Irish Institutional Discourses of Illegal Immigration:

A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

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Summary of Thesis

This dissertation examines illegal immigration in the Irish context. Its principal aim is to investigate how illegal immigration was responded to and discursively represented in Irish institutional texts between 2002 and 2009. An analysis of institutional texts can cast light upon how power operates and how aspects of national identity can occur in conjunction with discourses of migration. Through a Foucauldian understanding of power and identity formation, this research maintains that discourses can be utilised by those in positions of influence to exercise power and to maintain the status quo. This study identifies a large number of institutional texts: over 1,000 parliamentary texts and over 2,500 newsprint media texts. Interviews are also undertaken with politicians and civil society activists in order to complement and expand upon the institutional texts. By employing a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, this dissertation outlines and analyzes the various ways that illegal immigration is framed in institutional texts and the argumentations (topoi) that are expressed concerning it. This research identifies five key discursive argumentations within which illegal immigrants are represented. These include the topoi 'control', 'danger', 'humanitarian', 'economy', and 'culture'. It is evident that there is a noticeable preoccupation with controlling illegal immigration in Irish institutional texts during the eight year period under analysis. Furthermore, there is a significant level of negative discourses about illegal immigration; however, some positive discourses are also evident. Overall, this dissertation argues that these discursive representations function in the operation of power and have three broad purposes: (i) governance through the nation state rationale and the continuation of nation building processes, (ii) the maintenance of inequality in society and legitimized practices of exclusion (including the justified control of illegal immigration), and (iii) legitimized expressions of racism.

Dedication

To all those who hold an 'illegal' immigration status, may it be swiftly resolved.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Illegal Immigration

Illegal immigration occurs in a multitude of countries around the world at differing scales and intensities. When people move across national boundaries, their status is determined through the nation state construct of governance (Chavez, 2007: 192). In contrast to ratified citizens, those without a legal status are positioned outside of the conventional bounds of the nation state and are deemed to be illegal (Willin, 2007: 2). The term 'illegal immigration' is quite abstract and often occurs in conjunction with a legalistic language that assumes the legitimate exclusion of unwanted migrants from society. Referring solely to a migrant's legal status in a country, this terminology lacks a human element or a face(s) behind such phrasings. This dissertation aims to examine the institutional and authoritative discourses that can 'legitimately' exclude illegal immigrants from society. The two institutions that are under analysis are the Irish Parliament and the newsprint media, as these institutions provide the core parameters within which the Irish public gained their knowledge about illegal immigrants between 2002 and 2009. Discursive qualities and attributes are repeatedly assigned to the character of the illegal immigrant over time and it is argued here that these discourses can influence how the public think about illegal immigrants. If the characteristics of the 'subject' (i.e. the illegal immigrant) and the argumentations that surround illegal immigration are deconstructed, they may reveal how such depictions are continually constructed by those in powerful positions in society for particular reasons. Institutional discourses tend to amplify a particular framing of illegal immigration and the function or consequence of which may be to exclude illegal immigrants. Thus, discourses that surround illegal immigration are an avenue to uncovering power formations, as discursive representations of illegal immigrants can hold manifestations of power and notions of belonging and exclusion. The goal of this chapter is to contextualize illegal immigration and the entire dissertation. The chapter begins by discussing illegal immigration in the international and European contexts. This is followed by an in-depth exploration of illegal immigration in the Irish context. Placed in the context of Ireland's migration history and legislation reform, the nature and extent of illegal immigration is outlined. Furthermore, this section relays the manner in which

illegal immigration is defined and the terminology that is utilized to describe illegal immigration. The remainder of this chapter details the aims and objectives of this research, including a discussion on how this thesis will make a valuable contribution to academia and to the discipline of geography. This chapter concludes by outlining the chapters of this dissertation.

1.2 Illegal Immigration in the International and European Contexts

At the international level a delicate balancing act broadly takes place between discourses of the wanted (i.e. skilled, rich migrants) and discourses of the unwanted (i.e. poor migrants). Meanwhile, the general focus of those in powerful positions at the international scale is to prevent and combat illegal immigration (Guild, 2004: 3). This focus largely ignores broader governmental and capitalist processes that cause people to migrate without official permission. Placed within the overall framework of controlling and preventing illegal immigration, different countries have diverse issues with it. While acknowledging that there are exceptions to this broad generalization (e.g. Mexico/South Africa), there is the obvious distinction in concerns between richer and poorer countries (that is between sending and receiving countries). Receiving countries (such as America or France) are often concerned with a perceived lack of control of illegal immigrants entering their country, potential threats to national security, and the effects of illegal immigration on the domestic labour market. Sending countries may be concerned with the effects emigration has on their country, or the problems associated with the trafficking industry. Reciprocal relationships have developed between sending and receiving countries in an attempt, on both parts, to control illegal immigration. These relationships often materialize in the form of bilateral agreements (Papademetriou, 2005).

The rich and powerful countries of the world (e.g. the US, Canada, Australia, and several European nations) are forceful in their attempts to control their borders and to prevent illegal immigration. They have placed huge investment in exterior protections, materializing mainly in the form of border enforcement, air/coastal patrols, fences, and surveillance devices. States have also exchanged various enforcement measures. For instance, Canadian officials have studied detention practices in Australia, prosecution

processes in Europe, and interception strategies in the US. By collaborating with other states and sharing information with private corporations, governments can reach across borders and oceans to manage illegal immigration. Although these control measures are substantial in terms of the cost involved in executing them, in the image they portray, and in the power they wield, these measures have not been a deterrent for illegal immigrants. Highly motivated migrants, driven by numerous incentives (be they economic or humanitarian), have found multiple ways to circumvent stricter and tighter border controls. The most notable of these is the use of professional people smugglers. Nation states also utilize interior protections to prevent illegal immigration, an example of this is the implementing of immigration laws in the workplace. Nevertheless, laws that penalize employers who hire illegal immigrants have generally failed due to (among other reasons) the low fines imposed and the lack of criminal penalties enforced on employers (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004: 8; Mountz, 2010: 8-48).

The extent of illegal immigration in the international context is largely unknown and is probably not quantifiable. Organizations and state authorities have attempted to estimate the number of illegal immigrants through various methods, for example by assessing the number of refused immigrants, deportations, regularizations, falsified documents, and by using specialized surveys. The degree to which these indicators are accurate and reliable is debatable. The reasons for this are multiple. Firstly, many of the figures can include those fleeing persecution and seeking asylum. Secondly, the methods of measuring illegal immigration can reflect administrative procedures (i.e. ways of defining who is illegal in a given state), rather than all 'illegal' movements of people. Indeed, the number of apprehensions indicates those illegal immigrants that were identified by the State. Thus, one must assume that the figures gathered by state authorities are only fragmentary indications of all illegal immigration movements (Mitsilegas, 2004: 29-39). Thirdly, the procedural data that is available is not comparable between countries. This is because each country has its own system of recording and defining illegal immigration. Indeed, even within the EU there is a lack of a common legal definition. Furthermore, the status of illegality may change over time and overlap with the status of legality (Duvell, 2006: 6-7; Mitsilegas, 2004: 29-39). Fourthly, by its very nature illegal immigration concerns

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unobservable events and people, therefore, it is impossible to definitively quantify it. For these various reasons the number of illegal immigrants at the international scale is impossible to accurately assess, which in many ways adds to the illusive characteristics that are assigned to illegal immigrants by those in positions of power (Jandl, 2004: 142).

Nevertheless, it is worth briefly noting some estimates that have been made of the number of illegal immigrants internationally. It has been suggested that the global illegal immigrant population could be as many as 30 to 40 million, which is between 15% and 20% of the total immigrant population of the world. The US is estimated to have the largest number of illegal immigrants – between 10 and 12 million. South Africa is said to have the second highest level of illegal immigrants (Mountz, 2010; Papademetriou, 2005; Skeldon, 2000). Most sources estimate that there is anywhere between 2 and 8 million illegal immigrants in the EU (Duvell, 2006: 6-7; Quinn and Kingston, 2012: ix). Estimates for continental Europe are large (between 3 and 8 million). It is also projected that there are between 2 and 3 million illegal immigrants in East and Southeast Asia. As referred to above, illegal immigration not only occurs in wealthy, 'Western' countries. Mexico, for example, hosts approximately 1 million illegal immigrants; many of these people are American retirees who have settled in Mexico without official permission. Two groups of countries account for the remaining cohort of illegal immigrants internationally. These are the growing regional economies of the 'developing' world and countries that are adjacent to 'advanced' industrial nations. Countries adjacent to 'advanced' or desirable countries (e.g. countries such as Georgia, which is adjacent to the EU) are locations where many illegal immigrants are often stranded or temporarily deposited by traffickers or smugglers (Mountz, 2010; Papademetriou, 2005; Skeldon, 2000). Overall, these estimates may offer some context to the situation of illegal immigration internationally, however, these figures are unreliable as they are often compiled by those with a political agenda (e.g. to control illegal immigration or to offer humanitarian assistance to illegal immigrants). Indeed, the statistics for illegal immigration reflect this, as they are often unbelievably high or implausibly low (Duvell, 2008: 485-486).

Focusing within the European context, different levels of illegal immigration occur between countries. The proportion of illegal migrants to the overall immigrant population ranges from 1% to 2% in Sweden (the lowest in the EU) to 15% in Germany (Duvell, 2006: 6-7). Illegal immigration has increasingly become a major concern, especially for certain countries (Albrecht, 2002: 1-5). Indeed, the main EU receiving countries include Germany, Spain, Italy, France, and the UK (Duvell, 2008: 482). Some countries (such as France) have larger levels of illegal immigrants than other countries (e.g. Ireland). Illegal immigrants can enter a country from neighbouring states, whilst other countries have illegal populations from countries outside of Europe (e.g. illegal immigrants from African countries travel to the UK). Some countries are only transited by illegal immigrants (e.g. the Ukraine), whilst other countries are the destination for illegal immigrants (e.g. Italy). Frequently, but not always, a certain nationality will illegally migrate to a particular country. An example of this is the large number of Moroccan people that continually migrate to Spain (Duvell, 2008: 481-483). Illegal immigration remains on the European political agenda due to the opening of the borders between Eastern and Western Europe, the creation and implementation of the Schengen Treaties, the abolition of internal border controls in most of Western Europe, the enormous reduction in opportunities for legal immigration, and the general increase in the control of immigration to Europe (Albrecht, 2002: 1-5). In the European context, there seems to be two main, but contrasting patterns of illegal immigration. Firstly, once in a European country, illegal immigrants can stay as long as possible and add to the increasing number of those residing illegally. Secondly, illegal immigrants remain in a country on a temporary basis. It has been found that the easier it is for migrants to enter, leave, and re-enter a country the more likely it is that illegal immigrants will come and go, instead of permanently settling in a country. Vice versa, the more rigid a country's entry and exit controls are, the more likely it is that once a migrant has made it successfully into a country, they will remain there. Some illegal immigration is economically driven and once the demand for labour decreases, illegal immigration also decreases. Illegal immigration may also display more complex patterns and can be driven by a culture of migration, family reunification, or by mere dreams and perceptions of a European lifestyle (Duvell, 2008: 481-483). Thus, illegal immigration in the European context is a complex issue and there are huge variations in the nature and

extent of it between countries. The next section pays particular attention to the Irish context.

1.3 Illegal Immigration in the Irish Context

1.3.1 Ireland's Migration History

People have immigrated to and emigrated from the island of Ireland for thousands of years; from the Viking and Norman immigrations, to large scale emigration during the time of the Irish famine. However, in the context of the current period, the 1990s (with the exception of a short period during the 1970s) are considered the time period when Ireland experienced significant immigration for the first time. This was a time when the country was still largely ethnically homogenous (Quinn and Hughes, 2005: viii). Prior to the 1990s, few immigrants came to Ireland, except for those of Irish or British backgrounds. Non-EU immigration was insignificant, aside from a few professionals in the multinational sector. Apart from the very modest inward migration of a number of 'programme' refugees (planned and agreed to by the Government), substantial immigration from countries outside of the English speaking world is very recent to Ireland. The 1996 Census marks the beginning of a modern period of net immigration to Ireland. The emergence of the economic boom saw growth in the economy, inward multinational investment, and an increase in employment. Returning Irish migrants accounted for a considerable proportion of this early immigration to Ireland. Of course, over this same time period other immigrants came to Ireland, including EU immigrants and non-EU immigrants (who were permitted access to the State through short-term work permits, student visas, and through asylum applications) (Mac Éinri and White, 2008: 153-154). The number of people claiming asylum in Ireland grew from a very small amount (39) in 1992 to over 7,000 in 1999 (NCCRI/Equality Authority Ireland NFP, 2003: 2). People had sought asylum in Ireland prior to the 1990s through organized reception or resettlement programmes, but the number of migrants involved were very low and the Government had control over the number of those admitted. The amount of immigrants claiming asylum in Ireland rose steadily until 2002 (to 11,000), when the figure slowly declined thereafter (due to a number of control measures by the Government, for example a list of 'safe' countries of origin and the policy of Carriers'

Liability). The majority of those seeking asylum in Ireland came from Nigeria and Romania, although Romanian applications fell when Romania joined the EU in 2007 (Mac Éinri and White, 2008: 153-154; Ruhs, 2009). Prior to 2004, all non-EU citizens required a work permit to be employed in Ireland. These were referred to as the Working Visa/Work Authorization programmes (for highly skilled, well educated employees, and those employed in skilled manufacturing positions) and the Work Permits scheme (for lower skilled workers from outside the EEA in catering positions, agriculture, nursing, etc.). With the accession to the EU by 10 new Member States in 2004, the Work Permit scheme altered when Ireland (along with the UK and Sweden) permitted citizens of the new Member States access to the labour market (Mac Éinri and White, 2008: 154). This amendment contributed to accelerated EU immigration to Ireland, a large proportion of which came from Eastern European countries, such as Poland (Ruhs, 2009). Following from this, Ireland moved away from its more liberal work permit system for non-EEA workers and enforced stricter policies on non-EEA immigrants, resulting in the permitting of mainly highly skilled workers to the labour market. The country met its low skilled labour needs with migrants from within the enlarged EU (Mac Éinri and White, 2008: 154; Ruhs, 2009). The current situation in Ireland is that, on the whole, EU migrants reside and are employed legally in Ireland with virtually no restrictions, while non-EU migrants are either rich, highly educated/skilled individuals in employment (e.g. doctors), students, those seeking asylum (or granted refugee status), or illegal immigrants.

1.3.2 Legislating for Immigration in Ireland

During the period between 2002 and 2009, the Irish Government introduced and amended a range of immigration legislation, policies, and regulations. It is evident from table 1.1 that between 1935 and the late 1990s very little immigration legislation existed. For many years the *Aliens Act 1935* was the primary piece of legislation governing the entry and residence of immigrants in Ireland. The *Aliens Orders (1946 and 1975)* dealt with permission for migrants to enter the State ('leave to land'), the deportation of migrants from the country, and the detention of migrants within the State. Following challenges in the superior courts, new legislation was introduced with the *Immigration Act 1999* (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: 9). From 1999 onwards, a range of measures were implemented.

Legislative changes occurred in reaction to the rapid increase in immigration and the large influx of asylum seekers (Quinn and Hughes, 2004: 8). The governance of immigration was also highly influenced by UK policies on immigration and by broader European processes. EU Treaty provisions and legislative measures on citizenship rights, including the right to free movement, required Ireland to adapt laws and policies that would facilitate rights of entry and residence in the State. Nonetheless, Ireland did not adopt several European measures, citing the preservation of the CTA (Common Travel Area hereafter) with the UK as a primary reason (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: xiv). Indeed, the CTA plays an important role in the regulation of Irish immigration and is key to understanding Irish immigration policy.

Table 1.1: Timeline of Immigration Legislation Reforms and Key Moments

1935	Aliens Act
1946	Aliens Order
1956	Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act
1973	EU Rights of Residence Directives (When Ireland Joined the EEC)
1975	Aliens Order
1977	European Communities (Aliens) Regulations
1996	Refugee Act
1999	Immigration Act
2000	Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking Act)
	Dublin Convention (Implementation) Order
	Garda National Immigration Bureau Established
	Work Visa/Authorization Schemes Introduced
2001	Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act
	The Reception and Integration Agency Established
2002	Immigration Bill (Carriers Liability Legislation)
	Immigration Act 1999 (Deportation) Regulations 2002
	Employment Permits Bill
	Voluntary Return Schemes Established
	Operation Hyphen, Operation Gladiator, Operation Rio (EU Operation)
2003	Immigration Act Commenced (Safe Country of Origin)
	Operation Quest (Targeted Lap-Dancing Clubs)
	Employment Permits Act
	Dublin Regulation
	European Convention on Human Rights Act
	Aliens (Visas) Order

2004	New EU Member States Granted Access to Ireland
	Irish Nationality and Citizenship Bill
	Immigrant Act
	Twenty Seventh Amendment of the Constitution Act
2005	Immigration Residence and Protection Bill Introduced
2006	Accession of Two New Member States
	Europol Amendment Act
	Employment Permits Act
2007	Human Trafficking Bill
	New Employment Permits Scheme Introduced
	Operation Gull (Targeted Illegal Chinese Immigrants)
2008	Anti Human Trafficking Unit Established
	Criminal Law (Human Trafficking) Act
	EU Enforcement of Illegal Immigration Restrictions
	Operation Sonnet, Operation Koala (Targeted Sex Offenders)
2009	Work Permit Changed
	Operation Feather (Targeted English Language Schools)

The array of measures that were introduced between 2002 and 2009 were implemented in a piecemeal and reactive manner, with no clear long-term plan other than to control immigration (Collett and Lacko, 2006: 3). A number of these amendments are noteworthy. The *Refugee Act 1996* relates to applications for asylum and provides the legal basis for the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner and the Refugee Appeals Tribunal. The *Immigration Act 1999* reinforced the process of deportation. The *Immigration Act 2004* sets out in primary legislation many of the immigration controls previously contained in the *Aliens Order 1946*. The *Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act 2000* deals with trafficking in human beings, while the *Immigration Act 2003* introduced Carriers' Liability and contains a substantial number of amendments to the *Refugee Act 1996*. The *Employment Permits Act 2003* provides a separate and more comprehensive codification in law covering issues related to work permits and working visas. The *Twenty Seventh Amendment of the Constitution Act 2004* enacted into law the result of the Citizenship Referendum (Quinn and Hughes, 2004: 8), which altered the criteria required for a person to gain Irish citizenship (Quinn, 2005: 7-9). In 2005, the *Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill* was introduced; however, it is currently withdrawn from parliament.

In relation to illegal immigration specifically, different components of numerous bills and acts define into law that those who do not have permission to be in the State must leave or be deported. In order to prevent illegal immigration, the Irish Government implemented a series of external and internal controls, such as border controls and policy and legislative changes, including 'leave to land', Carriers' liability, Dublin II transfer, 'safe country of origin', repatriations, voluntary returns, and readmission agreements (Coghlan, 2007: 57; Quinn, 2009: 42-43). Additionally, the GNIB (Garda National Immigration Bureau hereafter) enhanced its information system and developed links with other government departments. Security around a variety of immigration documents also increased, for example the practice of fingerprinting asylum seekers was adopted (Quinn and Hughes, 2005: ix). Irish governance of illegal immigration is likely to continue to evolve and change into the future.

1.3.3 The Nature of Illegal Immigration in Ireland

The topic of people migrating illegally or without authorization has been in the lexicon of the Irish people, the Irish Government, and the Irish media since the 1980s and 1990s. However, the concentration at that time was on the undocumented Irish in the US. Ironically, as the Irish Government advocated for the undocumented Irish in the US (through their ongoing campaign for a regularization programme), the issue of illegal immigration in Ireland began to emerge (Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009: 20). Compared to other migration issues, little attention or consideration has been given to illegal immigration in the Irish context. There are scant references to illegal immigration within academic research and when it is referred to, it is often discussed in the context of asylum, labour immigration, or other issues (e.g. Lentin, 2007). The majority of research into illegal immigration has been undertaken by civil society groups (e.g. Coghlan, 2007; Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009) or by statutory bodies (e.g. Quinn and Hughes, 2005; Quinn and Kingston, 2012). Furthermore, when illegal immigration is mentioned in the Irish Parliament and the newsprint media, quite often it is not discussed in detail and it is referred to in relation to other topics. For example, on one occasion in the Irish Parliament, illegal immigration was referenced in the context of human trafficking

(Naughten, 2009: 694) and in the Irish Times, illegal immigration was mentioned in an article that concentrated upon prostitution (O'Regan, 2009: 8).

By definition, illegal immigrants constitute a hidden population that is difficult to accurately describe and assess (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: 4). While acknowledging this, and in order to understand the nature of illegal immigration in Ireland, illegal immigrants can be placed into two broad typologies. Firstly, there are those that enter Ireland legally and subsequently become illegal; and secondly, there are those that enter Ireland illegally. Immigrants who enter a country legally can become illegal for various reasons. For example, if (i) they overstay a visa; (ii) they refuse deportation; (iii) immigration laws change; (iv) there is a change in an immigrant's status; (v) an asylum application of a person is denied and they remain in a country; (vi) a person works outside the terms of the residency permit; (vii) a person resides and/or works on false papers or; (viii) a spouse dependant or family dependant visa becomes redundant. Immigrants are considered illegal entering a country if, for example they (i) enter without permission from immigration authorities; (ii) enter and stay in a country and do not contact authorities or make an asylum application; (iii) enter a country without documents, or with false documentation, or; (iv) enter illegally and engage in employment. Furthermore, a child born to an illegal immigrant can be defined illegal by birth and may have no right to citizenship or residency in the country (Coghlan, 2007: 14; Duvell, 2006: 3).

Given its geography, the level of illegal immigration in Ireland, although largely unknown, is likely to be low. Unlike the US, for example Ireland does not have any porous land borders with countries whose citizens have to obtain permission to enter and work in the country. Furthermore, unlike Canada or Italy, Ireland does not have instances of immigrants arriving by boat to its shores. Illegal entry into Ireland probably occurs either through the ports (air and sea) or through the land border with Northern Ireland, which is easily accessed due to the CTA agreement between Ireland and the UK. Within the CTA there are technically no passport controls for Irish and UK citizens travelling between the two jurisdictions. Yet, in recent years, with the threat of terrorism, airlines conduct passport checks on all passengers. The ports, however, do not carry out such

detailed security checks, and the land border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland is virtually open (Ruhs, 2005: 22-23; Quinn and Hughes, 2005: 10-11). Komolafe's (2008) research identified that the most common method for Nigerian migrants to gain entry to Ireland involved illegally crossing a series of borders. Many of the migrants interviewed as part of Komolafe's research travelled by bus from Nigeria to the North African border (e.g. Algeria and Mauritania) and went through immigration controls on foot. Frequently, these people would work for a few months in North African countries before continuing their journey by boat across the Mediterranean to Spain. Once in Spain, they would forge an identity to take them to Ireland (2008: 235). One assumes that these migrants gained access to Ireland through false documentation or by avoiding immigration controls, perhaps by travelling to Ireland via the UK and Northern Ireland.

There is much debate as to whether the majority of illegal immigrants in Ireland entered the country illegally (mainly through the border with Northern Ireland) or whether they became illegal over time (after entering legally). During the period between 2002 and 2009 the Irish Government seemed to lean towards the notion that most illegal immigrants entered the country by travelling through the border with Northern Ireland (Ahern, 2009: 693; McDowell, 2006: 613). In contrast, the majority of civil society groups held the view that most became illegal over time (Ruhs, 2005, 2009; Coghlan, 2007). A recent study by Quinn and Kingston (2012: xi) found that it was widely accepted by officials from the GNIB and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO hereafter) that the majority of illegal immigrants overstayed their permission to visit or reside in the State, as opposed to having entered illegally. As neither theory can be definitively proven (and in many ways it is a futile debate), it is adequate to state that both methods of becoming 'illegal' occur in the Irish context.

An important aspect that is often overlooked by government officials is that the Irish immigration system can actually contribute to migrants becoming illegal. Recognition of this point moves one away from solely conceptualizing illegal immigrants as deceitful people who illegally enter the State, or as people who come under the guise of student

visas or tourist visas. Many immigrants who come to the State legally become illegal or undocumented due to the manner in which the Irish immigration system operates. NGO groups maintain that this happens for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is argued that there is a lack of information on various immigration status options. Secondly, there is a lack of clarity and transparency in application processes and procedures. Thirdly, it was found by those engaging with the system that there is inadequate or sometimes no responses by various agencies to immigrant requests. Fourthly, NGO groups argue that immigrant agencies do not adhere to customer charters. Lastly, it was found there is inadequate consultation and dissemination of immigration policy and procedural changes (Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009: 6-7). In essence, the Irish immigration system is found to be inflexible and it does not allow for immigrants' (life or employment) circumstances to change (Coghlan, 2007: 26-30).

Not only can the Irish immigration system contribute to people becoming illegal, it can also force migrants to remain illegal, as there are no clear mechanisms or criteria for a migrant worker to regularize their status in Ireland (Coghlan, 2007: 26-30). The only way for illegal immigrants to become legal is for the Minister for Justice to grant permission on an individual basis. This procedure can take a long time to process and the number of applicants granted 'leave to remain' (permission to reside) is very low. Furthermore, an unsuccessful application for 'leave to remain' will be assigned a deportation order. Therefore, it can be argued that illegal immigrants who wish to legalize their status are faced with the reality that they will probably be assigned a deportation order at the end of the process. Ireland has limited experience of regularization schemes. On one occasion a 'Bridging Visa' became temporarily available (between October and December 2009) in Ireland. After much campaigning by a number of civil society groups over a three year period, the scheme was available for those who had become undocumented 'through no fault of their own' to apply to have their immigration status regularized. This was the first and only time that the Irish State has regularized the status of illegal immigrants. The availability of this regularization scheme was not widely known by the general public or by immigrants and only 185 immigrants applied to regularize their status (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: xii-xiii). This Bridging Visa was welcomed by those who work with

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individuals that are undocumented, nevertheless it was only a temporary measure to solve the situation for a certain number and type of illegal immigrant. A more long term and inclusive strategy is required that examines the whole immigration system, as the issues that contribute to people becoming illegal persist within the system. In this context, regularization schemes should operate in tandem with system changes and not just as isolated initiatives (Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009: 20-21). This research acknowledges that the manner in which the Irish immigration system functions in relation to illegal immigration is not that different from other European States. Indeed, they are all part of a broader European and international attitude that aims to restrict immigration. Nonetheless, those that are illegal in Ireland have no clear route to gaining a legal status, other than applying to regularize their status with the Minister for Justice.

1.3.4 The Extent of Illegal Immigration in Ireland

Given Ireland's peripheral geographical location and recent migration history, it is unlikely that the level of illegal immigration is high in comparison to other European countries. Official statistics on the number of illegal immigrants in Ireland do not exist and certain problems with data availability make even an estimate difficult. For instance, Ireland does not maintain a detailed register of resident non-EEA nationals. Although statistics on registration certificates may be drawn from the GNIB registrations database, this database is not designed to produce accurate statistics and the data that is available is very limited. Furthermore, Ireland does not have exit checks at the borders, ports or airports, so it is not known how many migrants have overstayed their permission to be in the State. Also, people who plan to stay in the country less than 90 days are not required to register within the State (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: ix-4). Ultimately, no comprehensive quantitative or qualitative research has been carried out on the number of illegal immigrants in Ireland. The complete lack of hard data or any systematic evidence makes it extremely difficult to assess the extent of illegal immigration in Ireland. Nevertheless, Quinn and Kingston (2012) present data on illegal immigration derived from Eurostat, who estimate that the number of immigrants illegally present in Ireland in 2008 was 3,185, the number for 2009 was 5,035, and the figure for 2010 was 4,325. The main country of origin of these immigrants is said to be Nigeria, followed by China

(Quinn and Kingston, 2012: 54-55). The MRCI (Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland hereafter) published a figure of 30,000 illegal immigrants in 2010; this figure was based on data from the Department of Justice and Equality Annual Report and data on regularizations from the International Centre for Migration and Policy Development (Quinn and Kingston, 2012: 4). Another method of estimating the number of illegal immigrants in Ireland is to assess the number of people refused permission to enter the State and to take account of deportation figures. These figures were gained from the Minister for Justice (Shatter, 2012) and are relayed in table 1.2. During the period between 2002 and 2009, 42,443 migrants were refused permission to enter the country. Of these migrants, 5,440 subsequently applied for asylum. Thus, the actual figure for people refused entry during this period is just over 37,000. The Minister for Justice considers the numbers of people refused 'leave to land' to be an indication of the number of immigrants attempting to come to Ireland illegally (Coghlan, 2007: 13). Nevertheless, this type of data gives an incomplete picture as permission to enter the country may be refused for a range of reasons (Quinn and Hughes, 2005: ix-9). The number of persons removed from the State or deported during this time was 45,239 (Shatter, 2012). Overall, these figures indicate, to some extent, the level of immigrants trying to enter the country and those expelled from the country, but this does not reflect exactly how many immigrants entered the country through legal methods and subsequently became undocumented or illegal. Furthermore, the Government and the GNIB do not know exactly how many immigrants with signed deportation orders remain in Ireland, as people can leave the country of their own accord and, as referred to previously, there are no exit controls from the State (Coghlan, 2007: 13).

Table 1.2: Column A: Persons Refused Permission to Land
            Column B: Persons Refused Permission to Land who were Subsequently
                        Permitted to Enter Having Made an Application for Asylum
            Column C: Persons Removed from the State

Year	A	B	C
2002	6267	1868	5385
2003	5888	1061	6197
2004	4917	440	5641
2005	4714	449	5199
2006	5556	506	5883
2007	5854	454	6185
2008	5390	345	6051
2009	3857	317	4698
Total	42443	5440	45239

In addition to the lack of definitive statistics on illegal immigration, the Irish State has no information on the countries of origin of illegal immigrants, their age, gender, family status, or their regional concentration within Ireland (Quinn and Hughes, 2005: ix-9). Fortunately, there is some case study evidence from NGO research, which concentrates on the time period between 2005 and 2009 that can shed light on this. In 2005, the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) found that of those illegal immigrants surveyed, they were employed in all sectors of the economy (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2010). The MRCI (from their 2006 research) found that those employed as domestic workers, agriculture workers and hotel/catering staff were most likely to become undocumented (Coghlan, 2007: 22). The ICI's 2005 research shows that of those illegal immigrants surveyed (231), 77% had entered Ireland legally and subsequently became illegal (Quinn and Hughes, 2005: 8). Data from the MRCI's 2006 research outlines that out of approximately 1,000 immigrants who entered the country legally, 25% became illegal. Close to 75% of these migrants were from Asian countries, with Central and Eastern European countries constituting more than 15% (Coghlan, 2007: 22). Based on further data from the ICI's research over a 3 year period between 2007 and 2009, the gender breakdown was relatively equal (52% male and 48% female). Notably, the ICI found that the majority of immigrants were documented at the time of lodging an application to renew their status with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and became undocumented while awaiting a decision on their immigration status (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2010). Although this data is not representative of all illegal immigrants during

this time, the culmination of this case study research from civil society groups offers an indication of the types of illegal immigrants in Ireland during this time. This research also indicates that many illegal immigrants entered the country legally and subsequently became illegal.

1.3.5 Defining Illegal Immigration

The following definitions, taken from EU and Irish sources, aim to define what illegal immigration is and who illegal immigrants are:

> any person who does not, or no longer, fulfils the conditions for entry to, presence in, or residence on the territories of the Member States of the European Union (European Commission, 2004).
>
> a non-national who enters, or seeks to enter, or has entered the State unlawfully (Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act, Section 1(1)).
>
> all non-national persons who are in the State without necessary permission are unlawfully present, except for asylum seekers, convention refugees and their families and programme refugees (The Immigration Act 2004, Section 5).
>
> An illegal immigrant is a person whose presence in the State is otherwise than in accordance with our immigration laws. Obviously the term covers persons who entered the State in breach of those laws – either covertly or using false documentation. However, it also covers persons who entered lawfully, but remain beyond the duration of the permission given, or who, although required to adhere to certain conditions (e.g. prohibited from working), are in breach of those conditions (Ahern, 2008: 713).

These definitions of illegal immigrants are very broad and any attempts to classify illegal immigration reveal that it is not a static category that is easily definable. Illegal immigrants can be of any age, gender, nationality, or profession and any simplification, such as illegal immigrants are young single males, is misleading (Duvell, 2006: 4). The status of migrants can easily move between legal and illegal (depending on numerous circumstances) and some migrants can occupy the grey area between legal and illegal. For example, under the stipulations of the 'Duldung' document in Germany, more than 200,000 people have the right to residency, but this document does not grant permission for them to remain in the country. The status of these immigrants is not legal, nor is it illegal (Groenendijk, 2004: xviii). Adding to the malleability of the term are the different meanings that exist between countries, as those considered illegal in one country, may not be illegal in another. In some countries, illegal immigrants can become quasi legal by registering with local authorities (e.g. Spain) or by registering their employment and paying taxes (e.g. this was the case in the Netherlands until 1999) (Duvell, 2006: 3-4).

Migrants can move between categories of legality and illegality for various reasons. The governance of immigration is continually changing and evolving and thus, migrants who were considered legal at one time may become illegal, and vice versa (Duvell, 2006: 3-4). Nevertheless, it can be argued that illegal immigrants have one imposed commonality: the authorities of the country in which they are located deny or dispute their right to be there (Groenendijk, 2004: xviii). The porous nature of the category 'illegal immigrant' is an indication of its constructed nature, which is ultimately based on the assumption that all migration must be conducted in accordance with the continual shifting laws of the nation state (Duvell, 2006: 3-4).

In conjunction with the broad range of official/legal definitions of illegal immigration, a proliferation of terminology surrounds illegal immigration. This vast array of terms materializes in multiple forms depending on the context (e.g. place, time, or political agenda). Some of this terminology includes words such as 'clandestine', 'unauthorized', 'undocumented', 'irregular', 'non-compliant', 'illegal alien', and 'unlawful' (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010: 175; Duvell, 2006: 3-4; Mountz, 2010: xxvii). The term 'illegal' is mainly employed in Western and Northern European countries. The phrase 'clandestine' is mostly applied in Southern European countries and the term 'unauthorized' is very much a US term. NGOs tend to use the phrase 'undocumented' in an attempt to draw attention away from criminal connotations that are implicit in other terminology and to focus on the bureaucratic nature of the governance of migration. Academics, often in an attempt to remain independent, commonly use the terms 'irregular' or 'unauthorized' (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010: 175; Duvell, 2008: 484). In some cases, the terms that are employed are specific to the country, for example the use of the terms 'sans-papiers' in France, 'sin papeles' in Spain, 'migranten zonder papieren' in the Netherlands, and 'papierlose' in Germany. Alternative concepts, such as 'bogus asylum seeker', 'economic refugee', and 'transit migrant' are employed by different state institutions and by the media and much of this type of terminology carries negative connotations (Duvell, 2008: 484). This broad collection of terms mainly refers to the same entity – those who are illegally present in a country. Often, this terminology is used interchangeably, which is perhaps inappropriate, as each term has a specific point of reference, namely politics,

geography, law, crime, identity documents, or regularity. Indeed, the differing terms can mirror national histories and institutional discourses. Ultimately, the terminology that surrounds the act of migrating illegally or being illegal in a country is quite political. Often the term employed reveals more about the person, government body, enforcement agency, or civil society group utilizing the term, than the people they are referring to (Coghlan, 2007: 18; Duvell, 2008: 484).

