does not look set to significantly decrease even given a contraction in the economy.

The extent to which we now depend on migrant labour, and how shabbily we often treat migrant workers, is set out in a report from the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) published last week, Labour Migration into Ireland. For example, ICI points out that immigration has reached peaks of 47,000 in recent years.

This is a very high figure, given that the US which has traditionally relied on migration, accepts an annual intake of approximately 700,000 legal immigrants. The figure of 47,000 in Ireland would be the equivalent of the US accepting three million legal immigrants annually.

Nor is immigration an urban phenomenon. For various reasons, figures for legal immigrants may well be underestimated, but using official figures, even Leitrim, with a population of 26,000, had 191 non-EU migrant workers in 2002.

Of course, in 2002, just under 40 per cent of immigrants were Irish people returning from emigration themselves. However, the figures of Irish people returning will fall in the future, simply because so many have already come home, and fewer are leaving in the first place.

One would think that our history of emigration would make us kind to those who come to live with us either temporarily or in a more long-term way; sadly, the ICI report is replete with examples showing that little of such fellow-feeling exists. Take the case of Sergei, a Latvian living and working in Ireland as a shop manager for the past three years.

Two months ago, Sergei discovered that his Irish colleagues are paid €9.75 an hour while he is paid the minimum wage. Despite working more than 50 hours a week, he has never received overtime, and he was told all holidays in Ireland are unpaid, so he has never been able to afford to take one.

When Sergei confronted his employer, he was sacked. Given that work permits are given to the employer and not the employee, Sergei is now in an invidious position.

The ICI makes many recommendations that would go some way to securing justice for migrant workers. Among them is a recommendation that migrant workers should have rights equivalent to those enjoyed by host-country workers, and that recruitment agencies should be regulated in order to stamp out abuses. It also suggests that family reunification should be a legal right, and that spouses and partners should have the right to work. Other countries offer family reunification more readily.

As a result, to give just one example, we are losing many of the Filipina nurses we were once so desperate to woo. They are going to places where some value is placed on family.

As usual, it will take something like the loss of vital workers to make us realise the injustices endemic in our system. Until then, we will continue to fail to see what these often ambitious and hard-working people can contribute to our society.

And we will continue to treat their rights to justice, and to a family life, with callous disregard. *(The Irish Times, October 18 2003)*

Article for Extract 19

EUR300,000 Gaeltacht drive to focus on Irish in the home

Irish-speaking parents in Gaeltacht areas are to be targeted in a €300,000 campaign aimed at persuading them to use the national language more frequently at home.

The initiative has been announced by the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Mr Ó Cuív, and will be implemented by his department in co-operation with Údarás na Gaeltachta.

Mr Ó Cuív says TV and radio advertisements will form part of a "diverse campaign" early in the new year. However, Irish-language analyst Mr Donncha Ó hEallaithe says using such money on advertising represents a waste of funds. He says the

€300,000 would be better spent on a detailed investigation into educational patterns in Gaeltacht schools.

Although Irish use is enjoying a revival among young parents, as reflected in new gaelscoileanna, there is still a strong memory in Gaeltacht areas of the hardship experienced by emigrants who had little or no English when they left to seek work in Britain and the US.

"That experience left an indelible mark and there are many parents in the Gaeltacht who don't want their children to suffer in the same way and who will opt to speak English to them at home," Mr Ó hEallaithe, maths lecturer at Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology says.

Immigration rather than emigration is now perceived to pose a new threat to the language. A study carried out by Mr Ó hEallaithe earlier this year showed that only a quarter of Gaeltacht communities could claim it as the majority language.

Mr Ó Cuív has promised a comprehensive study of the use of Irish with a view to reassessing Gaeltacht areas and allowing certain communities, such as several suburbs in Galway, to "opt out" of designated Gaeltacht regions if they so choose.

Under Co Galway's new development plan, housing schemes will be refused planning permission if the local authority believes it might have a significant negative impact on Irish and the Gaeltacht. *(The Irish Times, December 11 2003)*

Article for Extract 20

Anti-immigration group to field two candidates in poll

The anti-immigration group, Immigration Control Platform (ICP), has announced it is to field two candidates in the general election. Founder member Ms Áine Ní Chonaill is to leave her Clonakility, Co Cork base to run in the Dublin South Central constituency, while a Cork city native, Mr Ted Neville, will stand in Cork South Central. Both are running as single-issue candidates, campaigning entirely on the immigration question.

They are calling for Ireland's withdrawal from the Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees, the revocation of citizenship rights to children born here to foreign nationals and a speeding up of deportations of asylum-seekers whose applications have been refused.

Ms Ní Chonaill (57) is a former member of the Progressive Democrats and contested the Cork South West constituency on an immigration control ticket in 1997.

She is a secondary school teacher by profession and founded the ICP in 1998.

Mr Neville (44), who has no previous political party affiliations, joined the ICP the same year. A single man, he is a science graduate who works in the manufacturing industry.

His entry into the race in Cork South Central will pitch him against the Minister for Health

and Children, Mr Martin.

Ms Ní Chonaill told a campaign launch yesterday she had selected Dublin South Central because it was in a state of flux with one sitting TD retiring and the constituency increasing in size from a four-seater to a five-seater. "It can afford to elect one candidate from those five to be a voice on this issue in Dáil Éireann," she said. Both Ms Ní Chonaill and Mr Neville said they believed they represented the silent majority of Irish people who, they contend, are opposed to immigration.

Mr Neville said it was costing the taxpayer too much to support asylum seekers who "dilute" Irish culture which was essential to attract tourists.

Ms Ní Chonaill said she was not opposed to programme refugees such as the groups of Bosnians and Kosovars who had come by arrangement with the United Nations, but said she had the right to defend her homeland from uninvited immigrants just as she had the right to prevent an uninvited guest "barging" into her house.

She claimed Ireland was being turned into the "maternity ward for West Africa".

(The Irish Times, February 23 2002)

Article for Extract 21

Introduction of skilled workers is key to growth in economy

Research indicates that immigration into Ireland from central Europe after EU enlargement will be a trickle rather than a flood, writes **John FitzGerald**

With two centuries of experience behind us, every family in Ireland understands the process of migration: the pressures to leave; the factors that affect where migrants go; the vicissitudes that migrants face; and, finally, why many people - our returning emigrants or "homing pigeons" - ultimately return here to live. Given that we know so much about our own experience of emigration, it is surprising how many myths have developed around the reverse process, as foreigners come to live in Ireland.

The factors which saw so many of our parents' and grandparents' generations emigrate in the past are very similar for young people in central Europe. Emigration is difficult for those who leave and all the evidence indicates that, far from there being a "flood" of immigrants into Ireland from central Europe on EU enlargement, the reality will be closer to a trickle.

Thirty-five years of economic research into the process of emigration in Ireland, as well as extensive research elsewhere in Europe, generally confirms the popular understanding of the migration process. It provides vital information on how migration patterns are likely to evolve in Europe (and in Ireland) with the gradual extension of the borders of the EU.

Over 30 years ago, Prof Brendan Walsh, of UCD, quantified the factors driving the post-war generation to emigrate. His analysis, confirmed by many studies since then, showed that emigration is driven by differences in employment opportunities. The bigger the gap between earnings and unemployment rates in Ireland and elsewhere, the more likely are Irish young people to emigrate in a search for a higher standard of living. There has also always been an element of adventure about emigration, with young people seeking to experience life in other countries and cultures. A sixth of Irish young people now take a year out in Australia.

Emigrants have traditionally been young and single. Over the last two centuries, family emigration only occurred when economic conditions were catastrophic. This experience is mirrored elsewhere in Europe, where those emigrating are the young. So the pool of likely migrants from the EU accession countries is mainly limited to the young, single and mobile.

If, as the most pessimistic forecasts suggest, up to five million people, or a third of the population in the accession countries aged between 20 and 35, were to emigrate in the early years of EU membership, the effect on the supply of skilled labour in those countries would be dramatic. This would bring about a sharp rise in the wage rates being offered in order to retain skilled workers, which would sharply reduce the incentive to emigrate.

This impact of emigration on wage rates in central Europe has been ignored by most studies of migration. As a result, while EU enlargement will somewhat increase the flow of migration within the EU, the scale will still be quite limited.

Emigration choices are not just about money - cultural and family factors also play a strong role in the choice of destination. Over the past two centuries, the destination of Irish migrants has been significantly affected by where their aunts or uncles or siblings have gone before, providing a ready network to aid integration. For example, those who emigrated from the village of Kilcrohane in Co Cork a century ago went to Casper, Wyoming, not for the bright lights, but because their brothers and sisters had beaten a path there already.

Extensive research has shown that migration from central Europe into the EU has concentrated in Bavaria and parts of Austria, and future migrants are likely to follow their friends and relatives there. With few historical or family links between Ireland and Poland or Hungary, Ireland is a less likely first choice.

Potential emigrants with a choice of destinations will choose the one which is most attractive to them. As one Budapest resident said to me: "Vienna is boring and they don't speak Hungarian. Why would I want to live there?"

Although Ireland and the UK may gain in popularity as Eastern Europeans move to English as their second language, Dublin's high rents and poor public transport reduce

its attractiveness to emigrants from Warsaw or Prague, who are used to excellent public transport and cheap housing.

For much of the 20th century, Irish emigrants, like their brothers and sisters whom they left behind, had limited education and skills. However, those leaving today have a higher level of education than those who remain behind. In turn, the Irish who return are more skilled than the Irish who leave; and, until very recently, the bulk of foreign immigrants were even more skilled than the returning Irish emigrants.

A recent German study also shows that emigrants from central Europe are skilled, having more extensive education than the average German. We have known for generations that Irish unskilled workers in the UK tended to do less well than their English counterparts, whereas those who were well educated did very well. Recent research confirms a similar pattern for immigrants from central Europe, which explains why unskilled migration is unattractive today for the less-skilled of Slovenia or Estonia.

Post-enlargement migration by EU citizens (including those from the new members) is likely to remain dominated by skilled young workers. Past emigration, from Ireland and Europe, raised the standards of living of those left behind as well as the incomes of the emigrants themselves. It also allowed the receiving country to grow more rapidly.

The same has been true of immigration into Ireland in recent years. A study with my colleagues Alan Barrett and Brian Nolan, to be published later this year, shows that the immigration of skilled labour into Ireland (both foreign and returning emigrants) has allowed the economy to grow faster than it would otherwise have done. This helped push up wage rates for unskilled workers, narrowing the gap in earnings between skilled and unskilled labour, and it made a significant contribution to solving the problem of unemployment. Immigration has thus played a very important positive role in the Irish economic success.

Recent research has shown that the skills and experience gained by emigrants abroad adds 10 per cent to their earning power (and their productivity) when they come back to Ireland. Were it not for the "importation" of such skills from abroad, the economy as a whole would be significantly poorer, as well as the individuals themselves.

With the drying up of the stock of Irish emigrants abroad, the economy will have a continuing need to attract skilled employees from outside Ireland. There is a danger that, because of poor infrastructure and expensive housing, Ireland will lose out as a destination for emigrants. We will have to work hard if we are to continue to attract a small share of the mobile skilled labour in Europe which we will need as our decline in birth rates in the 1980s works its way into a shortage of skilled younger workers.

The extensive research in Ireland and elsewhere on migration suggests that, far

from enlargement causing a "flood" of unskilled migration from central Europe to the EU, the flows will be limited by the expectations of the potential emigrants themselves. Thus the extra numbers attracted to Ireland will be small. Those who do move will be well-educated with valuable skills. Ireland has fared well in recent years, partly as a result of skilled immigration. Therefore, we should welcome the prosperity and diversity which incoming migrants bring. Dr John FitzGerald is a research professor at the Economic and Social Research Institute *(The Irish Times, September 3 2002)*

Article for Extract 22

Spreading the good news on immigration

OPINION / Fintan O'Toole: It struck me last week, listening to people talking about the awful story of Denise Livingstone being turned away from Monaghan hospital and losing her baby after giving birth on the road to Cavan, how often the image of Mary and Joseph finding no room at the inn came up.

This may be a post-Christian society, but it is also one with a deep and abiding memory of the condition of being away from home and feeling scared, lonely and abandoned.

The fear of finding no room at the inn strikes something deep within us as we approach Christmas, but it is perhaps embedded in all cultures. We know so much about the savage history of our species, about the impulse to despise those who are different, that it is easy to forget the sacred duty to comfort the stranger in distress also goes back a long way. In one of the earliest books of the Bible, Leviticus, God lays down the law for Moses: "And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love himself as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

It is there in the great Greek plays. In Sophocles's *Oedipus at Colonnus* , Theseus, King of Athens, welcomes the blinded and exiled Oedipus: "Never could I turn away from any stranger / such as you are now / and leave him to his fate."

In Euripides's *The Children of Heracles* , the citizens vote to take in the exiled offspring of the fallen hero, even at the risk of their own safety. Generosity towards the stranger expresses the host city's sense of its own honour.

Of course there is also the other impulse, the fear of the stranger, the unease even decent people feel in the presence of people they do not immediately understand. Rudyard Kipling expressed it best: "The Stranger within my gate / He may be true or kind / But he does not talk my talk - / I cannot feel his mind / I see the face and eyes and mouth / But not the soul behind."

It would be nice to think that the generous impulse could of itself overcome the suspicious mind and encourage us to make room at the inn. But in these times that are so dominated by economic considerations, perhaps it is only a sense of self-interest that can bridge the gap between them.

Official Irish rhetoric about immigration and asylum (two separate but related issues) usually includes some passing reference to the benefits that migrants bring to us, and then goes on to concentrate on dangers, restrictions, fears. Michael McDowell's speech on immigration policy was a typical example, with a cupla focail about the good things and a long reflection on the need for control and vigilance.

There needs to be balance in immigration policy. But to get it, we need to talk, as our leaders almost never do, about the gains. The bad news takes care of itself, spread by wildly inflated rumours that harden into widely accepted "facts". The good news is scarcely audible.

Almost at the same time as Michael McDowell was speaking last week, the British Home Office was quietly releasing a series of studies on the economics of immigration in the UK. These independent reports reflect the reality of what has happened after 50 years of significant immigration in Britain, and as such give a good picture of where Ireland might be in 40 years' time. And they show what nonsense much of the received wisdom on the subject turns out to be.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, for example, that immigrants, because they are coming from low-wage economies, compete with natives for jobs and therefore drive down wages. In fact: "Immigration is found to have, if anything, a positive effect on the wages of the existing population - using the most robust data source which is available, an increase in immigration of 1 per cent of the non-migrant population leads to a nearly 2 per cent increase in non-migrant wages."

Far from driving down wages, immigrants who enter the workforce (and many are excluded by racism) "tend to earn more on average than the UK-born. Average gross weekly earnings among migrants is £403, compared to £338 among the UK-born (that is, about 19 per cent more). This is true, to a greater or lesser extent, at virtually all skill/qualification levels."

Likewise, the studies found that immigration does not have a measurable effect, either positive or negative, on unemployment among the native population: "If there is an impact of immigration on unemployment then it is statistically poorly determined and probably small in size."

Furthermore, as the studies note: "Migrants can indirectly generate economic activity elsewhere (through knock-on effects), create jobs by employing people, and also help to develop new sectors and new ideas, resulting in some restructuring of the

economy." Selfish as our society now is, we probably need to be told these things if we are to take a more benign attitude to the newcomers in our midst. Simple human compassion, and the memory that we too have been "strangers in the land of Egypt" ought to urge us to make room at the inn. But it wouldn't hurt if our leaders reminded us that the strangers can also make the inn bigger for everyone. *(The Irish Times, December 17 2002)*

Article for Extract 23

Immigrants with Irish children face expulsion – headline

Many failed asylum-seekers with Irish-born children are facing deportation following a major shift in policy by the Department of Justice. For the first time, the authorities are attempting to deport asylum-seekers with children born here in cases where the parents' application is refused and they have not spent "an appreciable length of time" in the State.

Human rights lawyers say the move has huge constitutional implications for the rights of the families involved, in particular the Irish-born children. The Department has not said how it intends to care for a child born here if the rest of his or her family is deported. Up to now, the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here. Such children automatically become Irish citizens by virtue of being born in the State. Policy was governed by a 1989 Supreme Court case, which gave a child the right to the "company" of its non-national parents and siblings.

However, the number of asylum-seekers applying to remain here on this parentage rule has *soared* in the past year. By the end of October, 4,500 such applications had been lodged this year, representing one-third of all asylum claims. With Ireland being the only EU member to grant citizenship automatically to children born in the State, the Department believes many failed asylum-seekers are using this loophole to stay in the country. It also believes some women are coming here specifically to have children. The Minister for Justice, Mr O' Donoghue, last month said Ireland's unusual legal position was "well known abroad". "A significant proportion" of female asylum-seekers were pregnant upon arrival here and their decision to seek asylum was partly motivated by the benefits they could obtain through having a child in Ireland, he said.

The issue is the subject of a number of test cases before the High Court. In two of these, the Department is arguing that the fact asylum-seekers were not the parents of Irish-born children did not give them automatic entitlement to the company of their children. In both cases, the parents were refused leave to apply for asylum under the Dublin Convention because they had already made applications in the UK. The Department wasn't to remove both families to Britain. The Department's move is part of a gradual clampdown on the rights to citizenship. Under recent legislative changes, refugees must

wait longer before being entitled to apply to become Irish citizens and the granting of citizenship to non-nationals married to Irish citizens is now at the discretion of the Minister.

Almost 2,500 applications to remain in Ireland on the parentage rule have been approved so far this year. The overall number of asylum applications has stabilised. There were 7,724 applications in 1999, 10,938 in 2000 and 8,461 in the first nine months of this year. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added by author)

Article for Extract 24

***Surge* in births leads to Department move. – Headline**

The Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that permits asylum-seeking parents of children born here to stay. Paul Cullen reports.

Faced with a *surge* in births to asylum-seekers running at about 3,000 a year – the Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that up to now has given residency to the parents of an Irish-born child, no matter where they came from. Short of a constitutional amendment, there is nothing the Department can do about the automatic entitlement of a child born here to Irish citizenship. The issue is a political hot potato, particularly in the run-up to the elections next year. Already, it has been raised by individual representatives of the three main parties. So the authorities are looking to other ways to reduce Ireland's attraction for asylum-seekers. Already, many asylum-seekers who have children here are being required to show they form a stable family unit. Asylum-seeker fathers have been asked to undergo DNA tests to prove their paternity.

Now, for the first time, the Department is seeking to deport some parents of Irish-born children where they have been refused right to apply for asylum. Initially, it is concentrating on recent arrivals – asylum-seekers who have not been here "an appreciable time" – such as women with new-born babies. However, other categories of unsuccessful asylum-seekers are being targeted. The issue will be tested in at least four cases due to be heard by the High Court shortly. One case concerns a Czech Roma family who came to Ireland in March and applied for asylum. The UK authorities informed the Department that the family had applied unsuccessfully for asylum there in 1999, and had appealed the decision, again unsuccessfully.

The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Donoghue, signed a deportation order to send the family back to the UK in September, but by this stage the mother was in an advanced state of pregnancy. In October, The Irish Times reported that the woman was rushed to hospital as she was threatened with deportation. The Garda decided not to proceed with the

deportation and the woman gave birth to the couple's fourth child in November.
However, the Department still intends to deport the family, with the exception of the Irish-born child. It says this is because the family only came to Ireland in March and have therefore not been living here for "an appreciable time". Lawyers for the family have told the High Court that the Department's stance is a breach of their child's constitutional rights to the "care, company and parentage" of their parents and siblings.
In another case involving a Nigerian family and their Irish-born son, the Department is seeking to deport the father to the UK. The couple came to Ireland last May, and sought asylum on the ground of religious persecution. After the Department discovered that the father had lived in the UK since 1999 and had his asylum application refused there last March, the British and Irish authorities agreed to return the couple to the UK without hearing an asylum application in Ireland. The Garda decided not to enforce the deportation because the mother was pregnant. She gave birth to a son in Galway in October. However, the Department is still seeking to deport the father, for the same reasons cited in case A.

