# 4. Interculturalism and multiculturalism in Ireland: textual strategies at work in the media landscape

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This essay is based on qualitative research undertaken by the Working Group on Media and Interculturalism, based at Dublin City University. The working group is a series of ongoing research projects exploring recent initiatives in the Irish media that have introduced and activated discourses on multiculturalism, inter-culturalism, anti-racism, diversity and citizenship. The purpose of this project was to explore how the Irish media is contributing to structuring (and normalising) the discourses in which, and through which, public understandings of and responses to socio-cultural changes are being formed.

We were initially interested in what we perceived as a tendency, in mainstream popular and public discourse, to construct Ireland as a "site" that was experi-encing considerable increase in the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers, leading to national and localised "problems" that required political intervention and solution. Some journalistic discourse suggested that an appropriate way to respond to refugees and asylum seekers, in terms of policy-making, social contact and integration, was through an imaginative empathy with their position based on the memories and experiences of Irish emigrants. Very little acknowledgement was made of the fact that migration is caused by complex political, economic and socio-geographical global changes. Thus, the project aimed to critique some of the fundamental but unquestioned assumptions that are driving the discourses and informing media representations, and to suggest different discursive terms and frameworks.

The qualitative research was undertaken in the context of an open forum, the pur-pose of which was to use a mode of analysis that enabled critical analyses of the texts without divorcing them from their conditions of production and distribution.[1] Individuals from a range of key institutions and agencies contributed to the forum by chairing panels and giving presentations.[2] The originators or commissioners made presentations of the texts; they provided specific examples of their approaches and rationale, their working methods and processes. This activated discussions between panel members and participants (including students and teachers from third level education institutions, graduate and postgraduate lecturers and researchers, members of NGOs and lobby groups) that informed a broader analysis of how the texts articulate with, and against, different theoret-ical paradigms of cultural diversity.

The focus of the forum was the practice of representation and the ways in which images and texts (in the arenas of public information, education, print and broadcast media) are being understood and used by audiences. The presence of "active readers" of the text gave producers and originators valuable insights into what is at stake when texts are produced and circulated, how the texts might be understood and interpreted, and how they produce common reference points or dominant discourses. Workshops facilitated dialogue with some of the key personnel and organisations shaping public discourses, and enabled participants to critique the ideological positions underpinning current policy-making and media practices. As the discussions progressed, there was an accumulating awareness of how the texts interrelated and activated congruent, or conflicting, discursive terms and parameters. The modes of analysis brought to the texts is therefore informed by, but not restricted to, theories of representation. For this paper, we have selected texts which have had the widest circulation and impact upon Irish society in terms of framing dominant discourses.[3]

**The Irish landscape**

One of the most fundamental, but unquestioned assumptions driving the discourses and informing policy initiatives in Ireland is the notion that pre-1990s Ireland was a monocultural society in which racism had no cause to exist. As Gavan Titley suggests, a "new temporal orthodoxy of pre- and post-1990s Ireland"[4] has consolidated a myth of homogeneity so central to the ideology of the nation state that it denies the ethnic and religious diversity that has existed in Ireland for many years. Not only does Ireland have well-established Jewish and Chinese communities, its colonial history has also resulted in the construction and protection of identity formations as diverse as Unionist, Loyalist, Republican, Catholic, Nationalist, Protestant, Anglo-Irish and Diasporic, both in the Republic and Northern Ireland. The Irish Traveller community is another identity formation that has been at the centre of recent public discourses around racism and ethnicity. However, until the late 1980s, the discourses that underpinned Irish cultural and political studies, and that articulated this complex "multicultural" landscape, were framed by postcolonial theories and a focus on the impact of emigration.[5] These discourses are being displaced by Ireland's rapid transition from the economic periphery to the centre, whereby the state is now charged with taking responsibility for determining the fate of so-called "non-nationals" and the complex sets of socio-cultural relationships that will continue to evolve and develop.