Due to the politicized nature of the terminology surrounding illegal immigration, researchers need to be mindful of their use of it, as certain terms can confirm the semantic power structures that ultimately reinforce the exclusion of those that are illegal (Duvell, 2008: 484). Indeed, some would argue that the use of particular terminology contributes to the production of political powers that construct illegal immigration in a negative way (Coghlan, 2007: 18; Duvell, 2008: 484). Thus, at the outset of this dissertation it is important to justify the consistent use, in both the title of this research and throughout this thesis, of the term 'illegal'. The rationale behind this is based upon the aim of this research: to examine discursive representations of illegal immigrants in the Irish Parliament and newsprint media. The term 'illegal' is utilized most frequently by the Irish Government, state agencies, and the Irish newsprint media to describe illegal immigration in the Irish context, while the term 'undocumented' is mainly utilized to describe Irish citizens who are illegally resident in the US. NGO researchers in Ireland tend to utilize the terms 'irregular' or 'undocumented', as they claim the term 'illegal' has negative connotations and alternatives, such as 'irregular'/'undocumented' do not have such associations. Even some academics prefer to utilize the word 'undocumented' or 'irregular' when discussing illegal immigration. Groenendijk, for instance, prefers to employ the term 'irregular' to avoid disqualifying the human beings concerned and to imply that the irregularity of their status may be remedied one day (2004: xix). This dissertation acknowledges and identifies with these points of view; nevertheless, upon reflection, for this specific piece of research the term 'illegal' is important to actively employ and explicitly use for a number of reasons. Firstly, this dissertation aims to examine the discourses that surround illegal immigration, thus, one must engage with the term illegal. Secondly, there is a considerable distinction between who the Irish

Government and the Irish newsprint media consider to be 'illegal' (non-EU migrants) and who they consider to be 'undocumented' (Irish nationals in the US). The alternative, posed by NGOs and academics, to employ an apparently less negative and a more politically correct term would be distancing this research from that which is under analysis: the portrayal of illegal immigration in institutional texts and how such representations are linked to identity construction and power formations. For these reasons, this dissertation utilizes the term 'illegal immigration' throughout its analysis.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of Research

The main objective of this research is to investigate how illegal immigration was responded to and discursively represented in Irish institutional texts between 2002 and 2009. The institutional texts that are under investigation are from the Irish Parliament (the Dáil, the Seanad, the Committee on Justice, Equality, Defence, and Women's Rights, and the Committee on European Affairs) and the Irish newsprint media (the Irish Times, the Irish Independent, the Irish Examiner, and the Sunday Tribune). This research has a number of key questions: (i) how is illegal immigration articulated in institutional texts between 2002 and 2009?; (ii) how can these discursive representations of illegal immigration inform us about identity constructions and power formations? This research employs the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA hereafter) method of historical argumentation analysis or topoi analysis. Topoi analysis aims to identify the various argumentations that may be contained within a given text. The argumentations that are found in institutional texts can form broader discourses about a given 'subject', namely illegal immigrants. This methodology aims to explain the link between certain institutional discourses and particular justifications for actions (Grue, 2009: 310-312). Interviews are also undertaken with politicians and civil society activists in order to expand upon the institutional data and to assess if similar argumentations arise in the interview context. This research maintains that discourses are highly significant and extremely influential instruments of power in society (drawing upon Foucault's notion of governmentality). Based upon this premise, the key aim of this research is to examine discursive evidence of power and identity formations that materialize in institutional texts. This research is interested in examining implicit portrayals of illegal immigrants in

institutional texts, as these texts do not contain innocent forms of language use. It is through these types of institutional texts that 'dominant' ideologies of legitimate identities (i.e. the citizen) and illegitimate (i.e. the illegal immigrant) identities are formed (van Dijk, 1995a: 3), which can influence how the public think about illegal immigration and national identity. While acknowledging that there are those that may resist 'dominant' discourses, this intricate process can result in particular 'mentalities' of illegal immigration and belonging becoming entwined in the psyche of the general public. In this research, discursive representations of illegal immigrants are viewed as vessels of power and the aim of this research is to deconstruct them in order to cast light upon the constructed nature of the category 'illegal immigration'. This dissertation also aims to assess the function of discursive representations of illegal immigration, as the data indicates that discourses of influence that are produced in institutions can lead to exclusionary practices within Irish society, namely the 'legitimate' and authoritative exclusion of illegal immigrants.

This research aims to make a number of contributions to academia and to the discipline of geography. Firstly, while acknowledging that illegal immigration has been researched in other geographical locations to a considerable level (for example in the US); illegal immigration is an area of migration that has been under researched in the Irish context. Indeed, even within the European context illegal immigration is often viewed as a taboo subject. One of the reasons for this is that illegal immigration often overlaps and is confused with human smuggling, trafficking, asylum seekers, and refugees (Duvell, 2008: 484-485). Furthermore, as the topic of illegal immigration is highly politicized, most of the literature (especially from government bodies) tends to view it within the framework of security concerns, which aim to prevent and control illegal immigration. This type of research often focuses upon estimating the number of illegal immigrants and on gathering and analyzing statistics (Duvell, 2008: 484-485). This dissertation distances itself from this form of research, concentrating specifically on discursive representations of illegal immigrants in Irish institutional texts. Thus, attention is taken away from illegal immigrants and is placed upon institutional texts. As Jones (2009: 186) argues, the

xenophobic and exclusionary categorization of the present era brings the importance of investigating illegal immigration into sharp focus.

Secondly, this research aims to contribute to the broad school of thought within human geography that adopts a Foucauldian approach in understanding power and the role of discourses (Huxley, 2009: 258-260). This dissertation plans to add to this body of work by providing evidence of how discursive power can operate through a number of institutions in society that are not necessarily state entities (i.e. the newsprint media). This thesis also endeavours to unravel the discursively constructed nature of the nation state and to show how 'dominant' discourses normalize this governing structure as a space for Irish people, while those from outside are delegitimized as the 'other'. Drawing upon work by critical geographers who view discourses as an aid to the maintenance of political domination and oppression (Berg, 2009: 215), this research aims to reveal how discourses function to maintain exclusionary practices in the Irish context (i.e. the exclusion of illegal immigrants). A key contribution of this research is to draw attention to the geographical nature of texts and the broader discourses that they form. This research aims to do so by highlighting how discourses are based within a specific context (i.e. place and time) and are also set within specific sites (i.e. institutions). Discourses can also contribute to the production of places of belonging and non-belonging. These various elements will be addressed throughout this dissertation and a broader discussion on the geographical nature of discourses will be provided in the final chapter.

Thirdly, this research contributes to the methodological use of CDA in both the geographic discipline and in the Irish context. The field of CDA is not well known or widely utilized in the Irish academic arena or within the discipline of geography. This thesis adds to this growing body of work and portrays how this approach is highly functional and valuable. CDA offers both a conceptual framework and a methodological approach that one can gain enormously from. Although the practice of CDA can be quite an arduous process at times, the results that this approach produces, and the in-depth analysis and results that stem from it, vastly outweigh any negative aspects. Furthermore, this dissertation is multidisciplinary in its approach, drawing upon different academic

fields, from geography, to history, linguistics, media studies, and sociology. The thesis portrays the importance of moving between academic disciplines for theoretical and methodological approaches that can aid the research process.

Lastly, this CDA exploration of Irish institutional texts is not merely an academic investigation of governmental and identity ideologies that are interwoven within texts, this research is in itself a social action of opposing discriminatory discursive ideologies. It does so by raising awareness of the opaque manners in which power is legitimized and how exclusionary practices are justified in discourses (KhosraviNik, 2008: 4). The research aims to produce enlightenment and emancipation by critiquing texts and making visible and drawing attention to the interconnections between institutions and the texts and broader discourses that they (re)produce (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 6-7).

1.5 Outline of Dissertation

This thesis began by introducing the topic of illegal immigration and by examining the international and European contexts. This was followed by an analysis of the Irish context and briefly examining Ireland's migration history and Irish immigration legislation. The nature and extent of illegal immigration in Ireland was also outlined. This chapter additionally investigated how illegal immigration is defined and the range of terminology that is utilized to refer to it. The chapter concluded by outlining the aims and objectives of this research and by discussing how this research aims to make a contribution to knowledge. Overall, this chapter has set the context for the remainder of this dissertation. The next chapter, Chapter 2, details the theoretical framework of this thesis. This includes an examination of the link between power and ideology, an exploration of Foucault's theory of governmentality, and the concept of 'subjectivities'/identities. The role of the nation state and national identity in the functioning of power is also examined. Additionally, the concept of discourses is investigated in detail. This chapter argues that all of these elements are linked to a broader understanding of the ways in which power functions through discursive ideologies. Building on the theoretical foundations of Chapter 2, Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach of this dissertation. Chapter 3 begins by outlining the

methodological approach of CDA and the specific method that this research employs – topoi analysis. The chapter also explores the nature of parliamentary texts and newsprint media texts and the links between these two institutions. Furthermore, the research design of the dissertation is outlined, including an explanation of how the data was gathered and organized, the number of texts identified, and an explanation of the interviews that were undertaken. Chapter 4 examines the texts that are produced about illegal immigration in the Irish Parliament, while Chapter 5 investigates the texts that are produced about illegal immigration in the Irish newsprint media (between 2002 and 2009). Within Chapters 4 and 5, a CDA of texts that refer to illegal immigration is undertaken, which aims to reveal the way illegal immigrants were discursively represented through these institutions. Chapter 6 brings together the range of data that was gathered from the institutional texts with interview data, offering a comprehensive understanding of the numerous discursive representations of illegal immigration in the Irish context. The final chapter (Chapter 7) examines the overall findings of this research, including a discussion on what this research has uncovered about broader power structures and the processes of identity formation. An important element of this chapter examines the overall function of the various discursive representations of illegal immigrants in Irish institutional texts. The chapter also addresses how this thesis has contributed to knowledge and offers some suggestions for future research. The chapter concludes by briefly addressing whether there is a solution to illegal immigration and refers to the lived experience of illegal immigrants in the Irish context.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In broad terms, power can be defined as the control by members of one group over those of other groups (van Dijk, 2001: 302), while governance is the management of state affairs or the mechanisms by which a government establishes a regime of power and regulation (Shirlow, 2009: 41). Theories of power and governance are highly varied, and over time, there have been many conceptualizations of the role of the State, from Marxist theories to Neo-liberalist theories. Traditional theories of governance conceived of the nation state as a unified, homogeneous category (Mountz, 2003: 633-636), associated with a master narrative of the State's history (Sarup, 1993: 58-98). Under this conceptualization, direct physical force, violence, and the constant threat of such actions wield power over the territory and the populous. Recent conceptualizations of power and governance contest this basic framework and perceive of governance practices in a more complex manner (van Dijk, 1993a: 254). Wodak and Meyer (2009: 9-10) identify three distinct approaches to power: (i) power as a result of specific resources of individual actors (e.g. French and Raven, 1959); (ii) power as a specific attribute of social exchange in each interaction (e.g. Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1962, 1975); (iii) and power as a systematic and constitutive characteristic of society (e.g. Gramsci, 1971, 1957; Foucault, 1975). This thesis conceptualizes power in the latter way, as it draws upon Foucault's notion of discourses and his theories of governmentality and subjectivity. This thesis also utilizes the conceptual and methodological approach of CDA, which is influenced by the works of Foucault.

The key theoretical element that this thesis pivots upon is the concept of discourses. Drawing upon a Foucauldian understanding of how power operates (governmentality), this dissertation argues that discourses are more than a collection of words. Discourses can be used as instruments of power in society. While allowing for the possibility that discourses are one of other potential tools that are employed in the exercising of power, it is argued here that it is important to recognise the influence of discourses, as they operate through taken for granted and unquestioned conceptualizations within society (Wodak et

al., 2009: 1). Foucault asserts that particular governmental ideologies, world views, or 'knowledges' (as he refers to them) are disseminated into society through numerous, varied and implicit discourses that are expressed at a range of sites. These sites are not only government institutions. Foucault argues that this can also include other key societal institutions that are not under direct state control, such as media organizations or educational sectors. These social institutions and the persons that operate within these institutions (acknowledging that this process may be taking place unconsciously by individuals within these organizations) reproduce and mediate distinct discourses that disseminate ideologies throughout society. The taken for granted and everyday beliefs of the populous are moulded via a process of internalization of ideologically-laden discourses, which can influence how the populous think about certain topics. This research acknowledges that there are those that may resist or oppose 'dominant' discourses and there are those that can hold contradictory views on a given subject. Nevertheless, it is argued here that on the whole, it is through processes of governmentality that 'knowledges' of power become intertwined in multiple discourses, which materialize into broad and general common-sense understandings and 'truths'. This process results in a number of broad outcomes: (a) the willing acceptance of regulations and controls by (a large section of) the populous, as governmental strategies are perceived to be 'natural'; (b) self-regulation of the (majority of the) populous; and (c) the production of 'subjects'. In addition, governmental discourses establish several identity narratives, linked to place and governance (i.e. national identities and migrant identities), which are legitimized and delegitimized in discourses. This chapter argues that the continual (re)construction of national identities is a necessary process for those who hold State power, as they need to continually legitimize and validate their status in society and justify a range of actions. Ultimately, this dissertation asserts that various expressions and manipulations of power employ discourses in order to gain, establish and maintain unequal power relations and to perpetuate dominance within society (van Dijk, 2009: 88-89).

This research aims to demystify governmental ideologies of identity formation in order to reveal how power can operate in the discursive construction of illegal immigration

(Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8). Numerous and varied discourses are produced about illegal immigration, which combine to form distinct 'ideologies' or 'knowledges' about it. Within this process, the 'subject' (the illegal immigrant) is constructed and regulated, which places illegal immigrants into an unequal position (compared to citizens) and maintains their exclusion from society. Ideologies that surround illegal immigrants are identifiable by examining the texts that refer to them and by analyzing the discourses that arise from these texts. Particular typologies of discourses, such as discourses that frame illegal immigration as a threat to society, link directly to broader ideologies of how illegal immigration is constructed and conceptualized. An examination of discursive representations of illegal immigration can uncover the ways in which illegal immigrants are constructed as 'subjects' and the subsequent manner in which they are governed. This research focuses upon the geographical scale of nation state, as it is within this constructed structure of governance that the processes of governmentality take place. It is also within this scale of governance that identities linked to the nation are constructed and legitimized, which results in the justified exclusion of illegal immigrants from society. Thus, this theoretical approach to the geographies of governance and the nation state contends that the various institutional texts that refer to illegal immigration reflect broader ideologies of governmentality and national identity, and argues that discursive identity formation plays a considerable role in the prevailing negative attitude towards illegal immigrants (Mountz, 2003: 621).

The chapter expands upon this introduction to the theoretical framework of this dissertation by exploring the links between power and ideology, Foucault's theory of governmentality, and the concept of 'subjectivities'/identities. The role of the nation state and national identity in the functioning of power is also outlined. In essence, this chapter puts forth the argument that all of these elements link to a broader understanding of the manner in which power can function through discursive ideologies. Following from this, the concept of discourses is investigated in detail. This includes a discussion on how discourse is understood broadly within academia, the differences between text and discourse, and an in-depth examination of how Foucault understands discourses. This section concludes by analyzing the discursive construction of power, the discursive

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construction of 'knowledges', 'truths', and 'subjects', and the functioning of discourses in social change. Fundamentally, the chapter forms the theoretical foundations upon which the remainder of this dissertation rests.

2.2 The Functioning of Power through Discursive Strategies

2.2.1 Ideology and Power

The majority of people in society hold an array of ideologies or world views (including contradictory positions) without necessarily thinking about them in depth or actively constructing them. As ideologies underlie a wide-range of belief systems and are universal in formation, individuals do not consciously form ideological beliefs. For this reason, ideologies are open to being moulded by those in powerful positions for particular ends (van Dijk, 1993b: 258; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-9). The concept of ideology has attained a range of functions and meanings since it first emerged in the late eighteenth century, examples include conceptualizations based on Marxist approaches and understandings based upon Althusser (Gregory et al., 2009; Thompson, 1990). Recent understandings conceptualize ideologies as a form of social cognition. This dissertation views ideologies as coherent and relatively stable sets of beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions, or world views that people can hold (van Dijk, 1993b: 258; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-9). These ideologies are not mere beliefs on certain topics or social attitudes, such as opinions on divorce or capitalism. The types of ideologies that are of interest here are the beliefs that form the basis of people's taken for granted, everyday thoughts, and culturally shared 'knowledges'; essentially people's general and abstract mental representations. These latent ideologies can be utilized as methods of power formation, as they are (mostly) invisible to the populous and are exercised and reproduced through routine, subtle and everyday forms of discourses that appear 'natural' and 'common-sense' (van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10). Ideologies of power are implicit, hidden, and discursively presupposed across groups within a given cultural and historical period (van Dijk, 2000d: 93-95; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10).

Ideologies are enacted through social practices and through discourses, which aim to achieve particular functions and outcomes. Those in positions of power and influence are more likely (over others in society) to hold the potential and authority to construct, influence and govern ideologies. As ideologies are unconsciously formed and (mainly) unchallenged by the populous, those in positions of power can attempt to mould ideological constructs that can result in desired actions. This form of power is exercised through cognitive methods and discourses are the enactments of underlying ideologies or belief systems. The deconstruction of ideologies is an important task to undertake, in order for ideologies to be denaturalized and so that their broad acceptance within society can be disrupted (van Dijk, 2000d: 93-95; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10). There are four central characteristics of ideologies: (i) they must be logically coherent; (ii) the achievement and maintenance of power is more important than independent and critical cognitions (acquiring knowledge through thought and understanding); (iii) the guidance of people's evaluations is imperative; and lastly, (iv) such ideological guidance is provided through action (Mullins, 1972). Ideological discourses are highly effective formations of power for a number of reasons. Firstly, their naturalized form deflects challenges posed by the populous (except from a minority that will challenge 'dominant' discourses). Secondly, as the majority of populous (dissent is acknowledged here) can think alike on array of matters, 'dominant' discourses and ways of thinking become validated. Thirdly, people can forget or overlook that there are possible alternatives to the status quo. Lastly, as ideologies and power are entwined in discourses, the constant use of language by people ensures that discourses are a key tool for power to operate discursively and for power-'mentalities' to be continually internalized by people (van Dijk, 2000d: 93-95; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10). Ideologically-laden discourses not only influence the way people think about matters in order to gain compliance, they also perform a number of other functions. Ideological discourses can legitimize control, naturalizing social order, and establish and maintain unequal power relations (including inequality, domination, and exploitation). This thesis asserts that this type of cognitive power is more effective than power in the form of violence or force, as it is enacted through persuasion, dissimulation, and manipulation. Furthermore, this type of power is adhered to through self-regulation (Fairclough, 2003a: 218; van Dijk, 1993a: 254-258;

van Dijk, 2000c: 88-92; van Dijk, 2001: 302; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-9). The aim is not to reveal the falseness of ideologies, but to uncover the production of 'true' discourses (Dean, 2010: 5).

2.2.2 Governmentality

This section aims to extend and unravel the concept of ideology by drawing upon Foucault's theory of governmentality. This thesis puts forth a conceptualization of power in the Foucauldian tradition, as the role of discourses is vital to an understanding of the current discursive construction and subsequent control and exclusion of illegal immigrants from Irish society. It must be noted that Foucault's theory of governmentality differs considerably from other theories of power, such as hegemony. Gramsci argues that hegemonic power functions through a combination of coercion and consent. The ruling classes attain consent and all other classes comply with it by instilling particular moral beliefs, consciousness, and ideologies into society. This process results in the acquisition of ethical authority by the State, and thus, the State's repressive, class nature transforms into one perceived to be moral, normal, universal, and 'natural'. Therefore, hegemonic state power does not rest solely on force; it is through 'legitimate' consent and persuasion that coercion is attained (Hobden and Wyn Jones, 2008: 149-150). Gramsci's theory of hegemonic power contributes considerably to understanding power and indeed, it reinvigorated Marxist theory. Nevertheless, over time and under the impact of the cultural turn, many academics found the theory of hegemony and other existing theories of power to be inadequate. On the other hand, Foucault's conceptualization of power (governmentality) provided a more complex way of understanding how power operates (Gunn, 2006: 707-708). Although the theories of hegemony and governmentality have some similar elements – both view the successful acquisition of power to function through ideologies and through discourses (Jackson Lears, 1985: 568-570) – there are a number of fundamental differences in how Gramsci and Foucault understand power formation and conceive of the role of discourses in the functioning of power. Gramsci envisages power in a Marxist, structured, top down manner. He maintains that government ideas and values penetrate from the top down to all other classes. In comparison, Foucault does not view power in a Marxist structural form. For him, power

is not central; power takes an unstructured, dispersed form that involves other types of social controls apart from state control, such as control wielded through dispersed institutions. Thus, Foucauldian power is internal and external to the State. Governmental 'knowledges' are produced through discourses, which enable individuals to govern themselves. This process produces individuals, 'subjects', and solicits compliance. For Gramsci, however, discourses do not have such importance attached to them. Gramsci views discourses as mere rhetoric that are disseminated into the populous by those in power (e.g. by economic and political elites) and as a framework within which people represent their lived experience. Meanwhile, Foucault asserts that discourses play a more significant role. He views discourses as a system of meaning internalized by people and as elements that constitute institutions, practices, and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways. Therefore, when moving from a neo-Marxist perspective to a post-structuralist perspective, there are distinct differences (Larner, 2000: 12). For Gramsci, governmental 'knowledges' produce consent, while for Foucault 'knowledges' produce individualization (Jackson Lears, 1985: 568-570). While this thesis acknowledges the distinct contribution of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it contends that Foucault's theory of governmentality offers a more complex understanding of power and allows for a fuller conceptualization of how power can operate through discursive strategies.

In his early writings of *Madness and Civilization* (1961) and *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), Foucault conceptualized power as a top down system and as a repressive force. From *Discipline and Punish* (1975) onwards, Foucault viewed power in a more flexible and complex manner. He did not perceive power as a possession, but as a productive and strategic entity (Gunn, 2006: 708-709; Hall, 2001: 77). In 1976, Foucault asserted, *'in political analysis we have still not cut off the king's head'*, referring to how conceptualizations of power and governance remained unsatisfactory (Burchell et al., 1991: ix-x). Although Foucault moved away from traditional conceptualizations of power, he did not deny the prevailing dominance of the State, the law, or those in elite positions in society. Nevertheless, Foucault did question how power operates (Foucault, 1991a: 102-103; Hall, 2001: 77). In this attempt, Foucault drew upon Nietzsche's notion of genealogy (Sarup, 1993: 58-98) and investigated the historical origins of powerful

institutions (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000: 24-28). By enquiring into this matter Foucault revealed how power does not simply function through a top down structure, through force and/or violence (Foucault, 1991a: 102-103; Hall, 2001: 77). Modern power, which Foucault contends emerged in the sixteenth century, functions through a discursive network system. He termed this formation of power as governmentality (Gordon, 1991: 8). The two parts to the term governmentality – *'gouverner'* and *'mentalité'* – explain how Foucault conceptualizes power. These two concepts underline the semantic link between the acts of governing and the modes of thought that underpin them. Governmentality does not operate by forcing people to obey, act or think in certain ways. It is in the course of internalization of particular 'mentalities', rationalities or ideologies, disseminated through 'knowledges' and discourses, that individuals come to think about things in certain ways and govern themselves in ways that hold the potential to serve political ends (Dean, 2010: 18; Häkli, 2009: 628-269). 'Mentalities' of government are framed within 'regimes of truth' (repressed/secreted projects of rule) that aim to inform and direct the thoughts and actions of the populous (Dean, 2010: 18; Huxley, 2007: 186-187). This form of power is highly effective as it is addressed to individuals who perceive themselves to be 'free' to act in one way or another (Gordon, 1991: 4-5), but who are so strongly influenced by differing 'mentalities' that they willingly self-govern. In this way, Foucault moves beyond understanding power in a purely negative and repressive way and views power as a resourceful entity (Gunn, 2006: 708-709; Hall, 2001: 77). Governmental power is productive, as it constructs 'mentalities', ideologies, discourses, 'subjectivities' and actions that direct, regulate, control and shape human conduct (Dean, 2010: 18). In many ways, governmental power must be productive, as this type of regime is never secured and guaranteed. It is an endless and open strategic game (Gordon, 1991: 4-5) that must be reproduced over time. Thus, governmentality is a lived experience and ideologically-laden discourses are produced on a continual (often daily) basis by institutions and individuals in society (Mountz, 2003: 633-636).

Foucault's understanding of power grounds one's conceptualization of the State – it is not an intangible, abstract concept (Mountz, 2003: 633-636), or a body that operates from a single institution. This dissertation puts forth the argument that power formation is more

complex that this, as governmental power manoeuvres through a network of institutions, operating at different levels, across disparate geographies, comprised of different individuals, working within diverse mandates, frameworks, procedures, 'mentalities', and discourses (Dean, 2010: 18; Foucault, 1991a: 102-103). This network system allows power relations to permeate all levels of social existence and to operate at multiple sites (Hall, 2001: 77). For Foucault, all 'truth'-claims are products of the pervasive will-to-power within language, as discourses validate the powerful positions of individuals and institutions (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000: 24-28; Sarup, 1993: 58-98). Ultimately, governmental power has a number of key elements: (i) it operates within a network system; (ii) its acts are invented, multiple, and diffuse; (iii) it is produced through discourses; and (iv) it presupposes thought (Burchell et al., 1991: ix-x).

2.2.3 'Subjectivities' and Identities

Of great significance to this dissertation are the 'subjectivities'/identities, which Foucault (1991b: 59-60) contends are disseminated and internalized by people and reproduced through discourses (Häkli, 2009: 628-269). Discourses are vital in the understanding of identities, as language and identity have a dialectic relationship. The use of language constructs who people are and defines their reality (Anderson, 1983; Ricoeur, 1992; Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003; Wodak et al., 2009). The State makes full use of this reciprocal relationship between language and identities by incorporating discursive identities as an apparatus of power. Identities are constructed by the State through a number of state apparatuses, including instruments, technologies, 'mentalities', ideologies (values and traditions), and discourses. These elements are disseminated through a network of dispersed sites and institutions (such as the media, educational institutions, and sporting bodies) and through every day practices. All of these processes culminate to form 'dominant' identity discourses, resulting in the construction of individual and collective identities (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000: 24-28; Gray, 2006a: 355; Guibernau, 2007: 25; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-5). These governmental processes mould, internalize and normalize a sense of identity in the course of socialization (Wodak et al., 2009: 28). The production of identities can also have powerful effects. One prominent example of this is the importance that is placed on

national identity in society and how membership of the nation (citizenship) can become an intrinsic form of self-definition for people (Day and Thompson, 2004: 88).

Although governmental processes construct identities, governmental regimes do not necessarily have the power to predetermine specific forms of identity formation (Dean, 2010: 43-44; Gray, 2006b: 122). As group or individual identities are always in the process of becoming, they are not stable or coherent in formation. Identities are fragmented, dynamic, and changeable. Indeed, people can have multiple identities, depending upon the context, time, event, and multiple other factors (Wodak, 2012: 216-217). Nonetheless, governmental processes aim to direct, elicit, promote, facilitate and foster various capacities, qualities and statuses of identities. The internalization of identities is evident when people come to experience themselves through their capacities (e.g. rational decision making), qualities (e.g. having a gender), and statuses (e.g. being an academic, or an activist, or a solicitor). The key aspect of governmental power is not necessarily the directing of identity production; what is more considerable is the ability of those in powerful positions in society to direct people towards self-regulation, self-governance, and to identify themselves and others within certain categories (Dean, 2010: 43-44; Gray, 2006b: 122). As the notion of identity always presupposes that there are similarities and differences between people (including exclusionary and inclusionary processes and legitimate/illegitimate identities), discourses are used to determine these elements and to draw clear boundaries between 'us' and 'others'. People internalize these differences and 'naturally' employ processes of categorization in everyday life, resulting in the implicit use of ideological conceptualizations (Holzscheiter, 2005; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

2.2.4 The Nation State and National Identity

The multiple links between power, governance, discourses, and identity emerge when one places these elements in the context of the nation state and the construction of national identity. The modern nation state can be described as a politically formed geographical unit, defined by a territory and boundary, which is governed by a sovereign state. The people that reside within the State (citizens) have an assumed shared cultural identity and

have, in theory, equal rights and responsibilities (Nevins, 2002: 152-153). Nation states represent an entity that contains a solid group of people (communities) who share a distinctive history and tradition (Day and Thompson, 2004: 88-90). However, it has been argued in recent years that nation states are relatively modern constructs (Anderson, 1983; Balibar, 1991; Simmel, 1997; Dekavalla, 2010) that have evolved through a process of shifting the populous' loyalty away from the monarch (in the Middle Ages) to the 'mentality' of a loyalty towards 'our community'/'our nation' (Nevins, 2002: 152-153; Wodak et al., 2009: 21-22).

Of course not all contemporary nation states are the same. Particular countries (such as Ireland, Germany, and France) can be seen as distinctly ethno-national in their formation, as opposed to political states (e.g. Canada). Modern nation states became established through a number of structural elements, namely, the internal pacification of territories, a monopoly over the legitimate use of violence, the implementing and legitimization of taxation, the establishment of a common currency, the formation of the legal system, certain standards of literacy and language, the setting up of a time-space system, and the granting of rights to citizens (Dean, 2010: 33-34). These elements form the basic structures of a nation; nevertheless, loyalty towards the nation also needs to be established by other methods. A sense of national identity is solidified through the discursive dissemination of several symbols, images, rituals and stories/memories about the nation, such as a common history (Guibernau, 2007: 23-25; Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). It is argued here that national identity is based on a number of key elements: psychological ('imagined community'); cultural (values, beliefs, customs, and language); territorial (including borders); historical (a collective memory of antiquity); and political (governance and the nation state) (Anderson, 1983: 42-46; Guibernau, 2007: 11). As identities are never fixed and always becoming, these differing elements are employed, at diverse times and in a number of places, by those in powerful positions in the continuous reproduction of national identity. Discursive entities allow people to become attached to the nation, to connect the nation's present to its past, and for the citizen to see themselves as being part of the nation (Guibernau, 2007: 23-25; Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). All of these structural and ideological elements combine to create and reinforce a sense of

national identity (Guibernau, 2007: 23-24), which has become one of the most powerful belief systems of the nineteenth and twentieth century (Hjerm and Schnabel, 2010: 2). Although national identity is currently the prevailing belief system for many people around the world, this dissertation aims to draw attention to a number of elements, namely, the constructed and discursive nature of national identity and national belonging; the reasoning's and rationalities behind this taken for granted conceptualization; and how national identity can play a substantial role in the functioning of governmental processes (Bourdieu, 1991; Hall, 1992). In essence, it is through discourses that national identities are enabled and (re)produced, as well as transformed and disseminated (Guibernau, 2007: 25; Wodak, 2012: 216-217; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-5). Indeed, a national culture is a discourse – it is a way of constructing meanings that influences and organizes people's actions and their conceptualizations of themselves and others (Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23).

The granting of various rights to citizens of the State (citizenship, civil, legal, and political) and the resulting practices of identity formation has significant and powerful effects on society in a number of ways. Firstly, when a person has citizenship and is legally part of the State, a sense of belonging and attachment emerges, which facilitates the continual loyalty of the citizen towards the State. Secondly, this process clearly identifies a crucial distinction between those included and those excluded from the nation (i.e. between citizen and non-citizen). This distinction fosters the creation and identification of common enemy's, both internal (national and ethnic minorities, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers) and external (the threat of international terrorism, organized crime, or ecological disasters). Such dichotomies have proven crucial to the development of a sense of national identity (Guibernau, 2007: 25-30), as the national is only fully realized through the identification of the non-national. By establishing binary oppositions between 'us' and 'them', discourses of national identity can reinforce group/collective identities, which serve the interests of governmental power structures (Nevins, 2002: 157-163). The discursive practices of identification, categorization and nomination are in themselves exercises of power, as the State has the ability to assign and classify different people (e.g. migrants) (Mountz, 2010: 114).

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Although migration is often portrayed in a negative way, it regularly provides an important function in state formation, as migrants embody the role of the 'other' and strengthen a sense of 'us', a sense of the national community. By portraying migrants as potential threats to the stability, order and prosperity of the nation state (Guibernau, 2007: 30), sentiment towards the nation is mobilized and defence measures are enacted towards the protection of the nation. Additionally, through the identification of the 'other', embodied in the migrant, it is clear to members of the community who belongs to the nation and who does not belong (Gray, 2006b: 122). In established nations (as opposed to nations that are more recent in their formation) the route from immigrant to citizen tends to be normalized. However, the issue of the 'deserving'/'desirable' immigrant may still arise.

2.3 Discourses

2.3.1 How Discourse is Understood

Up to this point, the chapter has explored the theories of ideology, power formation (governmentality), and identity construction (national identity). While discussing these issues, the concept of discourse and the role of discourses have been referred to on a number of occasions. As discourses are a key pillar in the theoretical foundations of this thesis, this section aims to unravel the concept of discourse in detail. Since the 1970s, the terms 'discourse' and 'text' have become familiar phrases in both academia and in everyday life. Even though both terms are commonly utilized, they have become quite difficult to define. Many wide-ranging, conflicting and overlapping understandings of the terms have emerged from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. This vagueness in the definition of both terms has resulted in semantic fuzziness and terminological flexibility (Fairclough, 2000a: 3-4; Wodak et al., 2009: 7). Within differing academic cultures and disciplines, the terms are used in several ways. In the German and central European contexts, a distinction is made between text and discourse (e.g. Brunner and Graefen, 1994; Vass, 1992; Wodak and Koller, 2008), while in France discourse refers to the connection between language and thought. In the English-speaking world, discourse is often utilized to refer to both written and oral texts (e.g. Gee, 2004; Schiffrin, 1994) (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 5-6). In the UK, the term discourse is synonymous with text

and refers to authentic everyday linguistic communication. Furthermore, there are considerable distinctions in understandings of text and discourse between European and Anglo-American academia. In essence, understandings of discourse and text are distinctly linked to the research context and theoretical approach within which a particular academic is situated in and/or adheres to (Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6).

2.3.2 The Differences Between Text and Discourse

This thesis makes an explicit distinction between text and discourse, as these entities have differing functions in the operation of power networks in the Foucauldian tradition. Texts are to be thought of in the singular, as a specific piece of language or communication that is in itself insignificant and has minimal effects (for example, a single newspaper report). The significance of texts emerges when they combine to form broader discourses. Discourses are formed when various texts of differing and various typologies appear through multiple, repetitive strategies in several contexts. While texts are tangible, discourses are more abstract forms of language and communication. Thus, when focusing upon specifics in language one can refer to text, but when one seeks patterns, commonalities, or relationships that embrace different texts, one can speak of discourses. Texts combine to form distinct discourses, which are manifestations of ideological forms. The production of discourses can lead to the emergence and solidification of 'knowledges' that can have sustained powerful effects upon the populous. van Dijk (1990: 164) aptly refers to discourse as text in context (Jager and Maier, 2009: 38; Lemke, 1995: 7; Reisigl and Wodak, 2011: 89; Wodak, 2008: 6; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6).