In the 1989 Fajujonu case, the Supreme Court ruled that the children of non-citizens had a constitutional right to the "company, care and parentage" of their parents within a family unit. The courts are usually loath to take action which could split up a family, so how will they view the Department's new approach? Who would care for Irish-born children if their families were deported? And just what is "an appreciable time". Ironically, the Fajujonus' senior counsel in the case was Mr Michael McDowell, who as the current Attorney General has been consulted by the Department of Justice on these thorny questions. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added by author)

Article for Extract 25

Citizens by birth rule 'devalues Irishness'

Fianna Fail Senator Paschal Mooney told the Seanad yesterday that he did not want to see Irish nationality devalued. Referring to the *large numbers* of foreigners obtaining asylum here as a result of giving birth, Mr Mooney said that 2,300 of the 2,700-plus asylum seekers who had gained asylum here in the last 12 months had done so as a result of having babies born here.

We were unique in Europe and the wider world, in that as a consequence of the Good Friday Agreement, we regarded nationality as extending to all born on the island and as a consequence people from anywhere in the world could avail of it. Reacting to comments, Fine Gael Senator Maurice Manning said: "I greatly regret the sentiments expressed by Senator Mooney. They were little short of racist, and I call upon the

Taoiseach to clarify Fianna Fail policy on this issue" *(The Irish Independent, December 19 2001)* (Italics added by author)

Article for Extract 26

We are our brothers' keeper, within reason

The thought police are wrong in their suppression of any debate on multiculturalism as we work out what constitutes a manageable burden, writes Patricia Redlich

MINISTER of Justice Michael McDowell is a lone voice as he attempts to address the problem of asylum seekers. All other politicians are sitting on the proverbial fence. Political correctness forbids them to say in public what many of their constituents are whispering in their ears on the doorsteps.

Ireland is uneasy about our transition to a multicultural society. Some of that unease is rank racism, which must be rejected. But much of it is an attempt to tease out our thinking. Which is why the thought police are so wrong in their suppression of debate.

Migrants seeking asylum are reaching our shores at the rate of around 10,000 a year. About a third are Nigerians, around 3,300, a figure which has remained constant for the past three years. Romanians many of them Romany gypsies form the next largest group, with around 1,200 applications this year, followed by Moldovans (425), Zimbabweans (319) and Ukranians (275), and then basically the rest of the non-EU world.

The numbers are on the increase, with almost 1,200 people applying for asylum last month, the second highest monthly total since December 1999.

This year 708 people were granted refugee status at the initial stage of the procedure, which is on application to the Refugee Commissioner. A further 832 were successful on appeal to the Refugee Appeals Tribunal. And while the figures are not available for this year, last year around 70 were granted leave to remain at the final stage of the procedure, which is on appeal to the Minister of Justice. Some 441 have been deported so far this year, compared to 365 for the whole of last year and 187 in the year 2000.

The arithmetic is difficult. There are about 10,000 applications still waiting to be processed, 2,000 of them queueing up for an appeal to the Minister of Justice. But the whole process takes at least 18 months and the system is prioritising new applicants. Some leave due to frustration, and many more leave when turned down. So it's hard to say how many asylum seekers are actually on our shores right now, legally or illegally.

What is clear is that in his attempt to stand firm, Michael McDowell is being somewhat disingenuous when he says that he will "make no exceptions", even in cases where he receives a large number of representations on behalf of an asylum seeker, "in order to

preserve the integrity of the asylum system".

As James Stapleton of the Irish Refugee Council points out, the Minister is part of the asylum system, appealing to him is a legitimate part of the process; his granting of some of those appeals would not, therefore, invalidate the whole process.

What is also clear is that some humanitarian leeway is essential in any civilised society. The Refugee Council's suggestion that anyone waiting more than two years to be processed through the system should be simply accepted sounds entirely reasonable.

As we try to disentangle the knotty issue of multiculturalism, we also need to see asylum seekers in context. As the Refugee Council points out, they constitute only five per cent of non-nationals now in Ireland. There were, for example, 36,000 work permits issued last year, sought by employers in order to invite workers in. By definition such workers were all non-EU residents. And the rest of those who work with us come from Britain, Germany, Italy, France and all the other EU member states, free to move where the jobs are.

Asylum seekers, however, come as beggars not their own fault, but an integral part of the system. They are not allowed to work, but must live on social welfare, and in housing provided for them. Which means that small pockets of highly visible welfare dependants are dumped right throughout the State, making life hard for them, and for the local communities. And the problem doesn't stop there.

When the Balkans erupted we had relatively little problem welcoming refugees fleeing a war-torn zone. We saw the need, recognised it as acute, and understood that we had to act first and think afterwards. And presumed, reasonably correctly, that when the crisis was over, most would return home.

With asylum seekers, things are very different. The United Nations Convention on Refugees does not just deal with life and death situations, like Jews fleeing certain death in Nazi Germany. And it requires that we take in people for life. In a sense, therefore, it leaves us with little feeling of control.

When I asked the Irish Refugee Council why Nigerians were seeking us out, they talked of female circumcision, which unquestionably involves genital mutilation and is unquestionably barbaric. We could also, I presume, have gone on to talk about fundamentalist Islam, which has gripped much of Nigeria.

They also explained that Romany gypsies face severe discrimination in Romania, presumably because of their traditional way of life. The fundamental philosophical question is quite clear: to what extent are we our brother's keeper? Who exactly is our brother anyway? And how far does that keeping have to reach?

I would argue that the broad UN notion of need for asylum is the product of utopian idealists, and hence wrong. It is inappropriate to expect any nation state to mop up

the UN's long list of ills, be it racial discrimination, obnoxious cultural practices, or religious fundamentalism happening in other countries.

And I believe we have a right, indeed a duty, to work out what constitutes a manageable cultural, economic and social burden. To do so is not racist, it is responsible. Confining debate on multiculturalism merely to issues surrounding asylum, however, would be intellectually dishonest. The truth is, the Nice debate was also subliminally about the same subject, the notion of enlargement not universally accepted. We don't know how multiculturalism works, what constitutes cultural incompatibility, what norms we could legitimately insist on. And in this quest we are not alone. Nation states everywhere are asking the same question. *(The Irish Independent, October 20 2002)*

Article for Extract 27

Australia turns back on islands to keep out refugees

AUSTRALIA is considering the drastic step of changing the legal status of Tasmania, the island state south of the mainland, in order to prevent boat people landing there from claiming asylum.

Last weekend, with the stroke of a pen, the government excised thousands of tiny offshore islands off Australia's north coast from the country's migration zone. The move, which means that people who reach the islands can no longer claim refugee status, was taken after ministers received intelligence that new boatloads of asylum-seekers were heading to Australia from Indonesia.

No boats have attempted to reach Australia in the past six months, and the government is signalling that it will take whatever measures are necessary, including lopping off bits of the country ad hoc, to keep illegal immigrants out.

The Immigration Minister, Philip Ruddock, said yesterday that Tasmania could be removed from the migration zone if, as predicted, people-smugglers began landing there. Last year, as part of its crackdown on asylum-seekers from Afghanistan and the Middle East, the government changed the status of Christmas Island and Ashmore Reef, both popular drop-off points for people-smugglers. (Independent News Service)

(The Irish Independent, June 11 2002)

Article for Extract 28

Blunkett signals intent to bring in ID card scheme

BRITAIN: The British home secretary, Mr David Blunkett, called yesterday for a national ID card scheme to be included in the government's next legislative programme

after admitting he has no accurate idea how many illegal immigrants are in the UK.
Asked for his best estimate of how many unregistered people are in the UK who do not have the legal right to be in Britain, Mr Blunkett admitted: "I haven't got a clue."
Mr Blunkett acknowledged that there is a "vigorous" debate going on within the Labour cabinet over ID cards. But he argued the case for a scheme to be included in the queen's speech on November 26th, which details the legislative programme.
A robust identity verification system was important to efforts to combat illegal immigration, he maintained.

Asked about the number of unregistered illegals during an interview on BBC 1's Breakfast With Frost, Mr Blunkett conceded: "I haven't got a clue. "The reason we haven't is, of course, because we don't have a rigorous and enforceable identification system linked to a register of all those who are in the country."

Mr Blunkett stressed that suggestions that the number of illegals might be up to a million were wrong. That was clear from the number of people who come into contact with various public services, he said.

Mr Blunkett acknowledged that the ID card issue is prompting a heated debate within the British government.

"There are genuine scepticisms ... Yes, there are really vigorous debates going on about how compulsory is compulsory. But my own view is that the minimum is that you can't actually work, or draw on services, register for services unless you have that card."
The intention is that the microchip cards, which would carry biometric information such as a scan of the iris of the eye or fingerprints, would assist the authorities in stamping out benefit fraud, illegal working, abuse of the NHS and other types of identity crime.
Mr Blunkett said it would not be necessary to carry the card at all times, although it would have to be produced when required by competent authorities.

The Conservative shadow home secretary Mr Oliver Letwin said the Labour government did not seem to have "any clear idea of where it is going on the issue" and that the home secretary was "mumbling half-baked ideas".

Liberal Democrat leader Mr Charles Kennedy said his party would oppose Mr Blunkett's plans for ID cards.

He said he believed the vast majority of people in his party would consider the move "illiberal". He said his party would be concerned over the possibility that certain groups would face a far higher rate of demands from police to show their papers.
(The Irish Times, 22 September 2003)

Article for Extract 29

Islamic terrorist sought asylum here

A LIBYAN asylum-seeker associated with a radical Islamic group in south Dublin is believed to have been killed in the Iraqi city of Fallujah in May this year after volunteering to join the terror group led by Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi, which was responsible for murdering Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan.

According to intelligence sources, Abu-Hafs al-Libi, who was in his mid-30s and originally from Benghazi, lived at a number of addresses in Dublin since 1996 and frequently used aliases.

He left Ireland in April after being recruited by radical Islamists linked to Al-Zarqawi and is known to have travelled to Syria in early May and, it is believed, from there on to Iraq where he joined the group and was based in Fallujah. It is believed al-Libi worked directly for Al-Zarqawi and was involved in at least onebeheading of a prisoner before he was killed in the USArmy's first assault on Fallujah in late May.

It is understood al-Libi sent word back through Islamist sources in London that he had been involved in the beheading of an 'infidel'.

The American construction worker, Nicholas Berg, was beheaded by the group in May and a video of his murder posted on the internet. In the video Berg is surrounded by five masked men shouting Allah Akbar (God is Good) as his head is cut off by a man using a long dagger.

The same Al-Zarqawi group has been responsible for most of the videotaped murders in Iraq including that of the Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan, who was shot dead earlier this month. Little is known about al-Libi other than he was an asylum-seeker here and did come to the attention of both Garda and Army intelligence services because of his connections with a number of suspected Islamic terrorist supporters here.

It was only learned in the past month that he is believed to have been killed in Iraq after a radical Islamic group in London issued a statement saying al-Libi had "achieved martyrdom" in Iraq.

In reporting his death, Al-Zarqawi's group reported that al-Libi's "only goal in life was to seek martyrdom". The group Qa'idat al-Jihad described al-Libi as a political refugee in Ireland and a "first-call jihadist" who had travelled to Iraq and met Al-Zarqawi with recommendations from the al-Jihad group.

Al-Libi is reported to have had no connections with Osama Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda. Although al-Libi was said to have been in Afghanistan in the early Nineties he left before Bin Laden established his power base there.

Al-Libi is believed to have travelled between Yemen and Sudan before coming to Ireland in 1996 and seeking political asylum. He never returned to Libya where Colonel Gadhaffi's regime takes a strict line against figures involved in organising or preaching

Jihadism.

He is the first Irish-based Islamic terrorist known to have served under the Al-Zarqawi group and Garda and Army intelligence gatherers believe that while he was here he was actively involved in preaching Jihad - holy war - against the West as well as trying to recruit otheryoung Muslims to follow his example.

Like other suspected Islamic terror supporters here, he had several aliases and was supplied with false identity documents and passports by the support network in Ireland which provides documentation for Islamic radicals. It is believed one of his aliases, which may have been his real name, was al-Jiritli but he was mainly known as Abu-hafs al-Libi.

The Garda Special Branch and Army Intelligence have stepped up their surveillance operations on radical Islamists and their supporters here this year, a fact acknowledged by the Taoiseach last week when he said he was aware that Islamic terror groups were operating here.

The Army and Gardai believe that the radical figures here include several Al-Qaeda supporters, including two figures who have been named in both American and European documents identifying groups suspected of collecting money for groups like Al-Qaeda and the Al-Zarqawi group in Iraq.

One of the difficulties facing Army and Garda operatives is the number of aliases used by the suspected terror supporters. One key figure, living in Mulhuddart, is known to have six aliases.

He is suspected of collecting and sending money to the bogus Al-Shifa Honeycompany in Sanaa, Yemen, identified by European intelligence agencies as a front for Al-Qaeda. Garda and Army surveillance operations have been stepped up in the light of intelligence that radical figures are currently mounting a recruitment drive for young Muslims to become 'Foreign Fighters', also known as Jihadists or 'White Knights', to fight the Americans in Iraq.

It is suspected that at least one other young Muslim who had been living in Dublin has also gone to Iraq but it is not known whether he is alive or dead. *(The Irish Independent, November 28 2004)*

Article for Extract 30

Tory leader defends plan to reduce immigration figures

BRITAIN: The British Conservative leader, Mr Michael Howard, has insisted his proposals to cut immigration are not racist and would result in more "genuine refugees" being settled in the United Kingdom.

However, he declared Britain was at "a turning point" yesterday when he unveiled

a package of measures designed to dramatically reduce the number of people - currently running at an average of 153,000 - settling in Britain each year. The Tory leader invoked the terrorist threat in a world changed by the September 11th attacks in the US as he claimed Conservative plans to "break the link" between people arriving in Britain and claiming asylum would also help smash the criminal gangs engaged in people smuggling.
Putting immigration centre-stage in Britain's ongoing pre-election campaign, Mr Howard, himself the son of a Romanian immigrant, said a Conservative government would set an annual limit on immigration, including a quota system for asylum-seekers, deploy 24-hour security at ports to prevent illegal immigration, and introduce an Australian-style points system for work permits. Combined with new rules to stop bogus marriages, Mr Howard maintained this would enable Britain to move forward "as a confident, diverse yet united society" while creating "a fairer, more humane asylum system".

In addition, the Tories would take new powers to permit the immediate removal of asylum-seekers whose claims were clearly unfounded, and to detain in existing asylum centres claimants without documents, at least until identities were established.
The Conservatives were warned their proposals would run counter to European law, while charities said the plans would put refugees' lives at risk.
However, the shadow home secretary, Mr David Davis, confirmed the Conservatives would derogate from the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, which he described as a "product of the cold war".

Declaring that a Conservative government would no longer consider asylum applications from people already in the UK, Mr Davis said they would instead take a specific number of "genuine" refugees already in the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Mr Habib Rahman, chief executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said he was shocked by the proposal to withdraw from the convention: "The political parties continue to focus on abuse of the asylum system at the expense of stressing the human rights protection it affords."

While stressing the contribution made by immigrants to the economy and culture of Britain, Mr Howard insisted: "I think most people would agree that Britain has reached a turning point. They know that our communities cannot successfully absorb newcomers at today's pace." *(The Irish Times, 25 January 2005)*

Article for extract 31

Government has failed to examine why immigrants are coming here.
In the absence of a coherent policy, the Government bears a responsibility for the creation

of anti-immigrant feeling, writes **Carol Coulter**

It may be that the RTÉ exit poll, which showed that a substantial proportion of those who voted Yes in the citizenship referendum did so out of hostility to immigrants, was not scientific.

Some comfort for that view can be gleaned from the fact that the one candidate in the European elections to run on an anti-immigrant ticket, Justin Barrett in the East constituency, only got 2 per cent of the vote. Nonetheless, there is now no doubt that widespread anti-immigrant feeling exists and was given a focus by the referendum.

This should not surprise us. Since the growth of immigration into Ireland at the end of the 1990s the response of the Government has been to attempt to prevent people coming here and to get rid of those who were here illegally, rather than to examine why they were coming and deal with the new phenomenon.

Terms like "bogus asylum-seekers" were introduced into the discussion by Government figures. The impression was created that the Republic was under siege.

There is no doubt that our asylum system was ill-equipped to deal with the increase in numbers it experienced at that time. There is also no doubt that these numbers were inflated by people who wanted to come to the State primarily for economic reasons. Their presence in the asylum-seeking process contributed significantly to its inability to cope. But they were there because there was no other way for them to seek to enter the State.

The first explanation for the increase in people seeking to come to Ireland offered by spokespeople for the Department of Justice was our reputedly "generous" social welfare system for asylum-seekers. No explanation was offered for the fact that in previous years, when our social welfare system was not significantly worse, there was no such demand.

There was no willingness to recognise the obvious - a growing economy attracts immigrants. As our own history should have taught us, people in poor economic circumstances emigrate to other countries for work, often intending to send remittances home. They are attracted to countries where work is available, as happened in the Republic in the late 1990s.

People from outside the EU could only work in Ireland if they held either a work visa or a work permit. A work visa is issued to skilled workers in specific occupations, through Irish embassies.

To obtain a work permit an aspiring worker has to find an employer who wants to employ him or her, and who can prove inability to recruit an Irish or EU worker for that job.

So a restaurant or shop in Ireland which wanted a waitress or shop assistant would

have had to advertise in, say, the Romanian version of the Evening Herald, interview locally, select the worker and then seek a work permit from the Department of Enterprise and Employment. The permits last a year. In practice, many had recourse to agencies.

The immigrating worker also has to obtain a residency permit, which is issued and administered by a different Department, the Department of Justice, to those who can prove an entitlement to be in the country.

There was, and is, no way for a non-EU national to come to the Republic speculatively to seek work, despite the widespread evidence of demand for workers on the one hand, and for access to the Republic on the other. Those who came as asylum-seekers were denied the right to work, in case this would act as a "pull" factor.

As long ago as 1999 the then minister for justice, Mr John O'Donoghue, said during a debate on the 1999 Immigration Bill that he favoured a quota system to allow legal immigration. However, five years later nothing has been done.

Instead, every single piece of legislation on this topic has sought to curtail people coming into the country or get rid of those deemed to be illegal.

The 1999 Immigration Bill had little to do with immigration, and instead dealt with deportation orders, exclusion orders, the removal of non-nationals and the imposition of various penalties. It also amended the 1996 Refugee Act to set up the Refugee Applications Commissioner, the Refugee Appeals Tribunal and various other parts of the necessary asylum infrastructure.

The Illegal Immigration (Trafficking) Act of 2003 covered people-trafficking and additional measures on the arrest, detention and deportation of failed asylum-seekers.

Following the striking down of sections of the 1999 Act, the present Minister for Justice, Mr McDowell, introduced another Immigration Bill, which was enacted earlier this year. It contained various provisions, like imposing an obligation on householders to ensure that non-nationals were legally in the State, that were widely criticised. Again, no provision was made for permitting legal immigration.

A High and Supreme Court action on the residency rights of the non-national parents of Irish-born children was successfully brought by the Government, followed by the referendum to deal with "citizenship tourism".

The message from the Government and the raft of legislation and initiatives is clear - Ireland is threatened by people coming to our shores, and we need to restrict this as much as possible.

Yet, as Nuala Kelly pointed out in her report for the Migrant Rights Centre on work permits in Ireland, there has been no corresponding enthusiasm for creating a coherent immigration system. Referring to the development of a common EU policy on managed migration, she writes, "Various EU Directives remain to be implemented

towards this end in most EU states, including Ireland." *(The Irish Times, June 6 2004)*

Article for Extract 32

Immigrant workers are not the State's flexible friends.

Tanaiste's description of foreign employees as a "safety valve" is careless by Karlin Lillington

For some time now, I've had a reasonably clear idea about what I am doing in this country. First, I came here to study. Then, after a while, I joined the ranks of working people.