Irish media discourses are replete with contradictory and conflicting responses to the arrival and presence of asylum seekers and refugees: the visible evidence of "easily recognisable differences"[6] is producing a tendency to uncritically describe and celebrate Ireland as "multicultural", as an end state already firmly in place and, sometimes, as inevitable but welcome proof of Ireland's progression to global modernity. While these concepts are undoubtedly well intentioned, they frequently suggest a society in which disparate cultures – all individually coherent and intact – co-exist in mutual harmony. This results in a (sometimes wilful) failure to take into account and address the material inequities that are produced and maintained between racialised and non-racialised members of communities. However internally problematic these discourses are, they are also compounded by the fact that they circulate alongside news coverage of increasingly restrictive legal measures that are limiting the rights of asylum seekers to claim refugee status and jeopardising the ability of all asylum seekers and refugees to access basic needs and resources.

Noticeable increases in the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in Ireland began as early as 1994. However, despite the adoption and use of terms such as multicultural, anti-racist, intercultural and so forth, there is a distinct absence of any sustained, rigorous analysis or debate in public discourses of the ideological positions that are at the root of these paradigms. They are largely employed as descriptive terms in ways that fix and disguise their prescriptive import, the assumptions upon which they are based and which continue to operate in public discourse. They also short-circuit possibilities for more informed, challenging and imaginative ways of articulating and representing the complex matrices of identity positions and experiences being generated in contemporary Irish society.

## "Multiculturalism" versus interculturalism

Irish policy makers and campaigners tend to rely on labels such as "multicultural" or "intercultural" interchangeably, but these terms are highly contested in both academic and political contexts.[7] Competing categorisations such as "multi-ethnic", "multi-lingual", "multi-denominational" and "multi-racial" are infrequently considered, although they have been more widely used and insisted upon in Britain. The term interculturalism is often applied to educational strategies, although it surfaces in a wide variety of sometimes conflictual practices. Interculturalism is perhaps best understood as a critique of, or alternative to, the limits of multiculturalism. Whereas multiculturalism as a concept envisages and produces the dominance of one "majority" culture over a host of smaller "minority" cultures, interculturalism proposes a parity of cultures. However, it is also used synonymously with multiculturalism in the sense that it conceptualises "cultures" as relatively fixed spheres or entities (and endorses mutual understanding between them in the interests of conflict management).

In Ireland, both Edna Longley and Declan Kiberd have theorised multiculturalism (or "multi-culturalism") in relation to Irish nationalism. Longley is critical of a "minimalist" form of multiculturalism, signified by cultural co-existence rather than by cultural exchange. She argues that interculturalism is a more productive term than multiculturalism; parity of esteem, she argues, can lead to a situation where each (or every) identified group becomes isolated within a static definition of its own identity, whereas interculturalism places an emphasis on the dynamic which exists between groups, the ways in which they learn from each other through dialogue and reciprocity. Kiberd is also critical of the US-dominated multicultural model and instead advocates the "necessarily messy, disputatious, promiscuous multi-culturalism" that Stuart Hall has called "a multiculturalism without guarantees".[8] Philip Watt,[9] working from the context of monitoring and influencing policy in Ireland, describes an intercultural approach as one in which policy promotes interaction, understanding and integration among and between different cultures, with a focus of attention on the interaction between the dominant and minority ethnic communities. An intercultural approach will invariably lead to a reflection on issues of how power is distributed in society. The European Commission is advocating the concept of interculturalism through policy statements and specific programmes. Watt also indicates the increasing visibility of interculturalism as a dominant concept underpinning policy areas in Ireland, particularly in relation to educational policy.