2.3.3 Foucault's Understanding of the Role of Discourses

> Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse in Europe over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a beating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious matter of history? Or must we conclude that in order to refuse this lesson, you are determined to misunderstand discursive practices (Foucault, 1972: 231).

In this elegant statement, Foucault calls upon us to refrain from ignoring the significance of discourses and to give adequate attention to their wielding influence and power. Foucault has not only had a huge influence upon the popularization of the concept of

discourse (Fairclough, 2000a: 37-38), his work has also prompted a re-conceptualization of what discourses are and how they function. Nevertheless, in common with much of his work (such as his understanding of power) he does not define discourses in a single manner. Reisigl (2003), for example, identifies 23 meanings applied to discourses by Foucault in his famous lecture in the College de France (*Orders of Discourse*). Thus, for Foucault, discourses are not definitive entities or a strict system of concepts. Discourses are abstract flows of 'knowledges' that form relationships between discursive events throughout time. These 'knowledge'-discourses are internalized by people and become taken for granted and 'natural' ways of thinking, talking, and acting. Power is exercised through discourses, as the dissemination and internalization of 'knowledges' can result in regulated and institutionalized 'mentalities' and behaviours. Although 'knowledges' are perceived as 'truths', they are only valid at a certain place and at a certain time, thus revealing their constructed nature (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6). Central to Foucault's understanding of discourses are a number of key questions. Firstly, what is valid 'knowledge' at a certain place and at a certain time? An identification of dominant-'knowledges' or common-'knowledges' can reveal and indicate who produces such discourses and thus, may uncover those in positions of influence. Secondly, how does this 'knowledge' arise and how is it passed on? Foucault argues that 'knowledges' materialize through varying 'dominant' discourses and are passed on through their dissemination into the populous and subsequent internalization by the populous. Thirdly, what functions do 'knowledges' have for constituting 'subjects'? 'Knowledges' produce 'truths' about people and construct identities and 'subjects', which can result in the portrayal of certain people in negative ways and the maintenance of inequality in society. Lastly, what consequences do these processes have for the overall shaping and development of society? Certain discourses are produced in order to maintain the status quo and to allow for the legitimization of social domination and unequal power relations (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34). These distinctive questions will be further elaborated upon in the following sections that examine in detail the three main roles of discourses: (i) the discursive construction of power; (ii) the discursive construction of 'knowledges', 'truths' and 'subjects'; and (iii)

the functioning of discourse in social change (Fairclough, 2000a: 37-38; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6).

2.3.4 The Discursive Construction of Power

Foucault's concentration on discourses is inextricably linked with how he conceptualizes the functioning of power in modern society – governmentality. It has been established previously that governmental power functions through a system of networks, which are in many cases difficult to identify. However, Foucault held the view that networks of power materialize in discourses and power can function through discourses by legitimizing unequal power relations and social inequality (Fairclough, 2003b: 232-233; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 261; Huxley, 2009: 256-257; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-23). Power is discursively constructed and exercised through 'knowledges', but how are these 'knowledges' validated and legitimized and how are they passed on? In this regard, three different dimensions of discursive power can be identified: 'power in discourse', 'power over discourse', and 'power of discourse'. The first of these, 'power in discourse' refers to the struggle over meanings and interpretations of terms and discourses. 'Power over discourse' refers to the access certain actors have in influencing and disseminating particular discourses into the public domain. Certain groups and individuals have more power than others over discourses, as they can have privileged access to the media, for example, or they have greater financial resources. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that an individual or a group has the power to defy 'dominant' discourses or to have full control over discourses. Having said that, there is a distinct parallel between social power and discourse access: the more discourse genres, contexts, participants, scope, audiences and text characteristics a group actively controls or influences, the more powerful they are. The 'power of discourse' lies in the fact that discourses delineate a range of statements which are 'sayable' and which are not 'sayable' (Link and Link-Heer, 1990) at a given period and in a given society. In essence, there are rules on the forms of memory and conservation that may take place, as they appear in different discursive formations. As discourses are produced and regulated, an analysis of the 'sayable' can reveal governmental power structures. Thus, 'knowledges' mainly arise through those in powerful positions, who disseminate particular ideological discourses/'knowledges' into

the populous. These 'knowledges' are regulated by controlling what is 'sayable' and by validating particular discourses that justify and legitimize governmental power formations (Foucault, 1991b: 59-60; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 1993a: 255-257; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

Through this Foucauldian understanding of power, discourses can be influential in a number of ways. Firstly, discourses are one of the key elements in the functioning of power relations. Secondly, discourses create institutionalized ways of thinking and play a considerable role in ideological formation ('knowledges') that can regulate and reinforce thought and action, and thus, exert power. Thirdly, discourses provide a finely articulated vehicle to establish differences and to legitimize unequal power relations and social inequality. Fourthly, discourses can influence individual, social and political decisions and the management of institutions. Fifthly, discourses can constitute situations, objects of 'knowledge', and the social identities of, and relationship between, people and groups. Sixthly, discourses are constitutive both in the sense that they help to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that they can contribute to transforming the status quo. Finally, the regular use of language and discourses ensures that ideologies/'knowledges' are consistently entwined in all aspects of society at multiple scales (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258; Link: 1983: 60; van Dijk, 1985b: 7-8; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10).

2.3.5 The Discursive Construction of 'Knowledges', 'Truths', and 'Subjects'

For Foucault (1983: 8), of utmost importance are the connections between the production and construction of discourses, the temporarily and spatially contingent 'knowledges' and 'truths' they contain, and the mechanisms and institutions of power that regulate them (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39). When Foucault speaks of 'knowledges' he is referring to the meanings that people use to interpret their environment. He asserts that since we can only have a 'knowledge' of things if they have a meaning, it is discourse, not the things in themselves that produce meaning/reality and 'knowledge'. Discourses construct, define, and produce the objects of peoples' 'knowledges'. In this way, 'knowledges' are derived from the discursive surroundings into which people are situated and therefore

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'knowledge' is conditional and depends on a person's geographical context, historical context, etc. (Hall, 2001: 72-74; Jager and Maier, 2009: 34-35). Foucault asserts that discourses are the concrete realization of abstract forms of 'knowledges' (Lemke, 1995; Jager and Maier, 2009) – the 'natural' and taken for granted ways of thinking about oneself, the State, society, and various other elements at any one time. These 'knowledges' are exercised through certain technologies and strategies of application, in a number of different institutional sites and situations, historical contexts, and across a range of texts. All of which are enacted through several discourses. In addition, discourses do not merely reflect social entities or 'knowledges', they actively construct them. These 'knowledges' not only assume the authority of 'the truth', but they have the power to make 'truth'/reality. All 'knowledges', once applied in the world, have real effects and in that sense become 'true'. Foucault identified how legitimized discursive 'knowledges' and 'truth' claims of social practice have emerged in modern society, one example being the discourse of medical science and how it is constructed as a legitimate 'knowledge' in opposition to the practice of homeopathy. This process of discursively constructing 'knowledges' governs the way a topic can be meaningfully thought and talked about, and influences how ideas are put into practice and materialize in the regulation of people's conduct and in the production of 'subjects' (Fairclough, 2000a: 3-4; Hall, 2001: 72-76; Jager and Maier, 2009: 34-35).

In his later work, Foucault was concerned with how 'knowledge' was put to work through discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of people. He argued that the regulation of people's conduct and the production of 'subjects' through distinct 'knowledges' and 'truth' claims are forms of power. 'Knowledges' of 'subjects', such as 'madness', 'sexuality' or 'immigration' only exist meaningfully within the discourses that are constructed about them. These discursive 'knowledges' form disciplining practices that are utilized to legitimize and justify the regulation of the conduct of 'subjects'. According to Foucault, what we think we know in a particular period about a topic (e.g. immigration) has a bearing on how we regulate and control the resulting 'subjects' (e.g. immigrants). Under this framework, the regulation of particular 'subjects' is achieved through a combination of discourses and power/'knowledge'

processes that produce conceptions and 'truths' about that 'subject'. In this way, the power of discourses is revealed, as discourses are not mere ideology; they have tangible outcomes, as they produce 'subjects' and reality. Thus, it is not the 'subject' who makes the discourses, but the discourses that make the 'subject'. The discursive construction of immigrants, for example, materializes through a number of processes and discourses at a number of sites. Certain texts produce discourses that offer distinct 'knowledges' about immigration at a particular time. Particular rules prescribe certain manners of thinking about and talking about immigration and exclude other ways of conceptualizing immigration. The 'subject' (the immigrant) is constructed by assigning certain attributes that society would expect that particular 'subject' to have, given the current 'knowledge' that exists about them at that time. Authority is also attributed to certain 'knowledges' about immigration, including 'truth' claims and justifications, particularly by those in authority. Within governmental institutions, various practices deal with the immigrant 'subject', which can result in real effects, both for the immigrant (e.g. deportation, citizenship) and for broader society (Hall, 2001: 73-76; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39).

2.3.6 The Functioning of Discourse in Social Change

Bound up in broader power formations, discourses can also function as a driver of social change in society. This chapter has discussed how discourses can maintain the status quo, they can allow for social domination, they can perpetuate unequal power relations, they can allow for regulation to take place in society, and they can produce and construct 'subjects'. Yet, discourses can also be utilized to resist power formations, as discourses are socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. Indeed, discourses can help to sustain and reproduce the social status quo (such as inequality), but discourses can also contribute to the transformation of social situations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34). It can be argued that this chapter has placed much emphasis on the importance of discourses in the operation of power networks and resulting social change. However, this research recognizes that discourses may only be symptoms or fragmentary enactments of larger power operations. Nonetheless, this dissertation aims to unravel how discourses can play a crucial role in ideological formation, in communication reproduction, in social and political decisions, and in

institutional management (van Dijk, 1985b: 7-8). Foucault contends that discourses are not mere whispers in the wind. Discourses can cause fundamental transformations in society (Foucault, 1991b: 60-61). Foucault's theory of discourse approaches epistemological questions, such as: how we know what we know (through a number of governmental discourses that influence people's 'mentalities' and actions); where such 'knowledges' comes from (dispersed institutions and actors that disseminate 'truths' at different places and different times); who is authorized to profess this 'knowledge' (those in powerful positions); and how ultimately 'truth' is established (by particular discourses becoming legitimized, rationalized, and naturalized) (Cresswell, 2009: 211-212). In effect, Foucault argues for the recognition of the importance of discourses and tries to define how, to what extent, and at what level, discourses are objects of political practices and social change (Foucault, 1991b: 69).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Through a Foucauldian understanding of how power operates, it is argued here that discourses are highly influential instruments of power in society (Wodak et al., 2009: 1). The linkages between ideology and power were examined, which was followed by a detailed exploration of Foucault's theory of governmentality and the concept of 'subjectivities'/identities. The role of the nation state and national identity in the functioning of power was also outlined. These distinctive elements tie together to form a broad understanding of the ways in which power functions through discursive ideologies. A significant part of this chapter focused upon the concept of discourses, including a discussion on how discourse is broadly understood within academia, the differences between text and discourse, and an in-depth examination of how Foucault understands discourses. That section concluded by analyzing the discursive construction of power, the discursive construction of 'knowledges', 'truths', and 'subjects', and the functioning of discourses in social change. The aim of the chapter was to demystify governmental ideologies, especially those of national identity, in order to reveal how power operates in the discursive construction of 'knowledges' and 'subjects', such as illegal immigrants (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8). While acknowledging that the understandings of power

and discourses outlined in this chapter is just one approach, this dissertation aims to highlight the importance of discourses as they can be used in various expressions and manipulations of power in order to gain, establish and maintain unequal power relations and to perpetuate dominance within society (van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). The next chapter examines the methodological approach that this dissertation undertakes and the research design applied to the data. This CDA approach draws upon Foucault's work and provides a framework for examining discursive manifestations of power in Irish institutional texts.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The school of CDA is composed of a range of methodological, analytical and theoretical conceptualizations, ranging from the analysis of power in the Foucauldian tradition, to theories of social cognition and grammar, to individual concepts that draw upon larger theoretical traditions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 23). Understandings of key terms within CDA, such as 'discourse', 'critical', 'ideology', 'power' and so on, are also manifold. Some academics may find such a wide range of approaches perplexing. Nevertheless, this unrestricted framework allows for continuous debate, for innovation, and for changes in the aims and goals of CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4). This chapter outlines some of the key aspects of CDA, including the theoretical origins of CDA, its principles and aims, and some criticisms of the school. The specific CDA method that is utilized in this dissertation is historical argumentation analysis, which is also referred to as topoi analysis. This method is outlined in detail and the specific topoi that this research employs are also discussed. A number of key sources are under investigation in this thesis. The primarily source of data comes from the institutions of the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media. This CDA investigation explores discursive representations of illegal immigrants in institutional texts, as the analysis of 'dominant' discourses can uncover how an issue (i.e. illegal immigration) is framed and how it is presented to the wider citizenry audience. Indeed, institutional texts provide the parameters within which the Irish public gain information and 'knowledge' about illegal immigrants. Therefore, institutional texts are influential as they can direct the manner in which the (majority of the) public think about illegal immigrants. This chapter examines these institutions individually, exploring the nature of parliamentary texts and newsprint media texts, as well as an outline of previous research that was undertaken on these institutions. Furthermore, the relationship between these two institutions is discussed. The research design of this dissertation is relayed in detail, including an explanation of how the data from the parliament and the newsprint media was gathered and organized and the number of institutional texts identified. Interviews are also undertaken with six individuals that were members of the parliament during the period under analysis (2002-

2009), two members of civil society organizations that work with migrants, and an individual who is a leading member of an anti-immigrant group in Ireland. As the institutional texts often refer to illegal immigration as a side issue, or discuss it in relation to other topics, the aim of the interviews is to allow the space for illegal immigration to be discussed as a key concern and for expansion upon institutional discourses. The interview data is also evaluated to see if the topoi (argumentations) that are identified in the institutional texts materialize in the interview setting. Overall, the chapter aims to build upon the previous theoretical chapter, to outline in detail the methodological approach used in this dissertation, and to form the foundation upon which the subsequent data chapters will stand – the CDA of parliamentary texts, newsprint media texts, and interviews data.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Within the context of the broad area of discourse analysis lies the highly regarded method of CDA. CDA emerged as a school of thought in the late 1980s and since then has become highly influential in its own right; indeed, CDA is visible across a range of academic disciplines (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 447). CDA consists of a variety of approaches to the analysis and critiquing of discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-3). This is mainly because CDA is problem orientated, rather than discipline specific or theory specific. The common element of CDA is that it takes a critical perspective towards the analysis of discourses (van Dijk, 2009: 62; Wodak and Meyer, 2000: 1-2). The approach belies an epistemological stance that is critical and the key source of data is discourses (Tapia et al., 2011: 220). This perspective characterizes CDA scholars, as they are committed to social equality and justice. Thus, CDA is explicit in its stance on exposing discursive norms that maintain injustice in society and focuses upon discourses that (re)produce inequalities of gender, race, or class. A discourse is viewed to be unjust if it violates international human rights and/or contributes to social inequality. Furthermore, CDA research is interested in how those that are dominated in society may resist power abuse (van Dijk, 2009: 62; Wodak and Meyer, 2000: 1-2).

CDA researchers do not examine sample texts; rather they focus on discourses that are found in authentic, everyday communication, such as those from institutions (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). CDA aims to unravel the mass of institutionalized and 'dominant' discourses by critiquing what was said, and what is 'sayable'. As discourses are only valid at a certain place and at a certain time, CDA aims to challenge 'dominant' discourses that claim to be definitive, 'natural', 'common-sense', and beyond all doubt (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-3). Indeed, it is within these types of discourses that power can be exercised (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36). If power is mobilized in discourses, then one can assume that aspects of power are identifiable in discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10). Thus, the aim is to deconstruct discourses in order to reveal ideologically permeated and obscure structures of power, political control, dominance, and practices of exclusion (Tapia et al., 2011: 220; Wodak et al., 2009: 8). CDA seeks to expose the ways in which discourses can be utilized by those in powerful positions to exclude in a seemingly legitimate way, by leading the (majority of) the population to think about certain issues in a particular manner (Burnham et al., 2008: 252). Discourses are viewed as containers of ideologies, which contribute towards the recreation and production of collective 'mentalities' in society (Barker et al., 2008: 280; KhosraviNik, 2008: 4). However, discourses are also a form of social practice/action (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Social action involves language in a combination of action and reflection, as people develop constructions of the world that justify their actions (Burnham et al., 2008: 252). Therefore, there is a dialectical relationship between discourses and contexts, as discourses constitute social practices, and discourses are also constituted by social practices (Wodak et al., 2009: 8). Thus, a CDA of discourses is not only an academic investigation of power ideologies that are entwined in discourses; it is in itself a social action of opposing discriminatory ideologies. CDA does so by raising awareness of the implicit and opaque ways that power is exercised and legitimized through discourses (KhosraviNik, 2008: 4).

3.2.1 Theoretical Origins of CDA

Some scholars, such as van Dijk (1993a, 2001), trace the theoretical origins of CDA back to Aristotle and also to the philosophers of the Enlightenment. Credit has also been

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assigned to more recent philosophical thought, such as Marxist theorists and to those of the Frankfurt School (van Dijk, 2001: 301). The Frankfurt School developed the concept of critical analysis and rejected claims that culture reflects economics (Fairclough, 2003b: 233; van Dijk, 1993a: 251). Instead of merely understanding or explaining societal processes, critical theory aims to make an impact on society through enlightenment and emancipation. In essence, through a process of reflection and critique CDA aspires to make visible the interconnectedness of things that will enable people to liberate themselves from domination (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 6-7). An additional line of influence on CDA can be assigned to the neo-Marxist Gramsci and his subsequent followers, such as Stuart Hall (van Dijk, 2001: 301) and other members of the *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies* (van Dijk, 1993a: 251). Gramsci's theory of hegemony contends that power depends upon consent rather than solely upon coercion. Gramsci argued that hegemonic power penetrates all domains of social life – cultural, economic, and political – and hegemonies are sustained ideologically in the 'common-sense' assumptions of everyday life. This concept is crucial to CDA, as the critical analysis of language can highlight how domination and exploitation can be established and maintained both culturally and ideologically (Fairclough, 2003b: 232).

Additionally, the works of Althusser (1971), Pecheux (1982), and Foucault (1980) are important to CDA (van Dijk, 1993a: 251; van Dijk, 2001: 301). The French Marxist philosopher Althusser views ideologies as material social practices in social institutions and he recognizes that ideologies position people in particular ways to be social subjects (Althusser, 1971). Pecheux (1982) gives an Althusserian twist to the concept of discourse, arguing that language is involved in the forming of the ideological construction of subjects, such as a 'mother' or a 'teacher' (Fairclough, 2003b: 232-233). For Foucault, discourses are systems of knowledge (e.g. medicine, economics) that are informed by social and governmental 'technologies' that constitute power in modern society. He views discourses as partly ways of using language, but also other things, such as ways of designing prisons or schools, that are linked to broader power formations. Foucault's insights have been extremely important for CDA, especially in theoretical terms. A further prominent theoretical influence upon CDA is feminist scholarship and the critical

approach to language and communication (van Dijk, 2001: 301). While acknowledging that a range of philosophical thought influenced the theoretical foundations of CDA, within the school, however power is mainly perceived in the Foucauldian way. This not only because Foucault is one of the theoretical 'godfathers' of CDA, but also because the text in CDA is often regarded as a manifestation of social action, which is widely determined by social structure. Indeed, it is the overall structural features of society that are of interest to CDA. Power is central to understanding the dynamics and specifics of control (of thought and action) in modern societies, although power remains mostly invisible, except when it is observable in discourses. It is these linguistic manifestations of power are under investigation in CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10).

Although all of the above theoretical insights had, and continue to have, an influence on understanding language, text, and discourses, most of this work does not specifically deal with discourse structures and the mechanics of how to analyze discourses. This practice developed within various disciplines, including critical linguistics, social semiotics, sociolinguistics (van Dijk, 1993a: 251; van Dijk, 2001: 301), text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, and applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 1-2). A diversity of approaches to the analysis of discourses has emerged over time. The British variety draws upon Foucault's theory of discourse and is closely associated with systemic linguistic theory and with the concept of social semiotics. The cognitive-orientated approach of Dutch CDA uses a triadic model to show how personal and social cognition mediates between social structures and discourse structures. German CDA has been influenced even more strongly by Foucault's concept of discourse than the British variety. The *Vienna School of Discourse Analysis*, which has its roots in Bernstein's sociolinguistic, situates itself within CDA and within the tradition of Critical Theory (Wodak et al., 2009: 7). This diverse field developed into a school of thought with the founding of the journal *Discourse and Society* and the publication of several books in the 1990s (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-4).

Specifically focusing upon the discipline of geography, CDA is not an established approach or widely utilized sub-field of geographic research. Nevertheless, drawing upon more formal geographical approaches, such as poststructural geography and critical geography, recent years have witnessed some geographers adopting aspects of CDA and carrying out CDA in their research. The constructionist perspective based on Foucault's notion of discourse is arguably the dominant strand of CDA in critical human geography (Lees, 2004: 103). This strand has drawn upon work from cultural studies, feminist geography, and postcolonialism, in order to explore the constructed nature of discourses. This poststructural approach has not always been as empirically rich compared to more geographically Marxist approaches that focused upon the links between politics and the economy and the functioning of capitalism. Instead, the focus is mainly on wider constructions of power through discourse. This methodological difference is partly a function of intellectual style and tradition, with Marxist approaches to discourse analysis based upon empiricist traditions of sociology, and Foucauldian traditions drawing upon postpositivist theoretical currents in cultural studies. In practice, these two approaches to the analysis of discourses in the discipline of geography have been mixed for a number of years. Indeed, perhaps the most influential example of geographic discourse analysis is Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism*, which tried to blend Gramscian ideological critique with poststructural understandings of how discourse is a constructed entity (Lees, 2004: 103). Overall, a number of comments are applicable to the way that geographers utilize CDA. Firstly, the majority of geographers that have utilized CDA have not employed it in a systematic manner and have mainly conducted discourse analysis under a Foucauldian theoretical framework. Secondly, geographers have a tendency to refrain from clearly outlining how they have analyzed discourses. This is a vital aspect of CDA that ought to be explicitly outlined. Thirdly, and most prominently, there is a tendency for geographers to skip over their theoretical and methodological approaches within CDA (Lees, 2004: 104). For example, although Bauder (2008a, 2008b) offers considerable detail on his methodological framework and applies a highly systematic approach to analyzing immigration discourses, it is unfortunate however that he is not explicit in his theoretical framework. As a result, one must determine and assume Bauder's theoretical approach from the analysis and findings relayed in his research papers. It is argued here that CDA

is a highly useful approach for geographers to utilize and the discipline of geography can gain much from CDA if it is adopted more broadly within the discipline. Nonetheless, geographers who are currently utilizing CDA and those who will utilize it in future research, must ensure to be systematic, explicit and detailed in their theoretical and methodological frameworks.

3.2.2 Principles and Aims of CDA

The key principle of CDA is the analysis of discourses, as it is within discourses (opaque and transparent) that processes of power, domination, discrimination, control and exclusion are exercised (Barker et al., 2008: 280; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10-32; Wodak et al., 2009: 8). Discourses are not powerful on their own – discourses gain power when they are used by people on an everyday basis, most prominently, by those in powerful positions in society (Chilton, 2004). This thesis recognises that discourses are not only used for power reasons, they can also be utilized for a variety of functions (e.g. to resist or to protest) by an array of people in society, including elites and non-elites. Nonetheless, this research specifically focuses upon institutional texts, as it is those in powerful positions in society that are mainly in control of these types of influential discourses and they have a key role in the (re)production of 'dominant' 'knowledges' and ideologies in society (van Dijk, 2005). As prejudices are not innate but socially acquired and because such acquisition is predominately discursive, institutional discourses are the primary source of shared ethnic prejudices and ideologies (Barker et al., 2008; van Dijk, 1993b). The dissemination and employment of 'dominant' discourses by those in elite positions can result in inequalities and injustices in society. Thus, CDA endeavours to uncover discursively constructed discrimination practices and prejudices (van Dijk, 2009: 62) and CDA is committed to an emancipatory, socially critical approach (Wodak et al., 2009: 8). Ultimately, CDA aims to detect the linguistic means used by the privileged to maintain inequalities in society (van Dijk, 2001: 300; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10-32) and endeavours to demystify ideologies and power structures by systematically investigating discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-4). CDA is primarily motivated by pressing social issues and it aims to deepen an understanding of a given issue through the analysis of discourses. Theories, description,

methods and empirical work are chosen as a function of their relevance for the realization of this sociopolitical goal (van Dijk, 1993a: 252). Thus, the focus for CDA is on discursive formations of dominance rather than to bottom-up relations of resistance, compliance, and acceptance. This does not mean that CDA conceptualizes power and dominance solely as imposing itself upon others, rather this critical approach focuses upon institutional texts, as it is these types of texts and the broader discourses that they form that contribute towards the maintenance of inequality in society (van Dijk, 1993a: 250). CDA ultimately aims to reveal how events, practices, texts and discourses arise out of and are ideologically shaped by power relations and power struggles; it aims to explore how the vagueness of the link between discourse and society is itself a factor in securing power; and it aims to examine how social practice is bound up with causes and effects that can be unclear to the (majority of the) populous (Tapia et al., 2011: 220).

As the paradigm of CDA places great emphasis upon exposing inequalities and addressing societal problems (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95), and in order to understand how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge and power through social institutions, an interdisciplinary and eclectic format is required in analyzing discourses (Barker et al., 2008: 280; Wodak, 2004; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-7). This includes an interdisciplinary approach to theory, methodology, and research practice. In most CDA approaches, 'grand theories' serve as a foundation to research, while 'middle-range theories' frequently supply a better theoretical basis (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95). Emphasis is often placed on the analysis of empirical data in CDA (Wodak et al., 2009: 2). Nevertheless, CDA does not wish to disregard the importance of a strong theoretical framework (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95), as without complex and highly sophisticated theoretical insight, a clear understanding of inequality and domination is impossible (van Dijk, 1993a: 252). CDA contends that research should move recursively between its theoretical framework and empirical data, in order to ensure a consistent approach and, of course, validity in the research findings. Following in this interdisciplinary line, the numerous tools utilized by researchers for analyzing discourses, such as categorizations, should not be fixed. They must be revised and elaborated upon for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation (Reisigl and

Wodak, 2009: 95). Furthermore, the notion of context (historical, social, and political) is crucial for CDA, thus an interdisciplinary approach is required. Indeed, all discourses are historical and therefore can only be understood with reference to the context within which they are produced (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 20-22).

Lastly, it is important for CDA researchers to be aware that they are not outside of the structures and influences of power and that their own work is driven by social, economic and political motives. Naming oneself as 'critical' states an intention to make one's position, research interests, values and criteria as explicit and as transparent as possible. Researchers should spell out their own point of view, perspective, principles, and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large, while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and remaining self-reflective of their own research process (van Dijk, 1993a: 252-253; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-7). The analyst can invoke values, norms, universal human rights, and so on, but they must never forget that these values, etc., are also discursively constructed (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36). CDA offers indirect and long-term analysis of particular issues and concentrates upon those in powerful position in society who enact, sustain, legitimize, condone or ignore inequality and injustice (van Dijk, 1993a: 252-253). As CDA endeavours to reveal power relations that are frequently obfuscated and hidden, the results derived from research are to be communicated not only within the academic arena but also into broader society – to those in positions of influence, experts, and the general public. The results of CDA should also be of practical relevance to society, which may lead to the liberation of people from powers of an unequal or exclusionary nature (Reisigl and Wodak, 2011: 95; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 20-22).

3.2.3 Criticisms of CDA

It is inevitable that all types of research approaches and methodologies will be critiqued and criticized. Indeed, over time there have been a number of comments about CDA. For instance, Schegloff (1998), argued that CDA is an inherently biased form of analysis, as it explicitly undertakes an ideological interpretation of discourses. Following from this, Widdowson (1995a) criticized the term discourse; he claimed that the term is as vague as

it is fashionable. He also disapproved of the lack of a clear demarcation between text and discourse. Furthermore, and here his criticism approaches that of Schegloff, Widdowson (1995a: 169) stated that CDA has a certain ideological commitment and, as such it provides a biased interpretation of discourses. Fairclough (1996), in reply to these comments, draws attention to the open-endedness of results required in CDA and points out that CDA, unlike most other types of analysis aims to be explicit about its own position and ideological commitment. These critiques offered an opportunity to the school of CDA to address a broader methodological question: is it possible to conduct research without bias? Furthermore, they also raise the question: is it possible to gain insight from empirical data without using any pre-framed categories of experience? Ultimately, CDA scholars argue that it is not (Wodak and Meyer, 2002: 16-17) and those who claim to be unbiased actually assist in maintaining an unjust status-quo in their research and within broader society (Wodak et al., 2009: 8). This position fits well with the Kantian tradition, which denies the possibility of 'pure' cognition (Wodak and Meyer, 2002: 16-17).

A number of people have criticized the manner in which CDA researchers select texts to be analyzed (Sharrock and Anderson, 1981; Widdowson, 1995a). Some CDA researchers have been accused of selecting texts (perhaps unintentionally) that are not representative (Barker et al., 2008: 299) and others have been accused of choosing specific texts so that their findings will support their preferred interpretation (Widdowson, 1995a: 169). Obviously, this practice can result in the overlooking of texts that could present more complex or even contradictory results (Barker et al., 2008: 281). A further criticism is the tendency of analysts to select a small number of texts, or even short texts, or text fragments (Fowler, 1996; Stubbs, 1994, 1997). Stubbs (1994: 204) argues that small-scale cohorts of discourses may not identify the linguistic patterns that are cumulatively frequent (and therefore more likely to represent powerful discourses) or the discourses are less frequent (and therefore may constitute minority or resistant discourses). In contrast to this, Barker et al. (2008) argues that one single important speech may have a vast impact (e.g. a political speech), while other, more routine discourses may not be noticed by the populous at all (Barker et al., 2008: 283). In recent years, CDA researchers

have raised concerns about the lack of broad criteria in text selection, such as representativeness, validity, and reliability (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 31). One way in which reliability in data collection and a transparent methodological framework can be achieved is through the use of a broad multi-methodological approach, such as triangulation. Essential to this is the collection of a large number of texts, from a variety of sources, within a broad time period. This ensures a consistent, representative and reliable method that does not include the arbitrary selection of particular texts (Prentice, 2010: 406). There have been many CDA studies that have investigated large data samples and, as such, the possibility of biased data selection was limited (e.g. Blackledge, 2005; Jager, 2001; Kezyzanowski and Oberhuber, 2007; Kováca and Wodak, 2003; Richardson, 2004; Wodak, 1986; Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak and Schulz, 1986; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000a). The research undertaken in this dissertation is conducted in this vein, as it identifies and analyzes a large cohort of institutional texts.

As referred to previously, one of the unique characteristics of CDA is its theoretical and methodological diversity. This diversity in the research process may be perceived by some to be ad-hoc and confusing. Nevertheless, it allows for continuous debate on the analysis of discourses and for CDA, as a school, to change, evolve, and to be innovative (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4-32). Moreover, CDA as a discipline, and indeed CDA researchers, are not outside of structures of power (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-7). Billig (2003) highlights this important principle by pointing to how CDA has become, in recent years, after years of marginalization, an established academic discipline (in subjects such as linguistics) and how it's current 'mainstreaming' could result in the school becoming 'uncritical' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4-5). Concerns have also been expressed in relation to the use of technical terminology within CDA and how this has led to imprecision, to an avoidance of basic issues, and to the use of exclusionary, elitist, and technical language. Billig argues that the current economic conditions of academic life encourage jargon filled, technical writing, thus, for ideological reasons academics should resist the pressure to use jargon (2008: 829). Indeed, technical writing is undesirable, as it often obscures points that should be lucid, clear, and transparent. The use of acronyms (such as CDA) may exclude outsiders and mystify the functions and intentions of CDA

(Billig, 2008: 830). In many ways, Billig's statement on this matter of language use ought to be welcomed by CDA, as one of the principles of this school is to be self-reflective and to deconstruct discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4-5). Thus, CDA researchers should monitor their writing style and refrain from the use of jargon and technical language where possible. CDA research should be accessible to those within and outside of academia in order to draw attention to the manifestation of power in discourses (KhosravNik, 2008: 4). This aim will not be attained if CDA research is expressed through inaccessible language. On the whole, critique of CDA should be welcomed, as it provides a space for a re-evaluation of the discipline and for an assessment of the direction the school is taking (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4-5). In answer to all general criticism directed towards CDA, Wodak (2006) states that criticisms are often focused exclusively on Anglo-American research. Hence, some criticisms are biased and even false if generalized to the whole paradigm of CDA (Barker et al., 2008: 299).

CDA is not an easy theoretical or methodological approach to employ. In van Dijk's opinion (1993a) it is the toughest challenge in his discipline (i.e. linguistics), as it requires truly multidisciplinary research and a full understanding of the intricate relationships between text, talk, discourse, power, social cognition, society, and culture (van Dijk, 1993a: 253). Nonetheless, CDA is a valuable analytical tool for researchers, as it acts as a theoretical and methodological frame of reference. Furthermore, it is useful in examining how power operates through discourses, as certain discourses (e.g. institutional) can inform the development of certain belief constructs and ideologies of the populous (Tapia et al., 2011: 220). As CDA is committed to an emancipatory, socially critical approach and allies itself with those who suffer political and social injustice, its aim is therefore, to identify instance of social and political injustice that are expressed through discourses (Wodak et al., 2009: 8-9). One of the significant benefits of CDA is to contribute to change and equality in society (van Dijk, 1993a: 253) by identifying discriminatory discourses. CDA is a valid conceptual framework for this dissertation, as it aims to shed light on the largely contingent and imaginary character of nation, the illusive category of the illegal immigrant, and to sharpen awareness of dogmatic, essentialist and naturalizing conceptions of governance and national identity (Wodak et al., 2009: 8-9).

3.3 Historical Argumentation Analysis (Topoi Analysis)

Under the broad school of CDA, the specific methodology that this research employs is historical argumentation analysis or, as it is also referred to, topoi analysis. Topos (Koinos) is a Greek word – topoi is the plural form (Bauder, 2008c: 297) – that translates firstly as a 'place' where arguments can be found in a text; and secondly, as a warrant, rule, or procedure (van Eemeren et al., 1996: 38). A topos links particular arguments to a subject's background knowledge – doxa or 'common-sense' (Grue, 2009: 309) – and is a place where these default premises (doxa) and content-related warrants are expressed as rules in a discourse either explicitly or inferably (Grue, 2009: 309; Kienpointer, 1992: 194; Riesigl and Wodak, 2001: 74; Wodak, 2008: 24; Wodak and Meyer, 2002; Wodak and Pelinka, 2002; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000a). In other words, topoi are discursive argumentation schemes and thought schemes embedded in a text, which represent 'common-sense' reasoning that relate to a body of collective knowledge that is shared among groups and communities (Bauder, 2008a: 110; Bauder, 2008c: 297; Boke et al., 2000: 24-25; CADAAD, 2011; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2000a; Wodak, 2001). A diagram of the multiple linkages between texts, topoi, discourses and 'common-sense' rationalities or ideologies are relayed in figure 3.1 below. Overall, a topos has two main elements. Firstly, a topos is that which justifies a line of argument, but requires less justification itself as it is anchored in taken for granted attitudes. Secondly, as rules of inference, topoi are tied more strongly to concepts than to words. The same topos can potentially be phrased in numerous ways, so the extraction of a topos can necessitate the identification of numerous wordings or phrasings. Indeed, topoi are often assumed rather than mentioned explicitly in a text (Grue, 2009: 309-312).