But now, I am surprised to discover, I have a far more important role. One that makes clear once and for all that I'm not just here to write the odd column and feature, and hang out at First Tuesday. No, I am more worthy than that: it turns out that I am also a "safety valve" for all of you as well.

Actually, I should not feel surprised at all. I now realise I already had been told I held this distinguished position on behalf of the State several times before. I guess it just hadn't really sunk in until last Thursday, when my role was restated once again by the woman who has decided that this is my fate: the Tanaiste, Ms Harney.

You see, she has decided to emphasise yet again that "foreign nationals" (of which I am, inarguably one) are flexible friends when it comes to working in this State. Although unemployment remains at a slim 3.5 per cent, there's an election coming and Ms Harney wants to make sure that all of you know that I, and all the other 59,999 foreign nationals who were given work here over the past few years, are expendable. We are here to take the blows, a dedicated army of sacrificial employees who know our place – which is elsewhere, if the downturn continues.

We are, as she says, a "safety valve" for the State. We can give up the jobs that, in many cases, Irish-based companies begged us to take. Jobs that could not be filled because there just weren't enough Irish candidates for them. And, sometimes, not enough people here with the right "skills" (as the phrase goes), especially for the employee-hungry technology industry. Or simply, many here just didn't want to do so many of those "unskilled" jobs in the service industry any more.

Whatever the reasons, we are a buffer between you and a return to 1985. I'm not quiet sure yet how this would work, though: would we be rounded up and marched down to take whatever airline emerges out of these hard(er) times back to our land of origin? Would we just be thrown out?

What a curious state of affairs, especially since Ms Harney has, over many years,

proven her business smarts. I have seen her rivet Silicon Valley audiences; she can be extremely impressive at the podium, speaking off the cuff. She seems fully aware that the tech industry remains a base, sound, and a central part of the nation's economic life.

Then why these quite bizarre pronouncements on "foreign nationals"? Let's begin by immediately dismissing the vaguely disturbing overtones of these statements, which could be seen to send soothing messages out to the petty ranks within the State who wouldn't mind seeing quiet a few of certain kinds of economic immigrant (if you know what I mean) sent back home.

I'm sure that's not at all what is meant, although when I first heard the phrase used, that's kind of what it sounded like, just a little bit, to me. Maybe, if someone in an opposition party had questioned these sentiments when they were first aired months ago, this point would have been clarified. And honest, I don't think that was what was meant, and I know the Government has finally started making some official statements on racism (opposing it, that is).

But nonetheless I wondered a bit about all those Irish people who accepted those thousands of Morrison and Donnelly visas, where they could spend the rest of their lives in the United States, even though at the time the US was in the midst of a bad economic slump. I don't remember the Irish Government giving the visas back, saying: "Hey, that's OK, we know you need all your jobs for your American people".

Nor do I remember the US government saying: Oops, we were kidding! We need those visas back so that Americans stay employed, but we know your Irish people won't mind being our safety valve! We'll just ship you back!"

As a matter of fact, the US either gives people full, lifetime working visas (green cards) or gives them H1B visas, which have a set time period. They don't revoke either in tougher times.

All this makes me wonder about all the companies in the Republic that still need employees, especially the highly skilled employees badly needed by the tech industry – so much so that Intel, looking a decade down the line, is already worried. The company filed a submission to a State education committee questioning whether the current approach to science instruction in Irish schools will inspire enough students or train them adequately to become tomorrow's technology employees and innovators.

And if I were Intel or Iona or Smartforce or Microsoft, I'd really be concerned about potential employees abroad hearing that there's no job security for foreign nationals over here; that if there's a slump you might get sent back in a year or two. I can't imagine that's a real strong selling point for the human resources people. Nor does it seem to fit with the recruitment patter of all those semi-state agencies, who go abroad and tout the advantages of working or basing your company in the Republic. Just as long as you

understand you're expendable.

The more I think about it, the more I conclude that being told I am a safety valve for the potential economic woes of a nation is unbelievably patronising. More, I think it is appalling that such statements are made if they are only intended as a political sop. I think they are damaging to the global image of the country, a raging headache for the indigenous and multinational companies trying to recruit in a challenging global market, and unbecoming of a nation pitching itself as a small but mature and productive part of that market. *(The Irish Times, November 2 2001)*

Article for Extract 33

An Irish Man's Diary

Until quite recently we've been sleepwalking through the issue of "asylum-seekers", allowing piety and the fulsome waffle of the professional anti-racism lobby to be a substitute for policy. Happily, we've seen a harder edge appear towards self-styled asylum seekers in recent times; and the Supreme Court ruling - that parents of children born here do not have the right to remain - has given the State another weapon to protect the rule of law and common sense.

Like - I imagine - most people, I'd prefer to see the parents of the 10,500 Irish-born children be allowed to stay here only if they are genuine asylum-seekers. For we would be idiots to assume that crooks and terrorists have not been exploiting the incredibly lax "asylum-seeker" laws in Ireland and in Britain. Indeed, we know that they have; and we must brace ourselves for the consequences.

If anyone had argued in this newspaper before 9/11 that there was a major Islamic terrorist conspiracy against the West, with tentacles everywhere, they would have been denounced as imbecilic dupes of the CIA. Yet the truth was, as we now know, infinitely worse.

Training in Afghanistan

We have no idea how many al-Qaeda operatives are based in Ireland. But what we do know is that 1,200 British Muslims went through al-Qaeda training in Afghanistan. Some of them were killed when then Taliban regime was overthrown. Most have probably since returned to Britain, where they no doubt have formed a welcoming net for other al-Qaeda operatives, and from where, of course, they can have unhindered access to al-Qaeda cells in Ireland.

In part, we are the victims of the brainless British social services culture, which up until recently saw every wide-eyed foreigner on a quayside, clutching a bag and looking tearful, as a victim. Not merely did we import that culture; we probably imported sleeper

terrorists with it. Thousands of "asylum-seekers" in Britain simply vanished the moment their application for "asylum" was rejected. Of the 16 Algerians detained for alleged involvement in terrorist conspiracies in Britain recently, 10 were "asylum-seekers". These include the man accused of murdering PC Oakes in Manchester.

We know from British experience that there is a huge and expert network of illegal immigration and social security fraud. A single raid recently on the home of a Nigerian couple in Britain revealed 13,000 forged documents, including blank electricity and gas bills, British and Nigerian birth certificates, driving licences and - God help us all - nursing qualifications.

I ndeed, the only genuine document found in the house was a letter from the British Home Office granting the wife an indefinite stay in Britain. Moreover, hundreds of French and Belgian passports have been forged and stolen by Islamic terrorists. We would have to be utter imbeciles to ignore such stark realities.

UN convention

Other terrorists have probably arrived in Britain claiming protection without documentation, under the UN Convention on Refugees. Freed of any need to prove who they are, they can invent an identity, and the British State then provides them with the documents which confirm the fiction. Even in the absence of a terrorist threat, such a frivolous approach to "asylum" would be absurd: but given that the West is facing the largest non-state terrorist threat in its history, this is bureaucratic criminality.

Already, more than 3,000 Algerian "asylum-seekers" have disappeared in Britain. If they wanted to come here, of course, they could do so without even a cursory check of their passports. And they could easily be detected in Dublin Airport by their gales of hysterical laughter, once they discovered that passport control is purely voluntary. Because since passengers from Britain and Europe arrive at the same terminal, and pass through the same gates, immigration officers are reduced to shouting, "Passport holders, this way please".

This is moral infantilism. As we face up to the world we are actually living in, rather than some Tír na nÓg, happily free of adult concerns, we're going to have to protect our State against internal threat. And that threat is real. What precautions have been taken against terrorist attack at Shannon Airport? What security precautions exist for internal flights in Ireland? Kenya thought it was safe. Tanzania thought it was safe. The Indian Parliament thought it was safe. Bali thought it was safe. The US thought it was safe. No doubt poor PC Oakes, RIP, thought he was safe. Why, he even actually removed the handcuffs from an arrested terrorist, who then promptly returned his kindness by killing him.

Hounding prostitutes

So why would al-Qaeda not operate from Ireland? We've been utterly witless so far - for

example, squandering thousands of garda-hours hounding prostitutes, and meanwhile ignoring the real threat of Islamic terrorists. And now, after all the warnings we've had, how many gardaí speak Arabic? So is there a single reason why we should not now put the security of this country and its residents clearly and resolutely above the putative needs of immigrants who say they want to live here?

Feeble-mindedness and doctrinaire sanctimony have been the substitute for reasonable scepticism in our policy towards immigrants. As Michael McDowell said the other day, 90 per cent of "asylum-seekers" are in reality economic migrants. And since 40,000 economic migrants were given work visas last year, why should we not instantly expel bogus asylum-seekers? September 11th, 2001 was a declaration of war not just against the US, but against all our common values. Neutrality and smugness as a national policy finally became irrelevant that day. Now we know the score: so what are we doing to make this State safe from Islamic terrorism? *(The Irish Times, January 29 2003)*

Article for Extract 34

Claims for asylum drop by two-thirds

APPLICATIONS for asylum have plummetted by almost two-thirds in the past three months as a result of new measures directed against illegal immigrants by the Government and the Garda Siochana.

The massive fall-off in asylum seekers from October to the end of the year signals a trend that is expected to continue throughout this year as the authorities adopt a tougher line with bogus claims by asylum seekers. The drop in applications is revealed in figures obtained last night by the Irish Independent.

The statistics show that the number of asylum applications last year fell by 32pc to 7,939, compared with 11,634 in 2002. The fall is more dramatic over the last six months when there was a decrease of 52pc or 3,398 from 6,549 to 3,151 - less than half the total for the corresponding period in 2002.

But the most significant reduction came in applications lodged since October, a decrease of 62pc or 1,984 from 3,222 to 1,238. One of the main reasons for the huge drop was the Supreme Court ruling last January that the parents of Irish born children were not automatically entitled to refugee status. But a number of other strategic and operational decisions also played a major part in the early elimination of bogus asylum claims.

The Garda National Immigration Unit has built up close co-operation with the authorities in mainland Europe, particularly in France, and is deploying additional personnel at air and sea ports.

This has meant huge numbers of illegals being turned back at the ports. Carriers

such as airlines and ferry companies are now playing a wider role as a result of new legislation. The new legislation has placed greater onus on them to check out the identities of passengers.

Garda chiefs also intend to place a special team operating along the Border where many of the illegals are currently reckoned to be coming into the jurisdiction, having arrived initially in Britain and then crossing into the North.

Another special unit is being based in Cork to beef up Garda resources at ports there while particular focus will be placed on applicants from "safe countries" such as EU member states whose claims are now being fast-tracked. Nigeria has also been added by the Government to the list of fast-track countries.

A higher rate of deportation, likely to be stepped up again this year, and the elimination of the rent supplement are other strategic moves that had an impact on the bogus applications. The number of failed asylum seekers deported in the past year was almost 600 while a further 780 left the State voluntarily.

Nigeria accounts for 39pc of asylum claims - the highest number of Nigerian applications in Europe - while 10pc are from Romania, followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (3.2pc), Moldova (3pc) and the Czech Republic (2.4pc). *(The Irish Independent, January 3 2004)*

Article for Extract 35

Shipping lines to increase checks on containers

The Waterford shipping company which brought the container holding 13 asylum seekers into Ireland last week is to step up security checks as a result of the tragedy. Eight of the 13 were found dead when the container in which they had stowed away opened at Wexford Business Park on Saturday morning. The other five are recovering in hospital. Mr Martin O'Shea, a director of C2C Shipping Lines, told the Irish Times yesterday that in future the seals on all containers being carried by the company would be checked in the Belgian port of Zeebrugge to make sure they had not been tampered with.

The Waterford-based company ferried the container in which the 13 were hiding to Belview Port, near Waterford, on a ship, The Dutch Navigator, chartered from a company in the Netherlands. Both Mr O'Shea and the chairman of the Port of Waterford Company, Mr Ben Gavin, said yesterday the group most likely intended to travel to Britain, as they could not have expected to survive the 2 ½ day crossing to Ireland in a sealed container. "They are sealed to be watertight," said Mr O'Shea. "If you were inside one for just 10 minutes, in the dark and with no air, you would begin to panic. You wouldn't even think of putting someone in for two days and it's not something we would

have expected anyone to try".

Once the container was loaded on to the ship, the people inside had no chance of attracting attention, he said. It was placed in the lower hold of the vessel, well out of the crew's hearing range. "It's not like a passenger ship where you have people moving around on the decks. There was just no way you would hear them." C2C, which has been in operation for 14 months, would co-operate with any measures designed to reduce the likelihood of the incident happening again, and in the meantime would begin carrying out its own checks, he said.

Responding to a suggestion that the Port of Waterford Company, which manages Belview Port, might have detected earlier that the seal on the container had been tampered with, Mr Gavin said it would not be practical to check the seal on every container delivered. He said 1,200 containers a week were handled at Waterford and it would not be possible to check the seal on each one. The container in which the eight people died had been re-sealed, he pointed out. It was only when a physical attempt was made to open it that it became apparent it had been tampered with. There was no reason to suspect, he added, that Waterford would be targeted by people trafficking refugees. With the exception of some sailings from Britain, the port at Belview only handled consignments which had been at sea for at least two days, a journey people would not knowingly undertake in a sealed container. "I think this was a mistake," he said, referring to the Wexford tragedy. "If they knew it was going to Ireland, they never would have got on." Zeebrugge, he said was primarily a roll-on, roll-off port and most P&O business from there was bound for Britain, which increased his belief that the group chose a P&O container in the expectation that that was where it was headed. *(The Irish Times, December 10 2001)*

Article for Extract 36

European ministers propose joint border police unit to combat illegal immigration

ITALY: European ministers in Rome yesterday proposed creating a joint border police unit to crack down on illegal immigration at airports, a large and growing problem in the 15-member union.

The pilot project, which needs region-wide approval, is part of a broader plan drawn up by five European countries to look at ways of creating a common EU border guard. "We don't want Europe to turn into a fortress, but we want to promote an integrated model that will guarantee the security of our citizens within our common space," Italy's Interior Minister, Mr Claudio Scajola, told delegates in Rome before presenting the feasibility study and pilot project.

The study comes just weeks before a European Union summit in Seville, where immigration is expected to top the agenda. The EU border police unit would operate at the region's sensitive airports."The route most exploited by illegal immigrants, or those who enter normally but become illegal immigrants, is through airports," the Spanish Interior Minister, Mr Mariano Rajoy, said.

Internal security has become an EU priority since the September 11th attacks on the United States and since far-right parties across Europe jumped in popularity due to their anti-immigration and anti-crime platforms.

"Immigration is the single most important phenomenon that we are going to deal with in the coming years," Mr Rajoy said.

Earlier this month, the European Commission, the EU's executive arm, proposed that the 15-nation body should have a common border guard by 2007, paid for by all member-states.

Yesterday's feasibility study carried out by Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany and France stressed the need for co-operation over the creation of a European corps of border guards.

Common legislation, shared information and a mobile police rapid reaction unit that would deal with immigration and trafficking emergencies, were among other proposals included in the plan.

In preparation for the project, 20 European countries carried out a joint crackdown on 25 airports between April 25th and May 21st. Some 4,589 illegal immigrants were identified and almost 1,000 false documents seized during the operation. The immigrants came mostly from China, as well as from Ecuador, Angola, Brazil, Nigeria and Senegal.

The study highlighted the tendency of airlines to allow passengers who do not have proper documents aboard, the ministers said, adding that 500 sanctions were taken against airlines as a result of a police clampdown.

Italy's centre-right government, led by the Prime Minister, Mr Silvio Berlusconi, has made law and order a priority and is pushing legislation through parliament that will make it much more difficult for immigrants to enter the country. On Wednesday, the lower house approved amendments to an immigration bill which includes a new clause that would require non-EU foreigners living in Italy to be fingerprinted when they applied for a residence permit.

Britain announced a tightening of its immigration laws yesterday, forbidding rejected asylum seekers from launching an appeal within the country. The news came as new figures showed Britain received 19,520 asylum applications in the first quarter, up 1,520 from the previous three months - and that 75 per cent were rejected.

Nearly 3,000 failed asylum seekers were removed from Britain over the period as

the government processed claims more quickly and chartered flights to ship people out en masse.

Greek officials yesterday criticised the idea of turning the EU into a "fortress" in the fight against illegal immigration, declaring such a move would pander to Europe's far-right political parties. *(The Irish Times, May 31 2002)*

Article for Extract 37

Asylum seeker deal must be wrapped up, says minister

IRELAND will strive to finalise agreement on new measures to ensure common procedures across the EU for dealing with asylum seekers, according to Justice Minister Michael McDowell.

He told the European Commission he was committed to securing agreement on outstanding issues by May 1 and would work to deliver a deal. He is anxious to wrap up negotiations on these issues to allow new procedures that will prevent any one EU member being regarded as a "soft touch" for asylum seekers.

EU governments have already made progress on issues like fingerprinting of asylum seekers and the introduction of Carrier's Liability laws for airline, rail and shipping operators. However, they still have to reach agreement on a number of outstanding issues, such as common procedures for handling asylum applications.

There remains concern at government level that those involved in people trafficking still try to exploit national differences where some EU member states are seen as "a soft touch" because of difference in their procedures for dealing with asylum applications.

Mr McDowell will now try to reach agreement with his EU counterparts to put in place minimum standards and procedures in each state so that asylum seekers cannot gain any advantage by seeking entry through any one member state.

To further this, he will also be asking his EU colleagues to look at ways of tightening the Dublin Convention, which requires an asylum seeker to make their application in the first EU country in which they arrive. Over recent years, several countries, including Ireland, have experienced asylum seekers arriving in one EU country but managing to cross frontiers to make their application in another member state.

Mr McDowell will also press other EU justice ministers to push ahead with plans for a common list of "safe countries" from which asylum seekers are not accepted. During the plenary session, he told the EU Commission that in the context of the broader asylum and immigration agenda, the Irish Government would place emphasis on proposals for a new European Refugee Fund and the implementation of the Return Action Programme,

along with the development of a Common Readmission Policy.

These three developments are regarded as crucial to providing the EU with a mechanism for dealing with an organised intake of refugees in the context of a war, such as in the former Yugoslavia, or a natural disaster in a country outside the EU.

Besides setting up a special fund for any member states that agreed to accept refugees in such a situation, the EU would also have in place programmes like the Return Action Programme to allow for the safe and speedy return of refugees once civil order had been restored.

In addition to these areas, Mr McDowell said the Irish presidency wanted to press ahead with other measures to provide for greater police and judicial co-operation in dealing with organised crime and drugs. He said he wanted to give priority for legislation on issues like mutual recognition of confiscation orders, a European enforcement order for uncontested claims, compensation for victims of crime and ship source pollution.

(The Irish Independent, January 7 2004)

Article for Extract 38

Mandatory refugee screening mooted

IF OFFICIALS at the Department of Justice get their way, Ireland's asylum-seekers could soon be facing compulsory health screening for various diseases. The issue has been the source of ongoing tension between the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and has the potential to split the public and the medical profession.

While the Government decided some time ago that health screening for asylum-seekers should remain on a voluntary basis, the Department of Justice has been lobbying for this policy to be reviewed. How would the public react to such a move? There seems to be some support, but is it well-informed?

When the issue of compulsory screening was first mooted, a national poll found that more than seven in 10 Irish people favoured mandatory health screening of all refugees and asylum seekers on entry into Ireland. Just one in four respondents were opposed to compulsory health screening of refugees.

The screening would be aimed at identifying cases of HIV, hepatitis and other transmissible diseases. Implicit in such screening is the suggestion that refugees are a threat to public health and may bring to Ireland an increased incidence of less common diseases.

Certainly refugees may have very specific medical problems, less common than those usually found here. A study at the National Maternity Hospital covering 1999-2000 examined 271 refugees who were pregnant. It found that 36 had specific illnesses: 17

cases of hepatitis B and C, 10 cases of sickle cell disease, seven cases of HIV and two cases of TB. It showed that this group had a high level of HIV and hepatitis.