Ronit Lentin argues that both multiculturalism and interculturalism, as they are being put into play in Ireland, are best understood as a set of political policy responses to cultural or ethnic diversity that are seen as "problems".[10] She

contends that the debate is never about minority cultures themselves, but rather about how they impact on western culture. Her main critique of multiculturalism is the way in which it conceptualises "the community" as a collection of reified and fixed "cultures". Lentin contends that multicultural policies tend to involve contradictions between collective and individual rights, even though the state has a responsibility to cater for both. She argues that policy makers working with a multiculturalist ethos ignore questions of power relations because they deal with representatives of minority communities who do not necessarily represent other intra-community interests (such as those of women, young people, disabled people, gay people). Lentin argues that current multicultural policies in Ireland all stem from a basic "politics of recognition" of cultural difference, rather than a "politics of interrogation" of Irishness. Such initiatives are directed – from the top down – by bodies such as the NCCRI, the government's "Know racism" campaign and the Equality Authority, which do not fully take into account the racialisation of so-called minority groups. Relevant to the Irish situation and to this argument is the Chicago Cultural Studies Group's call for an examination of the relation between multiculturalism and identity politics.[11] A particular danger associated with identity politics, they suggest, is the romance of authenticity, according to which native voices are privileged because they are conceived of as somehow transparent. They suggest that the ideological norms of positivism are fundamental to the operations of the nation state. Within this model, "cultures" acquire visibility at the expense of the multiple and overlapping structures through which difference is mediated.

## Models at work in the Irish media

In Ireland, the popular press has been widely criticised for negative and racist coverage of asylum and refugee issues. According to Kensika Monshwengo, "the treatment of the refugee issue by the Irish media influenced popular opinion negatively and dangerously in relation to refugees and asylum seekers in particular, and foreigners in general".[12] However, there have been a number of significant interventions aimed at tackling racism and promoting cultural diversity. At the end of 2000, the state broadcaster, Radio Telefis Eireann,[13] commissioned *Mono*, "RTE's first intercultural series", which went on air in April 2001. *Mono* is not aimed at a minority audience, but rather targeted at the general public with a view to challenging perceived notions of what it means to be Irish. What is of particular interest in the case of *Mono* is the way in which it has modified its initial textual strategy/mode of address to adopt a more critical and challenging approach to Ireland's ethnic diversity. Thus, while the first series of the programme was primarily concerned with the personal experiences of ethnic minorities living in Ireland and generally focused on "positive" stories, the second series continued to include this type of material, but also addressed more problematic issues facing minorities.[14]

Overall, the mainstream press has been noted for its lack of positive intervention. The *Irish Times*[15] is the only newspaper that has appointed its own Social and Racial Affairs Correspondent, although the recent MAMA Awards[16] acknowledged a number of journalists and small-scale publications for their contribution to promoting multiculturalism.[17] In effect, coverage has been primarily concerned with informing the public about legislative issues that are affecting the living and working conditions of refugees and asylum seekers, and giving positive coverage of community projects, anti-racist initiatives, conferences and seminars, etc. It has

also given occasional space for personal narratives of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, although this has been difficult due to censorship legislation that prevents journalists from interviewing asylum seekers without the permission of the Minister for Justice.[18] Although this legislation is ostensibly based upon the need to "protect" asylum seekers, it effectively excludes their experience from the public sphere.

The National Union of Journalists has addressed the implications of how these practices might be improved or redressed in a number of ways. Union members are required to follow specific rules regarding race coverage: a journalist can only mention a person's race if this information is "strictly relevant" and he or she must not "originate or process material" that encourages "discrimination, ridicule, prejudice or hatred". It has also organised conferences, campaigns and training for practising journalists. These efforts and investments are primarily concerned with the ethical and professional responsibilities of individual journalists, and ways in which support can be given to journalists as well as the development of strategies to improve coverage. These modes of critical self-reflection and professional practice draw on the understanding that both racist coverage in the media, and censorship of personal narratives, can be categorised as infringements of basic human rights according to the European Convention on Human Rights. Thus, through the established Irish print journalist platforms, the tendency is to mobilise a critical discourse of human rights, as well as an uncritical discourse of celebrations of diversity. The more complex debates around racism and interculturalism that critique and interrogate the use and understanding of terms such as racism, multiculturalism, citizenship, etc., have taken place primarily in the opinion columns of two prominent journalists and commentators, Fintan O'Toole and John Waters, as well as in contributions from Ronit Lentin in *Metro Eireann*.