Figure 3.1: The Multiple Links Between Texts, Topoi, Discourses, and Ideologies
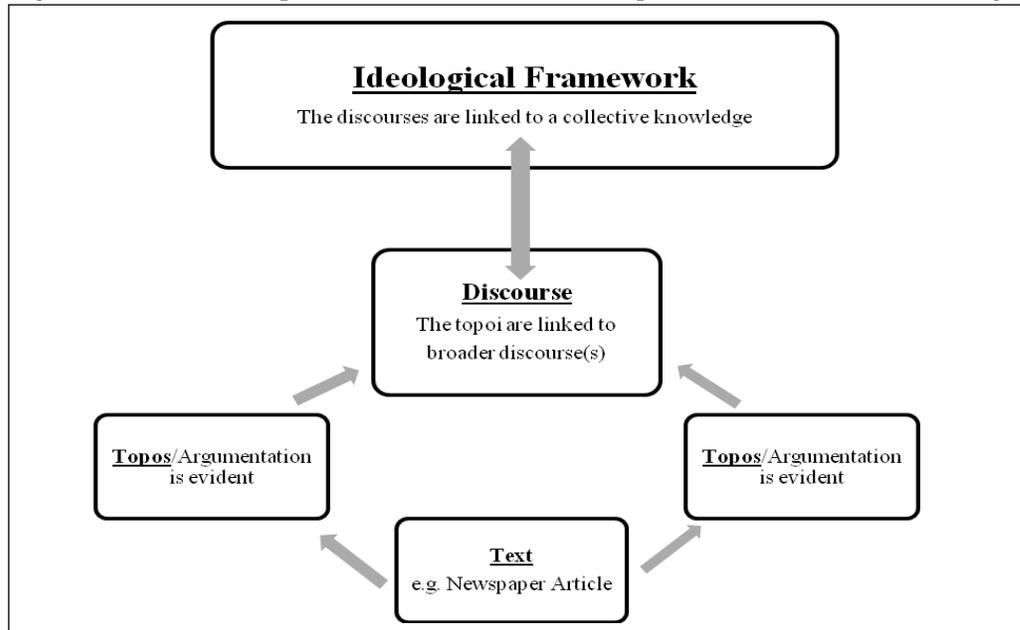
Topoi analysis can explain the links between certain texts (such as parliamentary texts or newsprint media texts) and particular justifications for actions. By appealing to the doxa or assumed knowledge of the reader, topoi both strengthen the argument and suggest a 'dominant' ideology. Sufficiently large clusters of topoi might equally be termed an ideology. If they could be viewed from a great height, topoi would constitute reference points on an ideological map. In terms that were originally proposed by Aristotle, a topos is that under which many enthymemes fall – a topos is the place from which many arguments originate. Correspondingly, an ideology may be defined either as that under which many topoi fall, or as the mental terrain in which different topoi may be located. The topos may be used as an analytical tool in the exploration of the argumentative structures in a particular text or texts. It contributes to the analytical level above the sentence, but below that of a whole discourse. The identification of topoi within a text uncovers hidden premises of argumentation and multiple perspectives and thought schemes (Grue, 2009: 310-312). Topoi analysis is an advanced scheme of analysis as it recognizes the complexity of the production and dissemination of discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 17) and it is able to explore the multidimensional nature of texts (i.e. multiple argumentations) and juxtapose various thematic positions that can underpin discourses (Bauder, 2008c; Crespi, 1997; Fairclough, 2000a; Taylor, 2001).

Topoi analysis was pioneered by the linguist Utz Maas (1984, 1989a, 1989b), whose work was based on that of Foucault (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 17). Maas developed this approach to the analysis of discourses in the aftermath of the Second World War. Some researchers, such as Klemperer (1947, 1975), investigated National Socialist language and identified that language and communication (including propaganda) were essential in the understanding and explaining of the manner in which totalitarian regimes functioned. Maas, however, was the first linguist to subject the everyday linguistic practice of National Socialism (between 1932 and 1938) to in-depth analysis. His historical argumentation analysis demonstrated how, in complex ways, discourses can be determined by those in power. Maas showed how the discursive practices of German society were impacted and influenced by discourses that were entwined with social-revolutionist undertones. For him, discourses are the result of collusion, where political, social and linguistic practices impose themselves unknowingly onto subjects. Maas's analysis of these discourses revealed how numerous different texts were inherently fascist. He claimed that in the same way as grammar characterizes the structure of sentences, discursive rules characterize what texts are acceptable in particular practices, places, and times. The aim of this type of historical argumentation analysis is to identify and analyze the spectrum of linguistic relations involved in a discourse, based on a number of texts from within various spheres of social life. These texts represent a complicated network of similarities, which overlap and intersect. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged in this research that societal contradictions are also evident in texts (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 17). It is this network of discourses that can influence what is 'sayable' and what is not permitted to be expressed. The key to topoi analysis is to identify the distinct modes of argumentation that are evident within a certain text cohort. Each mode of argumentation usually has a certain thematic element, such as the economy, and it is these argumentations (topoi) that can reveal broader power structures (Bauder, 2008c: 297).

Historical argumentation analysis has been elaborated upon in a number of studies, including research on discourses of national identity in Austria (Kovacs and Wodak, 2003; Wodak et al., 1990) and discourses of identity in the European Union (Muntigl et

al., 2000; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000a). Much research has focused on commemorative events (e.g. Anthonissen and Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert, 2005; de Cilla and Wodak, 2008; Ensink and Sauer, 2003; Heer et al., 2008; Le, 2006; Martin and Wodak, 2003; Reisigl, 2007; Wodak and de Cillia, 2006) that manifest hegemonic ways of dealing with traumatic pasts in various societies (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 18-19). In a recent paper by Grue (2009), a topoi analysis was applied to policy documents that relate to disability in the Norwegian context. Topoi analysis has also been applied to immigration discourses (Bauder, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d; Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009; Boke et al, 2000; Matouschek et al., 1995; Wengeler, 1995, 2000, 2003), yet much of this research concentrates on German speaking countries (Bauder, 2008a). Wengeler (2000) identified 16 topoi that framed immigration discourse in Austria, Germany and Switzerland during the 1970s. Many of the topoi occurred in the formation of binaries. This included the 'economic' topos, which suggested that migration produced economic benefit or causes economic damage to the country. It also included the 'political utility' topos, which argued that migration was associated with political advantages or disadvantages to the State and to society (Bauder, 2008c: 297). Bauder (2008a) adopted this approach and utilizing the topoi that Wengeler identified as an initial guide, analyzed immigration discourses in the German context. Resulting from this, Bauder identified 4 prevailing topoi, namely, 'economic', 'danger', 'culture', and 'humanitarian' (Bauder, 2008c: 297). In subsequent research, Bauder and Semmelroggen (2009) identified 17 topoi, some of which included 'terrorism and state security', 'gender equality', 'language proficiency', 'deportation', 'unemployment', and 'xenophobia'.

3.3.1 The Topoi Employed in this Dissertation

A topoi analysis of Irish institutional texts (from the Irish Parliament and newsprint media) aims to identify the different argumentations and perspectives that were exercised by those in positions of influence in relation to illegal immigration between 2002 and 2009. This dissertation draws upon the research undertaken by Wengeler (2000) and Bauder (2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d) to make discursive representations of illegal immigrants visible. The aim is to determine whether texts were 'positive', 'negative', or 'neutral'; to assess whether these portrayals of illegal immigration are applied

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consistently throughout a specific time period (2002-2009) or if they fluctuate over time; and to decipher what these texts reveal about broader constructions of governance and identity construction (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 5). This research began with a pilot analysis of Irish newsprint media texts in order to ensure that a topoi analysis could be applied to the Irish context. This pilot analysis involved an in-depth CDA of newsprint articles from the Irish Times that referred to illegal immigration during the period between January 2009 and June 2009. This cohort of newspaper reports, consisting of a six month period of newsprint reporting, was deemed sufficient as it was found that saturation of the data was reached (i.e. the same arguments/themes/topoi were consistently appearing). The differing themes that emerged from this analysis were identified and accounted for and following this, broader codes were applied. This whole process resulted in the identification of a number of key arguments/topoi. This included the topoi 'economy', 'humanitarian', 'culture', 'danger', 'control', and 'other'. This pilot analysis was constructive, as it revealed the key topoi that were prevalent in Irish newsprint texts. This pilot project worked with the assumption that this method could be applied to other institutional texts, namely parliamentary texts. Once parliamentary texts were collected and analyzed it was evident that the same topoi occurred. However, if these topoi had not occurred or if the analysis of the parliamentary texts did not align to these key topoi, the differing topoi that may have emerged would have been adopted into the research design. Following the pilot analysis, all texts that were disseminated from the Irish Parliament and the newsprint media, which referred to illegal immigration between 2002 and 2009 were identified. Once all of these parliamentary and newsprint texts were identified and collated the long process of reading, coding and analyzing the texts took place. In order to ensure that this approach was applied consistently, after a considerable amount of research was conducted on these texts, a review of the analysis took place. In addition, upon the completion of the research process (i.e. once all of the data was gathered, coded, and analyzed), a full review of all data and the coding scheme took place. This review was conducted in order to ensure reliability and validity of the data.

The argumentations that were identified in this dissertation align with the work of Wengeler (2000) and Bauder (2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d); however, some minor

changes had to be applied, namely the addition of the 'control' topos. Additionally, 'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral' associations were applied to each topos. As this research aims to examine texts that reproduce inequalities, a text is viewed to be 'positive' if it supports human rights and equality. A text is viewed to be 'negative' and unjust if it violates human rights and contributes to social inequality (van Dijk, 2009: 62; Wodak and Meyer, 2002: 1-2). A text is viewed to be 'neutral' if it contains no clear mode of argumentation. Table 3.1 below lists each topos coded as 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. Broadly, the 'economy' topos suggested that illegal immigration had a 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral' impact on the economy. The 'humanitarian' topos portrays illegal immigrants who required humanitarian aid in a 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral' way. The 'culture' topos proposes that illegal immigrants are desirable ('positive') for cultural reasons, undesirable ('negative') for cultural reasons, or neither desirable or undesirable ('neutral'). The 'danger' topos argues that illegal immigrants are not dangerous or criminal ('positive'), that they are dangerous or criminal ('negative'), or they are referred to in conjunction with the topic of 'danger', but no argumentation is evident ('neutral'). The 'control' topos argues that illegal immigration should not be restricted or controlled ('positive'), that illegal immigration should be controlled ('negative'). Alternatively, when a text referred to illegal immigration and control measures, but the text was neither 'positive' nor 'negative', it was coded as 'neutral'. If a text that referred to illegal immigration did not align with the five main topoi, it was coded as 'other'. In the majority of these cases, an 'other' statement had no significant mode of argumentation, or the text referred to other types of immigration, such as trafficking.

Table 3.1: Description of Modes of Argumentation

Topos	Description
'Economy-Positive'	Illegal immigrants have a positive impact on the economy.
'Economy-Negative'	Illegal immigrants have a negative impact on the economy.
'Economy-Neutral'	Illegal immigrants are mentioned in relation to the economy, but the mode of argumentation is neither positive nor negative.
'Humanitarian-Positive'	Illegal immigrants who require humanitarian aid are portrayed in a positive way.
'Humanitarian-Negative'	Illegal immigrants who require humanitarian aid are portrayed in a negative way.
'Humanitarian-Neutral'	Illegal immigrants who require humanitarian aid are not portrayed in a positive or a negative way.
'Culture-Positive'	Illegal immigrants are desirable for cultural reasons.
'Culture-Negative'	Illegal immigrants are undesirable for cultural reasons.
'Culture-Neutral'	Illegal immigrants are mentioned in relation to culture, but the mode of argumentation is neither positive nor negative.
'Danger-Positive'	Illegal immigrants are defended and not seen as a threat or a danger to society (criminal) or national security.
'Danger-Negative'	Illegal immigrants are seen as a threat and a danger to society (criminal) or national security.
'Danger-Neutral'	Illegal immigrants are mentioned in relation to danger, but the mode of argumentation is neither positive nor negative.
'Control-Positive'	State practices and policies should not be aimed at controlling and reducing illegal immigration. State practices are too restrictive.
'Control-Negative'	State practices and policies should be aimed at controlling and reducing illegal immigration, including reviewing legislation and implementing deportations. State practices are not restrictive enough and need to be reinforced.
'Control-Neutral'	Illegal immigration and aspects of control are mentioned, but the mode of argumentation is neither positive nor negative.
'Other'	Illegal immigration is mentioned with no clear mode of argumentation or it is mentioned in relation to another immigration topic.

In order to relay how a text can be coded as 'other' a detailed example of this type of text can help to illustrate the coding scheme. The following text originates from the Irish Parliament and refers to a victim of trafficking. The discussion about this girl becomes entangled with the topic of illegal immigration:

> There have been calls to decouple the procedure by which someone is granted temporary residency, based on whether he or she complies with a Garda investigation. This merits further consideration. Some people have expressed concern that this could become a pull factor for illegal

immigrants in that they would lie about being trafficked in order to get residency. The facts do not bear this out, however. I note the remarks by Kathleen Fahy, the director of Ruhama - an organization which is dealing with victims of sex trafficking and prostitution - that this was not its experience. She said the victims they encounter are not making up their stories (Cuffe, 2009: 695).

This statement is part of a broader debate on the rights that are granted to women who are trafficked into Ireland. Deputy Cuffe challenges the argument that the granting of temporary residency to immigrants who are trafficked into Ireland would attract a further influx of illegal immigrants. The Deputy also challenges claims that immigrants were trafficked in order to gain residency rights in Ireland. Deputy Cuffe's response is 'positive', as he defends the 'victims' of trafficking. Even though this text is 'positive' about immigrants, the text is not specifically about illegal immigration and it does not align with the five topoi identified in this dissertation.

This section has outlined how each topos has a distinctive mode of argumentation. It must be noted that the task of identifying a topos from a text is not a straightforward practice, as within a debate, an article, a paragraph, or even within a sentence, multiple topoi can be present. Indeed, within a sentence there can be more than one topos and there can even be 'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral' topoi. Within a parliamentary text, a speech that is presented by a Deputy within a broader debate is counted as a single text. In newsprint media texts, an article is considered to be a single text. Ultimately, the number of topoi identified in this research is greater than the number of texts, as each text (be it from the parliament or the newsprint media) can contain multiple topoi. This issue of multiple topoi is complex, nevertheless, it is important to clearly explain it, as a large proportion of the topoi that were identified in this dissertation were identified in this manner. Two examples of multiple topoi will be outlined in order to portray the complexity involved in carrying out this method of analysis. The first example from the Dáil refers to the expense incurred on the State due to illegal immigration:

> Also, in considering the costs of deportations, the considerable expense arising from the continued presence in the State of persons who are the subject of deportation orders has to be taken into account. These costs include social welfare costs, direct provision costs, and detention costs in certain cases. While it is important to keep deportation costs to a minimum, not to remove persons refused permission to remain in the State would call into question the integrity of the entire immigration system. This would leave this country open to further illegal immigration and even more expense to taxpayers (McDowell, 2007: 632).

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The topoi identified from this paragraph are 'economy-negative' (*'costs of deportations', 'direct provision costs', 'detention costs', 'expense to the taxpayer'*), 'danger-negative' (*'this would leave this country open to further illegal immigration'*) and 'control-negative' (*'not to remove persons refused permission to remain in the State would call into question the integrity of the entire immigration system'*). This text is considered to be 'negative', as it portrays illegal immigration as an expensive on the State and to be a dangerous group of people who must be controlled by the State. The second text is an example of how there can be both 'positive' and 'negative' topoi within the one text:

> There is an urgent need for specific partnerships with third countries aimed at developing a more coherent migration policy. These partnerships need to combine measures aimed at facilitating legal migration opportunities – while respecting Member States competences, including on the regularization of status issue, and the specific needs of their labour markets – with measures designed to fight illegal immigration, protect refugees and tackle the root causes of migration. There is considerable sympathy for the plight of those who come to Europe in open boats at great risk to their lives. This human tragedy is a further reason why development policies must play an important part in our response to illegal immigration, and in helping to ensure that these extremely hazardous journeys, with their tragic consequences for many of those travelling, are no longer with us (Ahern, 2007: 637).

The topoi identified from this paragraph are 'control-negative' (*'measures designed to fight illegal immigration'*) and 'humanitarian-positive' (*'there is considerable sympathy for the plight of those who come to Europe in open boats at great risk to their lives'; 'development policies must play an important part in our response to illegal immigration, and in helping to ensure that these extremely hazardous journeys, with their tragic consequences for many of those travelling, are no longer with us'*). This multiple topoi text portrays the complexity of the manner in which texts are produced and thus, the complexity involved in conducting CDA.

In conclusion, figure 3.2 relays the overall formation of this conceptual and methodological approach. It is argued here that direct links are identifiable between institutional texts that are produced about illegal immigrants on a daily basis, the broader discourses that are formed in relation to them, and ideological conceptualisations of immigration. The aim of this research is to relay the connectivity between these differing elements and to unravel the formation of the topoi and discourses that represent illegal immigrants in a variety of ways.

Figure 3.2: Key Elements of Discourse Formation

Collective Knowledge - Ideologies

Discourse
- The parameters within which people think about illegal immigrants

Topoi
- Control
- Danger
- Economy
- Humanitarian
- Culture

Text
- Fundamental Unit of analysis
- Parliamentary Contribution
- Newspaper Article
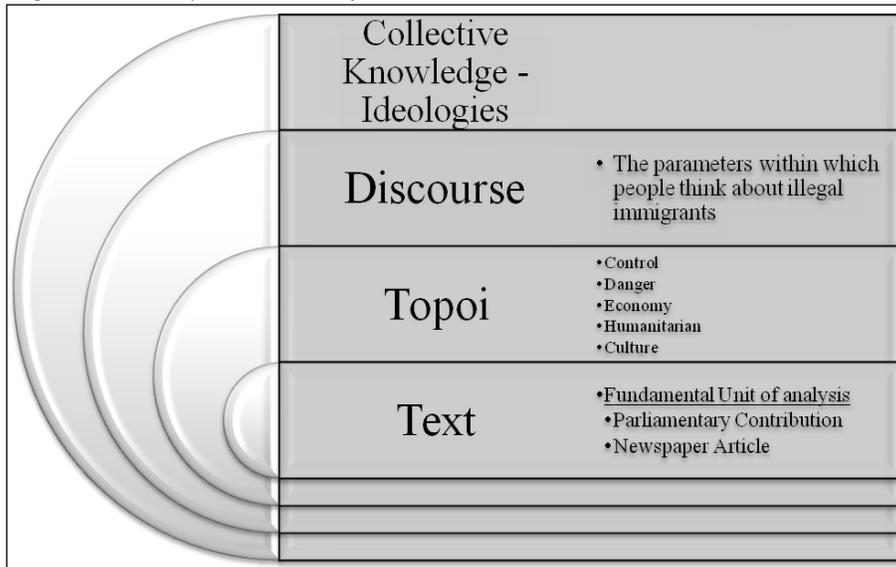
3.4 The Institutions under Analysis

Institutional texts are predominantly the language of political and professional sectors, as opposed to private language, which is mainly subjective and individual (Van Der Valk, 2003; Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha, 2000). Institutional texts are the focus of this dissertation as it is argued here that those in elite positions in society have the power and the resources to initiate, monitor and control the majority of the most influential forms of 'dominant' discourses. Those in influential positions include political elites (members of government, parliament, and civic administration), economic elites (corporate directors and managers), and cultural elites (educators, media workers, religious organizations, and sports bodies) (van Dijk, 1987: 358-377). Most notable of all, is the authoritative ability that institutional texts hold in directing how the public think about certain topics. Through societal institutions (and the texts and discourses they produce) elites have indirect access to the minds of the populous. The texts that elites produce are influential and they can direct public 'mentalities' and attitudes. This does not necessarily mean that elite ideologies are simply imposed upon the public, but the discursive resources of elites are such that they have more influence than other social groups to disseminate their world views, to direct social beliefs, and to suppress alternative ideologies.

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Institutional texts are seldom overt and blatant in nature; rather, they are often expressed through multiple forms of subtle and indirect forms of text that materialize in everyday language. 'Dominant' discourses created by elites need to be continually reproduced and renewed over time, and institutions (such as the parliament and the newsprint media) provide a perfect forum for the continuous dissemination of ideological-laden texts in accessible language forms. The impact institutional texts can have upon public perceptions is distinctly evident when one examines the topic of migration. This is because the public gain a substantial level of their information, misinformation and 'knowledge' about immigration from institutional texts (especially from the newsprint media). The level of influence that elites have over institutional texts and over public opinion is exacerbated and intensified when parallel ideologies are disseminated in varying and multiple ways through a number of institutions. Indeed, there is a distinct reciprocal relationship in the production of ideologically-laden discourses between the institutions of the parliament and the newsprint media (van Dijk, 1995a: 4-6). This dissertation concentrates on the production of 'dominant' discourses from two key Irish institutions, namely the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media.

3.4.1 Parliamentary Texts

The parliament, in terms of being a place of significance, has been viewed by some to be irrelevant, as it is claimed that neither the public nor the media pay much attention to parliamentary conduct, actions, or discussions (Bayley, 1998). It has been championed by some that current political debates do not take centre stage in the parliament; rather the media mainly accommodates political discussions, thus revealing the parliament's irrelevance as a site of important discourses. The considerable role of the media is not denied here, nor is its impact upon public opinion; nevertheless, specific texts and broader discourses that are produced in any parliament are important in their own right (Bayley, 2002: 11-12). It has also been argued that too much emphasis is placed upon the 'power' of parliamentary discourses and that parliamentary contributions merely reflect constituent views. Indeed, this may be the case; nevertheless, an important aspect to note about parliamentary assertions is that parliamentarians hold parliamentary privilege. Thus, TDs can express a range of views and opinions in the parliament without having to

provide evidence for these views and they are not legally accountable for them (other than being accountable to their constituents at election time). Thus, discourses that are expressed in the parliament may not be 'sayable' in other societal contexts. Not only are parliamentary texts influenced by the historical, geopolitical, cultural and ideological contexts within which they emerge (Pan and Kosicki, 2001: 39-40), they can also contribute to wider discursive practices and to ideological formations (Bayley, 2002: 11-12). The analysis of parliamentary texts allows for an examination of the discursive resources employed by those in highly influential contexts. This is an important exercise, as these ideologically-laden texts are disseminated into the public and can be internalized by people (Every and Augostinos, 2007: 415-416). Parliamentary texts can also result in concrete actions in society, such as the justified and legitimized enactment of policy and legislation, the establishment of regulations, and the exclusion of minorities from society (Bayley, 2002: 11-12).

Communication is the core business of politics (Van Der Valk, 2003: 314) and as such, parliaments are institutions that are dedicated to language and discourse. All parliamentary members question, debate and engage with each other through discourse. Parliaments are also the main site where governments explain and justify their actions and their stance on an array of issues (Bayley, 2002: 1). Members of a parliament are, in the majority of cases, members of political parties (except for independent candidates); thus, parliamentary texts and assertions are intertwined with both personal and party political ideological conceptualizations. In general, members of political parties must ensure that they express opinions that align with their parties' ideological agenda. Contributions to particular parliamentary texts are often a function of political party ideologies, rather than personal opinions (van Dijk, 2000d: 99). Another feature of parliamentary text is that most contributions are prepared in advance of their dissemination and parliamentary texts are always put on the record. Assertions are only spontaneous in the event of direct interaction, for example an interruption. On certain controversial topics (such as migration) the monitoring of prepared statements is essential, due to the potential political implications if the issue is referred to in a contentious way. Given the dominant norms and laws that prohibit explicit discrimination

and unequivocal expressions of racial hatred, most parliamentary members will refrain from overt and blatant expressions of prejudice. This means that if parliamentary members express negative social cognitions, they are most likely expressed through subtle and indirect means (van Dijk, 1997: 35-36). Therefore, it is important to systematically investigate parliamentary texts in order to reveal broader ideological conceptualizations (Haynes et al., 2010: 3-4; McLaren, 2001: 88). A further feature of parliamentary texts is that they are inherently strategic. They are designed to get their message across and to win their argument and they are often part of broader political goals (Manheim, 1991, 1994). Indeed, the main type of text produced in parliaments is argumentative in nature and is orientated towards persuasion (O'Regan, 2010; Pujante and Morales-Lopez, 2008; Van Der Valk, 2003). Irish Parliamentary texts were selected for analysis in this dissertation, as the parliament is the most visible arena of Irish political discourse and it provides one of the key forums for discussions on illegal immigration, the context of which is often subsequently relayed in the newsprint media (Jacoby, 2000; Nelson and Kinder, 1996; Van Der Valk, 2003). This research aims to identify the different discourses expressed in the Irish Parliament about illegal immigration and to outline the core arguments employed in reference to it, in order to identify broader ideological frameworks of governance and national identity. van Dijk (1997: 36) claims that parliaments are typical sites of national rhetoric, as national identity is constructed by deciding who belongs to the nation and who does not. The parliament is also the forum where the governance of migration and immigration laws and policies are discussed, debated, justified, and implemented (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 1-5).

Over time, there have been a number of general publications on parliamentary texts and discourses. Carbo (1992) examined interruptions in parliamentary speeches and subsequently conducted a two volume study on thirty years of Mexican parliamentary texts (Cabro, 1996). Wilson (1990) analyzed parliamentary questions and Slembrouck (1992) published an influential article on how transcripts of parliamentary reports are produced. Many other researchers have examined political language and discourse (e.g. Antaki and Leudar, 2001; Bayley, 1998, 1999; Beard, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2006;

Gamson, 1992; Harris, 2001; Ilie, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Miller, 1997, 1999; Mouffe, 2005; Wodak, 2011). In addition, the *Journal of Language and Politics* dedicated a whole issue to parliamentary language (Bayley, 2002; Chilton, 2003). A recent paper Fairclough and Fairclough (2011), focused on practical reasoning in political discourses and argued for a better integration of argumentation theory within CDA. Additionally, Wodak (2011) analyzed European parliamentary politics, examining both 'frontstage' politics (the public view) and 'backstage' politics (behind the scenes – the everyday life) of those working in the European parliament.

Research that has investigated parliamentary texts that refer to migration is of particular relevance to this dissertation. This type of research has been undertaken in a number of geographical contexts. Wodak and van Dijk (2000a), for example examined discourses of ethnicity and immigration in six European parliaments. Rojo and van Dijk (1997) researched how Spanish political discourse justified and legitimized the expulsion of African illegal immigrants. Employing a discourse analytic framework, Jacobs (1998) analyzed political texts from the Dutch parliament that discussed voting rights for immigrants. Jones (2000) examined how immigration was discussed in the British parliament. Triandafyllidou (2000) investigated the political discourses of immigration in three European countries, namely, Greece, Italy, and Spain. Van der Valk (2003) examined political discourses of national identity and immigration in French political parties. Hagelund (2003) studied the discourses of the Progress Party (an anti immigration party) in Norway and revealed that positive discourses were produced by other Norwegian political parties in reaction to negative discourses. Every and Augostino (2007) utilized a discourse analysis approach to research Australian parliamentary texts that referred to a proposed new law for those seeking asylum. Their research identified racist assertions in the Australian Government. Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2008) examined politics and migration in the Austrian context. Bauder and Semmelroggen (2009) investigated articulations of nationhood in the German parliament by analyzing texts that referred to immigration. Their analysis revealed two distinct narratives of immigration and showed how European Union regulations, party politics, and the nature of parliamentary speech played a role in framing parliamentary discourse of immigration

and national identity. In relation to parliamentary studies from the Irish context, O'Regan (2010) undertook a discourse analysis on one specific Dáil debate that concentrated upon the war in Iraq. Haynes et al. (2010) researched Irish political discourses that were articulated in the Irish newsprint media concerning EU immigrants and found that left leaning politicians tended to be supportive of immigrants, while mainstream party members (mainly centre-right politicians) contributed to a conceptualization of immigrants as fraudulent people, as burdens on the economy, and as 'bogus' and disingenuous individuals.

3.4.2 Newsprint Media Texts

The second key site of institutional texts that is under investigation in this dissertation is the newsprint media. It can be said that the primary objective of the newsprint media is to report upon and to respond to current, newsworthy events. However, the articles and reports that are generated by the newsprint media can hold levels of bias and do not contain definitive facts; their content is infused with numerous ideological conceptualizations (Berger, 1972). These ideologies can be intentionally portrayed, but particular viewpoints and 'ways of seeing' (Berger, 1972) can also be disseminated unintentionally. Newsprint media texts are complex, as they represent multiple perspectives and numerous ideological frameworks (Crespi, 1997; Fairclough, 1992; Fowler, 1991; Taylor, 2001; van Dijk, 1991; Wetherell et al., 2001). The various 'opinions', that are relayed in the newsprint media are extremely powerful in leading the public to think about certain issues in particular ways (Berger, 1972; Crespi, 1997; Hall, 1977; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). It is acknowledged here that recent times have witnessed a fall in the intensity of usage of the newsprint media and many people now gain news information via the internet. Nevertheless, on the whole, the consumption of newsprint media by a sizable audience, the public attention it fosters, and its considerable (political) influence, enhances the newsprint media's power to shape ideologies (Mautner, 2008: 32). Messages and meanings encoded in the newsprint media aid the process of defining people's 'reality' and in shaping and reinforcing individuals 'natural' views of the world (Williams, 1962). Analysis of the newsprint media can both reveal 'dominant' discourses and reflect the social mainstream (Mautner, 2008: 32).

Opinions, points of view and ideologies that are evident within newsprint media texts accumulate from a variety of sources. These include the newspaper's editorial line or 'way of seeing' (Berger, 1972), current social norms or mainstream discourses, and most importantly, 'dominant' discourses produced by those in elite positions (Jacoby, 2000; Nelson and Kinder, 1996; Van Der Valk, 2003). Elites are equipped with the resources to (Bell, 1991: 59) pursue and express their agenda into the newsprint media (Tuchman, 2002: 89). Furthermore, those in elite positions often have organized relationships with the press (van Dijk, 1988: 120) and they can even be in control of newsprint media outlets (van Dijk, 1987: 358-377), resulting in a predominantly elite view of the world becoming established in and through the newsprint media (Fairclough, 1995: 49; Mautner, 2008: 33; van Dijk, 1987: 361; van Dijk, 1991: 41). Texts produced in the newsprint media by those in powerful positions can be highly influential upon other institutional texts and upon public consciousness. This process can have tangible effects in society, such as affecting and influencing public policy and legislation (Bauder, 2008c; Hall, 1977). Indeed, newsprint media texts are not only shaped by policy and law, but they can also be influential in the construction of policy and law (Crespi, 1997; van Dijk, 1991; Wodak and Menz, 1990). Although the newsprint media cannot tell people what to think about a given topic, it can set an agenda and the parameters within which a topic is conceived. This can lead the public how to think about a given subject in a particular way. The way immigration, for example is covered in the newsprint media provides important indicators, not only of the relevance of the topic in a country, but also of how the issue is understood by politicians and presented to the public (Mac Éinrí, 2001). Portrayals of migration in the newsprint media can affect public ('positive' and 'negative') attitudes towards migrants (Bauder, 2005; Bauder, 2008c; Hier and Greenberg, 2002). Examples of this have been identified from the Guatemalan and American contexts in relation to the regulation of migrant labour (Bauder and Gilbert, 2009), and in the Canadian context where there is a consistent occurrence of racial stereotypes in the newsprint media (Mahtani, 2001; Zolf, 1989).

A considerable quantity of research has been carried out on the media in general (Durant and Lambrou, 2009; Fairclough, 1995; Jensen, 2002; Machin and Van Leeuwen, 2007).

There has also been extensive research specifically on the newsprint media (Bednarek, 2006; Bell, 1991; Berglez and Olausson, 2011; Conboy, 2010; Cotter, 2010; Dekavalla, 2009; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Keeble, 2006; Kuo, 2007; Pounds, 2010; Reah, 2002; Richardson, 2007; van Dijk, 1988). A number of studies have examined discourses of migration in the newsprint media (Conboy, 2006; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Lynn and Lea, 2003; Manhtani, 2001; Mahtani and Mountz, 2002; Richardson, 2004; Triandafyllidou, 1999; van Dijk, 1991), including studies from the Irish context (Conway, 2006; Haynes et al., 2006, 2008; Mac Éinrí, 2001). In addition, various researchers have investigated how migration was discussed in the newsprint media through a CDA approach (i.e. Bauder, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2009; Bauder and Gilbert, 2009; KhosraviNik, 2010; Magalhaes, 2006; Richardson, 2007). Analyzing the German newsprint media, Bauder (2008a) reveals that news reports on immigration fluctuated considerably and that different modes of argumentation (e.g. economic, danger) were mobilized at different times. In Bauder's 2008b paper, he identifies how immigration is seen in an economic sense in Germany. In his 2009 paper, Bauder examines the role of humanitarian immigration in constructing Germany's national identity. Moving to the Canadian context, Bauder (2008d) suggests that Canada's national identity is constructed through its explicit portrayal of compassion towards refugees. In his 2008c paper, Bauder examines Canadian media coverage of immigration in general and reveals that danger is the most frequent and consistent argumentation theme about immigration. In his 2008e paper, Bauder examines the economic justifications for immigration in the Canadian newsprint media.

3.4.3 The Discursive Links Between the Parliament and Newsprint Media

The interdependent relationship between the institutions of the parliament and newsprint media occurs for a number of reasons. To begin, parliamentary members have more access to the newsprint media than other elites (or even 'ordinary' people), as the media constantly seek their political opinion and portray them as major news actors (van Dijk, 1995b: 12-13). Moreover, due to the dominant role of the media in the production of institutional texts, politicians depend on the media to disseminate information about their activities, decisions, and political programmes. They also rely on the media to gain

recognition and popularity with other elites and with the general public, to exercise power, to seek legitimacy, and to manufacture consensus and consent (van Dijk, 1993b: 241-246; Wodak, 2011: 158). Indeed, politicians would find it difficult to influence others without the aid of the media, as it is through the media that the public gains 'knowledge', images and impressions of politics and politicians (van Dijk, 1993b: 241-246; van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18). The media also aids those in political positions by reinforcing myths about doing politics and by reassuring the public of the 'rational' and 'good' intentions underlying political decisions. This image of politics and politicians aims to convey feelings of security and trust in 'wise' individuals and political parties to make adequate decisions on behalf of the citizens (Wodak, 2011: 26). It has been argued that modern political power would be unthinkable without politicians having access to the resources of the mass media. Through their special access to the media, political institutions and individuals not only reproduce their own sets of power formations and ideological constructs, they also reproduce broader ideologies that are characteristic of the elite in society (van Dijk, 1993b: 241-246). Indeed, the media is often controlled by corporate elites, shaping and reproducing discourses that reinforce 'dominant' governmental ideologies (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005: 296-297).