There are now tens of thousands of refugees in Ireland and around 11,000 apply for asylum each year. Currently, asylum-seekers are entitled to a medical card for GP visits and are given voluntary health screening. When asylum-seekers arrive in Ireland, they are offered medical screening. Around 80 per cent usually take up the offer.

Two years ago staff at a Limerick hostel for asylum-seekers were offered treatment after it was discovered that nearly one in ten of the asylum seekers had previously been infected with hepatitis B.

According to the Irish Refugee Council (IRC), asylum-seekers suffering from non-communicable chronic illness are not generally facilitated, and they often must wait a number of months to receive a medical card where they face considerable obstacles securing a general practitioner, the Refugee Council adds. Some health boards report that GPs have refused to take asylum-seekers as patients. The IRC wants the current programme of voluntary health screening, of which over 70 per cent of asylum-seekers avail, to be built on.

It argues that compulsory health screening for asylum-seekers amounts to discrimination, given that they account for no more than 20 per cent of non-EU nationals from all corners of the globe now arriving in Ireland.

The introduction of compulsory health screening of refugees could lead to them becoming a criminalised and marginalised section of society, according to the Refugee Information Service. Even with the voluntary screening programme there are problems. The language barrier and the lack of a proper interpreter service for doctors is a major difficulty.

There are divided views in the medical profession on the issue of compulsory screening for asylum-seekers. The Irish Medical Organisation has warned that moves to impose screening on refugees could be unlawful.

Tension is reported to exist between the Departments of Health and Justice over the issue, with health officials pointing out that no other developed country has made health screening compulsory for asylum-seekers. The controversy also highlights the curious position of the Department of Justice being the body pushing for compulsory health checks an area in which it has little or no role or indeed expertise. The Department of Health has itself sought expert advice on whether screening should be mandatory.
Doctors who oppose compulsory screening say that asylum-seekers and their families, in general, are in excellent health, and where diseases exist, they are capable of being treated successfully.

A service to target asylum-seekers who have not yet been medically screened, was

established by the Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA) over a year ago. There are thousands of asylum-seekers in the Eastern region who have not been medically screened. The cost of screening is put at around €150,000 a year.

It is not uncommon for people to believe that immigrants may introduce infection and thus numbers should be restricted on these grounds. However, no hard evidence has been produced to back up this argument about a serious public health threat. What we should be providing is quality healthcare service which recognises different needs and attitudes to health that refugees may have. *(The Irish Independent, November 17 2002)*

Article for Extract 39

Deaths from HIV/Aids rises in Ireland

There is no room for complacency as the number of STIs continues to grow.

Of the 40 million people worldwide living with HIV/Aids, based on last week's UNAids/WHO report, around 4,000 live in Ireland.

The vast majority of those infected with the virus live in sub-Saharan Africa and there are fears that the overall numbers may be greater than official figures show.

But Irish people should not be complacent and should not believe that because the numbers are relatively small, they can throw caution to the wind and that there's no risk of becoming HIV positive, disease surveillance experts insist.

While the safe sex posters and information campaigns of the late 1980s and early 1990s are now largely conspicuous by their absence, the number of HIV/Aids infections in Ireland continues to grow. Almost 4,000 people have been diagnosed with HIV/Aids here since 1983. There have been 862 cases of Aids and 398 deaths from Aids notified to the Health Protection Surveillance Centre (HPSC).

Deaths from Aids-related conditions peaked at 75 a year in the mid-1990s, before more successful anti-retroviral drug therapies began to help increase life expectancy. The number of deaths, however, has begun to rise steadily from 13 in 2000 to 41 last year.

Dr Mary Cronin, specialist in public health medicine at the HPSC, emphasises that the HIV diagnosis figures only provide a snapshot - they don't reveal undiagnosed levels of the virus in the community generally.

"We're only reporting on the newly diagnosed cases, not the number of cases that are actually occurring," she says. And the stigma that those living with HIV/Aids still believe exists around the disease probably indicates that more people are HIV positive than official figures show. "We have relatively small numbers anyway, but there is a concern. "While there hasn't been much transmission among the Irish-born heterosexual group, we would be concerned that we've seen an increase in STIs [sexually transmitted

infections] year on year," she says. "Having another STI greatly increases the risk of transmission of HIV," Cronin says. She acknowledges that Ireland doesn't have a HIV/Aids crisis on the same scale as that in other countries, but says this is not a reason to be unconcerned.

"HIV doesn't go away. It's not curable, even though people live with it. The prevalence or the pool of people living with HIV is increasing all the time, it's being added to every time a new diagnosis is made," says Cronin. "So there's more of a risk because there are more people living with HIV. I don't think we can ever be complacent.

"There is a real worry with STIs that we are seeing kids who are getting chlamydia, teenagers who are heading for infertility in their 30s and looking to have families but we are looking at a screening programme,"Cronin says.

More HIV cases are now being diagnosed in the immigrant community here, but Cronin says this is merely a reflection of changing demographics and the prevalence of the virus in some parts of the world. "It isn't surprising that we've seen a rise in HIV from people coming from sub-Saharan African countries in particular and that's reflected in the demography," she says. "I suppose the good news is that the number of newly diagnosed cases in the heterosexual category has decreased. We saw a decrease last year and for the first two quarters of this year. "We hope that will be sustained," she says.

There were 148 newly diagnosed HIV infections in the first two quarters of this year. Of the 140 where the probable route of transmission was known, 75 were acquired heterosexually - exactly three times the number of HIV infections acquired in the same period in the category known as MSM (men who have sex with men).

Some 37 of those 140 infections were among injecting drug users (IDUs). Of the newly diagnosed people, 85 were male and 63 were female.Where geographic origin was known, 64 of those people were born in Ireland and 54 were born in sub-Saharan Africa.

Information on where the infection is likely to have been contracted is not collated, but the HPSC believes there is evidence that the transmission of HIV in Ireland itself is increasing.

"The number affected with HIV is a very small number and many of the people who are infected would be within particular communities, such as the gay and bisexual community, the drug-using community or the immigrant community," says Cronin.

"We are concentrating prevention efforts within those communities, but I think the message for the population at large is that really, the risk is there and people need to practise safe sex," Cronin says.

James O'Connor of Open Heart House in Dublin, a member-led centre for people with HIV/Aids, says there is still huge stigma attached to those with the disease here in Ireland. "My experience of working with HIV positive people here in Open Heart House is

that, for a lot of people who are HIV positive, it's an internalised stigmatising. People feel they are going to be stigmatised. "And because HIV is generally sexually transmitted, it means that if you're HIV positive, people are asking how did you pick it up? Are you gay? Are you a drug user? "And for a lot of people who contract it today, that's heterosexual too. But it forces people to think about sexuality."

A major knowledge, behaviour and attitudes survey of adults between 18 and 65 in relation to sex and STIs is being carried out for the Crisis Pregnancy Agency in conjunction with the National HIV/Aids Strategy Committee. It is due to be published next year. *(The Irish Times, November 29 2005)*

Article for Extract 40

State housing for new asylum-seekers

Newly-arrived asylum-seekers are now obliged to live in State-provided full-board accommodation or else forgo their right to anything more than scant welfare supports.

In a significant departure from the previous social welfare regime, new refugee applicants are no longer entitled to claim rent supplement to allow them to live in private rented accommodation.

The measure means that asylum-seekers will be effectively tied to living in their State-provided full-board accommodation in large centres around the country if they are to receive State support.

Most asylum-seekers have been allocated accommodation in "direct provision" centres such as former hotels since the system was introduced in April.

However, community welfare officers have until now had the discretion to allow asylum-seekers who were pregnant or those with other special needs to quit direct provision accommodation and live in the private rental sector, claiming rent payments.

Since direct provision was introduced more than three years ago, some 10,000 people have left it and claimed ordinary welfare benefits, according to the Department of Justice.

These people had been able to claim standard welfare benefits on the same basis as citizens, including basic weekly Supplementary Welfare Allowance, currently set at €124.80, and Rent Supplement.

The new measures are aimed at ensuring that all asylum-seekers remain instead in the "direct provision" system, where they receive a reduced Supplementary Welfare Allowance of €19.10 per adult per week, as well as having food and laundry services provided.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said new asylum-seekers who turn down their allocated direct provision accommodation will still be entitled only to the same

reduced payments.

The new arrangements stem from the recently-passed Social Welfare (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, which states that asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants are no longer entitled to Rent Supplement.

A spokesman for the Department of Social and Family Affairs said it was now expected that newly-arrived asylum-seekers would be accommodated in the direct provision system, apart from "exceptional cases".

The department made payments totalling €111.5 million to asylum-seekers, refugees and people with leave to remain in the State last year, according to estimates released under the Freedom of Information Act.

Of this, €7.6 million was paid to people in direct provision, with €103.9 million paid to people not in direct provision. This spending accounted for about a fifth of the total of expenditure under the social welfare allowance scheme, and included almost €40 million in Rent Supplement payments.

About €75 million was spent last year on housing asylum-seekers in direct provision accommodation, according to the Department of Justice spokesman. Up to 5,500 people can be accommodated in such housing, but it is usually 80 to 85 per cent full.

The spokesman said it would be impossible to calculate the future savings the new arrangements will bring as this depended on the numbers of asylum claims made this year.

The Irish Refugee Council yesterday criticised the move as a "serious retrograde step" in asylum policy. *(The Irish Times, June 12 2003)*

Article for Extract 41

Campaign for asylum controls being put to voters

ANALYSIS: **Social and Racial Affairs Correspondent, joins Áine Ní Chonaill on a canvass in Dublin**

Áine Ni Chonaill's election spiel goes like this: "We are worried about the asylum issue. We feel there's a need for more control. We are not getting a say and there's a need for a voice in the Dáil."

The Cork teacher is travelling far to bring her message to the Dublin South Central constituency where she is running as an Independent candidate on the single issue of a tightening of asylum and immigration policy.

She spent last weekend canvassing voters and facing down the vigorous negative campaigning of Anti-Fascist Action and Residents Against Racism who are distributing leaflets saying Ní Chonaill's Immigration Control Platform is intent on increasing racial tensions in the area.

As she canvassed door-to-door last Saturday night at the former corporation houses along Keeper Road in Drimnagh, Ms Ní Chonaill's presence prompted many voters to voice concerns about asylum-seekers. But there were those too who muttered about feeling guilty for agreeing with her sentiments or stated baldly that they believed her policies to be racist. The candidate is used to being called racist, an accusation she takes on the chin. "The idea that immigration control equates with racism is an idiocy but it's an idiocy that seems to have been propagandised," she says.

"You can talk about health and education but this is the one area where you aren't able to have your say without being called a nasty name," she told one woman.

Ms Ní Chonaill approaches her subject with academic rigour and, unlike some other politicians, does not use hype or emotional language to support her views. She is brimming with facts and figures about the annual increase in asylum applications from 500 in 1995 to more than 10,000 last year.

Her election leaflet points out that when Minister John O'Donoghue boasted that he expects to deport 600 people this year, there was no one in the Dáil to say: "This represents 6 per cent of the annual influx. Some boast!"

On the doorsteps in Drimnagh, however, Ms Ní Chonaill's sympathisers were not so well informed. Patrick, who was in his 30s, said, "they all seem to be driving cars" and he had heard they were getting "socialising money" from the State.

Ms Ní Chonaill corrected him, saying this was not the case. He continued: "They all seem to be driving. Every couple that you see has two or three kids and the women are pregnant." "Oh, they know about our citizenship laws," replied the candidate.

Patrick said genuine refugees had a right to be here, "but the majority are economic migrants".

At another house, Ms Ní Chonaill met Ms Mary Corrigan, who along with her husband are declared supporters. Ms Corrigan stood at her front gate, saying the candidate was "definitely right, 100 per cent or more". She talked about how the Irish migrant in England and America worked hard and how she sees "so many of them that you would think it was Beirut". "They're very aggressive, aren't they?" she said finally, searching the candidate's face for a reaction. "I'm not going to classify them at all," replied Ms Ní Chonaill. "All I want is for them to ask for permission to be here."

At another door a middle-aged woman stood in her hall in large fluffy slippers and inquired of Ms Ní Chonaill: "It's about the people coming in? The coloured people?"

There were "coloured" people living next door for the past six months, she continued. "They don't do the garden or anything, but they are nice people," she said. The woman totally disagreed with the fact that there was no mandatory health screening for asylum-seekers who could be bringing in diseases. "That's very important and there's so

many diseases. Have you thought about that yourself?"

"It's not something I have put an emphasis on," replied Ms Ní Chonaill, before recounting how migrants to Canada have to undergo strict health checks.

We entered the adjacent garden and the door was answered by a young child. Fingering the leaflets in her left hand, Ms Ní Chonaill inquired whether anyone in the house had a vote in the elections. The Nigerian man at the door didn't seem to understand. "It's only to do with people who have a vote in the Irish general election," she explained before moving on to the next house.

So how does Ms Ní Chonaill feel about the fact that those voters who have sympathy with her cause seemed to believe myths about asylum-seekers receiving extra State benefits or being aggressive? "To me the facts as they are are horrendous enough or striking enough . . . I believe the facts speak for themselves. You do not have to exaggerate."

Farther down the street, Nigeria came up again. Ms Elizabeth Tierny had heard of the strife between Christians and Muslims in northern parts of the country, where Muslim or Sharia law has been introduced.

Ms Ní Chonaill explained that Nigeria has a population of about 120 million. "If you're from a Christian tribe and they want to bring in Sharia law, of course you wouldn't want to stay there. But why not go to a different part of Nigeria? Why come to Ireland?"

(The Irish Times, May 13 2002)

Article for Extract 42

Nigerian jailed for failure to produce ID papers

AN ASYLUM seeker arrested when he could not supply gardai with identification because he was rushing his baby to hospital was sentenced to two months imprisonment yesterday.

Jay Ugi Imagbe (30), a Nigerian asylum seeker living in Clonsilla, Dublin, tried to get into a taxi to continue his journey to the hospital with his 21-month old child, but was arrested by gardai, charged with obstruction, and spent two days in custody.

Yesterday, Judge John Coughlan gave him another two months after he pleaded guilty to charges arising out of the incident.

The judge told him: "People who are guests in Ireland should not be obstructing or causing hassle to gardai, and his friends should be told that as well." Dublin District Court heard Mr Imagbe was stopped driving a car at Dame Street on September 25 last at 7.50pm.

He refused to give his name and address, had no identity card, and tried to get into

a taxi as he held on to the child. Garda Alan Dowling said he was "very obstructive." He spent two days in custody before he was released on bail. "He was very anxious to get to hospital with his sick child and had forgotten to bring identification," said solicitor Murrough O'Rourke.

He was a newspaper vendor in Nigeria with refugee status at present but hoping to obtain residency on the basis that he has two Irish children. He had no previous convictions. His local cleric, Reverend Sandra Pragnel, told the court that he made a mistake that night on Dame Street. "He and his family are extremely devout Christian people who want to get on with their lives," she said.

(The Irish Independent, October 15 2004)

Article for Extract 43

"Baby scam" uncovered as refugees use legal loophole

Thousands of asylum seekers are using a loophole in Irish nationality laws to stay in the country. The Department of Justice now believes that it has fallen victim to an international "baby scam" operating out of Nigeria. Ireland is the only country in the EU, and one of only a few worldwide, where a child born in the state has an automatic right of citizenship. And a Supreme Court decision in 1990 says the child is entitled to the "company" of its non-national parents and siblings. The number of asylum seekers seeking to remain here claiming parentage of an Irish child has soared in recent months.

By the end of October this year 8,461 asylum seekers had applied for refugee status here. A further 4,500 have mad claims under that parentage rule. Justice Minister John O'Donoghue has admitted that the system is open to abuse but warned that a constitutional referendum would be required to change the provisions.

Officials in the Department are convinced that the parentage rule has become an asylum seekers "magnet" for Ireland with criminals in Lagos organising transport to Ireland for pregnant women. Some are making the journey close to their full term.

The majority of births to asylum seekers in Dublin's hospitals are to women of Nigerian origin – guaranteeing them the right to stay in Ireland. That is despite the fact that more than 90pc of Nigerian asylum applications are turned down after their cases are examined. A recent repatriation agreement signed by the Justice Minister with the Nigerian government is powerless to stop the scam. And because asylum applications are taking up to 18 months to process, more and more aspirant female refugees are becoming pregnant and giving birth. However, despite this, any effort to change the law would be fraught with difficulty.

The right of citizenship for people born on the island of Ireland is enshrined in

Article Two of the Constitution – which was endorsed by way of a national referendum as recently as 1998. In all other EU member states, the citizenship of a child born in that state is dependent on the nationality of its parents and how long they have been resident in that particular country. Ireland's law is designed to recognise the right of people born in Northern Ireland to be citizens of the Republic.

Fine Gael's Denis Naughten TD says the Dail must now urgently debate all aspects of immigration law. "The public perceptionat the moment is that the parentage rule is being abused and this only breeds racism and bigotry," said the Longford-Roscommon TD. "Many people don't appreciate that the reason our law is different is tied into Northern Ireland," he said. "The issue must be addressed and debated all the way up to the possibility of a referendum and at the same time we must deal with why it is taking 18 months to process some applications. *(The Irish Independent, November 29, 2001)*

Article for Extract 44

Office clears backlog for processing asylum cases

The backlog for handling asylum cases has been virtually eliminated as the number of applications continued to fall, Minister for Justice Michael McDowell told an Oireachtas committee. He said the Office of Refugee Applications Commissioner had cleared its outstanding cases and could schedule interviews once asylum applications "walk in the door".

The number of cases with the office and the Refugee Appeals Tribunal for longer than six months now stood at 375, down from 1,905 this time last year and 6,500 in 2001, the Minister told the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, Equality, Defence and Women's Rights. He said many of the remaining cases were the subject of court proceedings, which considerably added to the time it took to reach a decision. The total number of asylum applications this year is expected to be about 4,000, well down from the 12,000 applications in 2002.

Mr McDowell said cases from "prioritised countries" such as Nigeria, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and South Africa were being dealt within 15 days, with appeals taking an average a further 12 to 13 days. Asylum applications from these countries were 40 per cent of the total. He said prioritisatin has had a significant effect on the speed of processing.

Previously applicatants would appeal, then "rely on bureaucracy" to create a two- or three-year delay and make their presence here a fait accompli.

The number of failed asylum applicants being deported was also falling. Some

370 deportations were carried out this year, compared to 599 in 2004 and 590 in 2003. Another 309 unsuccessful applicants returned home voluntarily this year.

Fintan McGrath TD (Ind) said there was a perception that the Minister was taking a "tough stance" on immigration. This carried a danger that some sections of society could use this to direct attacks on immigrants. Mr McDowell said Ireland was one of the "softest" countries on immigration in the EU.

Following the citizenship referendum, he had pledged to find a compassionate solution to the issue of non-nationals with Irish-born children. He said 18,000 applications had been received under the scheme he introduced, far more than the "handful" his critics had predicted. Some 15,750 people had been given permission to remain, while 779 applicants were refused.

However, he said he would not agree to family reunions as this would push the numbers involved from 18,000 to 50,000-80,000. In spite of the drop in asylum-seeker numbers, the cost of providing services is still increasing. Last year it cost €375 million to provide services for asylum-seekers, up from €353 million in 2003.

(The Irish Times, 16 December 2005)

Article for Extract 45

Romanian teens are deported from Cork

The parents of two Romanian teenagers claim their children were refused entry to the State and subsequently deported by immigration gardaí yesterday, despite their efforts to contact them.

The family claims the children, a 16-year-old boy and a girl aged 15, had intended to seek asylum in Ireland and were travelling on false Moldovan passports. They say they were held by immigration gardaí in Cork since last Monday, after arriving on a flight from Paris, and sent back to France yesterday.

In response to detailed inquiries about the case yesterday, a Garda spokesman said he could only confirm that five people were refused leave to land at Cork airport last Monday.

The Irish Refugee Council has expressed concern recently that asylum-seekers are being refused entry into Dublin and Cork airports by immigration offices. A person seeking refugee status is automatically entitled to remain in the State until their claim is processed. An asylum-seeker may, however, be detained under the Refugee Act (1996) on a number of grounds, such as possession of forged documents.