Besides the mainstream press, several small-scale publications have emerged that specifically address notions of change and diversity in Ireland. Of these, *Metro Eireann*, which describes itself as a "multicultural newspaper", is the best known and most widely circulated. The primary aim of the publication is to provide up-to-date news and information to Ireland's fastest growing ethnic and immigrant communities. *Metro Eireann*'s editor describes the paper as "non-political and non-campaigning, but celebrates and creates cross-cultural understanding and co-operation through its contents. It also promotes diversity through the arts, entertainment and *metro Eireann* debates".[19] The term multicultural is asserted by the editors to describe the content and intent of the paper, as well as to publicise and mediate it to readerships. It uses the term most obviously in a descriptive sense, to "reflect the new diversity in Ireland" and to "tell the stories of immigrants and ethnic minorities".[20] Ethnic groups are often uncritically celebrated and/or presented as authentic, transparent or static. Although this indicates an editorial policy that sustains a liberal multiculturalist approach in its unproblematic affirmation and celebration of difference, the paper also includes consistent critiques of institutional racism, government policy and legislation. This strand of discourse is provided mainly by established Irish journalists, academics and critics.

The examples of *Mono* and *Metro Eireann* raises a highly complex problematic, in which we ourselves as researchers are implicated. While academics often stress the need for members of minority ethnic backgrounds to become involved in media production as journalists and media practitioners, there is also a tendency to critique the approaches subsequently adopted by the members of these groups. It must therefore be acknowledged that, for the different players, there

are radically different issues at stake. While some commentators occupy the necessary position of privilege to critique strategies of representation or to inter-rogate the policies of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, others are more concerned with the need to represent the interests of a group or groups of people who might, for very obvious reasons, be reluctant to criticise the "host" culture or the legislative procedures which will ultimately decide their fate. In this context, the presence of more accessible or "positive" multicultural strategies in the media can be understood as a necessary, more celebratory, phase of multi-culturalism that precedes a more critical phase, in which increased dialogue and exchange between the various groups involved might accommodate more com-plex and nuanced debates on the dynamics of interculturalism. Thus, while it is crucial to problematise strategies of positive representation of minorities, accept-ance of minorities on the host's terms and/or essentialising concepts of culture, it is also necessary to acknowledge that these might not be abandoned until they are perceived as no longer useful by the public and/or the interest groups involved.

### Public information campaigns

Over the last three years, high-profile public information campaigns have been circulated through the media from three different sources: the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Amnesty International and the "Citizen Traveller" campaign.[11] As one-off campaigns designed to address and counteract perceived problems in society regarding racist attitudes and behaviours, they are charac-terised by highly diverging modes of address that are indicative of the broader conflicting media discourses in Ireland, and the extent to which those discourses offer incompatible versions and accounts of whether we are, and how we are to become, "multicultural." They do, however, bear traces of a Kiberd's "necessarily messy, disputatious, promiscuous"[12] multiculturalism.

The "Know racism" campaign was developed in partnership with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and various NGOs. The objectives of the cam-paign were to "address racism and promote a more inclusive intercultural society". The website (www.knowracism.ie) is oriented specifically towards the "host" Irish community, as explained by Joe McDonagh, chairperson of the steering group: "Ireland has undergone major changes in the past few years. Our society is now a multicultural society. We must accept the responsibilities and challenges that change brings us. Irish people are traditionally generous, friendly and hospitable. It would be wrong to allow fear of strangers and intolerance to spoil this traditional spirit and change our attitudes towards the minority ethnic people who live and work among us." This undoubtedly well-intentioned state-ment nevertheless makes recourse to a plethora of myths that are rigorously cri-tiqued from a range of theoretical positions. The notion that Irish society was somehow homogenous prior to the arrival of the "new minorities" has been variously critiqued. The allusion to racism as a "fear of strangers and intolerance" suggests that the originators of the campaign prefer to situate (but not name) racism with the ignorant or "underexposed" individual. This presupposes that individuals are similarly charged with solving the "problem" by changes in atti-tude or tolerance, a position that excuses state and other institutions from their part in creating and sustaining racialised minorities.