The media, on the other hand, depend upon politicians for newsworthy information, which they require to sell their product (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18; Wodak, 2011: 158). It is acknowledged that the media disseminate their own range of ideologically-laden discourses and discourses from a range of other societal institutions. Nevertheless, the texts that the media disseminate from political elites are noteworthy (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18). The convenient relationship between the media and politics runs counter to the media's role as a critical monitor of political activities and as a 'neutral' body that informs the public of political actions. Indeed, the public depend on the media for political information and frequently view it as legitimate knowledge. Due to commercial pressures, the media often falls into a rigid routine that requires a certain (often hourly/daily) output of its product. This practice has led to the simplification of the political process and the construction of politics in an entertaining manner by trivializing, personalizing and dramatizing politicians and political information (Fetzer and

Lauerbach, 2007: 5-6). Politics and the media have always been intricately linked with each other. This association will continue into the future, as the media continues to follow the logic of political decision-making and politics adheres to the media's logic of selection and construction (Wodak, 2011: 3-4). The institutions of the parliament and the media are linked in several ways; however, the most important linkage between both institutions is their similar ideological positions on certain matters. It is acknowledged here that there are also differing opinions between both institutions, indeed these similarities/differences can change over time. Furthermore, although these institutions may have similar preoccupations, the tenor of the discourses can be different. Nonetheless, even though both institution act within its own sphere of influence and on occasion conflicts and contradictions between both institutions occur, through their interdependent relationship of reproduction and dissemination of discourses they can often jointly produce similar argumentations and ideologies. It is argued here that these institutions continually create ideological discourses that justify and maintain elite power in society. Institutional texts from the parliament and the newsprint media produce 'legitimized' discourses forming 'knowledges', which can mould public attitudes on an array of matters (van Dijk, 1995b: 12-29).

The ideological similarities that exist amid the institutions of the parliament and the newsprint media become even more distinctive when one assesses the discourses and 'knowledges' that are produced about migration and the resulting 'subjects' that are constructed (i.e. migrants). While the newsprint media may intermittently pose challenges to 'dominant' political ideologies and critique some issues posed by the political elite, such challenges seldom occur in reference to migration issues (van Dijk, 1995b: 22). The reason for this is that the media obtain a large level of their 'knowledge' about migration from political institutions. This has caused a situation where discourses about migration from alternative sources or from the public at large, if heard at all, are restricted to indirect representations by politicians and the media (van Dijk, 1995a: 4-6). This process of producing particular migration related discursive ideologies is significant, as these texts are legitimized in the media and disseminated into the public sphere, which can inform public attitudes and lead people to think about migration in a particular way.

Indeed, the media is one of the main sites where the public gains information regarding migration (van Dijk, 1993b: 241-246; van Dijk, 1995b: 21-22). The media has a vast and unique scope of access to the public at large. It is the most accessible form of knowledge and communication available to the general public, and therefore, the most likely to influence public opinion (Haynes et al., 2009: 1-11; Haynes et al., 2010: 3-8). The media's general failure to provide alternative viewpoints on migration and on occasion misinformation about migration creates a knowledge vacuum, which can aid broader power structures. The media generally position themselves on the side of the dominant group, thereby confirming the status quo and reproducing broader power structures that legitimize inequality. Thus, through newsprint media representations, the public's attitude to migration can be influenced, as they internalize 'naturalized' ways of thinking about immigration and broadly accept 'legitimized' forms of migration governance (Haynes et al., 2009: 1-11; Haynes et al., 2010: 3-8; Mahtani and Mountz, 2002: 6; van Dijk, 1995b: 21-24). This process of influence is not straightforward or without contradictions. Indeed all of the public are not passive individuals who are easily manipulated. Despite the power of politics and the media, and the overwhelmingly dominant-group coverage of migration, there are at least small groups of people that have an explicit anti-racist and anti-discriminatory ideology and who can resist the powerful push for consent and consensus (van Dijk, 1993b: 280-282).

3.5 Research Design

The aim of this thesis is to identify and examine Irish institutional texts that refer to illegal immigration during the period between 1 January 2002 and 31 December 2009. This specific period is under investigation as immigration in significant numbers emerged in Ireland in 2002 and thus, institutional texts of migration and illegal immigration increased, especially in comparison to previous decades. The period under research in this dissertation ceases at the end of 2009, as this time witnessed a decline in the overall level of immigration to Ireland. The eight year period between 2002 and 2009 not only allows for a high level of texts to be identified, but it is also a distinctive period in Ireland's migration history overall. The country experienced considerable changes in the nature and extent of immigration with the influx of returning Irish migrants, EU

immigrants, and non-EU immigrants. Additionally, with the accession to the EU by 10 new Member States in 2004, the work permit scheme permitted citizens of particular Member States access to the Irish labour market and a certain cohort of non-EU migrants were restricted access. Furthermore, the number of immigrants claiming asylum in Ireland rose steadily until 2002, where the number thereafter gradually declined over time (Mac Éinri and White, 2008: 153-154; Ruhs, 2009). More so than any other time in the State's history, this period also witnessed an increase in the governance of migration. Multiple amendments to migration related policies and legislation were implemented. The institutional texts that are under investigation are Irish Parliamentary texts from the Dáil, the Seanad, the Committee on European Affairs (CEA hereafter), and the Committee on Justice, Equality, Defence and Women's Rights (CJEDWR hereafter). Irish newsprint media texts from the Irish Times, the Irish Independent, the Irish Examiner, and the Sunday Tribune are also under analysis. This research identified and examined all texts that were produced about illegal immigration during this time in order for saturation of the data to take place. Furthermore, as all texts that relate to illegal immigration were identified, the main argumentations/topoi that were employed in Irish institutional texts about illegal immigration could be reliably identified. Instead of cherry-picking texts, the identification of a large cohort of data allowed for accountability and ensured accurate analysis and findings (Mautner, 2008: 37).

3.5.1 How the Institutional Data was Gathered and Organized

In relation to parliamentary texts, all references to illegal immigration expressed between 2002 and 2009 were sought and identified. These texts were gathered from the two houses of the Oireachtas (the Dáil and the Seanad) and from two executive committees (the CEA and the CJEDWR). Texts from the other parliamentary committees were not utilized, as they did not refer to illegal immigration. Texts were accessed electronically through the Irish Parliamentary website (www.oireachtas.ie) and identified by entering an array of relevant keywords into the on-line search engine. These keywords included illegal immigrant(s), illegal, migrant(s), migration, undocumented, and irregular. This variety of keywords was utilized in order to access all possible texts that were spoken or written about illegal immigration. The texts that were identified came in the form of

transcripts of parliamentary debates (including bills and motions), written answers, priority questions, and statements.

Newsprint media texts are the main type of news media to be examined in this dissertation (over television or radio broadcasts), as they provide relatively accessible data that is straightforward to compile. Additionally, as the majority of news media outlets cover the pressing issues and main stories of the day, it is doubtful that there was a large level of television or radio coverage of the topic of illegal immigration. The newsprint media offer more detailed reporting and a large cohort of texts to analyze. The power of other media, such as television or radio, to influence Irish public opinion is not denied here; nevertheless, in the case of this research project the newsprint media provide a more suitable data source. Thus, Irish newsprint media texts that were produced between 2002 and 2009 were sought and identified. Unlike the parliamentary sources, where all possible texts about illegal immigration could be identified and gathered, access to all possible newsprint media sources was not achievable. The initial aim of this research was to analyze all newspaper reports that were produced about illegal immigration between 2002 and 2009 from a combination of both broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers. Once the research began in this vein, it became evident that this goal was unobtainable. The main way to access Irish newspaper reports is through the electronic search engine *LexisNexis*. However, there are some drawbacks in the use of this resource. Firstly, not all Irish newspaper reports are uploaded to *LexisNexis*, as this is undertaken at the discretion of the individual newspaper. Secondly, only certain dates are available for individual newspapers (e.g. articles from the Evening Herald are only available for 2008 and 2009). Thirdly, not all newspapers are available on *LexisNexis*, especially the tabloid newspapers. One way to overcome this anomaly is to supplement the data that is available on *LexisNexis* with data from the individual newspaper's website archives. Nonetheless, these on-line archives are not available for all newspapers. It is mainly the broadsheet newspapers that have 'historical' catalogues of their printed material available on-line (e.g. the Irish Times). These restrictions directed this research project to analyze four broadsheet newspapers, where data was available from *LexisNexis* and could be supplemented with on-line data to include all years between 2002 and 2009.

These newspapers include the Irish Times, the Irish Independent, the Irish Examiner, and the Sunday Tribune. Even though this lack of access to all possible newsprint texts (especially tabloid newspapers) restricted the full scope of this research, a very large cohort of newspaper reports was identified (over 2,500 newsprint media articles). As this thesis focuses upon the examination of institutional texts, these four broadsheet sources are arguably the key vessels of 'discourses of influence' in the Irish newsprint media. They are among Ireland's largest, most influential and reputable newspapers. The circulation figures for Irish newspapers for 2009 outline the popularity of these newspapers among the general public. The four newspapers examined in this dissertation account for 58% of all newspapers consumed by the Irish public in 2009 (see figure 3.3 below – the broadsheet papers are indicated in colour). The remainder of newspapers, which are tabloid papers, accounted for 42% (indicated in the black shaded colour on figure 3.3) of the total number of newspapers acquired by the public in 2009 (National Newspapers of Ireland, 2012). These figures are inclusive of the Sunday publications of the daily papers for both the broadsheet and the tabloid newspapers. Although the tabloid newspapers account for a substantial level of the circulation figures (and they are interesting in their own right), it is argued here that the broadsheet newspapers provide a broad range of perspectives and are more significant to this dissertation, as they are mainly produced and consumed by those in positions of power in society. It is striking from figure 3.3 how the Irish Times dominates the circulation figures, accounting for 34% (1,482,768) of all newspaper publications in 2009, with the Irish Independent also accounting for a noteworthy level of consumption (19% - 842,424). In order to identify and gather the newsprint media articles from the four main sources, the following keywords were utilized, illegal immigrant(s), illegal, migrant(s), migration, undocumented, and irregular (these are the same keywords that were used to identify parliamentary texts). These keywords were entered into the search engine on *LexisNexis* and onto the digital on-line archives of all four newspapers.

Figure 3.3: Circulation Figures for Irish Newspapers 2009

Circulation Figures for Irish Newspapers in 2009

The Sunday World 12%(547,957)

The Irish Daily Mail 8%(345,678)

The Irish Sun 10%(456,223)

The Irish Mirror 5%(207,402)

The Irish Star 7%(316,226)

The Sunday Tribune 3%(126,071)

The Irish Examiner 2%(99,442)

The Irish Times 34%(1,482,768)

The Irish Independent 19%(842,424)
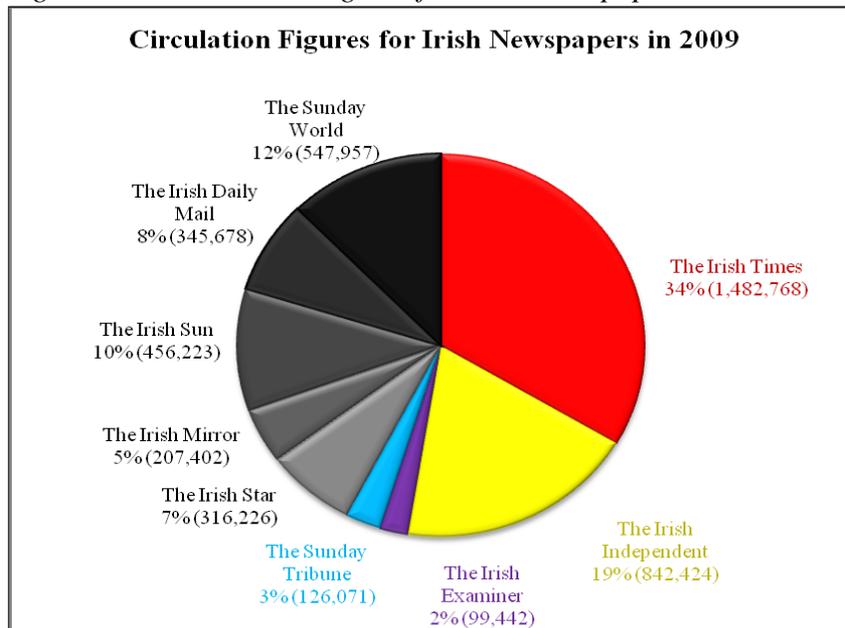
As referred to previously, when all of the institutional texts from the Irish Parliament and the newsprint media were identified and collated, they were then read, coded, and analyzed. Both the parliamentary texts and newsprint media texts were recorded onto excel files, along with important information relating to each text (examples of which are in table 3.2 and table 3.3 below). This method of organizing the data allowed for the recording of basic information about each text, namely the date that the text occurred and the keyword(s) that was used to identify the text. If the number of words within the text was available, it was recorded. The newspaper articles that were identified on *Lexis Nexis* contained the number of words (ranging from anywhere between under 100 to 2,000 words). The newsprint texts that were gathered from the newspapers on-line archive did not contain this information and so this data was not recorded. In relation to the parliamentary texts, the number of words for each entity was not recorded, as this information was not readily available and varied considerably. Indeed, a parliamentary debate could be 50,000 words in length and only two or three paragraphs of that text (or one sentence) may refer to illegal immigration. Written answers tended to be comparatively shorter, ranging from a few sentences to 200/300 words. In the case of the parliamentary texts additional information was recorded, such as the volume number, the type of text that it was (e.g. statement or question/answer, etc.), who stated the text, and

the political affiliation of the individual. Further information was also recorded about all institutional texts, namely the geographical location that the text was referring to – if the text was about illegal immigration in Ireland specifically, or whether the text was about illegal immigration in another country. Lastly, and most prominently, the mode(s) of argumentation (topoi) assigned to each text was recorded.

Table 3.2: Example of Excel File of Parliamentary Text Data

Date	Volu	House Busine	Keywo	Speaker	Poli	Qu	Poli	Respo	Pol	Abo	EP	EN	ENl	HP	HN	HNl	CD	CU	CN	DF	DN	DN	CP	CN	CO	O
05/11/2008	666	Written Answer	Undocumented			Dinny Mc	FG	Micheal	FF	■													■			
05/11/2008	666	Other Question	Undocu	Micheal Mart	FF					■													■			■
05/11/2008	666	Questions-Offic	Undocu	Brian Cowen	FF					■													■			
05/11/2008	"	"	Undocu	Enda Kenny	FG					■				■									■			
29/10/2008	665	European Cour	Illegal I	Enda Kenny	FG													■				■				
29/10/2008	"	"	Illegal I	Micheal Mart	FF																	■				
09/10/2008	663	Priority Questic	Undocu	Micheal Mart	FF					■													■			
02/10/2008	662	Written Answer	Illegal Immigrants			Leo Varad	FG	Dermo	FF														■			
02/10/2008	662	Written Answer	Illegal Immigrant			Roisin Sh	Labc	Dermo	FF													■				
25/09/2008	661	Written Answer	Undocumented			Mary Upto	Labc	Michea	FF	■													■			

Table 3.3: Example of Excel File of Newsprint Media Text Data

2009		Keyword	Word	Abou	EP	EN	ENL	HP	HN	HNL	CD	CU	CNL	DP	DN	DNL	CP	CN	CNL	O
30/12/2009		Illegal imr	348	■														■		
29/12/2009		Migrant/Il	343					■												
29/12/2009		Illegal imr	From	■	Website															■
21/12/2009		Illegal imr	From	■	Website													■		
03/12/2009		Illegal imr	From Times	Website					■											
27/11/2009		Migrant/Il	575	■			■			■	■				■			■		
19/11/2009		Illegal imr	471																	■
16/11/2009		Migrant	469	■																■
11/11/2009		Illegal imr	From	■	Website															
30/10/2009		Illegal imr	626	■																

The pilot analysis that was undertaken at the beginning of this research process established the key topoi ('economy', 'humanitarian', 'culture', 'danger', and 'control') that are employed in Irish institutional texts. Thus, as a text (parliamentary and newsprint media) was read, these topoi emerged from the data. Once the topoi were identified, they were highlighted and recorded beside each specific text and then entered onto the excel file. This recording and coding scheme allowed for a dynamic approach to the analysis of institutional texts. Not only could the topoi be recorded and analyzed in an accessible manner, but further analysis could also be conducted, such as identifying the associations between a mode of argumentation and a political party. As referred to previously, in order to address reliability issues emerging from using such a complex method and to ensure

that a consistent application of the coding and recording scheme was conducted, the data was rechecked after some time (by comparing the data with texts that were coded at earlier points in the analysis) and once again when all of the data was analyzed. When all of the data was gathered and collated, a quantitative analysis took place, including assessing the number of texts from the institutions and the frequency of each topos in its temporal context. Following an extensive quantitative analysis, an in-depth qualitative analysis was undertaken. This involved analyzing the different argumentations that were employed with reference to illegal immigration and the broader narratives that relate to conceptualizations of governance and national identity. This qualitative data is outlined in Chapter 4 (parliamentary texts) and Chapter 5 (newsprint media texts).

3.5.2 The Number of Texts from the Irish Parliament

Over 1,000 texts about illegal immigration were identified from the Irish Parliament during the period between 2002 and 2009. This included 511 (51%) Dáil texts, 146 (14%) Seanad texts, and 350 (35%) committee texts. As one can see from figure 3.4, the Dáil, consisting of 51% of texts, provided the largest source of texts that refer to illegal immigration.

Figure 3.4: The Percentage of Parliamentary Texts from Sources
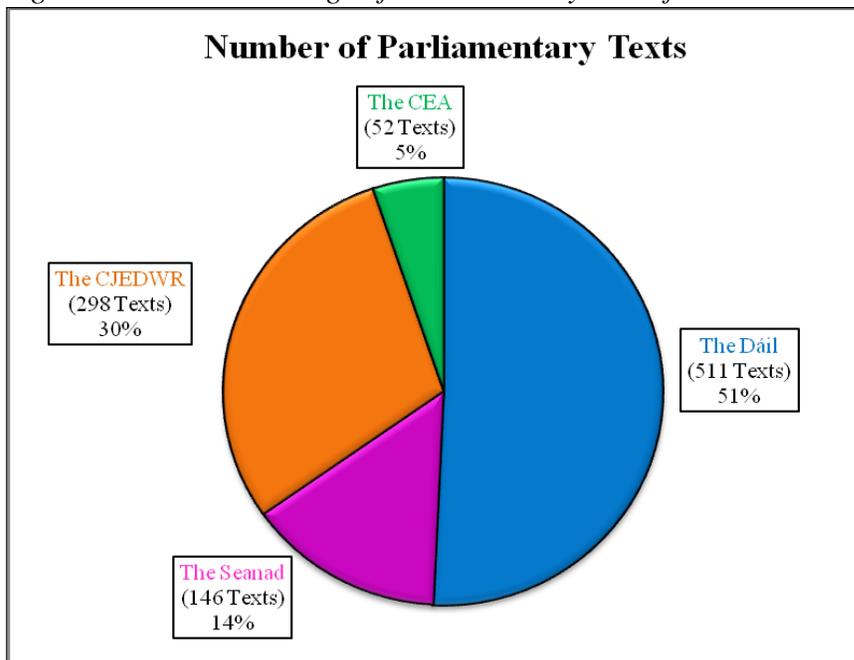
The number of parliamentary texts can be tracked over time between 2002 and 2009. From figure 3.5 below, it is clear that a consistent level of text about illegal immigration was produced during this period. It must be noted that the parliamentary yearly calendar differs from the newsprint media yearly calendar. The Irish Parliament is not in operation during certain times of the year, for example it ceases to operate during Christmas, Easter, and during the summer. This absence in official parliamentary activities at certain times of the year obviously had an impact on the number of texts produced about illegal immigration between 2002 and 2009. Thus, when the texts are tracked over time and gaps in the texts materialize on the graph; some of these absences in texts can be attributed to parliamentary holidays. Nevertheless, it is necessary to display this parliamentary data in a generic calendar so that the data is comparable with the newsprint media data. Overall, the number of texts from the Dáil (indicated in the blue line on figure 3.5) increased over time. The texts from the Seanad (indicated by the pink line) maintained a consistently low level. The texts from the CJEDWR (indicated by the orange line) were intermittently produced, with identifiable peaks in the number of texts in 2003 and at the end of 2004. There was also a high level of text from the CJEDWR during 2008. The number of text from the CEA (indicated by the green line) is low, with the exception of a relatively high level of text at the end of 2005 and into the beginning of 2006. It is evident that at specific instances, peaks in the texts occurred and texts from the differing sources seemed to cluster. A clear case of this occurred at the end of 2005 and into 2006, and at the end of 2007 into 2008, and in 2009.

Figure 3.5: The Number of Parliamentary Texts 2002-2009
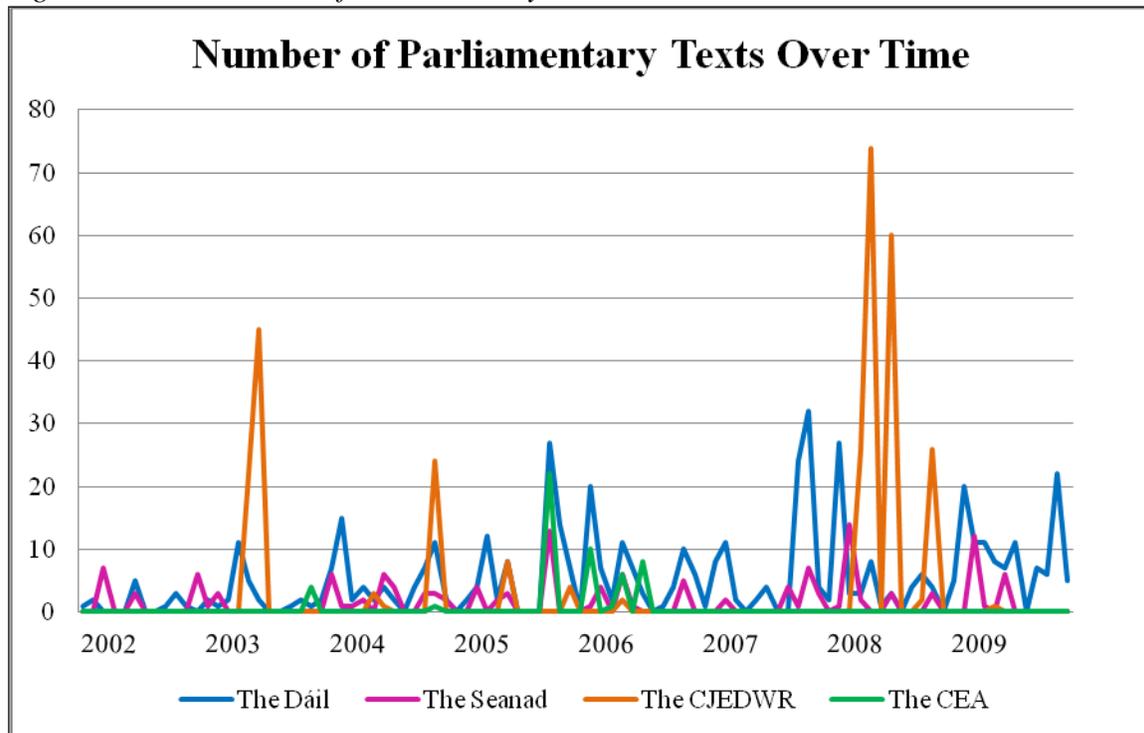
During the period between the end of 2005 and into the beginning of 2006, parliamentary texts about illegal immigration concentrated heavily upon the undocumented Irish in the US. Other texts at this time focused upon the protection of EU borders from illegal immigration, the deportation of illegal immigrants from Ireland, and the implementation of employment legislation aimed at preventing the illegal employment of immigrants. Further texts were meshed with discussions about other types of immigration, namely smuggling, trafficking, and asylum seekers.

At the end of 2007 and into 2008, and in 2009, there was once again a considerable level of texts that focused upon the undocumented Irish in the US. The remainder of texts expressed a concern for the protection of EU and Irish borders (especially the land border with Northern Ireland) against illegal immigration. Immigration controls and procedures (such as residency permits, employment permits and the deportation of migrants) were also broadly discussed. A firm anti regularization argumentation was established by the Government, as regularizations were seen as a 'pull-factor' for illegal immigration. One further narrative that emerged referred to the topic of 'marriages of convenience'. Once again, similar discussions about illegal immigration overlapped during this time, and

were entangled with discussions about other types of immigration (e.g. asylum seekers and the trafficking of migrants). In 2008, a noteworthy level of texts referred to the *Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill*. Yet again, texts on this motion were merged with other immigration topics.

In contrast, there were periods in the Irish Parliament when very few texts occurred about illegal immigration, namely, the period between 2002 and the beginning of 2005. One exception to this feature is the peak in texts in mid-2003 originating from the CJEDWR. This peak in texts referred to the *Immigration Bill* of 2002 (committee stage). It is evident that broader events in Ireland and in Europe, which may not specifically relate to illegal immigration, can influence the production of texts about illegal immigration. An example of this is the introduction of employment legislation that sparked a discussion on the illegal employment of immigrants. In addition, the Citizenship Referendum of 2004 sparked diverse debates about immigration and specific discussions on the nature of Irish citizenship. In the European context, the accession of new EU Member States in 2004 and 2006 also provoked debates on immigration, employment, rights, welfare benefits, and integration.

It is evident that texts from the Irish Parliament that refer to illegal immigration do not solely refer to illegal immigration in the Irish context. In many instances, texts can concentrate on the undocumented (as they are referred to and not illegal) Irish in the US. Furthermore, texts can refer to illegal immigration in European or international contexts. However, it is evident from figure 3.6 below that most parliamentary texts refer to illegal immigration in the Irish context (66%), while the remainder of texts refer to illegal immigration in other geographical contexts (34%). The majority (over 90%) of texts in 2002 and 2003 concentrated upon illegal immigration in Ireland. From 2004 to 2007, the level of texts about illegal immigration in other countries increased substantially. In 2008, this level of texts about illegal immigration in other countries decreased to 20%. Nevertheless, in 2009 texts about illegal immigration in other countries increased to 45%. This discrepancy in the geographical focus of texts about illegal immigration is important, especially in relation to the analysis of the topoi, as different 'types'

(Irish/non-Irish) of illegal immigration are considered in a 'positive' or a 'negative' way. Further on in this thesis, it is argued and evidence is offered to portray how 'positive' texts about illegal immigration are, in the majority of cases, about the undocumented Irish in the US.

Figure 3.6: Texts about Illegal Immigration in Ireland and other Countries from the Parliament
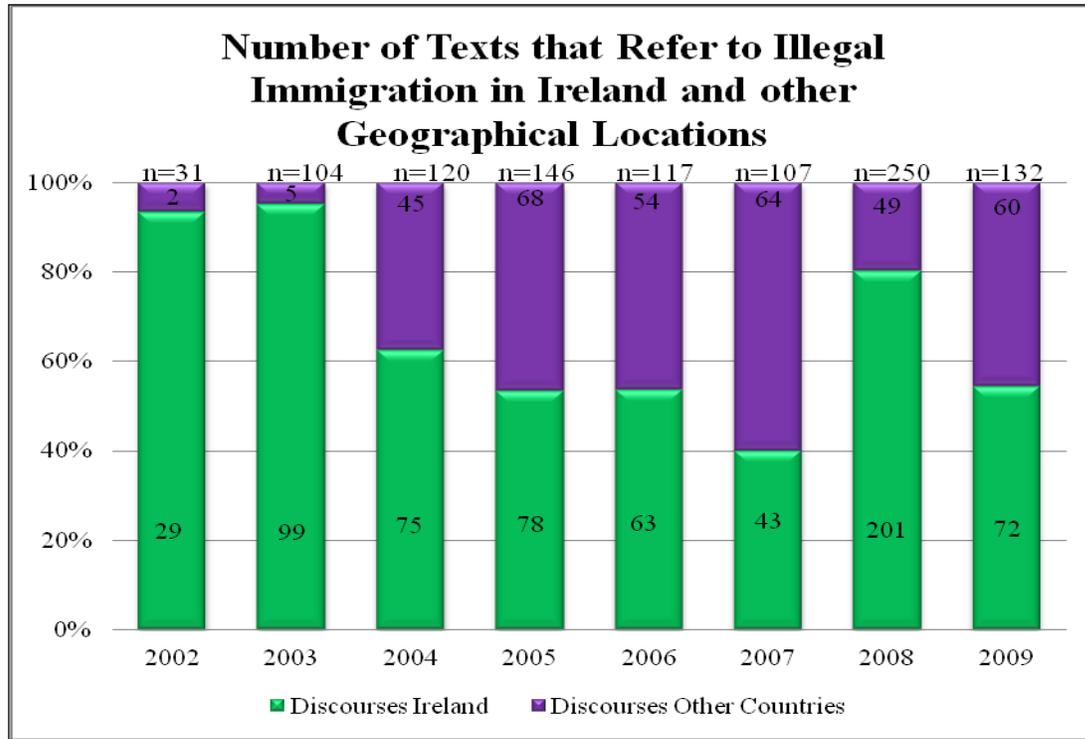
3.5.3 The Number of Texts from the Irish Newsprint Media

Over 2,500 texts about illegal immigration were identified from the Irish newsprint media during the period between 2002 and 2009. This included 1,447 (60%) texts from the Irish Times, 557 (23%) texts from the Irish Independent, 169 texts (7%) from the Sunday Tribune, and 250 (10%) texts from the Irish Examiner. As one can see from figure 3.7, the Irish Times, consisting of 60% of texts, provided the largest source data.

Figure 3.7: Percentage of Newsprint Media Texts from Sources
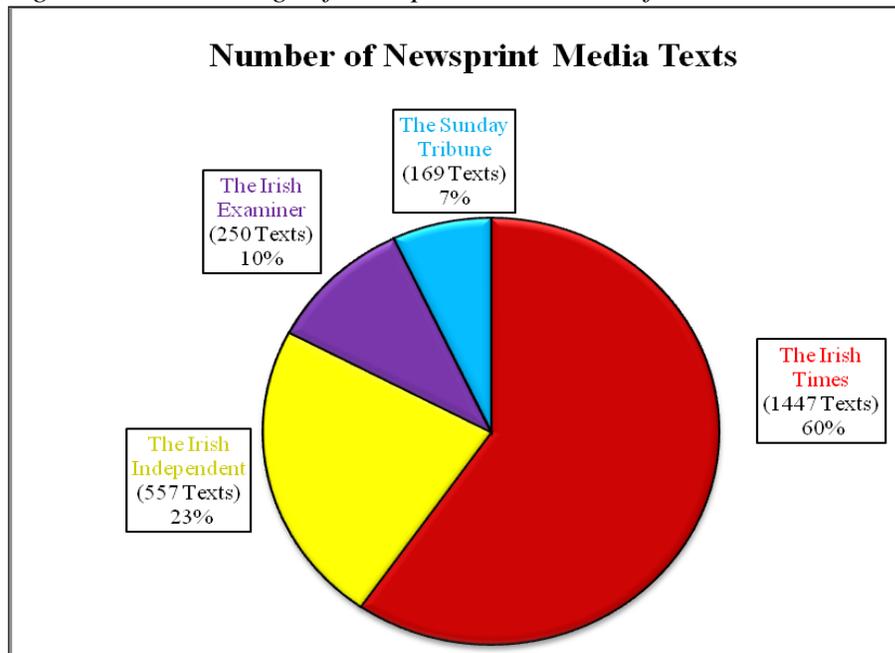
The number of newsprint media texts can be tracked over time between 2002 and 2009. From figure 3.8 below, it is evident that steady levels of texts about illegal immigration were produced during this time. The number of texts from the Irish Times (indicated in the red line on figure 3.8 below) was at a high level during 2002. Nevertheless, this level decreased in 2003 and maintained a steadily low level during 2004 and 2005. This low level increased considerably during 2006, and subsequently decreased between 2007 and 2009. The texts from the Irish Independent (indicated by the yellow line) are at a substantially lower level than the Irish Times and maintained a relatively consistent level during this time; however, the Irish Independent texts slightly decreased between 2008 and 2009. The texts from both the Irish Examiner (indicated by the purple line) and the Sunday Tribune (indicated in the light blue line) maintained a steady level and were consistently low over time.

Figure 3.8: The Number of Newsprint Media Texts 2002-2009

Number of Newsprint Media Texts Over Time
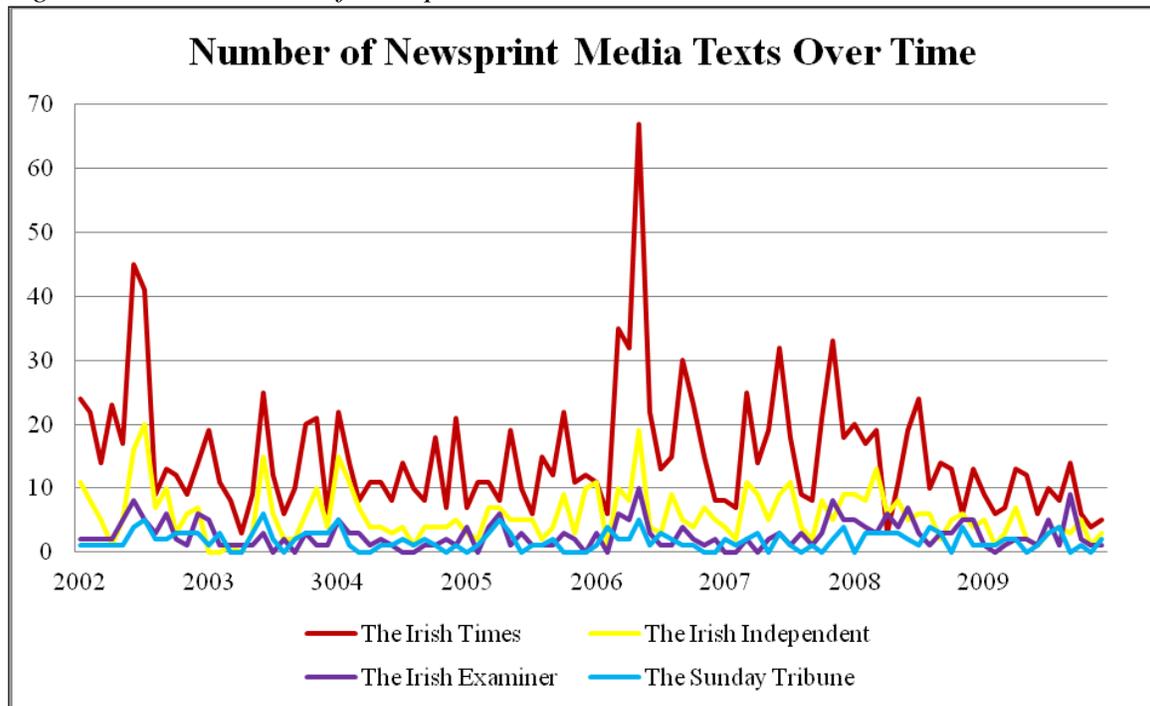
To make clearer distinctions in comparing the production of texts between the different newsprint media outlets, the number of newsprint media texts can be converted into a percentage overall level (percentage of the total number of texts from each newspaper outlet), in order to clearly identify clusters of texts. The purpose of creating a percentage level of text production from each newspaper is to indicate significant time periods when all newsprint media outlets were reporting upon illegal immigration at the same time. These percentages are relayed in figure 3.9 below. This figure clearly indicates similarities in the data and how the differing newspapers are reported upon illegal immigration at very similar time periods.