The family's solicitor, Ms Aisling Ryan, said she made repeated efforts to contact immigration gardaí in Cork by fax and telephone on Tuesday, but received no reply. The

children's father, Mr Constantin Carpaci, claims he waited at the airport for six hours to meet them off their flight.

According to a family friend, Mr Carpaci made repeated unsuccessful efforts to contact immigration officials at the airport. He also says he saw his son, Marius, disembark from the aircraft while he waited in the airport cafe. Mr Carpaci claimed his daughter, Costinella, has a heart condition. He said he spoke to his son by telephone while he was being held by gardaí in Cork.

Mr Carpaci and his wife have lived in Ireland for several years and are seeking residency on the basis of being parents of a child born in Ireland. *(The Irish Times 29 May, 2003)*

Article for Extract 46

Refugees without ID will be deported

ASYLUM-SEEKERS in Britain who cannot produce identity papers will be deported under a Bill being prepared by David Blunkett, the Home Secretary.

Mr Blunkett said yesterday that people seeking asylum who tore up their passports or used a false identity would be automatically refused the right to live in Britain.

The Bill is intended to reassure immigration officers, who complain that many asylum-seekers dispose of papers to make it more difficult to deport them. "We are looking seriously at legislating to stop people who have destroyed their documents trying to claim," Mr Blunkett said on BBC1's Politics Show.

He indicated that he intended to go ahead with plans for ID cards.

But groups helping asylum-seekers say many fleeing persecution arrive without papers because they have been confiscated or they escaped in a hurry. (Independent News Service) *(The Irish Independent June 9 2003)*

Article for Extract 47

Vibrant Africans overcome the threat of racism

A service at the Christ Apostolic Church in Rutland Place, near Parnell Square, Dublin.

DIFFERENT VOICES/AFRICANS: Dublin's growing African community has brought derelict streets back to life.

The African community in Ireland has come a long way in a very short time. In size, it has gone from a few hundred to about 30,000 in the space of a decade.

Meanwhile, derelict inner city streets have gained new life with the arrival of Nigerian businesses. Back lanes are the homes of flourishing evangelical churches. New

publications have sprung up to serve the community.

Yet the community lives with constant uncertainty. The Government makes no secret of its desire to deport many Africans whose applications for asylum have been rejected. Even those with refugee status are struggling to find work and affordable housing in Celtic Tiger Ireland. Unlike eastern Europeans, black-skinned immigrants have nowhere to hide in the face of racist behaviour.

At the same time, the community must wrestle with other demons. The negative image of Nigerians is due, at least in part, to the involvement of some members of that community in crime, particularly credit-card fraud and child-trafficking. There is little integration with Irish communities and undoubted tensions in some working-class areas.
Most of all, though, the vibrancy and bustle of African life here stands out in contrast to many areas of life. While the Catholic Church goes into decline with Irish people, African immigrants are flocking to small house churches, most of them affiliates of churches in Nigeria.

"If there is no church, our people will become a problem with the nation and fall back into bad habits. Our mission is to create the fear of God in their hearts so they do not misbehave," says Pastor Toyin Adewumi of the Christ Apostolic Church, based in Rutland Place off Dublin's Parnell Square. The church claims attendances of more than 20,000 to services in Nigeria, but in Dublin it attracts congregations of about 100 each week to a converted garage.

Most are from Nigeria, but Ghanaians, Togolese and even a few Irish come too. Pastor Adewumi, who transferred from Athens two years ago, conducts meetings in the back of his car outside while the building is renovated. The rent is €2,500 a month.
More than 70 African churches are estimated to have opened in Dublin and other cities in recent years. Pastor Adewumi estimates that about 30 to 40 per cent of Africans attend church, and while he encourages his flock to "fish the unchurched", poaching from rival operations is forbidden.

The same energy is visible in business, where Nigerian entrepreneurs have established foodstores, hairdressers and restaurants to service the needs of their community. Areas such as Parnell Street have drawn considerable publicity for their diversity, but the fact is that the African outlets tend to occupy a parallel universe rather than being integrated. Unlike the typical Asian corner shop in England, the wider community doesn't generally use them.

In publishing, at least five newspapers and magazines have sprung up for the African community. Metro Éireann is the best-known and has both African and Irish readers. All are packed with advertisements for churches, foodstores, "immigration consultants" and even photo-spreads of community celebrities; it seems only a matter of

time before a Nigerian-Irish version of Hello! appears.

One constant for all Africans in Ireland is the threat and reality of racism. Black immigrants simply stand out more than other groups, and many Irish people aren't too fussy about their insults. Black equals asylum-seekers, equals Nigerian, equals sponger - goes the most virulent form of racist thinking. For a while after September 11th, anyone resembling a Muslim - including women wearing African gowns - was fair game.

"What we generally get in Ireland is a very naïve and ignorant form of racism, rather than the organised or ideological forms you see in other countries," says Philip Watt, director of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI).

A typical problem arises when a gang of youths picks on an immigrant family in its neighbourhood, breaking their windows and harassing the children. When this happened recently on a housing estate in Tallaght, neighbours came to the aid of the beleaguered Congolese family, but Watt says combined action is needed from gardaí, residents groups and local authorities.

The NCCRI logged 81 racist incidents between May 2001 and last March, but Watt believes the real number is far greater. Relations between the black community and the gardaí have sometimes been difficult.

A number of Africans have accused the gardaí of heavy-handed treatment and racist abuse, though none of these claims has been sustained by a court. The gardaí and courts have shown their determination to deal with racist behaviour by Irish people in a number of recent cases, and the force's inter-cultural service is seen as progressive and hard-working.

However, the current round-up of illegal immigrants in Operation Hyphen is hardly likely to improve relations. Sahr Yambasu, a Methodist minister and chairman of the Africa Solidarity Centre, believes the asylum process contains "inbuilt suspicions" against Africans. "It's true we contribute to it because some people make up stories and engage in unlawful activities, but the majority should not be judged by the behaviour of a few people who don't abide by the rules."

Meanwhile, many of those who have received refugee status or permission to remain are making slow progress. There are jobs aplenty, but good jobs are harder to come by. "The vast majority are doing casual work, trying to make ends meet," says Yambasu. "The feeling is that to get a job you have to be two or three times better than the Irish person going for the same post."

Not all Africans are recent arrivals or asylum-seekers. "I'm not an asylum-seeker or refugee, but I often feel I'm being categorised as one. We are never spoken about," says Salome Mbugana, a Kenyan who first came to Ireland as a student in 1994 and is married to an Irish man.

"Before, you were either a doctor or engineer. Now they think everyone is a refugee," says Emmanuel Ntibimenya, a Rwandan who has lived here for 18 years. "The whole Irish approach to refugees is that they're scroungers, here to milk the system. They don't recognise that many people have been here for years."

As a taxi-driver working at night on Dublin's streets, Ntibimenya has encountered the worst aspects of Irish racism. "I get a lot of curiosity, and then they come out with 'I don't mind blacks here, but I hate Pakis' remarks, and I just wonder what they tell the next driver." For many African immigrants, however, the past few years has brought steady progress.

Four years ago, I interviewed Joseph and Carinie Ntidendereza, who had fled with their children from the civil war in Burundi. At the time, their asylum application had been rejected and the authorities wanted to deport them. They were housed in health board accommodation in Blackrock, where local people they met through their children befriended them and took up their case.

A year or two later, the authorities had shifted the Ntidenderezas to hostel-type accommodation in a grim block on Dublin's quays. The room they inherited was filthy, and its fixtures were broken, but the couple quickly repainted and repaired their new surroundings. Meanwhile, they remained in a legal limbo. Eventually, the birth of their fourth child in Ireland resolved their legal worries.

Today, Joseph and Carinie are typical slaves of the Celtic Tiger. He commutes daily from their house in Lucan to Dublin Airport, where he works with Aer Rianta. In his spare time, he coaches the local soccer team. She does part-time work at night in Superquinn. They have four children aged three to 13 years and a monthly rental bill of €1,200.

They have a small stake in Ireland and good reason for hope in the future.It's modest progress, but progress nonetheless. "We're happy, but most of all we're safe. Other things can come after that," says Carinie. *(The Irish Times, July 30 2002)*

Article for Extract 48

Paris conference examines issues raised by immigration

The presence of large numbers of immigrants will continue to pose intractable policy questions for Ireland and Europe, a conference in Paris was told yesterday.

The symposium on The Multi-cultural Society, held at the Centre Culturel Irlandais, heard how Muslims in the US today are subject to prejudice and suspicion similar to what the Irish experienced in Britain in the 1970s.

"The majority of immigrants come from countries that have experienced

colonialism," Ms Carol Coulter, legal affairs correspondent of The Irish Times, said. "Language, culture and religion assumed special importance for them. They take this with them into exile."

Prominent historian of Algeria, Prof Benjamin Stora, said Algerians began emigrating to France in the 1920s. Early opponents of the French presence in Algeria often referred to Ireland in explaining the need for an anti-colonial struggle.

"France does not think of itself as a country of immigrants or a multi-cultural society," Prof Stora said. Jacobinist centralism, the legacy of the French revolution, created a sacrosanct belief that public schools should assimilate immigrants into the Republic.

But Algerian immigrants have not assimilated like earlier waves of Polish and Italian immigrants, though they eventually abandoned the "myth of return" to their country of origin.

All studies of immigrants show a similar phenomenon, he added. "After 20 or 30 years, they never return. The third generation (in exile) doesn't leave, but it looks for its identity."

In France, this search for identity has resulted in demands for Muslim cemeteries, the right to slaughter animals in accordance with halal rules, and the building of mosques. Prof Declan Kiberd, the head of the Department of Anglo-Irish Literature and Drama at University College Dublin, said the Algerian experience in France "would open echos for Irish people in Britain". Like third generation Algerians, descendants of Irish emigrants to Britain are now undergoing "a tremendous cultural revival", Prof Kiberd said.

"A couple of years ago, there were 17 different plays by Irish people on stage in London. They too are coming to terms with their double identity. They too had a myth of return." Prof Kiberd said the problem of dual identity "has not really been solved by any overseas Irish community".

Prof Kiberd disagreed with his colleague, Prof Attracta Ingram, a political theorist at UCD, on the best approach to immigrant rights. He described himself as "an unreconstructed multi-culturalist" who believes that "everybody should be allowed to practice their traditions in the public sphere".

Prof Ingram described herself as a "liberal secularist". Though the Irish debate has so far focused on admissions policy rather than the question of how immigrants are accommodated in society, she predicted that Ireland "will have to deal with cases involving polygamy, headscarves, female circumcision and family law versus Shari'a". Across Europe, attitudes towards immigrants are shifting towards civic integration policies. "We expect more of immigrants in the process of immigration than previously," Prof Ingram said.

"There is no more a blanket acceptance of 'I have a right to 'x' because it's my culture'. "We're going to integrate individuals rather than communities. Questions such as how many migrants, what quotas, and what financing will be dealt with more at a European level."

The Irish Ambassador to France, Mr Pádraic MacKernan, who has served as a diplomat in the US, said that in his experience, "Irish identity sat very easily with allegiance to American institutions".

Mr Paul Gillespie, foreign policy editor of The Irish Times, said it was important to distinguish between assimilation, which means "to make the same" and integration, which means "to make whole".

European integration was a possible solution to the problems of ethnic and religious minorities. For example, Kurdish separatists have been unanimous in advocating Turkish accession to the EU, he said.

Mr Gillespie said that there had been "a retreat from the practice of multi-culturalism" in much of Europe.

The conference was organised by Ms Carol Coulter and Ms Helen Carey, of the Centre Culturel Irlandais, and part sponsored by The Irish Times and the Department of Foreign Affairs. *(The Irish Times, October 18 2004)*

Article for Extract 49

The pupils teaching us all a lesson in how to get along

A new report reveals that relations between Irish people and immigrants living in some areas of Dublin are virtually non-existent. But Gemma O'Doherty finds that in one section of the community the keyword is harmony.

The racist outburst happened in a Dublin post office on a busy working day before Christmas. In the middle of a long queue an African woman stood quietly, waiting with her young child. She had not jumped the queue or done anything to provoke the verbal attack launched on her by an Irish woman standing behind.

How dare she come here scabbing money off the State. What right had she to be here. She should be sent back to her own country. Nobody said anything. The well-dressed woman was allowed to continue her rant. It got more personal, with references to the colour of the woman's skin, but still silence from the crowd. Nobody intervened, not even the post office staff. The young mother left the post office visibly shaken and in tears. "I don't even want to be here," she said, weeping as she walked out.

Pat Guerin, a liaison officer with the Irish Refugee Council, doesn't like using the term 'social apartheid' because he fears it is sensationalist but he is convinced there are

parts of Dublin's inner city where it is deeply entrenched. His most recent piece of research provides ample proof that conditions for racist attacks like this one are rife in certain parts of the capital. The report 'Building Solidarity Across Communities', which has just been published by the South West Inner City Network (SWICN), concluded that relations between Irish people and immigrants living in the area are virtually non-existent.

Mr Guerin fears it represents a microcosm of modern Ireland. "It really is a case of strangers in our midst," he says. "There is no shared community interaction and what has developed is a form of social apartheid. There is a racist undertone when you speak to people. It is mainly anti-black and anti-refugee/asylum-seeker. If things don't improve, we could be faced with scenarios like the race riots that happened in Oldham and Burnley in England. Multicultural diversity is here to stay. We are the only country in the industrialised world that hasn't faced up to it - but it is up to every one of us to make it work."

Walk the streets of Dublin's Liberties, the area with the highest concentration of asylum-seekers and refugees in the country, and you hear the same story again and again. Local people say they have little cause to mix with immigrants, who now represent almost 25pc of the area's population. "They keep themselves to themselves," the locals say. "They have their own way of doing things and it's very different to ours."

Some local women, waiting to collect their children from school, say they never come in contact with people from immigrant communities, even though there are hundreds living close by. "We're not being unfriendly but we just have nothing in common with them," says one. "They have different customs, speak a different language. You'd never see them down the pub. They just don't seem to mingle with the rest of us."

They don't see themselves as racist because they are not proactive in their efforts to get to know their foreign neighbours. "They are very mannerly and always smile, especially the bus drivers. They could teach our own guys a thing or two," says local woman Veronica Lally. "We don't have a problem with them but we never have any reason to mix with them."

Areas like the Liberties, which have seen a huge jump in house prices, have witnessed the arrival of another new group of residents, the so-called gated-community, who live in newly-built private apartments behind locked gates.

Mr Guerin believes this has led to even more segregation in the inner city. "New and more affluent residents have joined the local population. This gentrification of parts of the city has led to a feeling of even greater deprivation among local working-class residents - but immigrant communities may be blamed for that. You have three different groups living side by side with hardly any interaction between them."

The multicultural mix in Dublin's south inner city is the most colourful in the

country, with more than 30 nationalities from countries as far apart as Poland, Sierra Leone, Egypt and Trinidad. But despite the pessimistic findings of the new report, there is one place in the community where international relations are thriving and foreign residents feel truly welcome - at one of the biggest schools in the Liberties, Presentation Secondary School.

A fortnight ago the school, which educates more than a dozen nationalities, celebrated One World Week, an annual event where pupils learn about different cultures in a hands-on way.

All week the school's spacious library is taken up with all sorts of exotic activities, from henna body painting to belly dancing. Different nationalities get to sample each other's cooking and there are workshops focusing on different religions, customs and languages. The culmination of the week involves a concert - this year the programme included an eclectic mix of music from Hindu dancing to African drumming.

"The girls love this week," says English resource teacher Helen MacMahon. "But most importantly they learn about other cultures. The foreign kids have a much higher profile in the school afterwards. The Irish girls love learning how to put African plaits in their hair or getting a henna tattoo. Even learning how to make a Chinese meal can help break down barriers."

Taphilwa Mabvaro is a 16-year-old Zimbabwean pupil at Presentation who came here two years ago when her father got a job as an engineer with Irish Rail. She loves school and is popular among staff and fellow pupils but encounters occasional problems when she leaves the school gates.

"I have noticed that people tend to ask you first if you are an asylum-seeker and, when they have established that you aren't, they seem to be friendlier, " she says. "It depends who you are dealing with. Irish people who have travelled and seen the world are the open-minded ones. They ask you about your country and your life but the ones who haven't gone further than their front door usually don't want to know."

But the harmonious international relations at Presentation Convent haven't come about overnight. They are the result of the staff's pro-active policy that promotes integration and multiculturalism, which students are encouraged to put into practice when they leave the classroom. From junior infants up to sixth year, racist incidents are classified as bullying and are taken very seriously.

"Non-national is a word you will never hear in this school, even though it is used by the Government," says principal Sr Frances Murphy. "It has such negative connotations and it creates difference. We use the word 'international' instead. There is a small percentage of young people who can be extremely racist but they are often just acting as automatic mouthpieces for the significant adult in their lives."

The SWICN report recommends the establishment of an intercultural working group, with representation of all ethnic and Irish groups in the area. It suggests anti-racism training for local community leaders, which is hoped would filter down to the rest of society.

But some, like Pat Guerin, who work at the cutting edge of immigration, accuse the Government of sowing the seeds of racist disharmony. "If you sat anyone down and asked them about racism in Ireland, refugees and asylum-seekers would be the first words they'd use," he says. "We have to ask where these negative images of foreigners are coming from? Most of them come from State agencies. Every time you turn on the news, you hear some Government spokesperson restating the fact that 90pc of our migrants come here for economic reasons.

"There's been a huge fall in the number of asylum-seekers but they are still chanting the same mantra. In every other country economic development goes hand in hand with immigration. These people want to work but they are forced to stay in the system. That reinforces the stereotype. If you are black, you must be a refugee and a scrounger." *(The Irish Independent, February 12 2004)*

Appendix B

Questions used in analytic reading

Open analysis questions

- What dominant story lines are there?
- What kind of objects are constructed? (Parker, 1992)
- What kind of subject is constructed here? (Parker, 1992)
- What concepts are constructed as given, obvious or taken-for-granted? (Gill, 1996; Potter, 1996)
- What type of world or context is constructed?
- How are facts established? (Potter, 1996b)
- What metaphors and imagery are used?

Research question driven analysis questions

All questions used above in the open analysis were also used in this part of the question driven analysis

- What patterns are present? (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Gill, 1996)
- What variations are there in the text? (Potter & Wetherell, 1987)
- What kinds of ways-of-being do the objects and subjects make available to people? (Willig, 2001)
- What kind of identities are created? (Parker, 1992)
- What kind of subject positions are set up and taken up? (Davies & Harré, 1990)
- What kinds of identity constructions are linked with what kinds of subject positions?
- What emotional attitudes are supported, produced or reproduced from the particular subject positions given to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and

Irish people and the state?

- What power strategies are implicated in the discoursed used?
- What practices, institutions, power relations, norms and/or value systems do these discourses support/reproduce and/or undermine (Parker, 1994)
- What strategies of power are evident in the identity constructions and subject positions identified in the newspaper discourse?
- Are there any important differences in the way refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed?
- What rhetorical strategies and discursive maneuvers are used? (Edwards & Potter, 1992)
- What oppositions are implied? (White, 2000; Billig, 1991)
- What is not said that might have been? (Billig, 1991; White, 2000)

Reflexivity driven analysis questions

- Why am I reading the text in this way? (Willig, 2001)
- What are my biases and how are they influencing my reading of the text?
- What characters do I support and opposes in the text?

Appendix C

Report from Expert Panel on Method

Author: Trudy Meehan

Supervisor: Prof. Mac MacLachlan

External Examiner: Dr. Mick O'Connell

Internal Examiner: Dr. Liz Nixon

This document relates to the **First Addition** suggested by the examiners to address problems 2, 3 and 4. The first addition refers to the " **'expert panel'** - is to obtain further independent validation on the appropriateness and execution of the method used. Our recommendation is that a small number of people (more than 1, less than 6) with known expertise in the field would provide a short written report reflecting on the methodology used."