The billboard campaign that forms part of the "Know racism" strategy attempts to offer a more complex representation than the "minority ethnic people" of the

worded statement. It features an image of Jason Sherlock, an Irish footballer of mixed parentage, alongside the caption "He's part of a small ethnic minority. Dubs with All-Ireland medals." This might be read as progressive or genuinely intercultural in the sense that it implies that we are all, at various complex levels, members of minority groups and that Irish identity is no longer homogenous (for example, Dubliners are different to people from other regions). However, this is undermined by the emphasis on and need to produce a "positive image" that is recognised and validated on the terms of the majority culture, with the suggestion that ethnic minority groups must relativise their own position in the "dominant culture" while it is the task of the majority culture to find easily comprehensible ways of acceptance and toleration. The billboard campaign seems to mobilise a politics of recognition, but is ultimately more attuned to an assimilationist model of multiculturalism.

Amnesty's "Leadership against racism" campaign, developed in the lead up to the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR 2001), operates primarily from a position that upholds and protects international human rights. The Irish campaign was directly linked to a series of surveys carried out by Amnesty with two distinct constituencies. The first survey focused on levels of racism among the Irish population and concluded that a minority was opposed to greater ethnic diversity, while one third was ambivalent. The campaign directors felt that this signalled a clear need for political leadership against racism, whereby the ambivalent or undecided sector would be the main target group. This resulted in a provocative billboard and newsprint campaign that called into question government inaction. It featured images of key politicians – the Taoiseach (Prime Minister), Bertie Ahern, the Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister), Mary Harney, and the then Minister for Justice, John O'Donoghue – with the slogan "Some say they're involved in racism, others say they're doing nothing about it".

The text was reproduced in full-page advertisements in national newspapers, with accompanying text explaining the rationale behind the campaign. The purpose of the campaign was to confront the government directly, and to provoke debate on a problem that was being neglected. According to Amnesty Ireland's legal officer, Fiona Crowley, "public and media attention was dramatic, and even beyond our hopes, discussions of racism abounded on the airwaves and in the public arena. It was firmly on the political agenda".[23] The second-phase survey researched the views of ethnic minorities towards racism in Ireland. The findings, together with recommendations, were summarised and reproduced as the second media campaign, in a newsprint advertisement that was accompanied by a photographic image of an ethnic minority model and the caption "She comes from a place where she's spat at and discriminated against. Ireland". Amnesty Ireland suggest that the responses to the second phase marked a sea change in public and media opinion as "it could no longer be convincingly denied that racism had a foothold in Ireland" and add that the second phase was more positively received than the initial attack on the government. Significantly, the campaign did not invoke a politics of interrogation, nor did it mobilise or promote "multiculturalism" or "interculturalism". As an organisation primarily concerned with human rights issues, it drew on these discourses and positions to foreground racism as endemic to Irish society and institutions, and made some of the most provocative and unequivocal charges to governmental departments and politicians.

In 1999 the Irish Government provided a sum of IR£900 000 to fund the "Citizen Traveller" campaign over a three-year period. It was introduced alongside two important legislative measures, the Employment Equality Act of 1998 and the Equal Status Act of 2000,[14] and was designed to improve relationships between Travellers and the settled community in Ireland. The "Citizen Traveller" campaign is of particular interest to these debates in Ireland as it addresses racist discrimination against an indigenous community, bearing out Mairtin Mac an Ghaill and Ronit Lentin's arguments that racism is not confined to issues of "race" or colour. The core objectives of the campaign were to build on and enhance the work of Traveller organisations to assist in changing common misconceptions related to the Traveller community, to create an environment to position Travellers as an ethnic group within Irish society with their own distinct culture and to promote and encourage the Traveller community to embrace their identity in a positive way. The campaign, involving billboards and outdoor posters, was intended to "promote the visibility and participation of Travellers within Irish society, to nurture the development of Traveller pride and self-confidence and to give Travellers a sense of community identity that could be expressed internally and externally".[15]