Figure 3.9: The Level of Media Texts as a Percentage of the Total Number of Texts
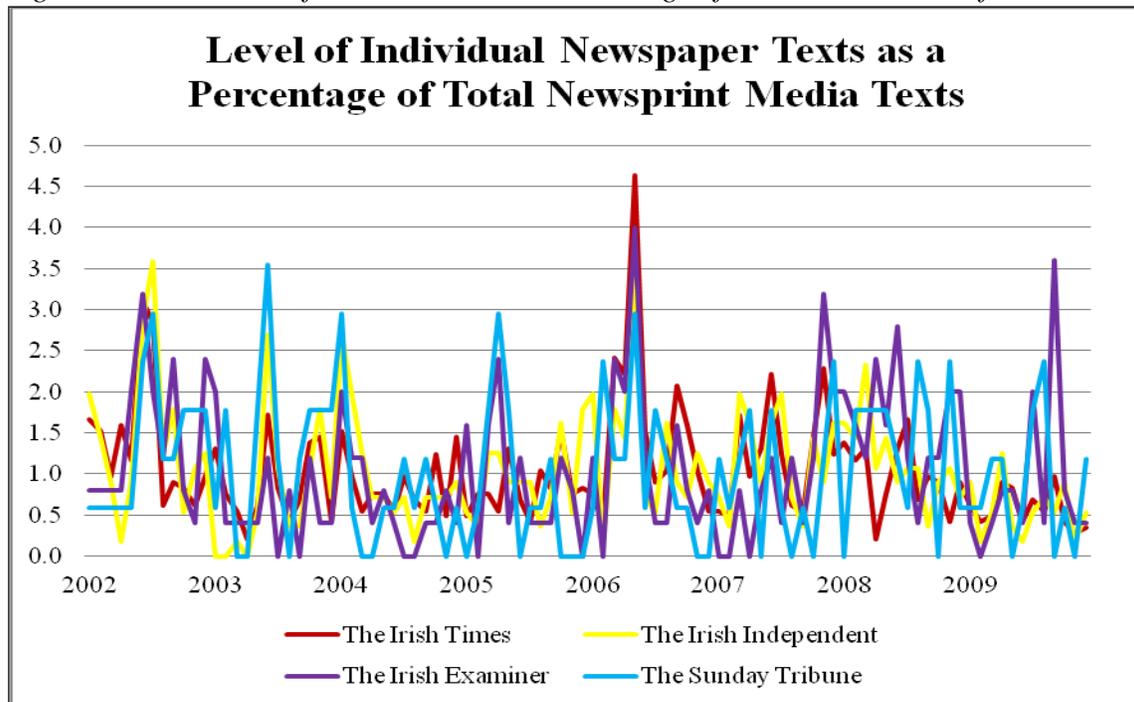
From figure 3.9 above, peaks in the data are evident in every year between 2002 and 2009, with a clear cluster of texts evident between 2006 and 2007. The reasons for these text clusters are highly varied and require an examination of each individual year. Nonetheless, certain topics in relation to illegal immigration occur consistently during this time. Most significantly, this includes reports on tragic instances of the deaths of illegal immigrants, who, for example were trying to enter a country by boat, or who died through unsafe or bad employment conditions. These reports refer to various countries in Europe, including France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Cyprus, Belgium, Amsterdam, Turkey, Greece, and Malta. This also includes non-EU countries, such as the US, Mexico, Australia, Thailand, South Africa, India, and China. Additionally, there was a very high level of reporting upon the undocumented Irish in the US and on how the Irish Government lobbied the US administration on their behalf.

In 2002, the main topic that was reported upon in relation to illegal immigration refers to a 'crackdown' on illegal immigration and the implementation of Operation Hyphen (an operation that aimed to identify and deport illegal immigrants). The introduction of a new work permit system (one of the aims of the new permit was to prevent illegal immigrants

90

or asylum seekers from gaining employment) was also quite prevalent. The expenses incurred by the State in the deportation of migrants and the cost of the asylum system were regularly referred to in newsprint media texts. There was also a large concern with 'bogus' asylum seekers and the apparent abuse of the asylum system. Lastly, EU policy in relation to illegal immigration was often reported on, including EU border protection and particularly the EU Seville summit (the aim of which was for European leaders to discuss the prevention of illegal immigration). The newsprint media texts from 2003 concentrated upon the implementation of restrictions on immigrants, the deportation of illegal immigrants, and the removal of refused/'bogus'/'failed' asylum seekers from the State. It was also claimed in reports that migration restrictions were actually lowering asylum applications. This was represented as a positive outcome. Other significant levels of newsprint media reporting concentrated upon the policy of Carriers' Liability and Operation Quest (the targeting of lap-dancing clubs by the Gardaí in order to identify illegal immigrants). One final domestic topic that was reported upon was the Supreme Court ruling on the non-entitlement of non-EU parents of Irish born children to reside in Ireland. These texts lead up to the Citizenship Referendum of 2004. In relation to the EU, there was a large level of reporting on proposed EU border controls, including a common policy on immigration, a visa database, and fingerprints on passports.

During 2004, the Citizenship Referendum fundamentally dominated the newsprint media texts on illegal immigration. Other texts referred to deportations and how immigration restrictions were justified due to the impact migration restrictions had on influencing the decline in the number of asylum seekers in Ireland. The reporting of suspected 'sham marriages' between Irish citizens and illegal immigrants and a focus on the border with Northern Ireland as an entry point for immigrants emerged during this time. There was continued reporting during 2004 on the need to protect EU borders from illegal immigrants and 'bogus' asylum seekers, and there were suggestions for the establishment of transit camps in North African countries in order to 'filter out' disingenuous asylum seekers. Newsprint media reports during 2005 concentrated upon a number of real life case studies, including Olunkunle Eluhanla (a Nigerian student who was deported from Ireland, but the Government permitted his return in order to complete school exams,

under pressure from his supporters) and Tristan Dowes (who was adopted by an Irish couple at two months old and was subsequently returned to Jakarta after two years, which resulted in the child becoming stateless). Texts that referred to deportations, the falling number of those seeking asylum, and the border with Northern Ireland continued during 2005. Accusations emerged that some language schools facilitated illegal immigration. In a European context, new proposals for EU protections were reported, including the sharing of migrant data and the implementation of controls along Southern EU borders. It was also widely reported how Spain offered an amnesty for illegal immigrants.

During 2006, a considerable proportion of newsprint media texts concentrated upon the 'plight' of the undocumented Irish in the US. In relation to the EU, reports concentrated upon the policies of 'third countries'/'safe lists' and the need to expand the remit of Frontex. Domestically, the economic costs of deporting illegal immigrants dominated, along with proposals for biometric identity cards for immigrants and the ability for the Government to detain and deport illegal immigrants (under the proposed *Immigration Bill*). There were calls from civil society groups for a 'Bridging Visa' for undocumented immigrants in Ireland and the case of the Afghan hunger-strikers was reported upon, but not to a very large extent. Media reporting in 2007 concentrated upon the issues of trafficking, deportation, and 'marriages of convenience'. It was reported that a group of Roma gypsies were deported from Ireland after residing on a roundabout on the M50 motorway in Dublin. In addition, newspaper texts concentrated upon the need for a common border security system between the UK and Ireland.

In 2008 newsprint media reports about illegal immigration were very much a continuation of reports from previous years. They included references to 'bogus' weddings, deportations, and restrictions. Additionally, trafficking and smuggling was discussed. Reporting continued on the *Immigration Bill*, which aimed to make it easier for the authorities to detain and deport illegal immigrants. Proposals of detention centres emerged and discussions continued on an increased co-operation between Irish-UK border controls. It emerged in September 2008 that the Government would regularize the status of illegal immigrants who previously held work permits, although this scheme was

limited to a specific cohort of people, to a certain time period, and was not reported upon to a large level. The EU pact on immigration and asylum was widely reported upon, which included the expelling of illegal immigrants and the intensification of border controls. In 2009 domestic reporting about illegal immigration referred to the trafficking of people, the sex industry, and to the expense of, and the number of, deportations. It was also reported that the Government was 'cracking down' on language schools under Operation Feather. Many media stories concentrated upon employment issues, perhaps due to the economic recession that had emerged circa 2008. This included the restrictions on employment policy for migrants. In addition, a temporary visa (four months) became available to those who entered Ireland legally and became illegal due to their work permit expiring. However, this temporary visa was not open to those migrants that entered Ireland illegally. Reports about EU regulations referred to the need to combat illegal immigration and the proposed implementation of the 'Sea Horse' system, a satellite system to track illegal immigration in the Southern European area.

It is evident that reports from the Irish newsprint media that relate to illegal immigration do not solely refer to illegal immigration in the Irish context. Reports refer to several geographical locations, from Europe, to the US, to Australia, and to China. As one can see from figure 3.10 below, it is clear that a large proportion of texts actually refer to illegal immigration in other geographical contexts (58%). In fact, the level of texts from the Irish newsprint media that specifically refer to illegal immigration in Ireland (42%) actually decreases over time. In 2002, 2003, and 2004, the texts about illegal immigration in Ireland were over 50%, but these high figures slowly declined over time, dropping significantly in 2005 to 34% and in 2006 to 26%. In 2007 and 2008 the level of texts about Ireland increases to approximately 40%, but decreases again in 2009 to 34%. Thus, there is a large preoccupation in the Irish newsprint media with illegal immigration in geographical locations other than Ireland.

Figure 3.10: Texts about Illegal Immigration in Ireland and Other Countries from the Newsprint Media
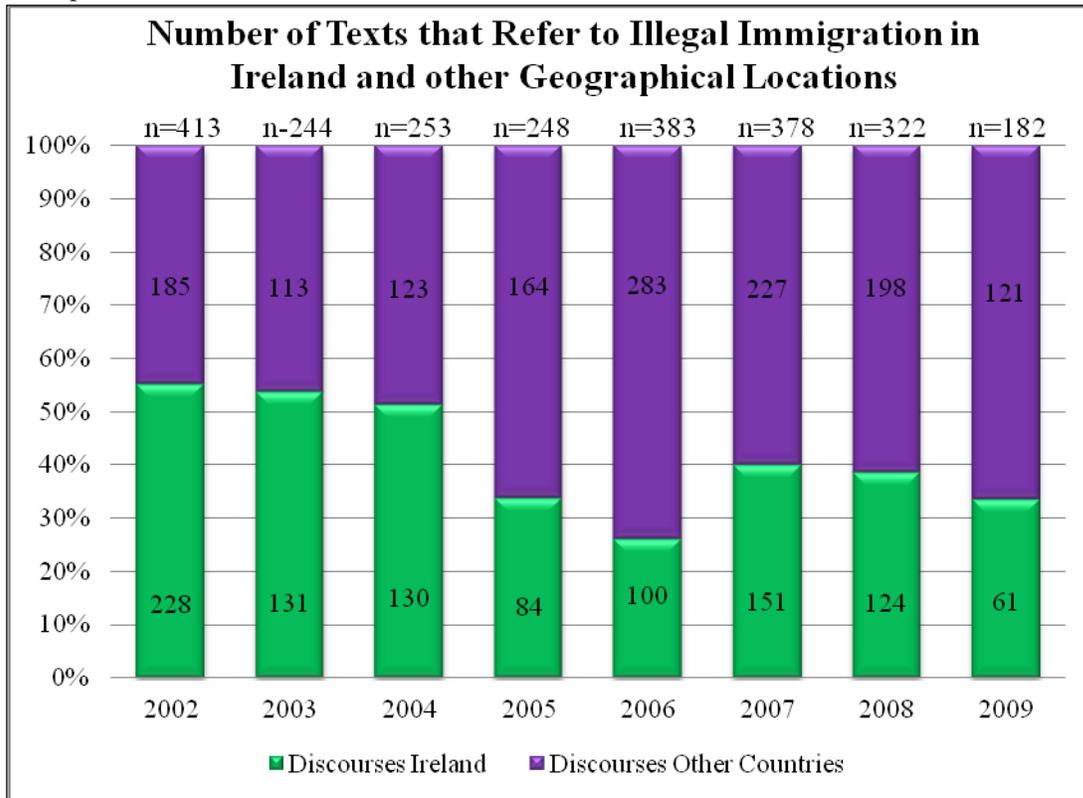
3.5.4 The Interviews

It has been established throughout this dissertation that the main focus of this research is on institutional texts. Nonetheless, a number of interviews were also undertaken with key actors, namely parliamentarians and members of civil society organisations. These interviews were undertaken for a number of reasons. Firstly, the interviews were carried out in order to assess if illegal immigration would be discussed in a similar manner in which it was discussed in institutional texts and to assess if the same argumentations/topoi occurred. Indeed, in the interview setting it is possible for the interviewees to deal with the subject in a different way from which they would discuss the issue, for example, in the parliamentary context. Secondly, the interviews aim to complement the institutional texts, and to allow for the expansion upon and greater depth to be added to the data from the institutional texts. As the institutional texts often refer to illegal immigration as a side issue, or discuss it in relation to other topics, the interviews allowed for illegal immigration to be discussed as a key issue. Indeed, interviews can

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provide distinctive information that cannot be gained from official government documents or newsprint media reports (Lilleker, 2003: 208). Interviews were undertaken with individuals that were members of parliament between 2002 and 2009, members of pro-immigrant groups, and one member of an anti-immigrant group. These specific interviewees were selected as a target population, as they were involved in institutional texts on immigration between 2002 and 2009, and they had the opportunity to influence both the policy agenda and newsprint media texts about illegal immigration. Of course, the views expressed in this set of diverse interviewees are not representative of the nation as a whole. Nonetheless, they offer an insight into key individuals involved in the debate on illegal immigration in Ireland during this time period (Triandafyllidou, 2000: 376).

The first main cohort of interviewees includes those who were members of the Irish Parliament between 2002 and 2009. These interviews were undertaken in order to assess what type of discourses/topoi emerged in an interview setting (e.g. would opinions on illegal immigrants be similar or dissimilar from those expressed in the parliamentary context). Furthermore, interviews offered the opportunity to gain an insight into the decision-making process of those who had influence over the regulation of illegal immigration (Burnha et al., 2008: 231). Interviews were sought from a broad range of parliamentary members who referred to illegal immigration in the Irish Parliament. This included politicians from across all parties – those in government and those in opposition during this period (2002-2009). The second main cohort of interviewees was sought from members of civil society organizations that work with migrants. Interviewees were selected on the basis of their expertise and hands-on experience with migrants (Triandafyllidou, 2000: 376-377). These interviews were undertaken in order to gain non-elite opinions on illegal immigration and to offer an insight into the lived experience of illegal immigrants – a discourse that is mostly absent from institutional texts. In addition to both of these distinct groups of interviewees, one interview was undertaken with an individual who is part of an anti-immigrant group (i.e. the Immigration Control Platform). This group is currently the only explicitly anti-immigrant organization in Ireland. This interview was undertaken in order to offer a balance to the interviews conducted with the groups that work with illegal immigrants and to provide a voice for those who are

explicitly anti-immigration. It is recognised that this group is on the extreme side of the debate on immigration and their ideologies currently hold little weight or influence. Nevertheless, in the 2007 general election the Immigration Control Platform ran a candidate (Ted Neville) in the Cork South Central Constituency, therefore the group are quite political in their remit.

The interviewees were recruited through a variety of methods. Contact was initially made with all potential interviewees by email. This email contained a number of elements, including information about the researcher, an outline of the research project, and reasons why the interview was sought. Over 20 politicians (from all political parties) and over 20 civil society groups were contacted. From this cohort of potential interviewees (including politicians and civil society organizations), a total of 9 interviews were conducted. A list of the interviews is contained in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: List of Interviews Conducted

Interviewee Status Between 2002-2009	Name	Code
1. Fianna Fáil Minister	Identity is Confidential	(Fianna Fáil, 2011)
2. Fine Gael TD	Bernard Durkan	(Durkan, 2011)
3. Fine Gael TD	Denis Naughten	(Naughten, 2011)
4. Green Party TD	Ciaran Cuffe	(Cuffe, 2011)
5. Sinn Féin TD	Caoimhghín O' Caoláin	(O' Caoláin, 2011)
6. Independent TD	Finian McGrath	(McGrath, 2011)
7. NGO Working with Migrants	Identity is Confidential	(NGOa, 2011)
8. NGO Working with Migrants	Identity is Confidential	(NGOb, 2011)
9. Immigration Control Platform	Áine Ní Chonaill	(Ní Chonaill, 2011)

The manner in which the interviewees responded to the interview requests was highly varied. Some interviewees responded very quickly and agreed to the interview, while others took longer to respond and subsequently agreed to the interview. In some cases, telephone conversations followed from email responses in order to arrange meeting times and locations. Some of those that were contacted declined to be interviewed, while others did not respond at all. Of those potential interviewees that did not respond to a number of email requests, letters were subsequently sent to them. In the case of the civil society

groups, letters were sent to their office. In the case of politicians, letters were sent to their office in the Dáil (if applicable), to their constituency office(s), and to their home address (if this address was available on their website). This method of sending letters proved a fruitful exercise, as a number of those that did not respond to emails responded to these letters. A number of politicians proved to be difficult to contact, as they were no longer involved in public life when the interview was sought (in 2011). One former Minister was not possible to contact, while quite the opposite was the case for another former Minister, who was very willing for the interview to take place, however this interview had to be confidential. All other politicians agreed to be identified in the research. It is notable that the two civil society groups who willingly agreed to be interviewed requested that the interviews be confidential. It is intriguing that the civil society groups required confidentiality; but perhaps the reason for this lies in the current context of major government funding cuts. Overall, there was a distinct lack of responses and multiple declines to be interviewed from the civil society organizations. These organizations are usually quite keen to put their case across and to agree to be interviewed (Burnha et al., 2008: 236). Nonetheless, this was found not to be the case for this research project and anecdotal evidence suggests that there is currently a large level of research fatigue within migration organizations in the Irish context.

The interviews were conducted in different settings. In the case of politicians that have retained their position in parliament, interviews were conducted in the Dáil (in a conference room in some instances or in the coffee area on other occasions). In the case of politicians who are no longer members of parliament, one interview was conducted in a hotel lobby near the interviewee's home, while another interview was conducted in the interviewee's place of work. The interviews with the civil society groups were held in their offices, while the interview with the member of the Immigration Control Platform was conducted in the restaurant area of a hotel. Interviews were mostly undertaken in a place with just the participant and the interviewer, while in other cases, the interview was conducted in an open area or a restaurant/coffee location with multiple people in the background. The interviews were loosely structured and the questions were open-ended, which allowed for a discussion on multiple aspects of illegal immigration in Ireland. The

initial interview question referred to immigration in general over the past decade and then moved to more specific questions on illegal/undocumented migration. The texts that were gathered from these interviews will be discussed and analyzed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

3.6 Conclusion

A wide range of sources and methods of data collection are utilized in this research, as the triangulation of numerous forms of data allows for a comprehensive and transparent research project (Wodak et al., 2009: 9). Indeed, it has been argued that the best research on institutional texts employs a combination of methodological approaches that deepen the research findings (Burnha et al., 2008: 232; Hertz and Imber, 1995: ix). The chapter began by providing an extensive account of the school of CDA and an outline of historical argumentation (topoi) analysis and the topoi utilized in this dissertation. Furthermore, an account of parliamentary texts and newsprint media texts was offered, including a discussion on the links between these institutions. The research design relating to the institutional texts was outlined, together with a discussion on how the data was gathered and organized, and an overview of the number of texts identified from the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media. The rationale behind the interviews that are conducted was outlined in detail. This chapter has provided a solid grounding for the following chapters, which will analyze Irish institutional texts and interview texts through the theoretical and methodological framework of CDA.

Chapter 4: Irish Parliamentary Texts

4.1 Introduction

From a historical perspective, parliamentary texts are a rich source of information concerning what happened in government, what was debated, what was decided, and what changes were implemented. On a more important level, the parliament is the main physical and tangible space that represents the democratic process and the functioning of power in society. The parliament is also the most visible arena of political discussions. Despite these important attributes, a relatively low level of research has been conducted on parliamentary texts (Jacoby, 2000; Nelson and Kinder, 1996; Van Der Valk, 2003; van Dijk, 2000a: 13-30; van Dijk, 2000b: 45). This research is not concerned with the assertions of all politicians at multiple scales. The chapter focuses upon the official texts expressed by parliamentary members that are produced and legitimized in the parliament. Furthermore, this dissertation employs a CDA approach in order to identify broad discourses of illegal immigration. Although parliamentary extracts are outlined within this chapter in order to relay key argumentations, the examination of specific agendas of those expressing discourses is not the key focus of this methodology (i.e. the distinct discursive positions of key stakeholders, interest groups, and those with particular migration agendas). What is the key interest here are the broader discourses that are expressed about illegal immigration in Irish Parliamentary texts. It may be argued that the 'real' power is not in the parliament, but elsewhere; nevertheless, official policy and law is formulated, defended and validated in the parliament. Therefore, one can assume that parliamentary texts reflect 'dominant' discourses and 'legitimized' forms of text and talk (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18). Parliamentary texts can offer crucial insights into government and opposition members' positions and attitudes on an array of topics, from education, to welfare, to immigration. Indeed, parliamentary texts can reveal how those in parliament regard illegal immigration. Such conceptualizations can have distinct consequences for illegal immigrants, in particular they can impact on how migration is regulated in society (Bayley, 2002: 11-12; van Dijk, 2000a: 13).

While not denying the impact parliamentary texts can have on the regulation of migration; this thesis argues that two additional impacts of parliamentary texts are also significant. Firstly, parliamentary texts can have a considerable impact upon how the general public think about illegal immigration (Van Der Valk, 2003; van Dijk, 2000a; van Dijk, 2000b). As politicians hold elite positions in society, they have substantial 'power over discourses' (Link and Link-Heer, 1990). Indeed, politicians have privileged access to both socio-economic and symbolic resources. Furthermore, parliamentary texts carry authority and the parliament is an important medium through which political assertions are disseminated into various media outlets and thus, into the public domain. Therefore, parliamentary texts are highly influential, as they are disseminated broadly within society. By providing legitimate 'truths' about illegal immigration these texts hold the ability to implicitly direct how (a substantial cohort of) the public conceive of it (Bayley, 2002; Jacoby, 2000; Lens, 2002; Nelson and Kinder, 1996; Schain, 2008; Van Der Valk, 2003; van Dijk, 2000a; van Dijk, 2000b). The second and more crucial impact of parliamentary texts and the broader discourses that they form is that they can operate as subtle and obscure instruments of power. As Foucault argues, governmental 'knowledges' (ideologies) are disseminated into society through numerous, varied and implicit discourses that are expressed at a range of sites (van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). This chapter argues that the parliament is one of these institutional sites that (re)produces and disseminates a range of governmental ideologies (including oppositional mentalities) through discourses. This thesis maintains that materializations of governmental ideologies can be uncovered by analyzing parliamentary texts that refer to illegal immigration. The dissemination of discursive representations of illegal immigration into society is part of a broader aim, namely, the functioning of power through discursive strategies. Parliamentary texts that refer to illegal immigrants are ideologically-laden and are linked to broader rationalities of governance and national identity, which once disseminated into the public can become internalized by people and function in the operation of governmental power by becoming taken for granted, everyday beliefs (Haynes et al., 2010: 3-4; McLaren, 2001: 88; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak et al., 2009: 1). This process of internalization can result in the broad acceptance of governmental regulations (acknowledging that resistance is also possible among the populous), self-

regulation, and the production of legitimized and delegitimized 'subjects' and identities (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18).

It is important to recognise the active construction of identities by those in powerful positions, such as parliamentarians. The delegitimizing of the identity of the illegal immigrant (over the legitimizing of the identity of the citizen) fulfils a number of functions. Firstly, the illegal immigrant embodies the role of the 'other' in the nation state formation. Secondly, the existence of illegal immigration justifies and legitimizes practices of state control and regulation. Conceptualizations of governance and identity can be identified from parliamentary texts, as not only is the parliament a typical site of governance assertions; it is also a typical site of national sentiments. By examining the differing ways that illegal immigrants are referred to, it is possible to untangle ideological governmental concepts and sentiments of national identity. For example, texts that frame illegal immigration as a threat to society reflect how illegal immigrants are placed into the role of the dangerous 'other' and this practice justifies immigration control measures. Thus, 'knowledges' (re)produced about illegal immigration can result in the construction of particular representations and 'truths' about illegal immigration, which manifest in the depiction of illegal immigrants in 'negative' ways and the maintenance of inequality in society. Discursive portrayals of illegal immigrants are actively constructed on a regular basis and evidence of this lies in the occurrence of certain discursive 'truths' that emerge about illegal immigrants that are only valid at a certain place and at a certain time. The key element involved in this strategy of governance and identity construction is that it is legitimized and delegitimized in a multitude of varying institutional texts (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 1997: 36; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34).

As referred to in Chapter 1, the eight year period between 2002 and 2009 is a distinctive time in Irish society, as the nature and extent of immigration to Ireland changed considerably. For various reasons, the level of immigration increased significantly (e.g. the strong Irish economy and the accession of EU member States) (Mac Éinrí and White, 2008). Therefore, it was inevitable that references to immigration were heightened in the

Irish Parliament and within Irish society during this time. The broader context of Irish immigration and even international immigration is also important to consider, as illegal immigration is rarely discussed in the Irish Parliament as a sole consideration. Indeed, illegal immigration is frequently intertwined with references to other types of immigration (most distinctly humanitarian immigration) and there are reoccurring references to illegal immigration in other geographical contexts. Indeed, the large levels of texts that refer to the undocumented Irish in the US are noteworthy. Additionally, EU regulations, party politics, and the nature of parliamentary speech – which often involves subtle and indirect argumentation strategies that are orientated towards persuasion (Manheim, 1991, 1994; O'Regan, 2010: 2; Pujante and Morales-Lopez, 2008; Van Der Valk, 2003; van Dijk, 1997: 35-36; van Dijk, 2000b: 70) – play a role in framing Irish Parliamentary texts. Consequently, the practice of researching and analyzing references to illegal immigrants in the Irish Parliament is not a straightforward task. Nonetheless, as parliamentary texts contribute to wider discursive practices and reflect 'dominant' discourses in society (Bayley, 2002: 11-12), it is imperative that they are thoroughly investigated (Haynes et al., 2010: 3-4; McLaren, 2001: 88). The chapter begins by briefly outlining the origins of the Irish nation state and discusses the Irish Parliamentary model. The mechanics involved in the production of legislation in the parliament are also relayed in order to untangle the broader structures surrounding parliamentary texts. This chapter focuses in detail upon the CDA of texts from the Dáil, the Seanad, the CEA, and the CJEDWR. Over 1,000 texts about illegal immigration are identified for the period between 2002 and 2009. Parliamentary texts about illegal immigration are characterized by identifying the most prominent argumentations (topoi) that are utilized in relation to illegal immigration (Jones, 2000: 284). This research identifies a number of over-arching arguments that are employed in reference to illegal immigration. These include the topos 'control', 'economy', 'humanitarian', 'danger', and 'culture'. This thesis argues that these topoi are linked to broader conceptualizations of governance and national identity. Following a quantitative analysis of this data (i.e. the frequency of each topos over time), an in-depth qualitative analysis of these topoi is conducted. The topoi are examined individually, beginning with the 'control' topos as it occurred most often. This extensive

analysis section is followed by a broader discussion on how illegal immigrants are represented overall in the Irish Parliament during this time period.

4.2 The Irish Nation State and Parliament

In order to place the Irish Parliament's policies, practices and the texts that are produced in reference to illegal immigration into context, this section offers a brief reflection on the historical construction of the Irish nation state and Irish nationhood, an outline of the Irish Parliamentary model, and an explanation of how legislation is produced in parliament (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 2). Although the Republic of Ireland is a relatively new nation state, founded in the early twentieth century, the nation's imagined sense of self (historical sense of Ireland) stretches back to pre-historic times (e.g. the Stone Age/Bronze Age/Celtic times). Many political histories of Ireland tend to begin at the founding of the State; however the centuries of British rule had a deep impact upon Irish governance and identity formation. Indeed, Ireland's central political institution, the parliament was built on pre-1922 foundations. The set of traditions and practices that had been established under British rule continued to be utilized by the 'new' State. Although there was a new constitution and a change in the political elite, there were few alterations in the administrative infrastructure of the State. Since the State was founded, Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the UK have had a strained relationship at times, but recent years have witnessed a more collegial relationship. Of late, more significant political, cultural and economic links have developed between Ireland and Europe. Two political parties have dominated Irish politics since it was declared as a Republic in 1948 and have provided every Taoiseach (Prime Minister) to date (Coakley, 2010: 3-32). These are the political parties of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael (Weeks, 2010: 138-139). During the period that this research focuses upon (2002-2009), the Fianna Fáil party was the main political party in government and the Fine Gael party was the main opposition party in parliament.

4.2.1 The Irish Parliamentary Model – The Oireachtas

The form and function of parliamentary democracies has evolved over centuries. Modern European parliamentary tradition stems from the gradual decline in the power of monarchs in the late eighteenth century, to the rise of executive governments. It is only

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within the last century that the model of parliamentary democracy has become firmly embedded across the majority of European States, including Ireland (MacCarthaigh, 2010: 35-36). In the parliamentary system of government, the people elect a parliament, which in turn elects a government, who debate and implement laws and policies. The Government ratifies decisions of parliament and remains accountable to the parliament (Gallagher, 2010a: 201). Parliaments are intended to act as a bridge between the theories and practices of democratic governance and broader society. As well as the formal role of parliaments, there is considerable symbolism attached to their operation, as it is claimed that parliaments embody both the political and social traditions of the nation and the values and goals of the general public (MacCarthaigh, 2010: 35-39). Parliamentary democracy has been the governing structure through which Ireland has been presided over for over two centuries (O' Malley and Martin, 2010: 295). Even though the discourse of the 'new' Irish Parliament (Oireachtas) linked its formation back to previous (nationalistic) Irish Parliaments of the twelfth and late eighteenth centuries, in reality the 'new' Irish Parliament was largely based on the practices and philosophy of the British Westminster model (Manning, 2010a: 15-16). In fact, the Irish Parliamentary model is an amalgamation of two models of democracy – the Westminster model and the consensus model (Gallagher, 2010a: 201).

The Irish Parliament consists of three main elements: the President and the two Houses of Parliament – the Dáil and the Seanad (O' Toole and Dooney, 2009: 67-68). The Dáil is the most important of the Houses of parliament. It consists of 166 members, while the upper House, the Seanad, has 60 members (Gallagher, 2010a: 198). Given that the majority of power lies with those who are elected to government (rather than parliament), the practice of Dáil debates and questions are important in holding the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) and other government Ministers to account on a regular basis. The Dáil also plays an invaluable function in reviewing and improving government legislation and in presenting alternative views (O'Toole and Dooney, 2009: 79). The Seanad, in terms of power, is by far the weaker of the two Houses of parliament (Gallagher, 2010a: 222-223). It has no independent life (O'Toole and Dooney, 2009: 94) and is often dismissed as irrelevant (Gallagher, 2010a: 222-223). Nevertheless, the Seanad provides a number of

important functions. It supplies a system of checks and balances on the main legislative chamber, it offers a space for representation of particular interest groups, and it provides expertise on policy formation and legislation (O'Toole and Dooney, 2009: 94). In addition, debates in the Seanad are usually conducted in a more reflective, constructive and non-party manner than those in the Dáil. Committees are a feature of almost all modern parliaments, but their role varies greatly. In Ireland, committees are not considered to have great importance and they do not wield a lot of influence or power. The Irish committee system is organized in such a way that there is one committee for each government department (Gallagher, 2010a: 218-223). The members of the committees come from all political parties of the Dáil and the Seanad (O'Toole and Dooney, 2009: 100-101). Committees lack any credible power, as the Government always has the majority of members on each committee and even in the highly unlikely event of a government defeat on a matter, any committee decision can be overturned by the Dáil. Furthermore, the position of committee chair usually goes to a member of the Government (Gallagher, 2010a: 218-220). In essence, committees do not have the power to make decisions in their own right, however they can prepare reports on matters, present their analysis to the parliament, and publish their findings (O'Toole and Dooney, 2009: 100-101).

4.2.2 The Process of Producing Legislation in the Irish Parliament

In order to set a context for the parliamentary texts and to provide a brief understanding of the texts that will be referred to in the analysis section of this chapter, the process of producing legislation in the Irish Parliament is briefly outlined in this section. Legislation that is produced in the Irish Parliament involves the participation of all of the Houses of the parliament (Dáil and Seanad) and the committees. A Minister wishing to introduce a bill provides an outline draft of the bill and a 'memorandum for government' to the cabinet. This 'memorandum for government' outlines the intended purpose of the bill and the views of all Ministers concerned with the issue. If the Government approves of the proposal, the cabinet secretary sends the Attorney General (the Government's legal officer) a letter requesting that the legislation be drafted. The Attorney General then scrutinizes the draft legislation to ensure that it is compatible with the constitution. Once

the bill passes through this process, it goes to parliament where it is discussed and debated in the Dáil and in the Seanad (Gallagher, 2010a: 207). The formal progress of a bill is the same in the Dáil and the Seanad. A five stage process is provided for bills, although most bills bypass the first stage. The second stage involves a general debate on the principle of the bill. It is very rare for a government bill to be defeated at this second stage. It is only likely to happen if there is a minority government in place. The third (committee) stage involves a detailed examination of each section of the bill. The fourth and fifth stages consist of incorporating the decisions made at the committee stage and formally passing the bill. Following on from this, the bill goes to the President, who signs the bill into law, or very rarely the President can refer the bill to the Supreme Court for a decision on its constitutionality. In effect, only the second stage (through amendment) offers the members of parliament any real opportunity to affect the content of the bill. Second stage debates are the most important moments in the life of the Dáil and Seanad. However, in practice, debates have a ritualistic quality to them. All too often they are highly predictable affairs, as the relevant Minister opens the event by outlining the rationale for the measure to be introduced. Subsequently, opposition Deputies have the opportunity to comment upon the bill. Quite often, these occasions are used to express resistance to the bill and negative attitudes towards the Government. Alternatively, the bill is welcomed, but the Government is criticized for delaying in bringing it forward for debate (Gallagher, 2010a: 209-213). It is the parliamentary texts that are produced within this structured framework that are under analysis in this chapter.

4.3 Results of the CDA of all Topoi

A CDA of texts that referred to illegal immigration from four parliamentary sources – the Dáil, the Seanad, the CEA, and the CJEDWR – for eight years (2002-2009) was undertaken. This research identified over 1,000 texts, which manifested into five over-arching arguments (topoi). It must be noted that the four parliamentary sources under analysis represent illegal immigration in different ways and employ the five topoi to varying degrees. However, details of these differences are not imperative at this point, as the main aim of this chapter is to outline how illegal immigration was represented overall within parliamentary texts. The five topoi that were identified form 'dominant' discourses

about illegal immigration. Not only do these topoi occur most often, but they are also consistently and repeatedly used over time, resulting in the topoi becoming 'natural' and taken for granted ways to construct and to think about illegal immigration. It is acknowledged here that there are alternative ways of conceptualizing illegal immigration (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 2000d: 93-95; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10). Nevertheless, these five topoi dominate Irish parliamentary texts and so they are the focus of this chapter. The first distinctive element that emerged from this extensive research is that parliamentary texts about illegal immigration focus on the 'control' topos. The 'control' topos is the most prevalent of all the topoi, as it constitutes 61% (786) of texts (see figure 4.1 below). The topoi with the next highest frequency are the 'economy' and 'humanitarian' topoi, which account for 8% (107 – 'economy'; 104 – 'humanitarian') of texts. This was closely followed by the 'danger' topos with 7% (92). The topos that was utilized the least was the 'culture' topos at 4% (55). The 'other' topos constituted a substantial proportion (12% – 159) of texts compared to all of the topoi.