Actions undertaken:

- Three academics (Dr Elaine Moriarty, Dr. John McCarthy & Prof. Erica Burman) were contacted via email asking them to write a written report reflecting on the methodology used, they were given the excerpt quoted above from the examiners' comments
- The written reports are reproduced in their entirety below followed by a short description of the authors of the reports
- The reports are followed by a commentary detailing the impact of the reports on the thesis

Written reports:

The reports are reproduced in their entirety with salient points underlined

Report from Professor Erica Burman

E.Burman@mmu.ac.uk

Hi Trudy
I had a quick look at your chapter outline and at Chapter 5 in particular where you discuss DA and from this very cursory scan it seems to me that (aside from a few typos) you've taken a very interesting and informed approach, which is grounded in a scholarly appreciation of different models of DA and their consequences for the kinds of theoretical claims that can be made. Obviously discursive approaches demand a different set of criteria for evaluation from quantitative empirical approaches. However you offer a clear, coherent and reflexive analysis and engages with Denzin and others' discussion of what makes for a good analysis in terms of other criteria. I am also attaching a couple of other papers that may be useful.

Let me know if this helps
best wishes
Erica

Erica Burman

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MMU email disclaimer: http://www.mmu.ac.uk/emaildisclaimer
DU resource website: http://www.discourseunit.com

Professor Erica Burman works at Division of Psychology and Social Change Manchester Metropolitan University where she is Co-director of Discourse Unit Co-convener of the Women's Studies Research Centre. Her specialist areas are Feminist critiques of psychology, critical psychology, discourse analysis, gender, 'race' and mental health, group analysis and psychoanalytic social theory and clinical practice. She consults for the International Journal of Qualitative Research in Psychology and in 2002 was part of the editorial advisory boards for Qualitative Research in Psychology and Discourse Analysis Online. Relevant publications include:

- Banister, P., Burman, E., Parker, I., Taylor, M. and Tindall, C. (1994) Qualitative Methods in Psychology: a Research Guide (with P) Buckingham: Open University Press. isbn: 0-335-19181-9 (pbk) & 0-335-19182-7 (hbk)
- Burman, E., Aitken, G., Alldred, P.,. Allwood, R.,. Billington, T., Goldberg, B.,. Gordo Lopez, A.,. Heenan, C,. Marks, D. and Warner, S. (1996) Psychology Discourse Practice: from regulation to resistance, London: Taylor & Francis, 1996. isbn: 1 - 7424-0503 6 (pbk) & 1-7424-05038 (hbk)
- Burman, E. and Parker, I. (eds) (1993) Discourse Analytic Research: repertoires and readings of texts in action (co-edited with I. Parker), London: Routledge. isbn: 0-415-09721-5 (pbk) & 0415-09720-7 (hbk)
- Levett, A. Kottler, A., Burman, E. and I. Parker (eds) (1997) Culture, Power and Difference: discourse analysis in South) London: Zed Books,. isbn: 1 85649 471 3 (hbk) & 1 85649 472 1 (pbk); Southern Africa (co-published with University of Cape Town press): 1 919713 08 5.
- Burman, E. (2001) 'Minding the Gap: positivism, psychology and the politics of qualitative research', in D.Tolman and M. Brydon-Miller (eds) From Subjects to Subjectivities: a Handbook of Interpretive and Participatory Methods, New York and London: New York University Press (isbn: 0 8147 8258 2; 08147 82590).
- Alldred, P. and Burman, E. (in press) 'Hearing and interpreting children's voices: discourse analytic contributions' in S. Greene and D. Hogan (eds) *Researching Children's Experience: approaches and methods.* London: Sage.
- She has published extensively in peer reviewed journals

Report from Dr Elaine Moriarty

From the outset, I must emphasise that I am a sociologist, not a psychologist, so my comments are informed by my background in teaching qualitative methods (including discourse analysis) to a postgraduate level along with utilising critical discourse analysis myself in researching discourses of Irishness and Otherness across a number of research sites including print media. With that said, the dissertation I was asked to give an opinion on focuses on a Discourse Analysis of New Irish in the Media, a topic within my realm of experience.

I have reviewed the PhD thesis 'Discourse and Difference: New Irish in the Media' which seeks to "understand how the print media in Ireland constructs the 'new Irish', those who have come to live in Ireland seeking asylum, work, study or new life". In particular, I have

focused on evaluating the 'appropriateness and execution' of discourse analysis as the methodological approach as requested.

Discourse analysis refers broadly to the study of language use and is associated with a number of differing epistemological understandings including conversation analysis, socio-linguistics, critical discourse analysis and discursive psychology. Discourse analysis is a proven approach in the research and analysis of print and mass media and particularly as located within the field of race and ethnicity. Further, there are numerous examples of researchers utilising discourse analysis as a research instrument for this type of study. For example, in the international context, van Dijk's work on racism in the press, Triandafyllidou's work on nationality, immigration and the Italian press media and Wodak's work on the discursive construction of national identity are all relevant. In the Irish context, Brian Conway of Maynooth (2006), Haynes, A., Breen, M and Devereux, E. of UL (2005) have engaged varying types of discourse analysis for the study of print media in Irish society. However there is certainly space in this research field in Ireland which the author has identified. Thus in addressing the first part of the request – the appropriateness of discourse analysis – I would have no hesitation in confirming that this is, broadly speaking, an appropriate methodological approach for this study.

However, issues do arise with regard to the development of an appropriate research instrument for this particular project and in turn, the execution of the proposed method. A form of discourse analysis is outlined which is generally followed quite carefully, however, I suggest that the research instrument developed produces quite a one dimensional set of findings. The analysis framework and findings revolve almost exclusively around an othering process focused on two essentialised categories; on the one hand, Irish people/Irish state and on the other asylum seeker/immigrant/refugee.

I make these comments in the context of the repeatedly stated interest in moving beyond the individual to a wider contextual approach, namely power and social positioning and the explicit decision to reject critical discourse analysis. The rationale provided for not using a critical discursive approach is somewhat confusing - "it [cda] was not considered appropriate for use as a method in the current analysis which is concerned with a wider use of discourse as meaning making and shaping of identities, rather than the specific structures within these discourses". However, discourse analysis of all varieties privileges language analysis, it is the context of the analysis which varies i.e. conversation analysis will privilege "naturally occurring conversations represented in verbatim transcript" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987); Critical Discourse Analysis privileges "understanding the nature of power and dominance' and how 'discourse contributes to their production' (van Dijk, 2001); Discursive Psychology focuses "on the production of versions of reality and cognition as parts of practices in natural settings" (Potter, 2000).

There is a further minor issue with sampling methods. From early in the thesis there is an a priori assumption that all media are racist, tabloids more explicitly and broadsheets more subtly. While the random selection of articles for analysis should mitigate any bias here, there is a secondary selection process in terms of the excerpts for use in the text which limits the scope of the analysis. Adopting a slightly more purposive approach may have enabled the analysis to engage in a more nuanced analysis of constructions of the 'new Irish' in Irish print media.

In conclusion,

- discourse analysis is an appropriate research method for this study in principle;
- the form of discourse analysis utilised is rather limited though it does produce a set of findings and engages with relevant literature; I suggest a more detailed form of discourse analysis, such as critical discourse analysis, would be a more suitable method for the study given the stated interest in the wider context;

- while the sampling method is justified, a purposeful sample may have yielded a more nuanced analysis of constructions of the 'new Irish'

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Elaine Moriarty is a post doctoral researcher on the Migrant Careers and Aspirations project. She also teaches research methodology and social policy on the MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies in the Department of Sociology, TCD. Her teaching and research interests include migration, citizenship, labour markets, qualitative research methods, race and ethnicity and cultural studies. Publications include:

- Wickham, J., Moriarty, E., Bobek, A. & Salamonska, J. (2009) Working in the gold rush: Polish migrants' careers and the Irish hospitality sector in M. Holohan & S. Bolton (eds), *Work Matters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Work*, London, Palgrave, pp81 - 96
- Moriarty, E. (2006). Routinised practices and technologies of the state: Dialectical constitution of Irishness and Otherness inA. Lentin & R. Lentin (eds). *Race and State*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Moriarty, E.(2006) Dialectical interrelations of knowledge, power and subjectivity in the representational struggle for Irishness and Otherness, *Foilsiu, an interdisciplinary journal of Irish studies, NYU*, Vol. 5, (No. 1), p13 – 35
- Moriarty, E. (2005) Telling Identity Stories: The Routinisation of Racialisation of Irishness, *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 10, (No. 3)
- Moriarty, E. & Ugba, A. (2003) *New Connections, Old Exclusions: Ethnic Minorities in Ireland's new Information Society*, www.emtelconference.org, European Media, Technology and Everyday Life Network

Report from Dr. John McCarthy
john.mccarthy@ucc.ie

Comments on Trudy Meehan's thesis

As agreed I have read Chapter 5, the Methodology chapter, in detail, and sampled the two chapters that follow in which the analysis is developed, discussed, and contextualised. I have also sampled chapters 1-4. My aim has been to get a sense of the candidate's understanding of Discourse Analysis (DA) and her application of DA in attempting to answer her research questions about the social construction by Irish newspaper of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to Irish people and the state. Broadly speaking I am satisfied that the thesis demonstrates a very good understanding and sound application of DA. I will make a couple of tentative suggestions later (they are italicised) that you might consider as minor work that would be likely to demonstrate the quality of the analysis more clearly.

Chapter 5 and the discussion in earlier chapters of discursive aspects of racism demonstrate a broad and deep understanding of Discourse Analysis (DA), in its various guises, as discussed in the social sciences generally and more particularly as appropriated and developed in Psychology by the likes of Potter, Wetherell, Parker, and Willig. Many of the key theoretical and methodological issues are rehearsed and a commitment made to a combination of Harre's positioning theory and Parker's critical and political DA. The

breadth of reading is particularly impressive as many PhD's using DA would concentrate on one approach to the neglect of others, giving the impression that there is one way to do DA or one particular emphasis in doing DA, the unproblematic analysis of the constitutive work of discourse in an area such as racial identity. This thesis demonstrates convincingly the variety of approaches and the importance of the research question and epistemological stand in deciding which approach to use, and makes explicit the particular interests of the author. Such reflexive researcher positioning is important in DA.

With respect to more practical aspects of the research, the sampling of newspaper archives is appropriate, thoughtfully made, and informed by previous research. The selection of start and end-points was equally thoughtfully done, taking account of patterns of migration and the need not to be over-influenced by one-off events such as the citizenship referendum. A point for discussion at some stage, not a point of criticism of the thesis - whereas I can see the author's reasoning on choice of broadsheets over tabloids, I did wonder whether local newspapers, given their community-oriented position in Ireland, might have yielded something different.

In section 5.3.3 we come to the heart of the matter of the quality of process and product of qualitative research such as that reported here. A variety of approaches to and positions on validity and reliability issues have been taken by qualitative researchers. They include:

- Approaches that try to ensure validity and reliability in qualitative research through systematic, reproducible, replicable processes and methods where generalization is a goal of the research.
- Approaches that seek alternatives to validity and reliability that may work with the flexible research designs that often accompany qualitative research. Several types of triangulation (methodology, data, settings, researchers, etc.) have been used to do this job.
- Approaches that move away from validity and reliability as we generally understand them and instead try to establish confidence in the analysis and interpretations by broadly intersubjective means involving participation (participatory research, member checks) and/or extended dialogue (peer checks/review) or by means of making the warrant for conclusions explicit in audit trails and reflective journals.

Trudy has employed a form of researcher triangulation. It involved an independent researcher reading the analysis to examine the analysis for quality and findings for dependability. This involved reading the full articles, the data analysis summaries, and process notes. I may have missed it but I didn't see whether this process confirmed Trudy's analysis in all respects or resulted in any of the analysis changing. In saying this I am cognisant of the distinction made in the thesis between inter-rater reliability and triangulation. Following a brief discussion of both Trudy writes:

> "Triangulation then seeks not to confirm that the interpretation of the data can be repeated but rather that it can be followed and can be said to be grounded in the data and achieved by following a robust method of analysis and that my biases have been acknowledged and paid attention to" (p.78).

The use of the word triangulation and the process it implies has been questioned in a number of publications (e.g. Bogdan and Biklen, 1998; Willis, 2007). It has become a fashionable word in qualitative research to add some weight and confidence to the analysis. At least two meanings are in play in many of these publications. One, the original meaning of triangulation in the social sciences, conveys the idea that to establish a fact more than one source of information is necessary. Given the quote above, this is clearly not what the word is intended to convey in this thesis. Another meaning that triangulation has picked up is that many sources of data/information are better than one because they are likely to lead to a fuller understanding of the phenomenon. Because I can't see the

influence of the second researcher on the analysis, I don't think this is the intended meaning. Because of the lack of clarity about the meaning it is intended to convey in qualitative research, I am against the use of the term except in its original sense as an extension of validity as used in other areas of psychological research. I am also against its use in this thesis because the 'researcher triangulation' employed is a weak form of 'researcher triangulation' when read against a background of triangulation practices used in other papers. In some other papers, for example, I have seen 'researcher triangulation' deployed as a full check on all steps of the process of analysis e.g. either two researchers splitting the sample between them, working independently, and comparing results or both coding and analysing the full data set. I appreciate this is not the kind of checking that was intended here – in fact it is closer to the inter-rater reliability that Trudy argues against. But if it exemplifies some 'researcher triangulation' then it is at least arguable that what was done in this thesis is not strong 'researcher triangulation'. Why invite that argument especially when triangulation suggests an approach to data and interpretation that is not in keeping with the social constructionist approach adopted in this thesis?

I think a better name for the kind of checking that was done in this thesis is 'peer-review'. This is a documented (in papers and texts), perfectly acceptable check that to my mind is more appropriate to the constructivist, dialogical origins of this and most discourse analysis. [See for example Henwood and Pidgeon (1992) on sensitivity to negotiated reality and Elliott et al (1999) on providing credibility checks by referring to others such as members or colleagues. See also Willig (2008) on the radical constructivist epistemological grounding for an approach to checking quality of DA by reference to the quality of the account itself or in relationships between account and the institutional contexts that generate them.] However there are implications of dialogical give and take – negotiation if you like - in 'peer review' that should be expressed in some way in the thesis. *Some sense of the other person's reading of the data and interpretations should be conveyed if only as occasional asides during the analysis.*

In Chapter 7, section 7.3, it is argued that:

> Whilst discursive analytic research is not generalisable or valid in traditional positivist sense, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest three validity criteria of relevance to this research: coherence, new problems and fruitfulness. ... Further analysis could increase the coherence by focusing on the exceptions to the analytic scheme identified in the research. (p.173)

I have no doubt that these are more appropriate criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research, especially DA with its strong social constructionist epistemology, than anything triangulation might offer. **I am convinced that these criteria are broadly satisfied but I am also convinced that *another page or two here demonstrating how they have been met would be helpful.***

In this passage the issue of exception and variation is raised, an issue that I see as central to the credibility of DA. My view is that the variations and exceptions are the strongest warrant for the analysis being developed. In DA, we present extract after extract to show both the process of our analysis including important analytic decisions and the outcomes of the analysis including important variations and exceptions. A good historian does something similar by showing and weighing the evidence for their claims. In general I would be sceptical if all of the evidence went in one direction. On these grounds, loath though I am to do it given how extensive the analysis is already, **I would suggest that a small number of exceptions and variations be included in the analysis to show readers that selection of extracts has not been made simply to support one line of argument.**

The above suggestions for very minor changes notwithstanding, I want to emphasise again that I am satisfied that the thesis presents a very solid discourse analysis that goes a distance toward answering the research questions posed in the thesis.

I hope you find these comments helpful and I would be very happy to discuss them further if that would be helpful.

John McCarthy
13 July 2009

Dr. John McCarthy works as a lecturer in the Department of Applied Psychology in University College Cork. His teaching interests and specialist areas include discourse analysis, experiences with/of technology, identity and agency, psychology of art and design, cultural, systemic or dialogical theorising in psychology
Publications include:
McCarthy, J. & Wright, P. (2004). *Technology as experience.* The MIT Press.
McCarthy, J & Wright, P. (2005). *Technology in place: Dialogics of technology, place and self. Lecture notes on computer science.* Springer Berlin: Heidleberg.
Sullivan, P. & McCarthy, J. (2005). A dialogical approach to experienced based inquiry. *Theory and Psychology, 15 (5)*, 621-638
Sullivan, P. & McCarthy, J. (2004). Toward a dialogical perspective on agency. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 34 (3)*, 291-309

How theses reports will influence the thesis:

Variation and exceptions (the problem of a one dimensional analysis) – Both John and Elaine feel that the analysis would benefit from inclusion of more depth and variation, particularly inclusions of exceptions to my points. This is in keeping with the findings of the examiners and as such it constitutes a major part of the review of the thesis. The analysis will be further developed to show extensively the variation, exceptions and differences evident in media representations of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants

Selection of extracts – John stated that he found the selection of extracts very appropriate and Erica did not note any problems with the selections of extracts, yet Elaine had some concerns. To address this issue I will review the way I have explained the selection of extracts to make the process more transparent and easier to follow.

Critical Discourse Analysis – Elaine suggested that critical discourse analysis might be a better approach to use. With respect to her suggestion I will engage more extensively with this methodology and explain my reasons for not using it for the current analysis (p.78 in thesis).

Reflexivity and dependability – John commented on the use of triangulation noting that he feels it is better described as "peer review". In an attempt to follow his suggestions and those of my examiners, I will extensively engage with my triangulator and reengage with the comments we noted from our initial triangulation. I will aim to demonstrate this process in the "peer review" format as suggested by John. In addition as suggested by John and the examiners I will develop and make more explicit the section on reflexivity and dependability of findings. I intend to use the publications by John and Erica to help with this process.

Appendix D
Reflexive engagement with journalists

- ***Email sent to journalists asking for engagement***

Dear ...,

I recently completed a PhD thesis in psychology (at Trinity College Dublin) looking at Irish newspaper writing about refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants between 2001-2005 (focusing on the Irish Times and the Irish Independent). My external examiner felt that my analysis was very biased and that I did not show adequate reflection on my biases, or try to find alternative readings of the newspaper extracts I analysed.

To address this problem, **it was suggested that I consult with journalists, and ask them to read brief extracts from my analysis (some of the most contentious) and to comment on them. The aim is to bring more balance by providing an alternative reading and comment on my analysis from a journalist's perspective.**

Is there any chance you might consider making a comment yourself? It would involve looking over the attached sections from my analysis and give some of your thoughts, comments or criticisms? Criticisms are particularly welcome, the stronger the better!

I have attached a 9 page document with the relevant extracts from the thesis. The sections that summarise the findings best are underlined. I am not expecting that you will examine all of the extracts in that document, so you could perhaps just select pieces that might have some interest for you, and make some comments. If you would like more of a context regarding the aims, results and conclusions of my thesis, of course I am happy to send those onto you. I realise that this is probably an unusual request but it would make a big contribution to ensuring my thesis is more balanced and informed.

Kind regards,

Trudy Meehan

- ***Extracts from the analysis that were sent to journalists***

Protectionist Approach to Irish Culture and Identity – the Threat of Dilution
Extract 10 below offers a description of immigrants as a threat to Irish identity through a dilution of the culture. Identity is essentialised in these extracts, constructed as something fixed and linked to specific groups. By fixing identity and giving it ownership to a native group, it becomes easy to position the other as a threat to this identity.

> **Extract 10**
> Anti-immigration group to field two candidates in poll
> The anti-immigration group, Immigration Control Platform (ICP), has announced it is to field two candidates in the general election. Founder member Ms Áine Ní Chonaill is to leave her Clonakility, Co Cork base to run in the Dublin South Central constituency, while a Cork city native, Mr Ted Neville, will stand in Cork South Central. Both are running as single-issue candidates, campaigning entirely on the immigration question.
>
> They are calling for Ireland's withdrawal from the Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees, the revocation of citizenship rights to children born here to foreign nationals and a speeding up of deportations of asylum-seekers whose applications have been refused...Ms Ní Chonaill told a campaign launch yesterday she had selected Dublin South Central because it was in a state of flux

with one sitting TD retiring and the constituency increasing in size from a four-seater to a five-seater.