One particular set of billboards featured a series of portraits of individuals of different ages and gender, with accompanying "identity tags" (for example, "carpenter", "husband", "story-teller", "slagger", "traveller", "father", "citizen"). By explicitly offering multiple identity reference points, the campaign both utilises and re-inflects a politics of recognition that allows for the community to be seen as coherent but internally diverse and changing. A further aspect of the campaign was to emphasise the recognition of Travellers as a "distinct group with their own unique cultural heritage and identity" as a basis for rights to accommodation, health care and education. Despite the apparently positive legislation of 1998 and 2000, the government introduced further restrictive legislation on Travellers' access to accommodation, and this prompted the campaign organisers to produce billboard images in direct response to these policies. This included the slogan "Suddenly, in caring Ireland, to be a Traveller is a terrible crime" and an image of a tricolour flag with a symbol "no caravans". The campaign was ended by Justice Minister McDowell on the grounds that it had failed to bridge the divide between Traveller and settled communities. Like Amnesty's "Leadership against racism" campaign, one of the notable elements of the Citizen Traveller project was its use of market research and its direct address to "neutral" or "ambivalent" members of the population. They are also campaigns that name and foreground the material conditions created by governmental policy, or its absence.

## Conclusion

In very general terms, it is possible to categorise recent media interventions in Ireland in terms of an emphasis on either "cultural identity" or "human rights." The work of Amnesty International and the *Irish Times* tends to foreground the issue of human rights and is less concerned with interculturalism. In contrast, the "Citizen Traveller" campaign, which deals with a much older and more acknowledged racism, simultaneously utilises and challenges a politics of recognition to interrogate change and conflict in Irish society. The "Know racism" campaign, *Metro Eireann* and *Mono* have tended to focus on the "reflection" of an Irish society that is "already multicultural" leading to the production of positive (if not celebratory) representations of ethnic groups.

The multicultural media strategies that currently dominate present a number of problems, most notably in their tendency to treat different cultures as static and intact, to ignore the material inequalities that exist between racialised and non-racialised groups (as well as the institutional structures which facilitate/construct these inequities) and in their assumption that the media can render society more multicultural merely by positively reflecting an existing diversity. As Phil Cohen has argued: "The multicultural illusion is that dominant and subordinate can somehow swap places and learn how the other half lives, whilst leaving the structures of power intact. As if power relations could be magically suspended through the direct exchange of experience, and ideology dissolve into the thin air of face-to-face communication."[16]

*Endnotes*

1. Held in Dublin City University (21-22 March 2002). The full report on the Forum on Media and Interculturalism is available at: http://www.comms.dcu.ie/interculturalism/frame/frameset.htm

2. These included the National Union of Journalists, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism, the School of Communications and the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies (Dublin City University), Dublin Institute of Technology, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, the Department of Education, Trinity College Dublin, the *Irish Times*, *Metro Eireann*, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the Irish Traveller Movement, Amnesty International and Radio Telefis Eireann.

3. It is informed by the original research findings of the forum as well as critical input that was subsequently offered by peers and colleagues, primarily in two contexts: "What is the culture in multiculturalism? What is the difference of identities?" University of Aarhus, 22 to 24 May 2003 and the Seminar on Resituating Culture: Reflections on Diversity, Racism, Gender and Identity in the Context of Youth, European Youth Centre, Budapest, 10 to 15 June 2003.

4. Titley, G. (2004) "Everything moves? Beyond culture and multiculturalism in Irish public discourse". *Irish Review*, No. 31.

5. Given Ireland's history of emigration, it is perhaps unsurprising that initial media commentaries suggested that a "multicultural ethos" might be best achieved through imaginative empathy with refugees and asylum seekers based on the memories and experiences of Irish emigrants. However, the extent to which such historical accounts might strike a chord with the relatively affluent, globally mobile and largely apolitical youth culture of present-day Ireland is questionable (according to a recent *Irish Times*/TNS MRBI poll, 57% of 15 to 24-year-olds in Ireland say that politics has no relevance to them).