Figure 4.1: Frequency of Topoi
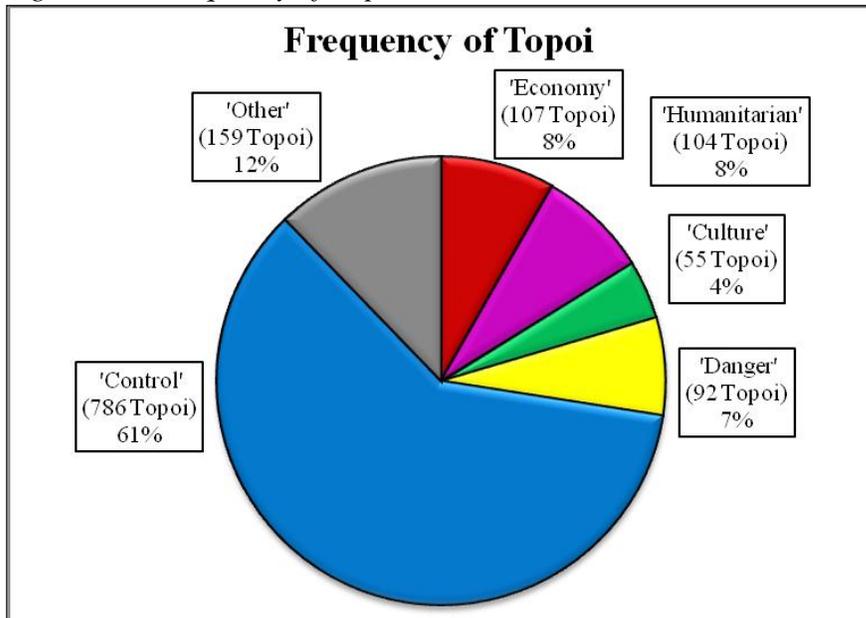
This data can be deconstructed further by tracking its frequency over time between 2002 and 2009. It is evident from figure 4.2 below that all five topoi are consistently utilized during this time period. Similar to figure 4.1 above, it is noticeable that the 'control'

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topos occurs most often, while all of the other topoi maintain a similarly lower level of frequency over time. The manner in which these five topoi are continually produced and employed during this time period is noteworthy. This thesis argues that governmental power operates through the (re)production of particular ideologically-laden texts over time and these topoi are an indication of the operation of power formations. In essence, these five topoi are materializations of broader processes of governmental power (Dean, 2010: 18). Indeed, the consistent use of these topoi indicates that the process of governmentality is an ongoing activity (Gordon, 1991: 4-5), which must be reproduced over time. Thus, governmentality operates by reproducing ideologically-laden texts on a frequent basis from key institutions. In this case, ideological texts are reproduced in a consistent manner through the institution of the Irish Parliament by members of the parliament (Mountz, 2003: 633-636).

Figure 4.2: Frequency of Topoi over Time
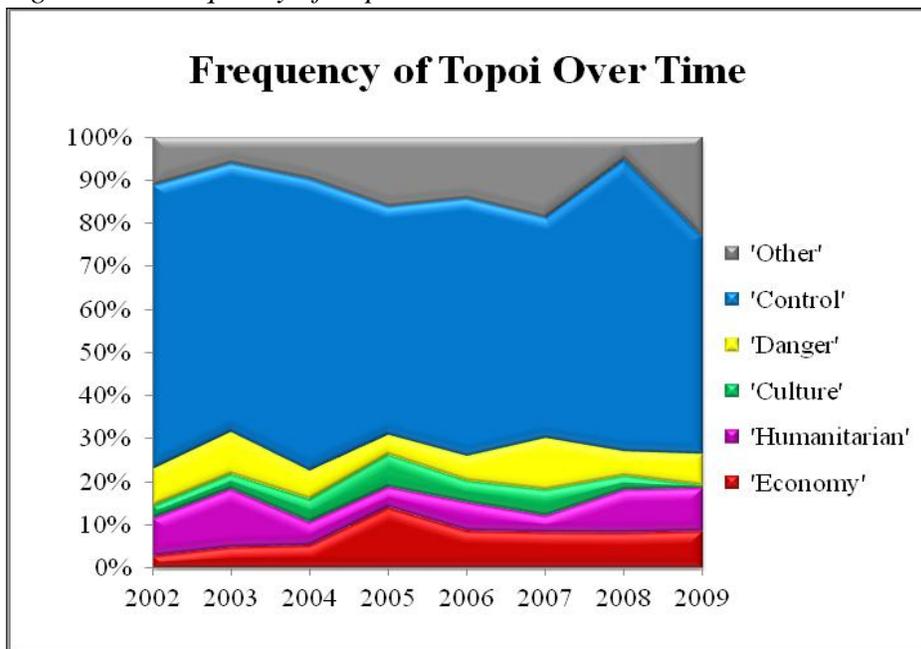
As the majority of parliamentary texts invoke the 'control' topos, it would be naive to assume that this implies that the main rationale behind the text is 'negative'. Indeed, the argumentation may be 'positive'. Thus, one must analyze this data in further detail by coding each topos as 'positive', 'negative', or 'neutral'. Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 outlined an understanding each topos in this regard. Depicted below in figure 4.3 are the results of

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the five topoi coded as 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. The outcome of this analysis demonstrates that the topoi 'economy', 'humanitarian', 'culture', and 'control' are mostly 'positive', while the 'danger' topos is mainly 'negative' (77%). In the case of the 'economy' topos, 56% of texts are 'positive', while 37% are 'negative'. 73% of the 'humanitarian' topos is 'positive', while 24% of texts are 'negative'. In the case of the 'culture' topos, 73% of texts are 'positive', while 20% are 'negative'. The 'control' topos is 61% 'positive', while 32% of 'control' texts are 'negative'.

Figure 4.3: Topoi Analyzed Through 'Positive', 'Negative', and 'Neutral' Codes
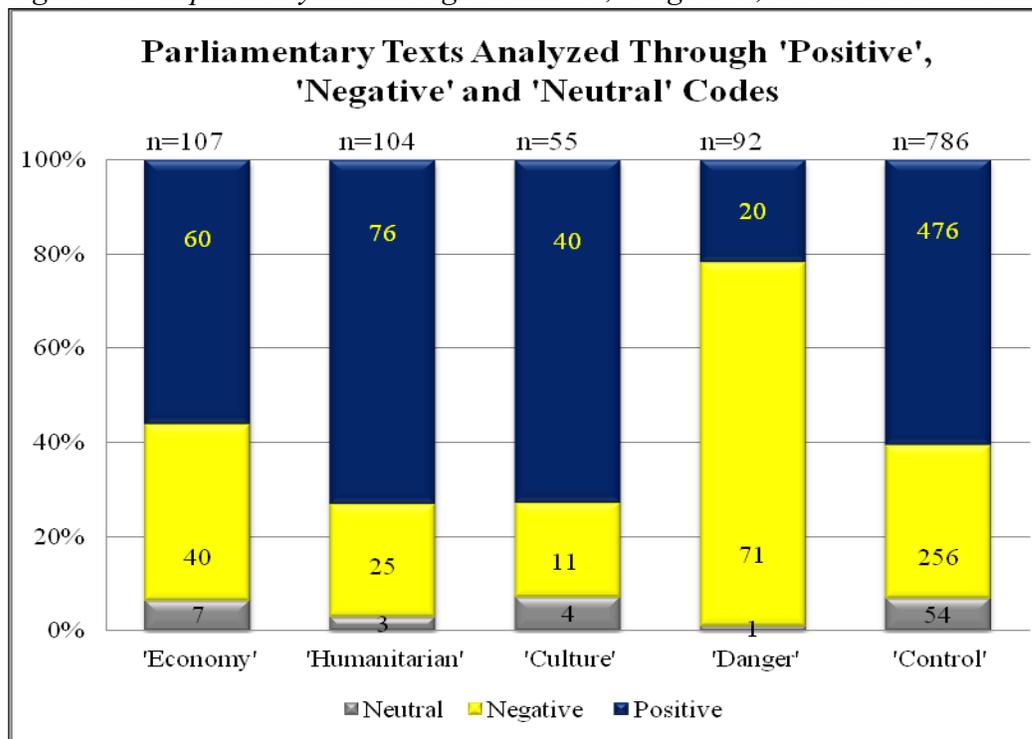
4.3.1 The 'Control' Topos

Similar to many other European States (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 42), the Irish Government places much emphasis upon the controlling and preventing of immigration. Confirmation of this can be found in Irish Parliamentary texts and it is evident from this research that during the period between 2002 and 2009 there is a consistent preoccupation with controlling immigration into the country. This 'control' topos is heightened when illegal immigration is referred to. Opinions about illegal immigration pivot between 'control-positive' and 'control-negative' argumentations and concentrate upon a number of

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distinct concerns, namely the prevention of unauthorized immigration, the protection of the nation's borders, and the expelling and deporting of illegal immigrants. An example of a 'control-positive' topos is one which argues for fewer legal restrictions on immigrants and makes the case for the implementation of amnesties for illegal immigrants in order to enable them to regularize their status:

> This provision may result in vulnerable people who have become undocumented - make no mistake about it, this is happening - through no fault of their own and who have been unable to regularize their situation within the required time limit, being deported, even when their case involves special circumstances, for example, a victim of domestic violence who has been dependent on his or her spouse and whose partner holds possession of the family's documents or a migrant worker in an exploitative situation (O' Caoláin, 2008b: 648).

The 'control-negative' topos advocates for the requirement to control and limit illegal immigration through numerous measures, such as border controls and deportations. The regulation of immigration became increasingly restrictive in Ireland between 2002 and 2009 with the implementation of a number of enforcement measures. It can be claimed that this restrictive approach to immigration has been influenced by European and UK immigration policies. Alternatively, it can be argued that these external policies are conveniently mirrored by the Irish Government, as they justify a restrictive approach to illegal immigration. The following statement exemplifies this point:

> The migration pact is a political statement of the principles that should underpin the approach of EU Member States to immigration and asylum measures. It does not have a direct legislative implication for Ireland or other Member States, but it is a very useful statement of principle which will inform the approach of the European Union in dealing with migration and asylum issues. There are three elements to it, namely, the management of legal migration, the fight against irregular and illegal migration, and the recognition of the connection between migration and development, especially for non-EU countries that are countries of origin of migrants. The pact strikes a balance between the rights of migrants and asylum seekers and the need to strengthen policies to combat illegal migration. It was an initiative of the French Presidency which was determined to get it through. It is a welcome measure (Martin, 2008: 665).

As exemplified by the Ministers comments, there is an overriding concern to manage, control, combat and fight immigration. Indeed, even legal migration must be regulated and controlled. The use of the words *'fight'* and *'combat'* invoke notions of some sort of battle or military warfare between 'us' (the citizens) and 'them' (the illegal immigrants). This 'negative' terminology creates an image of dangerous immigrants who can only be deterred through force. In this text the Government puts itself into the role of the guardian of the citizens, protecting the borders of the nation against an imaginary, deviant, immigrant, 'other' (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 50-51). 'Control-neutral' texts also occur in

the Irish Parliament, but they only materialize on rare occasions. In the following statement, Deputy Kenny expresses neither 'positive' nor 'negative' sentiments about immigration in the EU. He offers examples of both restrictive and unrestrictive immigration policies and asserts that the issue of immigration must be considered fairly:

> There have been different responses to immigration. For example, Greece and Malta sent people back to their home countries, while the Spanish Prime Minister, Mr. Zapatero, legalized 100,000 immigrants. There will obviously be a need for services in the European Union to be driven forward during the next 20 years but an issue arises. A structured response is required to immigration and it must be fair and disciplined and in the interests of Member States and immigrants. This is a matter on which the European Union can provide a response (Kenny, 2008: 665).

4.3.1.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the texts from the Irish Parliament that were distinguished with the topos 'control' are portrayed in figure 4.4 below. This data is inclusive of the 'control-positive', 'control-negative', and 'control-neutral' texts for each year between 2002 and 2009 and represents the vast majority of texts (61%) about illegal immigration. Overall, the 'control' topos is 'positive' (61%), while 32% of texts are 'negative'. The 2002 results differ from the remainder of the data, as the majority of the texts that occurred in 2002 are 'negative' (65%). This research has found that this high level of 'negative' texts is due to the fact that there were no references to the undocumented Irish in the US. From 2003 onwards, 'control-positive' texts dominate the data, as there was a significant increase in texts that referred to the undocumented Irish in the US. If texts about the undocumented Irish were excluded from this data, the 'control-negative' topos would be the most common topos. Thus, although the 'control' topos is more 'positive' than 'negative', the majority of 'control-positive' texts do not refer to illegal immigrants in Ireland.

Figure 4.4: 'Control' Topos
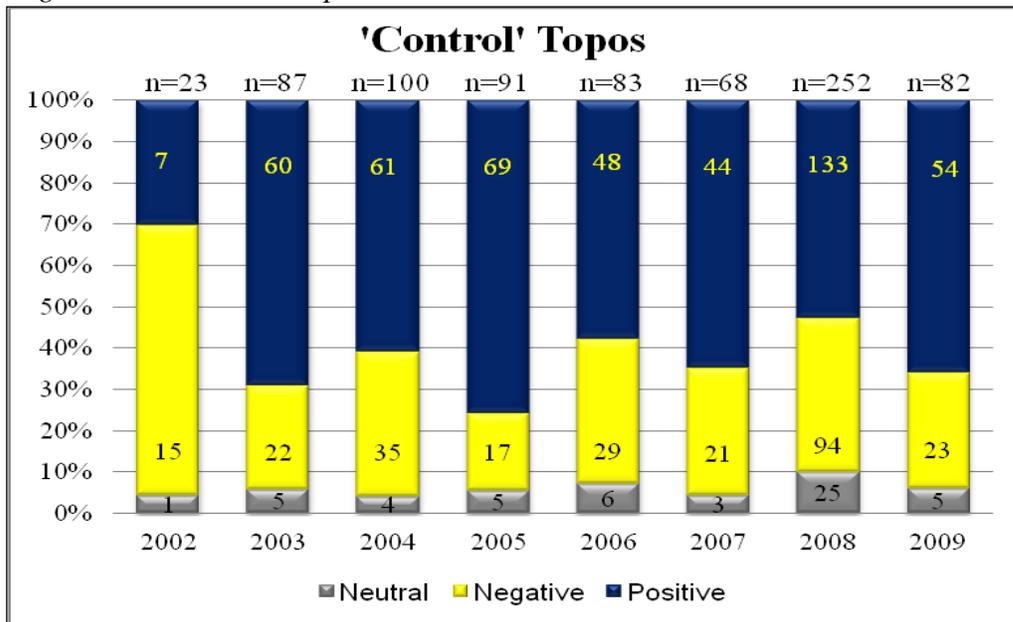
As the number of 'control' texts from the parliament is so vast, this research has identified three broad place-based 'control' discourses that refer to illegal immigration. In the first of these 'control' discourses, it is argued that illegal immigration into Ireland must be prevented and controlled. The second 'control' discourse maintains that the Irish Government's controlling of illegal immigration is too restrictive. The third 'control' discourse contends that US immigration policies are too restrictive and seeks regularizations for the undocumented Irish in the US. These three distinct and conflicting discourses form the main body of 'control' discourses about illegal immigration in the Irish Parliament.

The first aspect of the 'control' discourse, which argues that illegal immigration into Ireland must be prevented and controlled, is formed through numerous narratives. These narratives centre on enforcing a strict, inflexible and tough approach towards illegal immigration. Ministers McDowell and Ahern clearly articulate this uncompromising approach by strongly asserting that regularizations are not available to illegal immigrants and that they must '*leave the State voluntarily*' and then apply to return to Ireland through '*legal channels*'. In reality, however, if an illegal immigrant did leave the State and try to return by legal methods, they would most likely be denied re-entry to the country:

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In these circumstances, where the State has provided these legal opportunities for migrants, I do not know why any non-national wishing to work in Ireland in recent years would have done so illegally. While providing ample opportunities for legal migration to Ireland, if we also reward people who have chosen not to take the legal option by "regularizing" their situation, we will undermine our system of legal migration. Such a move would also reward any unscrupulous employers who may have used illegal workers to keep workers below legal wage levels or to deny them their employment or other rights. It would also reward those people who have abused the asylum system by entering the State under the guise of seeking asylum and who have tied up resources which should be devoted to those who are genuinely fleeing persecution. I could not justify rewarding this abuse of our system by "regularizing" the situation of such persons…If a person who is illegally in Ireland wishes to regularize his or her position, he or she should leave the State voluntarily and seek to return through the legal channels (McDowell, 2004: 579).

All foreign nationals have a responsibility to ensure that they have permission from the immigration authorities to be in the State and the fact that they have entered into a relationship with an Irish national in no way dilutes this obligation. Any person who is unlawfully present in the State would be expected to leave (Ahern, 2009: 696).

Minister McDowell is quite forthright in his opinion on illegal immigration. He contends that he cannot comprehend why any migrant would be illegal in Ireland, as in his opinion, there are many *'legal opportunities'* for migrants. Perhaps the Minister underestimates the complexities involved in immigration and the legalities associated with immigration. Nonetheless, as McDowell was Minister for Justice at this time, it is very unlikely that this was the case. It is more likely that Minister McDowell was being forceful in his approach by not condoning or tolerating illegal immigration under any circumstances. The Minister also justifies his harsh stance on migration regularizations by stating that regularizations would undermine '*legal migration'* and reward '*unscrupulous employers'* and asylum seekers that are not genuine. The Government's inflexible approach towards illegal immigration is justified by portraying Ireland's immigration system as one that provides '*legal opportunities for migrants',* while also being strict on immigration in order to protect both citizens and migrants from deceitful people (e.g. unscrupulous employers and non-genuine or 'bogus' asylum seekers). People who require regularization are dismissed by the Minister, as they are represented to be either people who didn't follow the rules (i.e. legal routes of migration) or people who are deceitful (i.e. those who abused the asylum system). This thesis argues that illegal immigrants are represented as fraudulent people in order to justify their exclusion from a legal status in Ireland.

Many of the texts that comment on controlling illegal immigration arise in conjunction with references to other types of immigration, namely asylum or trafficking (this was evident in the quotation by McDowell). This also occurs in the context of broader immigration events, such as legislative changes intended to curb unwanted immigration. The following text clearly outlines this, as it refers to various topics, namely illegal entry, asylum applications, and the Citizenship Referendum. This referendum altered the criteria required for a person to gain Irish citizenship. Since the foundation of the Irish State, citizenship was granted to all persons born in the territory. Through the *Belfast Agreement*, any person born on the island of Ireland (Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland) was entitled to Irish citizenship. A Supreme Court ruling in 1989 found that an Irish born child of non-national parents had the right to residency in Ireland. This ruling meant that a number of non-national parents were granted residency in Ireland due to the status of their child. A referendum was passed in June 2004 that amended the Irish constitution. This amendment only allowed citizenship to a child who has one parent who is, or who is entitled to be, an Irish citizen. The *Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 2004* was subsequently enacted, which provides that any person born in Ireland after 1 January 2005 to non-Irish parents will not be entitled to Irish citizenship unless one of the parents was lawfully resident in Ireland for at least three out of the four years preceding the child's birth. Certain types of temporary residence do not count towards reckonable residence, for example periods spent as an asylum seeker or as a student (Quinn, 2005: 7-9). The following short narrative encapsulates the conflicting and complicated nature of immigration in Ireland during this period:

> The application referred to by the Deputy was for a re-entry visa to allow a non-EEA national, illegal resident in the State, to leave and subsequently re-enter the State. I am informed that the parents of the person in question arrived in the State illegally, in 1999, and subsequently claimed asylum. They later obtained permission to remain on the basis of their parentage of an Irish born child. However, the applicant referred to by the Deputy was not with them when they arrived in the State. He was in fact definitively listed on his parents' application as having remained in their country of origin. It would appear that the applicant subsequently arrived in the State illegally. Although his parents have a legal basis for being in the State due to their parentage of an Irish-born child, this does not extend to the applicant. Consequently, he remains an illegal immigrant with no status within the visa system. A re-entry visa, by its very nature, can only be issued to a person who first holds a valid visa for entry into the State (McDowell, 2005: 601).

The case study of this particular family is noteworthy, as the immigration status of these people changed from being deemed illegal, to these people subsequently claiming

asylum, to their status being legal, due to Irish born parentage (as Minister McDowell puts it). Furthermore, this case study shows how rigid and unaccommodating the Irish immigration system was at this time, as the child in question was not granted permission to remain in Ireland, despite his parents residing legally in Ireland and his sibling holding Irish citizenship.

Parliamentary members draw upon various arguments to justify an approach that aims to control illegal immigration (van Dijk, 1993c: 181). A number of individuals advocate for stringent immigration controls and at the same time they distance themselves from holding racist attitudes:

> Major economies can be attained by ensuring that illegal immigrants are dealt with speedily. Ideally, this must be done at the point of entry. They must be deported with the minimum of delay to the country from which they last travelled to this State. To underline the urgent need for this course of action, we must bear in mind that senior Gardaí and government officials are reported as believing that the vast majority of claims for asylum are bogus. These are not my words. These are the words of the officials and senior Gardaí, but it is also my viewpoint and I know that it is broadly shared in my constituency and across this country (O'Flynn, 2003: 565).

> Every state has that unique power to decide who is allowed enter its jurisdiction. That should not be confused with any extreme xenophobic views. It is a straightforward principle that we should state clearly and act upon reasonably in the interests of the State, while also recognizing our international obligations in terms of human rights (Power, 2008: 648).

Denials of racism tend to be characteristic of elite discourses, which buffer explicit racist attitudes (van Dijk, 1993c: 180). It must be noted that Deputy O'Flynn's comments are not typical of all Fianna Fáil members. Nevertheless, he asserts that the sentiments he expresses are the words of the *'senior Gardaí'* and reflective of the thoughts of his *'constituency'* and people *'across the country'*. He justifies his views by referencing authoritative figures and citizens who apparently hold such views about immigrants. This text legitimizes the State's right to regulate immigration, denies that this process of control is in any way a xenophobic entity, and proclaims that the Government is adhering to the protection of human rights, giving the impression that state controls are fair and just. The text by Deputy O'Flynn is not only reflective of the consistent undercurrent of urgency to deport immigrants within parliamentary texts, but it is also reflective of the assumption that the majority of immigrants are *'bogus'* in their claims for asylum. This projects a 'negative' image of immigrants, most especially of those who are seeking asylum. The narrative of the 'bogus refugee' is a totalizing approach, which assumes that

the majority of claims for asylum will prove to be false. It re-conceptualizes asylum seekers as fraudulent people, moving away from representations of these migrants as people who require protection (Mountz, 2010: xviii). In a similar vein, the following text condemns illegal entry to Ireland and creates a 'negative' impression of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers:

> As elected Members of this House, we cannot condone or accept any form of illegal immigration, including where it is done in the guise of asylum seeking. While recognizing that our system must meet the needs of those genuinely in need of international protection, it must not be subject to abuse by those simply wishing to evade immigration controls – or worse, those wishing to subvert our system. In ensuring acceptance of immigration in society, it is essential that members of society do not see it as a threat to them or as something which the State cannot control (O'Connor, 2003: 565).

This text is not only intolerant of illegal immigration, but it also represents illegal immigration as a '*threat',* as evading or subverting '*our*' immigration controls, and as something that must be controlled. It is striking how the Deputy asserts *'in assuring acceptance of immigration in society'* the State must be able to show that it can control immigration. Immigration is constructed as something that is 'unnatural' and something that Irish citizens must allow (to a limited level) and reluctantly tolerate. This text naturalizes the regulation of immigration within the nation state formation of governance by constructing migrants as the 'other' (van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10).

A number of enforcement measures were introduced by the Irish Government in order to curb illegal immigration. These included various Garda operations, the policy of Carriers' Liability, the implementation of re-admission agreements with 'third' countries, and the Citizenship Referendum of 2004. All of these measures were implemented and justified through texts that argued for the need to control illegal immigration. Various reasons and validations were offered in the Irish Parliament to rationalize each action. Garda operations (e.g. Operation Hyphen, Operation Gladiator, Operation Quest, and Operation Sonnet) aimed to identify and deport illegal immigrants:

> I am told by the Garda authorities that Operation Hyphen took place in the Dublin Metropolitan Region on 16 July 2002 and elsewhere on the 23 July 2002. Some 200 Gardaí were involved in the operation in the Dublin Metropolitan Region for a number of hours. A total of 39 persons were detained. Of these, a total of six persons were deported. A total of 19 were charged with immigration related offences. The remainder were released on proof of identity. Approximately 400 Gardaí were involved in the operation in the Garda regions other than the Dublin Metropolitan

Region for a number of hours. A total of 101 persons were detained, of whom 34 were released without charge, 56 were charged with immigration related offences and one sought asylum. Ten persons were detained for evasion of deportation orders and nine deported. One was released for medical reasons and will be deported when that is resolved. Separate reporting procedures were not maintained after the operations and the persons arrested were treated in the same way as irregular migrants arrested at any other time (McDowell, 2002: 554).

Operation 'Sonnet' is an ongoing initiative targeting the land border with Northern Ireland and other strategic locations in Garda border divisions to detect illegal entry to the State by foreign Nationals (Lenihan, 2008: 649).

In the case of Operation Hyphen, the Government allocated many resources (including numerous Gardaí) in order to deport only 10% of those that were apprehended. One may claim that these deportation levels are low, however the perception that these operations create of the Government (i.e. that the Government is strict on immigration) is probably more beneficial to the Government than actual high levels of apprehensions and deportations. One has to question the ethics of these types of operations and the protocols of such measures (i.e. how did the Gardaí identify these potential illegal immigrants?). These operations were represented as a success and as a necessary step in apprehending and expelling illegal immigrants:

I have been informed by the Garda authorities that they consider that Operation Hyphen was a success in that a number of people wanted for deportation were apprehended, a number were charged with offences before the District Court and a number who were here illegally are believed to have left the State voluntarily. As a result of the operation there has been a dramatic increase in the number of non-EEA nationals registering at the Garda National Immigration Bureau and at local Garda registration offices as they are required to do under the provisions of the Aliens Order 1946, as amended (McDowell, 2003: 563).

The Irish Government introduced the policy of Carriers' Liability in order to protect Irish borders and the State from illegal immigration. This policy was introduced by the Government and became part of the *Immigration Act, 2003*. Under this policy, transportation carriers (land, sea, or air) can be held responsible and fined for allowing an immigrant to travel with them and to enter Ireland undocumented. Carriers' Liability forces the transportation carrier into the position of immigration regulator and enforcer, as they must carry out basic checks to ensure that passengers have the required documentation to enter the State (Quinn, 2003: 1). This policy was justified by stating that it was a necessary strategy in the combating of illegal immigration and it would bring Irish immigration policy in line with other EU countries:

> Our participation in certain aspects of the Schengen *Acquis* with our EU partners means that we are subject to binding legal instruments in the area of carrier sanctions. These requirements inform the development of the Bill before us. However, apart from our EU requirements, the Minister is satisfied that there is a well established need for this form of immigration control to supplement the existing immigration controls at our borders and under the visa system to combat the growth in illegal immigration to the State (Lenihan, 2003: 565).

As a member of the EU, Ireland is party to readmission agreements with 'third countries' (i.e. countries from outside of the EU) under *Article 63(3)(b) of the EC Treaty*. These types of agreements facilitate the removal of 'third country' nationals living in the EU without legal authorisation (OCSE, 2012). This process is also known as 'voluntary return' (Joyce, 2011: 76). It can be argued that these re-admission agreements are ethically questionable, as they prevent migrants from designated 'third countries' from claiming asylum in Ireland. Re-admission agreements are part of a broader aim to prevent immigration from outside of the EU and policies such as these are justified by relating Irish immigration policy to international and EU immigration policies:

> Re-admission agreements are a significant feature of international co-operation in the field of immigration. Indeed a re-admission and return policy is recognized internationally as an integral and vital element in the fight against illegal immigration. Ireland has been aware of the need for such agreements and in recent years has negotiated a number of bilateral re-admission agreements (McDowell, 2002: 553).

> The European Council in Brussels last week also addressed the need to effectively manage the European Union's common borders, with a view to enhancing the fight against illegal immigration and the trafficking of human beings. The European Union is committed to the reception and integration of legal immigrants. In this regard, the European Council notes proposals for the creation of a border management agency and the development of a re-admission policy. In addition, the Commission has initiated a study on the relationship between legal and illegal immigration and Member States were invited to co-operate fully with the study (Cowen, 2003: 573).

Re-admission agreements are given weight, authority, and validation by referring to how immigration is regulated both internationally and in Europe. These agreements were further justified through statements which asserted that they are required in the ongoing *'fight against illegal immigration'*. By invoking the language of a battle, this text represents illegal immigration as something which requires force and regulation.

This inflexible and strict attitude towards illegal immigration was clearly evident in the discussions that took place on the Citizenship Referendum of 2004. Government members and other parliamentary members justified and argued for a restriction to Irish citizenship by portraying immigrants (especially female immigrants from outside of the

EU) as deceitful people who were intentionally targeting Ireland as a place to have their children in order to gain residency rights in Ireland:

> It was never intended that people coming in from abroad, mostly illegal immigrants, would seek to take advantage of that in respect of children born here. Ireland is the only EU Member State to grant an automatic citizenship right and we cannot ignore the fact that non-nationals are coming here so that they can have children born as Irish citizens (O'Donoghue, 2004: 583).

> I want to make myself clear on one issue. We in this State have the right to respect and cherish our Irish citizenship. We in this House carry the responsibility of protecting that citizenship. We could not allow our natural stature to be diminished by those who would have blatantly continued to manipulate our laws. They would deny us the right to expect that our nationality be given the level of respect and esteem it so richly deserves…The result of the referendum cannot be misinterpreted. The people believed that many illegal immigrants and some non-nationals were taking advantage of our citizenship laws. To curb this unlawful practice, they voted wholeheartedly to endorse the Government's referendum proposals (O'Flynn, 2004: 591).

In these texts, Irish citizenship is portrayed as a sacred entity. The distinctions made between 'us' and 'them' are clearly evident. Deputy O'Flynn, who constantly references his constituency, speaks of the need to *'cherish our Irish citizenship',* and for the requirement to protect Irish citizenship against the deviant outsiders who *'manipulate our laws'.* These types of texts clearly define who is considered to be part of the Irish nation and who is not. Illegal immigrants are depicted as dangerous people, who must be prevented from coming to Ireland and taking advantage of Irish law. The nation is also described as having a *'natural stature',* thus normalizing and naturalizing the power of the State (van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10) to grant or deny citizenship. Deputy O'Flynn also describes *'our nationality'* as something that requires *'respect and esteem'.* By doing so Deputy O'Flynn adds authority to the State and its laws and regulations. It is evident from the above quotation that there is a consistent concern in the Irish Parliament in controlling illegal immigration. This 'control' argumentation is justified through various texts that, in effect, portray illegal immigrants as deviant characters, as unknown entities, and ultimately as those individuals/groups that embody the 'other'. It is argued in a number of different ways that illegal immigrants must be prevented from entering Ireland and if they are in the country they must leave voluntarily or be deported from the State. 'Control-negative' texts are multiple and complex in their production and formation, but these types of texts inevitably have one goal in mind: to prevent, manage, control and expel illegal immigrants. Irish Parliamentary texts are centrally focused upon controlling and

restricting immigration and on limiting the provision of civil rights and welfare to minorities. Although, very often these texts are mixed with notions of positive self-preservation (e.g. 'we' – the State – are fair), which is characteristic of elite discourses that refer to minorities (van Dijk, 1995a: 25).

The second main 'control' discourse that is evident in Irish Parliamentary texts takes an alternative view to what has just been discussed. These texts are 'positive' towards the controlling of illegal immigration and maintain that the Irish Government's controlling of illegal immigration is too restrictive and that amnesties should be in place for these immigrants:

> The difficulty is that thousands of people are living in legal limbo, completely separately to the legislation being considered in this room. I refer to people who are already within the asylum process, people who have applied for subsidiary protection and people who came to Ireland legally and are waiting for the bridging visa scheme to be put in place. Thousands of people are in legal limbo. We do not want to create another form of legal limbo. How can we protect the people I have mentioned? (Naughten, 2008c).

Deputy Naughten argues for tolerance in relation to the rights of illegal immigrants and calls for protection measures to be put in place for them. This type of 'control-positive' argumentation is also applied to the situation of the undocumented Irish in the US, where there are calls for unrestrictive immigration policies and for the regulation of immigrant statuses in the US. This particular topos is intriguing, as it is a clear indication of how members of the Irish Parliament sway in opinion from 'control-negative' texts to 'control-positive' texts concerning illegal immigration. However, these particular Ministers and Deputies are not drastically changing their opinion on illegal immigration. Indeed, while the control topos is mainly 'positive', this positivity extends almost exclusively to the undocumented Irish in the US. As a corollary, the majority of 'control-negative' texts are directed at illegal immigrants in Ireland. This research contends that members of the Irish Parliament are reflecting a sense of national identity, as they are 'negative' towards illegal immigration (the 'other') into Ireland, while they are 'positive' towards the 'undocumented' Irish (who are part of the Irish imagined community) in the US. Thus, place-based identity formation plays a key role in how particular migrants are discursively represented. The following statement exemplifies this viewpoint:

> Is the Minister of State aware of the havoc being caused on both sides of the Atlantic by the introduction of this drastic draconian legislation since 11 September 2001?...Does the Minister

agree that, at a conservative estimate, 50,000 young Irish men and women, our kith and kin, have not been regularized for various reasons? Is he aware that the new regulations cause Irish people to be detained for weeks and months?...I received a letter from a girl from Arranmore Island who made a cry from the heart. She is in the United States since 2000 and wanted to come home to marry, but she knows if she comes home that she will not be allowed back into the United States (McGinley, 2004: 593).

It is noteworthy that Deputy McGinley refers to these migrants as *'our kith and kin'*. Irish undocumented immigrants are not seen as outsiders, but as part of the Irish Diaspora. Irish Government officials call for amnesties for these people and explicitly and proudly express how they are tirelessly working to aid the situation of these people and how this topic is of high priority to the Government:

> The Government's concern regarding the situation of the undocumented Irish people in the United States is raised on an ongoing basis in our bilateral contracts with the US authorities, including when the Taoiseach and my predecessor met with President Bush at the EU-US Summit in Dromoland Castle in June 2004…I welcome comments made in recent weeks by senior members of the US Administration that immigration reform will be a high priority during President Bush's second term in office…These initiatives reflect an awareness of the importance of addressing the situation of the undocumented in the US in a constructive and sympathetic way…I will be monitoring closely developments and will raise this issue in my contacts with figures in the US Administration and Legislature. The Deputy can be assured that through the ongoing efforts of our embassy and my own contacts and those of my cabinet colleagues with political leaders in the US, we will continue to encourage and support all measures that benefit Irish citizens in the US (Ahern, 2004: 593).