"It can afford to elect one candidate from those five to be a voice on this issue in Dáil Éireann," she said. Both Ms Ní Chonaill and Mr Neville said they believed they represented the silent majority of Irish people who, they contend, are opposed to immigration.

Mr Neville said it was costing the taxpayer too much to support asylum seekers who "dilute" Irish culture which was essential to attract tourists. Ms Ní Chonaill said she was not opposed to programme refugees such as the groups of Bosnians and Kosovars who had come by arrangement with the United Nations, but said she had the right to defend her homeland from uninvited immigrants just as she had the right to prevent an uninvited guest "barging" into her house. She claimed Ireland was being turned into the "maternity ward for West Africa". *(The Irish Times, February 23 2002)*

The above extract uses various rhetorical features to place immigrants in a position of threat to Irish identity. Firstly, it allows an "anti-immigration group" to argue that the "majority" of Irish people are "opposed to immigration". In doing this it legitimises anti-immigration as a position and gives this position credibility by suggesting that it is the majority position. The article not only has 'us versus them' (Tajfel, 1970; 1982) rhetoric but goes further in constructing an 'us OR them' argument in the text. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as too many and unwelcome/uninvited. An extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986), suggesting that they are turning Ireland "into the 'maternity ward for West Africa'", functions to construct them as too many and as overwhelming Ireland. Extreme case formulations exaggerate or emphasise the point being made by using extreme examples making the argument rhetorically powerful. Additionally, they are constructed as uninvited and compared to "an uninvited guest 'barging'" into one's house. In this way, Ireland is constructed as homogenous and as the powerless victim of too many incoming, uninvited, different others; as unable to cope with this influx; a victim of a threatening other.

It is argued that Irish culture will be diluted as more asylum seekers are admitted. The argument is that if "we" allow too many of them, "we" will be so diluted as to lose Irish culture altogether. Refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers are positioned as people who inevitability "'dilute' Irish culture". Culture is subtly aligned with race, only Irish people with Irish biological ancestry can be carriers and protectors of Irish culture. Irish identity or culture is constructed as belonging to Irish people as a commodity as well as ethnic heritage. The article explains that "we" (Irish people) need to protect "our" commodity and keep it pure because it is "essential to attract tourists" – "Mr Neville said it was costing the taxpayer too much to support asylum seekers who 'dilute' Irish culture which was essential to attract tourists". That is, pure Irish identity is essential, if Irish people are to be able to use it to derive an income from.

Identity is constructed as something that is vulnerable and needs protection. This kind of story sets up particular subject positions for Irish people and refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to each other. Irish people are given the right to feel negatively towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants because they are positioned as a threat to Irish identity. From these positions it becomes possible to introduce state intervention as a justified action in the protection of Irishness. For example, it is implied in the above extract that the best way to protect Irish identity is from a position in government. The fact that the Immigration Control Platform feels the need to run candidates in the general election suggests that they believe that protection of Irish culture is an issue for the state, and that the government should intervene. Likewise, in the extracts below, control of the amount of difference that is allowed into the state is constructed as the responsibility of government, arguing that the government needs to control the immigration in order to protect national identity.

Extract 11

Up to now, the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here...However, the number of asylum-seekers applying to remain here on this parentage rule has *soared* in the past year. By the end of October, 4,500 such applications had been lodged this year, representing one-third of all asylum claims. With Ireland being the only EU member to grant citizenship automatically to children born in the State, the Department believes many failed asylum-seekers are using this loophole to stay in the country. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added)

Extract 12

Surge in births leads to Department move. – Headline

Faced with a *surge* in births to asylum-seekers running at about 3,000 a year – the Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that up to now has given residency to the parents of an Irish-born child, no matter where they came from...So the authorities are looking to other ways to reduce Ireland's attraction for asylum-seekers. *(The Irish Times, December 1 2001)* (Italics added)

Extracts 11 and 12 above set up a context in which Ireland is a fair and generous country, ("up to now the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here" Extract 11) that has been taken advantage of and overwhelmed by rising numbers of asylum seekers ("However, the number of asylum-seekers applying to remain here on this parentage rule has soared in the past year" Extract 11). This positioning allows for a change in citizenship and residency procedures to be justifiably proposed. The state is positioned as having to make changes in the face of attack/invasion from asylum seekers. The state is given both the power and the responsibility to respond to this attack.

Positioning the other as a threatening outsider functions to support a protectionist approach to Irish identity. In addition it is also a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middelton & Radley, 1988; Kleiner, 1998; Petttigrew & Meertens, 1995; van Dijk, 1992) Irish people (self) are presented as fair minded people who have tried to help asylum seekers by giving residency to non-nationals who have children born in Ireland – "Up to now, the authorities have given residency to non-nationals who have children born here" (Extract 11). Asylum seekers and refugees (other) are presented as taking advantage of Irish kindness by having too large a number of members of their group applying for residency – "Faced with a *surge* in births to asylum-seekers running at about 3,000 a year – the Department of Justice is seeking to break the link that up to now has given residency to the parents of an Irish-born child". This is similar to the strategy of victim blaming (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley, 1999; Van Dijk, 1992; Verkuyten, 1997) where the asylum seekers and refugees are blamed for the proposed changes in rights to residency because their numbers are too big. This avoids blame being attributed to Irish people and avoids accusations of racism and prejudice. It also positions Irish people in a morally superior position as fair, in contrast to refugees and asylum seekers, the threatening outsiders, who appear to be taking advantage of this fairness. The issue of limiting immigration and asylum numbers is "moved out of the realm of the strategic and 'selfishly national' and re-located within the 'higher grounds' of the morally good." (Hansen, 2006, p. 50). Thus, exclusion of the other is justified by appealing to a higher good, the maintenance of Irish values of fairness. We must keep them out because they are flouting our laws and our generosity. Such a construction functions to reproduce Irish identity and norms as lawful, fair and generous, while simultaneously justifying discrimination. This is an example of what we might call value-practice management – where the practice of discrimination is justified and made possible by appealing to shared values of the dominant cultural group (the Irish) such as fairness and lawfulness.

In extract 11 it is put forward that the number of asylum seekers applying to remain in Ireland is too high and therefore the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform is warranted in its decision to change its treatment of asylum seekers with Irish

children. Subtle rhetorical moves further reinforce this warranting. The too high numbers of asylum seekers are discursively constructed. We are told that the numbers of asylum seekers applying to stay in Ireland "has soared in the past year". This phrase functions to construct the numbers as rising rapidly in a short space of time – the past "year". We are then told that "4,500" applications were made "by the end of October" this again suggests a big number in a small time frame. This is an example of an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986). The coupling of a big number with a small time frame is rhetorically effective as it emphasises or exaggerates the bigness of the number by contrasting it with the smallness of the time in which it has grown. The use of opposites is an effective way to construct strong images. Numbers are important rhetorically because the threatening outsider position sets up a story in which difference of the other is the threat, therefore the more others there are the larger and more relevant the threat.

In extract 12 also, The Department's change in policy is constructed as motivated by need to respond to the pressure coming from too many asylum seekers applying for asylum in Ireland under the parentage rule. The headline is the most read part of the article (Teo, 2000) and as such represents a key point in analysis of discourse. This headline constructs the Department's actions as prompted by the numbers of applications to remain as parents of an Irish child - "Surge in births leads to Department move". Thus, the increase in numbers is constructed as the cause for the Departments discriminatory actions. In extract 13 below, the number of asylum seekers is also discursively constructed.

Extract 13

> Fianna Fail Senator Paschal Mooney told the Seanad yesterday that he did not want to see Irish nationality devalued. Referring to the *large numbers* of foreigners obtaining asylum here as a result of giving birth, Mr Mooney said that 2,300 of the 2,700-plus asylum seekers who had gained asylum here in the last 12 months had done so as a result of having babies born here. *(The Irish Independent, December 19 2001)* (Italics added by author)

Asylum seekers are constructed as a large number in extract 13 above - "Referring to the large numbers of foreigners obtaining asylum here as a result of giving birth, Mr Mooney said that 2,300 of the 2,700-plus asylum seekers who had gained asylum here in the last 12 months had done so as a result of having babies born here." The volume of the asylum seekers is being constructed and used to justify punitive practices towards them and their children.

Importantly, in the above extracts we see the introduction of state intervention in the control of citizenship and the make up of the population; the state is positioned as having the power and responsibility for the protection of the native population from outside invaders who threaten to overwhelm the national body with their numbers. In extract 12 "the Department of Justice" is attempting to reduce the availability of "residency to the parents of an Irish-born child". In extract 11, "the authorities" are positioned as responsible for the "many failed asylum-seekers" who "remain here on this parentage rule". In extract 10, the ordinary citizen positioned as voiceless and powerless – "the silent majority" are constructed as needing government intervention to protect them from "uninvited immigrants". In these extracts, the state is positioned as justified in excluding the other to protect the cultural and national norms and values. In excluding the other, the government acts to reaffirm and consolidate Irish values and norms. In constructing the other as deserving exclusion, the newspaper articles are at the same time constructing the Irish as fair, egalitarian, and just. Above in extract 13 we see a Senator argue that Irish nationality can be "devalued" by the arrival of too many asylum seekers with the assumption that the state must intervene in the protection of Irish nationality.

In extract 13, the reader is told that the numbers are "large" and then to back up this assertion factual evidence in the form of numbers is put forward, "2,300 of the 2,700". Interestingly the "Fianna Fail Senator Paschal Mooney" gives us these facts not just anybody and not the writer either. This lends a sense of authority and credibility to the

figures and hence the construction of asylum seekers as numerous or too many, functioning as a category entitlement (Sacks, 1972; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter 1996). The statement of Paschal Mooney is given category entitlement and hence status by virtue of his position as "Fianna Fail Senator". Thus, politicians, lawyers, community and church leaders are constructed as having more legitimacy and veracity to their talk due to their social position. Rhetorically this means that utterances attributed to such speakers carry more argumentative weight that utterances attributed to minority speakers or indeed ordinary citizens. Culturally, those who are given voice and authority are often attributed with more moral weight and authority also. Thus their voices not only carry more power but function to morally legitimise negative emotional attitudes towards asylum seekers.

In the extracts 10 to 13 analysed above refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as a threat to Irish culture and identity through dilution. Their difference is constructed as something that will disrupt the purity of Irish identity and that cannot be accommodated without threatening to dilute and ultimately destroy Irish culture. The extracts suggest two incompatible cultures coming together in conflict with only one possible winner. The other is positioned as threatening. This is a functional construction in that it serves the purpose of constructing Irish culture as in danger of annihilation. Such constructions argue that Irish ways of life are being gradually diluted by "foreign" cultures. The argument takes an essentialist view of culture and identity, an idea of only one pure way to be Irish. This fixed view of Irishness assumes an Irish way of life that by definition cannot survive the diversity and difference that will inevitably come with the arrival of people from other countries. Absorption and dilution are used as metaphors for cultural change; there is an assumption that there is one homogenous Irish culture/society that is now being overwhelmed by an influx of immigrants. The absorption metaphor assumes that there are a set number of immigrants and asylum seekers that Ireland can take before Irish culture becomes saturated and dies. This depiction of Irish culture betrays the reality of an ever changing and flexible culture that is multifarious and complex (Adams and Markus, 2001; Avruch 2001; Roosens, 1995). Instead it suggests an Irish identity or culture that is fixed. Thus the idea of the threatening other is grounded on the idea of an Irish identity that is inflexible and brittle, a self that cannot sustain itself in the presence of a threatening and incompatible other. Difference itself becomes dangerous in such a construction. In this way, the presence of difference constitutes a huge risk to the indigenous and homogenous (constructed as such) population. Following this, as the number of non-Irish people increases, so too does the threat.

In the above articles constructing refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as threatening outsiders has implications for how the Irish state is expected to react to this threat. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are constructed as threatening outsiders. Their difference is threatening and their numbers compound this threat. Their constructed large numbers positions them as a direct and prominent threat to this delicate Irish identity.

The state is introduced as the solution to this imminent attack from dangerous outsiders. The state is positioned as guardian of Irishness and protector of the purity of the national body. In this way it is justified in its desire to keep others out by the already established argument that the national culture is in grave danger by in entry of too many different others. State intervention into immigration control for the protection of the culture and national identity is regularly appealed to in the newspaper articles analysed and will be discussed further in the extracts to follow. Importantly here we see value practice management in the positioning of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in relation to Irish people. The practice of exclusion is warranted by its function of protection of Irish culture (values and norms). Secondly, the practice of defining refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants as different and in need of exclusion, functions to simultaneously define Irishness in opposition to the outsider. The definition of Irishness that is produced reaffirms Ireland's shared cultural norms and values.

Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants as a Terrorist Threat

Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are often linked to terrorism in the newspapers articles analysed. If not explicitly described as terrorists, there is an implicit link made between being a foreign national and being a terrorist.

> **Extract 14**
> **Islamic terrorist sought asylum here - headline**
> A LIBYAN asylum-seeker associated with a radical Islamic group in south Dublin is believed to have been killed in the Iraqi city of Fallujah in May this year after volunteering to join the terror group led by Abu Mus'ab Al-Zarqawi, which was responsible for murdering Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan... Little is known about al-Libi other than he was an asylum-seeker here and did come to the attention of both Garda and Army intelligence services because of his connections with a number of suspected Islamic terrorist supporters here. *(The Irish Independent, November 28 2004)*

Extract 14 tells the reader about an "asylum seeker" who volunteered "to join a terror group". The label asylum seeker and terrorist become rhetorically and conceptually linked by this pairing. It goes on to say that the group he joined "was responsible for murdering Irish-born aid worker, Margaret Hassan". This link between terrorism and the death of an Irish, albeit "Irish-born", person functions rhetorically to connect more strongly with the Irish reader and reinforce the fear that terrorism is a threat to Irish people. The death of Margaret Hassan proves that the Irish are not immune to the threat of terrorism and therefore need to be vigilant. Extract 15 below describes Britain as a country also concerned with the link between terrorism and asylum. Having stories about the British and their concerns about asylum seeking and terrorism functions to strengthen the argument. Readers are told that other countries are worried too, therefore putting greater onus on Irish people not to ignore or underestimate the problem.

> **Extract 15**
> Britain: The British Conservative leader, Mr Michael Howard, has insisted his proposals to cut immigration are not racist and would result in more "genuine refugees" being settled in the United Kingdom. However, he declared Britain was at "a turning point" yesterday when he unveiled a package of measures designed to dramatically reduce the number of people – currently running at an average of 153,000 – settling in Britain each year. The Tory leader invoked the terrorist threat in a world changed by the September 11th attacks in the US as he claimed Conservative plans to "break the link" between people arriving in Britain and claiming asylum would also help smash the criminal gangs engaged in people smuggling. *(The Irish Times, 25 January 2005)*

In the above extract the issue of terrorism is thrown in without any explanation as to why it is relevant. Readers are told that because of terrorism we must "help smash the criminal gangs engaged in people smuggling". The implication is that the people being smuggled into the country are terrorists. One of the possible impacts of stories such as these is to encourage Irish people to want to exclude non-Western people from Ireland and feel morally justified in doing so. Such constructions and positioning mean that morally, it becomes imperative that Irish people, like the British, try to protect their country. It therefore becomes acceptable and justifiable to have dislike, fear, mistrust or hatred towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Further it is implied that the correct action is to exclude or deport these people who are constructed as a terrorist threat. By positioning immigrants as a potential terrorist threat, the extracts in turn position Irish people or in extract 15 British people as potential victims. The victim position in only implied and not stated explicitly, it exists alongside the construction of the other as threat. This position allows for societies interested in fairness and care for the needy to exercise exclusion towards immigrants based on the potential threat posed. This enables a democratic state to behave undemocratically without being seen to act against its own

norms, values and democratic principles. This is value practice management in action. Exclusion can happen from within an inclusionary principle if the issue of threat is argued for. The element of threat allows egalitarian principles to be breached, paradoxically, in the name of protecting them. Thus the practice of exclusion can be managed in a way that allows the practice to appear congruent with the prevailing values of the society.

The argument tends to follow that the more foreign nationals Irish people allow in the more likely it is that one of them will be involved in terrorism, therefore to stop terrorism the Irish should stop all immigration of people from countries linked to terrorism, the majority of which are non-Western counties. It becomes a moral imperative to stop immigration of non-Westerners in order to protect Ireland. So in excluding one group (non-Western immigrants), the Irish are saving another group (themselves). This is simultaneously an act that is unfair by trying to exclude those in great need, and just, by protecting the right to live in a free and democratic state of the Irish people.

By positioning the other as a terrorist threat, the Irish government are positioned as having a responsibility for national security, and therefore, allowed to exclude the other. Irish people become positioned as the ones in need of care. Through the construction of the other as a terrorist, the self as different is by implication not a terrorist. The non-terrorist construction of Irish people in relation to the terrorist construction of the other, functions to reinforce values of non-terrorism that exist in Irish society. Such values are unsaid and not made explicit but might include freedom, peace, democracy, diplomacy, care for others, and so on. So in constructing the other as terrorist, there is a very subtle implication about the values of the non-terrorist Irish people. How can these values exist together with a practice of exclusion of the vulnerable other, the asylum seeker? If the context or discursive field is one in which the asylum seeker is not a vulnerable other but instead a terrorist threat, then these values and practices can exist congruently.

Disease - Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants as a Threat to the Health of the Citizenry

In the extracts below, the state is again constructed as responsible for the welfare of the citizenry, responsible for them living well, being healthy and free from disease. Refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are positioned as a threat to this and as such it is considered reasonable that they be "let die", as Foucault might have said, or refused entry if they are diseased.

In the newspaper articles analysed, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are sometimes positioned as threatening through being constructed as diseased or potential carriers of infectious diseases like HIV, hepatitis and tuberculosis (TB). The fact of their potential infection justifies the desire to keep them out of Ireland or to at least screen them so that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants with transmissible diseases will not be allowed in (i.e., "let die").

Extract 25

IF OFFICIALS at the Department of Justice get their way, Ireland's asylum-seekers could soon be facing compulsory health screening for various diseases. The issue has been the source of ongoing tension between the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and has the potential to split the public and the medical profession...The screening would be aimed at identifying cases of HIV, hepatitis and other transmissible diseases. Implicit in such screening is the suggestion that refugees are a threat to public health and may bring to Ireland an increased incidence of less common diseases.

Certainly refugees may have very specific medical problems, less common than those usually found here. A study at the National Maternity Hospital covering 1999-2000 examined 271 refugees who were pregnant. It found that 36 had specific illnesses: 17 cases of hepatitis B and C, 10 cases of sickle cell

disease, seven cases of HIV and two cases of TB. It showed that this group had a high level of HIV and hepatitis. *(The Irish Independent, November 17 2002)*

Extract 25 above emphasises the controversial nature of compulsory health screening and the possibility of it leading to assumptions about the health of asylum seekers. It is considered controversial because, "(t)he issue has been the source of ongoing tension between the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and has the potential to split the public and the medical profession". Whilst acknowledging that it is controversial the article tends to add to the controversy by reproducing the problematic stereotypes that compulsory health screening evokes. In this case, the stereotype is of asylum seekers as a potential "threat to public health" through their ability to carry "transmissible diseases" and the likelihood of their bringing "an increased incidence of less common diseases" to Ireland. The extract backs up this implied threat by providing numbers as facts to construct an argument about the high level of disease in this group: "A study at the National Maternity Hospital covering 1999-2000 examined 271 refugees who were pregnant. It found that 36 had specific illnesses: 17 cases of hepatitis B and C, 10 cases of sickle cell disease, seven cases of HIV and two cases of TB". The article concludes that one study showed that pregnant refugees in the study had "a high level of HIV and hepatitis".