6. McGuinness, M. (2002) "Geographies with a difference? Citizenship and difference in postcolonial urban spaces". In Blunt, A. and McEwan, C. (eds.) *Postcolonial Geographies*. London: Continuum.

7. During the forum, a range of critiques were offered of the different terms (descriptive and prescriptive) that can be employed to analyse the different media strategies. This paper has selected those that are most relevant to an Irish context, and the most recurrent during the presentations and discussions. They are by no means exhaustive, but they do give a representative account of the research that was undertaken with the presenters, practitioners and audiences.

8. Hall, S., cited in Longley, E. and Kiberd, D. (2000) *Multi-Culturalism: The View from the Two Islands*, Cork: Cork University Press and the Centre for Cross Border Studies, Armagh.

9. Philip Watt is Chairperson of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism in Ireland (NCCCRI).

10. Lentin, R. and MacVeigh, R. (2002) *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*. Dublin: Beyond the Pale Publications.

11. The Chicago Cultural Studies Group (1992) "Critical multiculturalism". *Critical Inquiry*, 18, spring, pp. 530-555.

12. Monshengwo, K. (2001) "The potential of public awareness programmes". In Farrell, F. and Watt, P. (eds.) *Responding to Racism in Ireland*. Dublin: Veritas, p. 160.

13. Besides *Mono*, RTE has commissioned a one-off television drama, *Black Day at Black Rock*, and a documentary on the asylum-seeking process, *No Man's Land*. The soap opera *Fair City* has also run storylines involving asylum seekers and members of immigrant communities.

14. According to presenter Bisi Adigun, the changes have occurred because it was felt that the viewing public needed to be exposed first to the positive aspects of a multi-ethnic society before more critical discourses could be opened up. There was a concern that viewers would be alienated if they felt the series was primarily about Irish racism. According to Adigun, the series has developed from a multicultural to a more intercultural perspective.

15. The *Irish Times* is a liberal broadsheet newspaper, with a circulation of 117 565 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, January to June 2003).

16. The Metro Eireann Media and Multicultural Awards were held in Dublin in May 2003.

17. These included Michael O'Farrell (the *Irish Examiner*), Latif Serhildan, the *Cork Evening Echo* and *DiverCity Magazine*.

18. Section 19 of the 1996 Refugee Act.

19. Onyejelem, C., paper presented at the Forum on Media and Interculturalism, Dublin City University, 21 and 22 March 2002.

20. Ibid.

21. Citizen Traveller is an amalgamation of key organisations representing the interests of the travelling communities in Ireland (http://www.itmtrav.com/citizentrav.html).

22. Longley, E. and Kiberd, D. (2000) *Multi-Culturalism: The View from the Two Islands*. Cork: Cork University Press and the Centre for Cross Border Studies, Armagh, p. 57.

23. Crowley, F., paper presented at the Forum on Media and Interculturalism, Dublin City University, 21 and 22 March 2002.

24. These developments were aimed towards the promotion of equality and the elimination of discrimination towards Travellers.

25. See www.itmtrav.com/citizentrav.html

26. Cohen, P. (1988) "The perversions of inheritance". In Cohen, P. and Bains, H.S. (eds.) *Multi-Racist Britain*. London: Macmillan, p. 13.

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*Web references for the texts discussed*

The *Irish Times*, social and racial affairs coverage: http://www.ireland.com/

*Metro Eireann:* http://www.metroeireann.com

"Know racism" campaign (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform): www.knowracism.ie

"Citizen Traveller" campaign (Pavee Point, Irish Traveller Movement, Parish of the Travelling People, National Traveller Womens' Forum): http://www.itmtrav.com/citizentrav.html

"Leadership against racism" campaign (Amnesty International): http://www.amnesty.ie

*Mono* (RTE): http://www.rte.ie/tv/mono/contact.html

*Funding sources*

Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform

School of Communications, Dublin City University

Teaching and Learning Committee Travel Award Scheme, Dublin City University