There is a strong positioning of the state as guardians of national health and security, giving it rights to exclude groups of people who present a threat to the native population through disease. This positioning is evident in the description of a split between "the Department of Health" and "the Department of Justice" on how to manage security and health issues. They are positioned as primarily responsible for this issue. This is a good example of both sides of biopower, the power to "make live and let die". In "making live" the state aims to control how the members of the population live, they should live well and be normalised. Compulsory health screening is an example of the state's power to "make live": to test for health and ensure health through treatment. Fairchild (2003) argues that health screening is an attempt to include rather than exclude the other, by disciplining the other into becoming a healthy worker. By ensuring health, the government ensures a productive member of the workforce and absorbs the immigrant into the working population. Likewise, it is an example of the state's power to exclude or "let die". Those who are deemed unacceptable or a threat to the well being of the population must be screened and then treated (made live) or excluded (let die). We can see in the biopolitical example how disease becomes politicized. Similarly, Wen-Yu and Ren-Fenq (2007) demonstrated how talk about SARS was taken out of the realm of the purely medical and politicised in newspaper media.

Conclusion Section

In sum, much of the work done in the newspaper articles analysed was about achieving Irish identity consistency through discursive construction and positioning of the self and the other. The act of identity construction and positioning is a discursive achievement that functions to manage the discrepancy between stated values and actual practice and elements of identity that are often incongruent. The role of power in identity construction and subject positioning is evident in the pull to the norm. In constructing the other, we are always constructing the self and we do this through a power strategy that seeks to mould the self identity as closely as possible to the societal norm. In Ireland's case there is a pull between the Western norm of liberal democracy, as evidenced in the analysis above and the historical pull towards a nationalist-populist movement (Garner,2007). There is a norm of racialisation within the nationalist movement which is "marinated in a backs-to-the-wall, blood-and-soil narrative in which invaders are repeatedly repelled" (Garner, 2007, p. 129). So the biopolitical sphere in Ireland is one where the other is constantly racialised and repelled but also where the self is constantly trying to escape its' history as a hyper-nationalist-catholic state (Garner, 2007, p. 128) and move towards the norm of an open

economy with free labour movements and a liberal democratic value base.

- **Email responses from Journalists**

Carol Coulter (The Irish Times) - Response

Dear Trudy,

Thank you for your email.

I have had a quick look at the extracts you sent. That cursory glance certainly seems to indicate a fundamental misunderstanding of journalism. Repeatedly you conflate the statements of individuals or organisations with that of the journalist or media. If you look at the totality of the coverage of the issues of refugees and immigration in The Irish Times, for example, over the period you cover you will see a distinction between reportage of facts, that is, statements made by various parties and institutions, and comment, made by journalists, columnists or outside commentators. In these extracts you confuse reporting with comment.

I don't know if I will have time to deconstruct line-by-line the extracts you sent me, but I will try to find the time to read them more carefully and send you a few comments of my own.

Best wishes,

Carol

Response

Dear Carol,

I've never been so happy to receive criticism. Thank you so much for getting back to me, I really appreciate it. I agree that I have conflated reporting with commenting - that's a very helpful distinction. I'm afraid I got my head stuck somewhere it shouldn't have been while writing my thesis, so it is really helpful to get your comments. Anything further you would like to add would be very much appreciated.

Would you be okay with me including your comments in my thesis (either confidentially or by name)? If not, I can summarise your comments and describe how my receiving input from journalists has influenced the thesis without being specific about what each journalist said.

Thanks again for your time, I realise it must be exasperating reading!

All the best,

Trudy

Response

Dear Trudy,

I have read the extracts and will send them back to you with annotations.

Obviously I have not read whole thesis, so I do not know what other extracts you have used in it. However, there were many, many articles in The Irish Times which contradict the views you put forward.

From the extracts I have read it appears to me that you approached this issue with a priori assumptions, and then sought extracts to prove your thesis. You did so on the basis of a fundamental misunderstanding of how the media in general, and in particular a newspaper like The Irish Times, actually work. The combination of the two, I fear, may undermine the validity of your thesis.

In serious newspapers there is a very clear distinction between the reporting of facts and comment, a distinction upheld by extensive media law. What a third party says (if quoted correctly) is a fact. An opinion about that statement is comment. The onus is on newspapers to quote accurately what others say and, in the case of The Irish Times, to quote as wide and representative a range of views as possible. It is not our function, indeed it is contrary to the Deeds of our Trust, to censor what people say, whether or not we like them. In editorials, opinion pieces (like the one I sent you) etc journalists or others may agree or disagree with the views expressed.

Throughout your comments on the extracts you quote you conflate the people quoted in what are news reports, that is factual reports, with the media themselves. The issues you have (and some of the conclusions your draw from what is stated are, in my view, tendentious, but that is another issue) are with those who express these opinions, not those who report them. You imply that the newspapers are "constructing" a view to justify certain policy decisions. You do not state this explicitly, but imply it through your use of syntax, particularly by your use of the passive mood - e.g "identity is essentialised". If anyone is "constructing" such a view – and that is in itself arguable – it is those who are expressing these opinions.

That's about all I have time for at the moment, but if you wanted to discuss this further I may be able to meet you.

Best wishes,

Carol Coulter

Response

Dear Carol,

Thank you for the article and your comments, they are really very helpful. My inability to clearly communicate what I have been trying to say has seriously compromised my thesis and your comments may help me make myself more clear and more balanced.

I chose newspapers to analyse because they represent a range of available ways of talking about migrants (e.g. accurately quoting others) and it was a way to sample the some of the ways of talking that are pubicly available and reflected but not created in newspaper reporting. My aim was not to attack or try to blame the journalist for constructing migrants in certain ways, unfortunately I seem to have messed this bit up with unclear and sloopy writing.

I started out being interested in what types of language are out there and understanding what ways of talking about migrants are available. My thought is that language/discourse is a publicly availabe thing that constructs reality rather than specific people being responsible for creating negative attitudes etc, so I did not mean to focus on specific

people as the culprit, rather to point out the language that exists and to suggest possible consequences of such language for how we think about and treat migrants. It seems in trying to avoid focusing on anyone, I have failed terribly to make myself understood and it reads like I am blaming the media/the journalist/the government.

In my initial analysis I looked at a good range of articles and had more variation included. However, when I went to write up the final draft, I simplified and tried to summarise the analysis and lost all the variation. I have included more variation from the original analysis examination and I will continue to do this. Your challenge about bias helps me stay on track with this and not to over simplify or summarise too much again. This is a very complex area and in my desire to have a nice neat argument, I left out much of the complexitity.

I know I have a lot of work to do to get the thesis right and I really appreciate you taking the time to give me your comments, you have been very generous. Your comments so far have given me a lot to work on and think about. I will do my best to ensure that I will honour your comments and incorporate them accurately into the thesis.

Thanks again,

All the best,

Trudy

Response

Dear Trudy,

Thank you for your explanation of what you were seeking to do.

By the way, who is your supervisor? I would have thought he/she should have been engaging in this discussion with you.

Unfortunately I'm afraid I do not agree with your fundamental premise that "types of language" "are out there", as "a publicly available thing that constructs reality", as if language exists independently of human agency.

This is typical of a kind of sociological discourse that presents feelings and attitudes as disembodied entities, and leads to a level of abstraction that is virtually incomprehensible on the one hand, and on the other to a focus on linguistic and/or ideological solutions to what are political and social problems. It is not changing language that will change how we treat migrants, it is actually changing how we treat them, which may ultimately be reflected in changes in language.

Racism is not an abstraction, it is a collection of ideas and attitudes held by identifiable individuals and groups with real consequences for other people. It is part of the social and political fabric of our society and, while it may have linguistic expression, this is a reflection of reality, not the reality itself. Specific individuals, groups and institutions can indeed be responsible for creating negative attitudes, and if and when they do so they must be named and challenged.

I have a real problem with a tendency in much academic discourse on these issues to hide behind abstractions, rather than confronting the inaccurate claims or negative policies being made or pursued by specific people and institutions. This type of discourse has its own linguistic characteristics, of which the most noticeable (apart from the jargon) is the reliance on the passive mood.

Can I suggest a grammatical exercise that might help clarify your thinking and writing on this? Go through your thesis and turn every passive sentence into an active one. Thus, for example, the passage, "culture is subtly aligned with race, only Irish people with Irish biological ancestry can be carriers and protectors of Irish culture. Irish identity or culture is constructed as belonging to Irish people as a commodity as well as ethnic heritage" would become "X subtly aligns culture with race ... X constructs Irish identity or culture as belonging to Irish people as a commodity ..." etc.

This would force you to think about who is using the language you are analysing, and to what end, and link it to specific aims and outcomes, examining its effectiveness in this regard.

In the case of the ICP, it was clearly not very effective, as they failed dismally to obtain any electoral support for their position, which rather casts doubt on the efficacy of the use of language to alter people's perceptions.

I hope this helps,

Carol

Ralph Riegel (The Irish Independent) - Response

Hi Trudy,

In response to your e-mail I have read extracts from your thesis and, having thought about it, would have the following responses. I have tried to deal with them in a chronological order.

In a broad sense my initial reaction is that you assign far too much planning and deliberation to the stories both in terms of their formulation and construction. Forgive me but to suggest, even in an unconscious way, that stories were deliberately written in a co-ordinated manner to portray or suggest that immigrants posed a threat to Irish society is so far removed from the reality of Irish journalism as I know that it is hard to lend credence to.

If anything, I think that broadsheet newspapers in Ireland have, if anything, got themselves tied in knots in their efforts to be fair and balanced in terms of their reporting of ethnic issues – with a few notable tabloid exceptions which I think we can ignore as not reflective of a serious Irish media agenda.

My concern is that newspapers are caught between trying to report fair and accurate facts - and the all-pervading fear of being branded 'racist' if they carry any story which offends a specific ethnic group despite the fact that it might be accurate or in the public interest. As a friend once told me, once the 'race' card is played, the argument is over and you've lost irrespective of the facts.

I would also point out that any suggestion of deliberation in the use of language, story preparation etc to deem immigrants to be 'a threat' to Irish society is very much undermined by the sheer pressures that Irish journalists are now under on a daily basis.

For instance, the majority of the reporters involved in the stories you quote – and I know most of them – are expected to produce anywhere between three and six stories a day. In my case, I work for The Evening Herald, The Irish Independent and The Sunday Independent – and my 'record' is filing 10 stories in one day. Obviously none were of Pulitzer standard – but it gives an idea of the pressure that regional/news reporters are often under in terms of production demands. Hence, just being

able to write and file stories is sometimes an achievement – most reporters simply do not have the time to sit and debate whether they are going to adopt a specific ideological position to an issue. Needless to say, the above position does not hold true for commentators/columnists/colour writers who do have the time and space to give considered positions.

While I take the point about 'rhetorical' stories, in most cases these are written as a direct follow-up to earlier stories. If you take the case you quoted about Aine Ni Chonaill and Ted Neville, there are two issues arising – are they not entitled to air views and democratic positions once they do not act as an incitement to hatred? And, secondly, their position was virtually dismantled by the same newspapers you quoted in later stories – in fact, if anyone in Ireland over recent years got a ferociously 'bad press' it was Aine Ni Chonaill – to the point where publicity about her, in my opinion, was overwhelmingly negative.

Similarly, I covered the arrival of Kosovan refugees and the first flights at Farranfore Airport in Kerry. The publicity was overwhelmingly positive/rhetorical in every single Irish newspaper in the days and weeks that followed. But does that mean it is biased in favour of immigration?

Another factor is the pressure on space within Irish newspapers. As I have said, I generally file on average between four and six stories a day. The Irish Independent is an unashamedly 'hard news' paper which always opts for the stories of greatest interest/import. In that case, a story has to be 'news' – it must have an edge to catch the eye.

This is not to say that it shouldn't be balanced, fair and, above all, accurate. Having just completed a thesis myself it is as far removed from academic writing as it is possible to get. So in 10 or 14 paragraphs it is often 'a miracle of the loaves and fishes' to write a story that will catch the eye of a news editor, contain the maximum of detail, give the history to a particular issue, an update on the position and all sides of the argument. And this does not allow for the fact that balanced or 'fair' articles then have to endure the tender mercies of a sub-editor who might have to slash a 14 paragraph story to fit a seven paragraph hole in a page.

Admittedly a significant weakness of the modern print media is its love affair with specific verbiage – for instance words like 'surge', 'slashed', 'axed', 'fired', 'lashed', 'blasted' etc etc. This, I suspect, has evolved for two reasons – stories that are 'punchy' tend to get used and every reporter wants every story that he/she writes to appear in the following days paper. Secondly, such phrases suit sub-editors in terms of lending themselves to headline writing – with, again, the obvious benefit that they are more likely to be used.

Hence, while I can understand your attribution of certain characteristics to the use and choice of language in some reports you have cited, the reality is that there are also other reasons for those words/phrases being used.

The remainder of the points you raise I think falls into the general Enoch Powell 'rivers of blood' scenario. Which again goes to the heart of the point – is someone allowed air views which are non-PC, which run against the grain of the wishes of the political establishment while still not breaching anti-hate legislation?

It is a very difficult question to answer in Ireland where, from my experience, people – particularly within the media – live in mortal dread of being accused of being racist or 'anti' a specific minority. Even raising specific issues of public concern about welfare fraud, checking overseas criminal records, health issues etc etc run the risk of such

accusations being levelled. As I have said, it is an argument that simply cannot be won once the 'r' card is thrown.

I attended a UCC debate on multi-cultural Ireland several years ago and was appalled when the debate effectively revolved around how 'biased' against immigration INM titles allegedly were. It later transpired that the researcher who was presented the facts had apparently focussed specifically on INM titles – and had not cross-examined the same stories in TCH, AN or IT titles. I was appalled at the same conference that no-one challenged the ludicrous campaign by Amnesty International to run full page adverts claiming that effectively all Irish people were racists. I edited AI's Irish newsletter in college and have been a lifelong supporter of their work. But this campaign struck me as off-the-wall. When I decided to try and follow up the specifics of what they were claiming, I was told the information was privileged and could not be revealed. So far as I could tell, no complaints were made to the Garda in relation to the specific issues mentioned. But they apparently warranted sufficient merit to support a national AI campaign labelling everyone as racist.

Recently, in the case of Powell's speech, the BCC marked the anniversary by pointing out in a documentary that while his incendiary main claim never came to fruition – 'streets of blood' – a lot of what Powell had warned about was not a million miles from reality. There was no public debate on mass immigration in the UK at the time – and Powell also warned of the dangers of ghettos being created for immigrants. Anyone who has walked through Manchester, Bradford, Oldham or parts of London will see how that has come to pass and how vulnerable Asian or Afro-Caribbean immigrants have become the 'Irish' of the 20th and 21st Centuries.

Another aside to this is whether, in certain specific instances, some of the issues ancillary to the immigration debate are worthy of public analysis – ranging from welfare costs to identity checks and from health concerns to integration issues etc. There is a cogent argument that immigration over the past decade has been one of the most dramatic events in modern Irish history – yet it has been so ignored and by-passed as to have never happened at all with the exception of a few documentaries, human interest pieces and Court cases.
Sadly, and I think this is the tragic reflection on Irish journalism, the reflective and analytical stories that should have examined immigration, its benefits, its dangers and its long-term impact on Irish society were never properly or consistently written.

The corollary is that such work is only undertaken when sometime awful happens – and even then it is reactionary in its purpose. And this is despite the fact immigration has impacted on virtually every level of Irish society both in terms of the positive and negative.

For instance, a large portion of my workload involves courts coverage. Ten years ago, I cannot recall ever seeing an interpreter in court except for Spanish/French fisheries prosecutions. Today , almost every District Court I go into has several interpreters to deal with the criminal and civil matters before the Court involving non-English speaking individuals. This is part and parcel of a multi-ethnic Western democracy – yet, in my opinion, has been effectively ignored within the Irish media.

I should point out that there are plenty of Irish people before the Courts – God knows there is a bumper crop of aspiring criminals out there. But the number of foreign nationals – of East European, African and Asia extraction – who are now coming before the Courts is a huge issue yet which is largely unreported except in specific, high-profile cases.

I suspect part of the reason it is not being covered more widely or in the analytical sense is

the fear of precisely what you have said in your thesis – the newspaper involved being accused of xenophobia. But I would argue that this is a major matter of public importance. Is it not in the public interest to highlight issues and ask why these things are happening – in this case the economic marginalisation of immigrants, abuse of foreign nationals by members of their own communities, the introduction of organised crime gangs from foreign countries via the victimisation of their own nationals here, the exploitation of female migrants for the purposes of sexual exploitation and the blatant abuse by some migrants of specific regulations to allow them to stay in Ireland?

I think, regrettably, we have again fallen into the self-censorship mode – similar to the manner in which suicide was never, ever reported at coroner's inquests up until a few years ago. Anyone reading newspapers would think that suicide never occurred in Ireland – when the tragic reality, as we all know now, is so very different.

This may strike you as remarkable but, from my own experience, it is far more likely for me to get a story published about a foreign national being subjected to a racist attack by Irish nationals than two Asian nationals being charged with running their own Immigrant stamp forging operation in Cork (Cork District Court last week – I wrote the story, it was never used!)

As regards identifying groups for specific purposes, I am in a quandary as to what journalists are supposed to do. In a normal court case, we give a person's full address including, in cases, their place of birth. Should immigrants be treated any differently? I have always approached stories from the factual/accuracy perspective. If something is true, if it is correct and if it is accurate, why shouldn't I write it?

The same applies true to the issue of disease which you highlighted. I personally wrote several stories on TB – including one high-profile case where a Polish migrant worker accidentally introduced TB to two Cork crèches. If hospitals, the HSE and health campaigners are worried about a link between a specific disease and migration, why shouldn't it be highlighted if it is of public interest? Which carries greater weight – the right of a society to inform itself of a potential public health issue or the risk of offending a person who happens to come from an area where there is a high specific disease rate? Is a reporter like myself who writes a story detailing how a migrant worker accidentally introduced a disease to their workplace biased because of the specific detail they included in a story about nationality?

Up until a few years back, the US insisted on X-ray for prospective migrants because of concerns about TB. To the best of my knowledge – and my mother emigrated to the US in the 1950s – the practice was never regarded as racist or biased but rather a practical response to a public health concern. In Hong Kong a few years back, police screened individuals on specific flights for SARS – I was one of them – and no-one said it was racist or biased.

I note your concluding remark below: " So the biopolitical sphere in Ireland is one where the other is constantly racialised and repelled but also where the self is constantly trying to escape its' history as a hyper-nationalist-catholic state (Garner, 2007, p. 128) and move towards the norm of an open economy with free labour movements and a liberal democratic value base".

I'm not quite sure what all that means but, all I can say from my experience, is that we've come a long way as a society in a very short time. My father was American and, in Cork in the 1970s, there wasn't even a traditional fast food restaurant let alone a multi-ethic society. In Fermoy, where I now live, a black man walking down the street in the 1970s would have brought the entire town to a standstill. Today , Fermoy has six Chinese

restaurants, one French, one Thai, one Turkish, one Italian and a Polish-Lithuanian grocery store. I'm a coach in Fermoy GAA club and, at one time, we had U-9s who were of Brazilian, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Turkish. Nigerian and Turkish extraction. In Carrigtwohill, five of the 15 members of their U-10 hurling side are Irish-Nigerian. Integration is happening in every Irish parish, village and town – the pity is that, most of the time, it doesn't get the headlines it deserves. I think this has more to do with the fact that good news stories don't tend to sell newspapers than any question of reporters or editors being biased towards a racially 'repelled' society.

Is Ireland "constantly racialsed" as you argue? Undoubtedly, there have been terrible examples of bigotry, ignorance and racial hatred. But there have been, I would argue, far more examples of kindness, understanding and integration as evidenced by the dozens of campaigns nationwide by ordinary Irish citizens for local migrants who did not adhere to asylum rules to be allowed stay within those communities.

Newspapers, I feel, have at times been to the forefront of highlighting examples of integration and cross-cultural co-operation though undoubtedly they could do an awful lot more. The examples are available from any newspaper archive.

Rgds – Ralph!