> I reiterated to them that my efforts on behalf of the undocumented Irish will continue to be an area of the highest priority in the period ahead…the Government will continue to strongly support measures that would enable the undocumented to regularize their status and have open to them a path to permanent residency (Ahern, 2006: 626).

Over many years the Irish Government has shown its support for the undocumented Irish by donating a substantial amount of monetary aid to groups that work with Irish illegal immigrants in the US:

> An annual sum – $356,000 in 2003 – has been provided in the Vote for Foreign Affairs to assist groups in the US working with Irish immigrants there. When I met the Irish immigration working committee in New York last week, I announced details of the grants from this allocation for 2003-04 and expressed my appreciation to them for the practical support and advice they provide to Irish immigrants, including the undocumented, in the US (Cowen, 2003: 571).

> In New York, I also had a very useful meeting with the Irish Lobby for Immigration Reform, who are continuing to lobby for the undocumented Irish, with the assistance of former Congressman Bruce Morrison. Since 2006, funding of $285,000 has been allocated by this Department, through the Emigrant Support Programme, to support the work of the ILIR (Martin, 2009: 698).

The obvious difference in the way that illegal immigrants in Ireland and the undocumented Irish in the US are referred to, how they are depicted, and how they are treated has not gone unnoticed within the Irish Parliament:

> We need to treat our immigrants in the manner in which we would like to be treated ourselves. There is no point in our complaining about other countries that do not treat immigrants well, when we suggest that in order to address a situation we need to follow that route. From our history we should have learned the need to recognize the needs of those who are less fortunate than ourselves (Durkan, 2004: 591).

> The Government's failure to include measures that would offer undocumented workers routes to regularization is hypocritical. In response to a question I raised last April the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Deputy McDowell, stated he would not consider an amnesty to regularize illegal workers. Last week a Minister promoted the introduction of a system to regularize undocumented workers in the United States. He espoused the benefits of such a scheme yet this Bill offers nothing to undocumented migrants here. This amounts to nothing short of hypocrisy (Ó Snodaigh, 2005: 607).

These two texts adequately summarize the Irish Parliament's approach to illegal immigration. Ultimately, a great fear of the 'other' is consistently produced over time, while the citizens, the collective 'we' – the Irish – are not to be feared and are not depicted in such a way, as 'we' are culturally 'desirable' people who deserve fair immigration policies when abroad. The regular use of binary oppositions between 'us' and 'them' allows for the reinforcement of a sense of national identity, which ultimately serves the interests of those in powerful positions (Guibernau, 2007: 25-30; Nevins, 2002: 157-163). It is also argued in the parliament that illegal immigrants in Ireland should obey Irish immigration procedures and they should not enter or remain in the country illegally. There are few amnesties offered to these illegal immigrants and they are represented in a decidedly 'negative' manner. In essence, multiple discursive formations are employed by members of the Irish Parliament to justify and legitimize unequal power relations and the exclusion of certain types of immigrants from Irish society (Fairclough, 2003b: 232-233; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 261; Huxley, 2009: 256-257; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-23).

4.3.2 The 'Economy' Topos

A growing economy and employment market can be a driving force for immigration into a country, as immigrants tend to travel to places that require workers and more importantly, countries require immigrant workers in order for their economies to function

(Bauder, 2006: 3-5; Bauder, 2008b: 57). Indeed, during the period between 2002 and 2009 the Irish Government actively encouraged many types of immigrant workers to Ireland (Mac Éinrí, and White, 2008: 154-155). Often immigrants can be perceived merely in terms of their 'positive' or 'negative' effects on the economy. These effects can include the economic benefits that immigrants can provide (e.g. by providing required labour services) (Bauder, 2008b: 57), or the economic damage that immigrants are perceived to impact upon the economy (e.g. by requiring aid or housing) (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 14). Within Irish Parliamentary texts many types of immigration (not only illegal immigration) are referred to in relation to their impact on the Irish economy.

Specifically concentrating upon illegal immigration, it has been argued in the Irish Parliament that certain 'types' of illegal immigrants (i.e. undocumented migrants as opposed to those who enter the State illegally) have been an economic benefit to the State:

> The issue of undocumented workers is of fundamental importance. I do not refer to illegal workers but to immigrants from outside the European Union who had residency and work permits and contributed to the Irish economy but who, through no fault of their own, fell out of the system and are now undocumented (Naughten, 2009: 675-398).

Analysis of this statement through a CDA approach reveals that the mode of argumentation that underlies this text is the topos 'economy-positive', as undocumented immigrants are said to have *'contributed to the Irish economy'*. However, counter arguments are also evident in the parliament and it has been argued (by the same parliamentary member in this case) that illegal immigration can have a 'negative' impact upon the Irish economy:

> I hope the Minister of State takes note of my points because this matter costs the taxpayer a significant amount of money in terms of the deportation of those who have entered the country illegally and what it is doing to fuel Ireland's significant sex industry (Naughten, 2009: 682).

This particular text not only explicitly links illegal immigration with the economic expense of deportations, but it also links illegal immigration with prostitution, which in effect, links illegal immigration with a 'negative' entity and another criminal activity. The occurrence of 'economy-neutral' texts are also evident in parliamentary texts:

The deportation costs provided in the following table refer to the removal from the State of illegal immigrants and persons whose asylum applications were refused (Ahern, 2009: 355).

This text refers to the deportation costs of illegal immigrants, but invokes neither a 'positive' nor a 'negative' mode of argumentation. In the majority of cases, texts that are coded as 'economy-neutral' are mere statements of information by a Minister, as exemplified in the above text.

4.3.2.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the 'economy' topos are portrayed in figure 4.5 below, which relays 'economy-positive', 'economy-negative', and 'economy-neutral' data for each year from 2002 to 2009. This data represents 8% of all texts about illegal immigration from the Irish Parliament. Overall, the 'economy' topos is more 'positive' (56%) than 'negative' (37%). This data can be further deconstructed by analyzing individual years. The 2002 texts are 100% 'economy-neutral', however only one text was produced during this year. In 2003, 57% of texts are 'economy-positive' and 43% of texts are 'economy-negative'. In 2004, the level of 'economy-negative' texts is at 63%. These 'economy-negative' texts revert to a considerable level of 'economy-positive' texts during 2005 (72%), 2006 (88%), and 2007 (85%). In 2008 (50%) and 2009 (73%), the 'economy-negative' texts re-emerge to a noteworthy level once again. Thus, one can argue that there exists a possible pattern in the 'economy' topos during this time, as the texts move from mainly 'economy-negative' (2003-2004), to predominantly 'economy-positive' (2005-2007), and then revert back to mainly 'economy-negative' (2008-2009). This pattern prompts the question: why are 'economy-positive' or 'economy-negative' texts utilized at particular times in the Irish Parliament? Additionally, what broader narratives are expressed during these times that provoke a 'positive' or a 'negative' text? Therefore, these texts must be analyzed in detail and placed in the context of broader events (especially immigration events) and external activities (such as economic events) that occurred during this time.

Figure 4.5: 'Economy' Topos
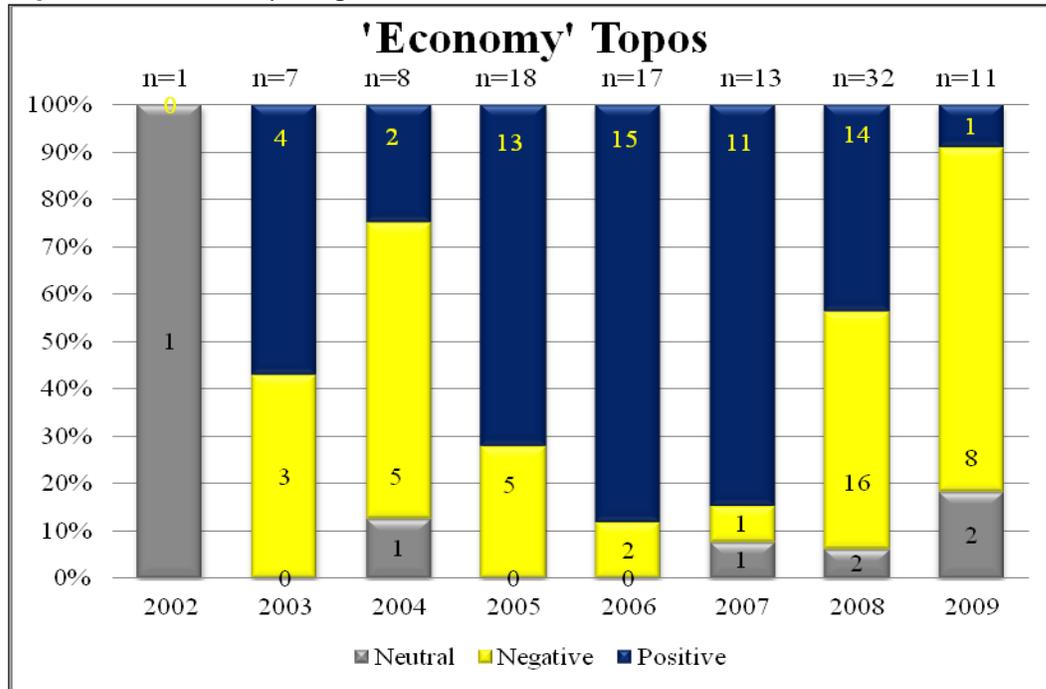
During 2003 and 2004, a considerable level of 'economy-negative' texts about illegal immigration are apparent. These 'economy-negative' texts focus upon a number of narratives. The first narrative refers to the economic costs of controlling and preventing the illegal entry of immigrants into Ireland. This narrative occurs in the context of the Government's policy Carriers' Liability, which was justified in parliament through the argumentation that Carriers' Liability will save on government funds in the long-term by preventing the entry of illegal immigrants into the State and their subsequent deportation:

> The detection of illegal immigrants who have entered this country involves a costly and long drawn-out process. The Immigration Bill 2002 makes provision for the tightening-up of controls to prevent the illegal entry of non-nationals (O'Flynn, 2003: 565).

> If a non-national arrives on our shores and is eventually deported, the average cost of the process is €20,000. The Bill is a common-sense measure to address the issue of immigration at the point of entry (Hoctor, 2004: 579).

Illegal immigration is classified as a '*costly and long drawn-out process',* which according to Deputy Hoctor costs the State *'€20,000'*. The Carriers' Liability bill is constructed as a '*common-sense measure'* in the protection of Irish borders against illegal immigration. The phrase '*common-sense'* is noteworthy, as it is highly influential and is used as a tool by those in powerful positions to naturalize and justify certain measures (Brandi, 2007; Lentin, 2007). The term '*common-sense'* denotes concepts of rationality,

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sensibility and a 'natural' way to comprehend a certain topic (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6). Thus, alternatives to this '*common-sense*' approach are dualistically considered to be irrational and in many instances, alternatives to the status-quo are not even considered. In this case, the argument is put forward that the Carriers' Liability bill is a rational way of dealing with illegal immigration and that the controlling and prevention of it is the correct way to proceed. This discursive argument is constructed in such a way that it would be foolish, insensible or unnatural to govern illegal immigration in any other way. Thus, the argumentation of the expense of certain types of immigration is put forward to normalize immigration control measures. It is argued here that '*common-sense*' and naturalizing phrasings are materializations of power formations and are (mostly) invisible to the populous, as they are exercised and reproduced through normalized forms of discourses (van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10).

An additional narrative that occurred during this time (2003-2004) concentrates upon the cost of deporting illegal immigrants. This narrative also occurred in the context of the *Immigration Bill, 2004*:

> I agree that the deportation of illegal immigrants and refused asylum seekers can be costly particularly to far away countries such as Nigeria, China, South Africa and so on (McDowell, 2003: 569).

> The Garda National immigration bureau incurs major expense when repatriating illegal immigrants. We, as a State, cannot continue to meet this huge and expanding bill. Our citizens are alarmed at the escalation of costs related to this problem (O'Flynn, 2003: 565).

It is noteworthy how in the first text Minister McDowell links illegal immigration and refused asylum seekers. This practice of referring to various types of immigration (especially illegal immigration and asylum seekers) as one entity is a frequent occurrence in parliamentary texts. These types of texts can influence the way people conceptualize asylum seekers and the practice of portraying them as 'illegal' creates a haze and confusion around immigration terminology. In the second text, Deputy O'Flynn justifies his concern with the expense of deporting illegal immigrants by stating that '*our citizens*' are concerned with the *'costs related to this problem'*. On the one hand, the Deputy is in some ways distancing himself from the argument. On the other hand, while

acknowledging that the Deputy's constituents may have been expressing concerns in this regard, he does not have to provide evidence of this and he may also be utilizing the image of the populous or the citizenry to add weight to his concerns about migrants and to legitimize his argument. Furthermore, the use of the terms '*our citizens*' denotes a clear boundary between 'us' and 'them', 'them' being the 'other' (i.e. illegal immigrants) who do not belong to the imagined national community (Gray, 2006b: 122; Wodak, 2012: 216-217). Lastly, illegal immigrants are described in a 'negative' way and as a '*problem*' by Deputy O'Flynn, one that requires a resolution. The key point here is that these texts contain generalized statements that can materialize into real, tangible effects in society.

During this time (2003-2004) there is an additional concern in the Irish Parliament with the expense incurred by the State in providing aid and welfare (e.g. housing, food, legal aid, interpreters) to illegal immigrants:

> Many illegal immigrants and refugees enter the country who may remain on social welfare payments for two or three years. This has provided a perfect opportunity for ordinary Irish citizens to become racists…When a person enters the country…he or she should not need to draw social welfare payments or rely on the State for a long period…Irish people are being given the chance to become racists under the current system and they ask why these individuals are being allowed to sponge off the State (Kehoe, 2004: 591).

This is another example of how different types of immigration are referred to as the same entity (i.e. '*illegal immigrants and refugees*'). This text is intriguing as, on the one hand, it challenges both the way the asylum system operates in Ireland and the issue that people who are seeking asylum are not permitted to be employed until they are granted refugee status. Nevertheless, the language that is utilized (such as '*remain on social welfare payments*', '*draw social welfare payments*', '*rely on the State for a long period*', and '*sponge off the State*') is 'negative', and gives the impression that refugees (who are legally present in the State) are lazy people who get money freely off the State and intentionally depend upon the State for welfare. In addition, Deputy Kehoe justifies the existence of a racist attitude in Irish society by blaming the economic costs involved in the asylum process and asserts that '*this is a perfect opportunity for ordinary citizens to become racists*'. However, the asylum system should not necessarily be viewed in economic terms, as it is in place to offer humanitarian protection to people. Deputy Kehoe also deflects a racist attitude from himself and projects it onto the Irish people by

forwarding the argumentation that the economic expense of the asylum system justifies a possible racist attitude emerging towards immigrants in Irish society. This type of statement is typical of elite racism. The Deputy deflects racism from himself and denies that his own elite group (politicians) are racist. Nonetheless, he is able to recognise others in Irish society that hold these views (van Dijk, 1993c: 189-190).

A further 'economy-negative' narrative emerged in the context of the Citizenship Referendum of 2004. One of many 'negative' discourses invoked by Ministers and Deputies during the time of the referendum campaign (by those in favour of the Citizenship Referendum being accepted and implemented by the Irish people) was the discourse of the supposed economic costs of immigrants who were availing of Irish citizenship and residency rights:

> They are making a mockery of our citizenship. This blatant exploitation of Irish hospitality was done at considerable expense to Irish taxpayers (O'Flynn, 2004: 591).

This thesis argues that the 'economy-negative' topos was utilized in order to create a 'negative' impression of immigrants. Immigrants were depicted as knowingly taking advantage of Irish society by utilizing the phrases *'making a mockery of our citizenship'* and *'blatant exploitation of Irish hospitality'*. This text was one of numerous texts and other tactics employed by the Government and members of the opposition to ensure that the Citizenship Referendum would be accepted by the people of Ireland (Brandi, 2007; Lentin, 2007). It is also noteworthy how Deputy O'Flynn used the term *'our citizenship'*. The use of this phrase illustrates how the Irish people are accepted as being part of the nation, while immigrants are not seen to belong to the national community. Citizenship does not belong to the 'other' and Irish citizenship is certainly not easily available to immigrants (Wodak, 2012: 216-217). These types of discourses allow people to become attached to the nation and to see themselves as part of the nation. Indeed, as identities are never fixed and always in the process of becoming, discourses that surround the Citizenship Referendum and that identify the 'other' are necessary in the continuous reproduction of national identity in Irish society (Guibernau, 2007: 23-25; Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23).

During 2005, 2006, and 2007 the 'economy' texts were 'positive' overall. Some of these 'economy-positive' texts can possibly be associated with the buoyant Irish economy of that time and the abundance of employment opportunities – there was a clear requirement for immigrant workers in Ireland. The accession of new EU Member States and the possible migration of these new members to Ireland were seen as something that the Irish economy could benefit from:

> I am glad that the message is coming across loud and clear that we need these people to maximise our economic development. In fact, they are doing us a favour by coming here. I hope that message will be more widely disseminated (Allen, 2006).

This text encourages immigration to Ireland and refers to the potential economic benefits of permitting the employment of Eastern European immigrants in Ireland. These 'positive' texts are welcomed, even though they merely focus on the economic benefits that Ireland can gain from immigration. Nevertheless, this 'positive' attitude towards illegal immigrants in Ireland was not in abundance. The majority of 'economy-positive' texts from this time period (2005-2007) focused upon the undocumented Irish in the US and how they have contributed to the US economy:

> I accept that such people contribute greatly to the US economy, as undocumented people generally do. Those who argue against the Kennedy-McCain measure, suggest that the 11 million undocumented people must return whence they came in order to apply for legal resident status. That is a totally impractical suggestion, however, because the US economy could not deal with it (Ahern, 2005: 609).

> Many people who have left these shores now own businesses in the US and are employing people there. Their jobs are contributing much to all parts of the US, socially and economically (English, 2007: 641).

These texts are part of a broader recurring debate on the regularization of the undocumented Irish in the US. The undocumented Irish in the US are depicted to be of good character, they '*contribute greatly to the US economy'*, '*own businesses and are employing people there'*, and contribute to the US both '*socially and economically'*. It is clearly evident that the way the undocumented Irish in the US are depicted is radically different from the way illegal immigrants in Ireland are represented. Even the language that is employed in reference to the undocumented in the US clearly shows the conflicting attitudes of Ministers and Deputies in the Irish Parliament towards immigrants that are, in effect, in a similar 'illegal' situation, but are in different geographical

locations and come from different national backgrounds. Place-based attitudes are clearly evident in parliamentary texts.

From 2008 onwards and into the beginning of 2009, the 'economy' topos returns to being predominately 'negative'. Many of these texts take place in the context of both the economic recession and the *Immigration Residence and Protection Bill*. The first aspect of the 'economy-negative' narrative revolves around the expense incurred by the State in protecting and controlling the Common Travel Area (CTA hereafter) between Ireland and the UK:

> In recent years, personnel at the Garda National Immigration Bureau and in the UK Border Agency have detected abuses within the Common Travel Area including movements of illegal persons, suspected human trafficking, illegal immigration and substantial levels of social welfare fraud are among the consequences of such abuse. The co-operation of all passengers arriving in the State, including Irish and UK citizens who have travelled from the UK, greatly enhances the ability of immigration personnel, both here and in the UK, to prevent and detect illegal immigration and associated criminality (Ahern, 2009: 693).

It is clear from this text that Minister Ahern views the CTA between Ireland and the UK, including the land border with Northern Ireland, as a site where illegal immigrants enter Ireland. However, some NGO groups (e.g. Coghlan, 2007) claim that in the majority of cases, illegal immigrants do not enter Ireland illegally through the border; rather they enter the country by legal methods and subsequently become illegal for various reasons (Ruhs, 2005; 2009). This is a contested issue and at this point in time it cannot be proven either way, as no data (other than anecdotal evidence) exists on how migrants became illegal in Ireland. There are figures on the number of people refused permission to enter the State (37,003) and those deported (45,239) from the State between 2002 and 2009 (Shatter, 2012), which offer some indication. Nevertheless, these figures do not reflect how many immigrants entered Ireland through legal methods and subsequently became undocumented or illegal. However, this does beg the question: why is there a major concern by government Ministers with the supposed large-scale illegal entry of migrants when there is no clear evidence of it? Perhaps this is a way for the State to voice and flex its power and to highlight that they are controlling the 'problem'. This indicates a direct message to Irish citizens and to EU counterparts that the Government is active in its protection and control over Irish borders, even though there is no definitive evidence that

the borders need to be protected from the illegal entry of migrants. Appadurai (2006) argues that a fear of 'small numbers' (in this case the probable small number of those entering Ireland illegally through Northern Ireland) is a constant reminder of the incompleteness of national purity (2006: 84). Thus, the preoccupation of the Irish authorities with a relatively small group of migrants may be reflective of a deeper concern over true 'Irishness' and 'genuine'/'real' national belonging. In relation to the specific text asserted by Minister Ahern above, he refers to illegal immigration in conjunction with a number of forms of criminal activities, such as *'human trafficking'* and *'social welfare fraud',* and he explicitly links illegal immigration with criminality by stating *'detect illegal immigration and associated criminality'.* These texts not only create an impression that all illegal immigrants are associated with crime, but that illegal immigrants are in some way involved with taking money and/or social welfare benefits from both the Irish State and the UK Government. Furthermore, the Minister makes an appeal to the populous to conduct surveillance for the State (Hiemstra, 2010; Sheridan, 1977) by identifying and reporting upon suspected illegal immigrants.

The additional 'economy-negative' texts that are evident during this time (2008-2009) see a return to previous grievances, namely the cost of deportations and the expense of the immigration and asylum system:

> The deportation of failed asylum seekers and other illegal immigrants is costly, particularly in the case of removals to distant countries such as Nigeria, China etc. (Ahern, 2009: 679).

It is notable that this text by Minister Ahern is extremely similar to the statement that was previously quoted by Minister McDowell: '*I agree that the deportation of illegal immigrants and refused asylum seekers can be costly particularly to far away countries such as Nigeria, China, South Africa and so on'* (2003: 569). This occurrence could possibly suggest that the same civil servants are writing the Minister for Justice's speeches/responses during this time. Alternatively, it could suggest that whoever is writing these texts (be it the Minister or a civil servant) is consulting previous parliamentary texts while producing 'new' texts. Nevertheless, this text is evidence that similar texts in relation to illegal immigration are consistently produced in the Irish Parliament. More importantly, these examples are an indication of how power formations

can materialize in texts. Ultimately, this is an explicit example of how the Government of this time approaches the governance of immigration in a consistent manner.

Within the context of texts that refer to the expense of deportations, illegal immigration is also linked with the criminal activity of prostitution:

> I hope the Minister of State takes note of my points because this matter costs the taxpayer a significant amount of money in terms of the deportation of those who have entered the country illegally and what it is doing to fuel Ireland's significant sex industry. According to the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform's figures on the new Thornton Hall prison, we will be spending €6 million per year to provide accommodation for those who are to be deported (Naughten, 2009: 682).

Deputy Naughten condemns the *'significant amount of money'* illegal immigration costs the *'taxpayer'* and he quotes a figure of *'€6 million per year'*. Other Ministers and Deputies depict asylum seekers as illegal and as a burden on the State:

> Our problem in the past has been that a wholly disproportionate amount of time and money has been spent dealing with people who have no right to be in the State but who seek to frustrate the State at every turn in removing them (Lenihan, 2008: 648).

> At a time when the asylum system is costing us €85,000 a day, surely resources need to be put in place to expedite that process and the cases before the courts. The resources are finite. It is costing us more than €300 million a year to fund this system. While the numbers of people coming into the country have reduced significantly, we still have a large cohort going through the system. As the Minister has stated in the past, 90% of the applications will eventually be rejected. Surely it would make sense from the perspective of everybody, including the taxpayers and potential refugees, for these applications to be dealt with in a prompt and expeditious manner (Naughten, 2009).

Minister Lenihan's reference to asylum seekers and illegal immigrants as *'people who have no right to be in the State'* is a clear example of how migrants' statuses are constructed through the rule of law, which carries legitimacy and authority. Through this legalistic argumentation the deportation of illegal immigrants is justified. From the second text by Deputy Naughten, it is worth noting how he refers to the asylum system as *'costing us €85,000 a day'*. His reference to 'us' juxtaposes the Government/citizens/nation against 'them' – the non-citizen, the illegal immigrants or 'failed' asylum seekers. These reoccurring dichotomies of 'us' and 'them' are evident in parliamentary texts as national identities are repeatedly enabled and disseminated discursively (Guibernau, 2007: 25; Wodak, 2012: 216-217; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-23).

The 'economy' topos encapsulates a number of noteworthy texts that reflect how illegal immigration is perceived in the Irish Parliament. Even though the 'dominant' discourse is 'economy-positive', between 2005 and 2007 when the level of 'economy-positive' texts were high these texts mainly referred to how immigration could benefit 'us' (i.e. the Irish people) or how the undocumented Irish benefit the US economy. The 'economy-negative' text pivots upon a number of narratives: (i) the expense of controlling and preventing unwanted immigration, (ii) the economic costs of the immigration system and the asylum process, (iii) the expense of deportations and welfare, and (iv) the costs incurred by the State by those who are not 'genuine' asylum seekers. Through these numerous texts, illegal immigrants are portrayed as criminals and as deceitful people, who cause a great expense to the Irish State. The construction of illegal immigrants in this way and the various modes of argumentations and justifications that are employed (e.g. common-sense), allows for restrictions to be implemented in relation to illegal immigration and measures that prevent the inclusion and acceptance of illegal immigrants within Irish society (Mountz, 2010: 95-96).

4.3.3 The 'Humanitarian' Topos

Humanitarian immigration and illegal immigration are often mentioned in tandem in parliamentary texts. This is because immigrants who seek asylum are often thought to be, and constructed as, illegal immigrants. Furthermore, illegal immigrants and asylum seekers probably travel by similar routes and by similar means in order to reach a particular destination. As such, they can face equivalent hardships and difficulties. Once in a country, illegal immigrants may experience 'humanitarian' difficulties, as they are illegally resident. These difficulties can vary from a lack of rights (e.g. residency) to facilities (e.g. housing, healthcare, or state assistance). 'Humanitarian-positive' texts are sympathetic to the difficulties that illegal immigrants may face. It has been argued in the Irish Parliament that illegal immigrants should be treated humanely:

> From our first-hand experience of attending the court hearings, we could see that when this woman presented as irritable or unable to meet the demands of the criminal justice system she was labelled "uncooperative" and was penalized for this. In our opinion she was clearly viewed as a criminal and not as a potential victim. Edith was expected to cooperate with Gardaí in Castlebar after she had spent long hours travelling from Dublin and attending the court hearing; she was often physically and emotionally exhausted...This does not suggest a concern for her welfare. We

are concerned to have since been told that on all occasions Edith received very little food or drink (Coveney, 2009: 676).

The above text relays the case of a woman, who was trafficked into Ireland and was technically considered to be illegal and how she was treated inhumanely while going through the Irish court system. This text is assigned a 'humanitarian-positive' topos, as it highlights the ill-treatment of the immigrant within state care and argues for better treatment of immigrants going through this process. Alternatively, 'humanitarian-negative' texts can deny the humanitarian plight of illegal immigrants. Additionally, 'humanitarian-negative' texts can acknowledge the difficult situations that illegal immigrants may face, but argue that migrants should not be offered humanitarian aid, as they have no right to be in the country in the first instance. The following text from the Irish Parliament acknowledges the humanitarian requirements of some immigrants, but these humanitarian concerns are denied for a variety of reasons:

> The temptation exists to give the right to work to every migrant knocking at our door and to offer asylum to every person coming from an area of conflict. This is especially the case for Members who every week see many tearful people presenting themselves in their clinics seeking help. However, the State needs to remain responsible in its management of migrants (Kennedy, 2008: 648).

This text attempts to justify (van Dijk, 1993c: 181) the refusal of humanitarian assistance to immigrants (i.e. asylum seekers) that may require it, by arguing that the State needs to be responsible to its citizens first and foremost, rather than basing concerns on humanitarian rights for all people regardless of where they are from. The task of controlling immigration is considered to be more important than the provision of humanitarian assistance to immigrants. It can surely be argued that under Ireland's international obligations – such as the *1951 Geneva Convention* relating to the Status of Refugees (Schuster, 2003: 233) – that the State cannot refuse an immigrant the right to apply for asylum no matter what its stance on immigration restrictions. Unfortunately, priority is often placed on national security over human security (Mountz, 2010: 95-96), and the *'management'* of migration is seen to be more important than the protection of a migrant's human rights. 'Humanitarian-neutral' texts are a rare occurrence in the Irish Parliament; nevertheless, some cases of these types of text are evident:

> An estimated 3 million have sought refuge in South Africa, half of whom are illegal immigrants who face deportation daily. Tens of thousands of Zimbabwean citizens inhabit squatter camps, driven there from their homes by the so-called "Youth Militia", President Mugabe's thugs who

move across the country in packs to terrorize people, often for little more than laughs (Timmins, 2008: 654).

This text states the humanitarian situation in Zimbabwe and South Africa and recognises cases of political persecution in these countries, but invokes neither an explicitly 'positive' nor 'negative' 'humanitarian' topos.

4.3.3.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the 'humanitarian' topos are portrayed in figure 4.6 below. This data represents 8% of all texts about illegal immigration. Overall, the 'humanitarian' topos is more 'positive' (73%) than 'negative' (24%). In only one case (2004) 'humanitarian-negative' texts are at a considerably high level (50%). These texts argue in favour of the management of immigration to Ireland and for the need to decrease the number of migrants seeking asylum (an example of this type of text was referred to in the example of 'humanitarian-negative' texts above). It is noteworthy that these 'negative' texts took place in the context of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum.

Figure 4.6: 'Humanitarian' Topos
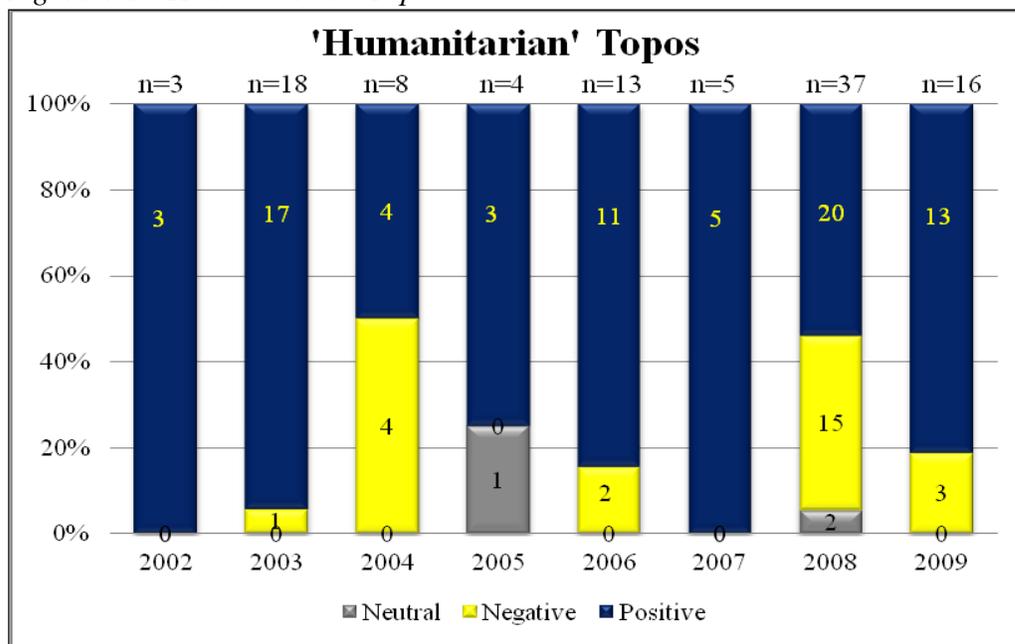
As the majority of 'humanitarian' texts are 'positive', examples of these 'humanitarian-positive' texts will be analyzed in detail. The 'humanitarian-positive' texts form a number

of discourses. The first discourse refers to the protection of illegal immigrants' basic human rights:

> The legislation addresses issues relating to illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, which are difficult. We must give them support, legal rights and a helping hand while making sure they are treated humanely (Crawford, 2003: 565).

Deputy Crawford argues for '*support*', '*legal rights*' and humane treatment for illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. This 'humanitarian' concern is also applied to the employment rights of illegal immigrants:

> One aspect of employment law compliance that must be considered in the context of the Bill is the explosion of migrant workers and the smuggling of workers into the State without permits. We have all heard ghastly stories of people working in terrible conditions; in some cases, their accommodation is linked to their jobs and they are afraid to highlight their conditions in case they lose their job and the facility to send money home. It must be ensured those stories are not replicated in the press. I hope there will be cross-government cohesion in this area and the Immigration Bill 2008 will, in its final state, complement the spirit of this legislation. I also hope the law will ensure compassion, sensibility and common-sense in dealing with the vulnerable in the labour market, whether workers are here legally or illegally (White, 2009: 675).

In this text, Deputy White argues for the protection of migrants' rights, both legal and illegal. She calls for '*compassion*' and '*sensibility*' in dealing with '*vulnerable*' migrants. It is noteworthy how the Deputy utilizes the phrase '*common-sense*' in an attempt to naturalize the protection of migrants' rights.

A second 'humanitarian-positive' discourse focuses upon the protection of illegal immigrants who were smuggled or trafficked into Ireland. These texts express a real concern for the welfare of these immigrants, especially minors who were trafficked or smuggled:

> Enforcing the relevant provisions of the Refugee Act, 1996 (as amended) and the Childcare Act, 2001 in respect of minors arriving in the State at ports of entry, has proved to be particularly important in offering protection to minors suspected to be victims of human trafficking or smuggling of illegal immigrants (Ahern, 2009: 698).

Some texts refer to tragic incidents and the consequences of the smuggling and trafficking of immigrants:

> Although seemingly less pernicious than trafficking, people smuggling frequently involves the imposition of extortionate fees by smugglers as well as exposing the illegal migrants to grave danger in clandestinely entering States. Ireland has experienced the tragic consequences of people smuggling in the Wexford tragedy of December 2001, where eight people suffocated in a container while attempting clandestine entry into the United Kingdom (Curran, 2009: 195).

Other parliamentary texts refer to how the immigration system in Ireland can actually contribute to the inhumane treatment of illegal immigrants:

> Since they have entered the country illegally, they are afraid, unwilling or unable at times to seek help from the Garda or police. In such situations the need to protect, rather than punish victims is paramount and all forms of human trafficking such as illegal adoptions and selling human organs must be outlawed (Connolly, 2007: 631).

> victims of trafficking are identified by this Government as illegal immigrants first and consequently imprisoned and identified as victims second (Naughten, 2009: 694).

The third 'humanitarian-positive' discourse concentrates upon the undocumented Irish in the US. These narratives are frequent and repetitive, and relay the apparent inhumane consequences of these people living with an illegal status. This includes their inability to return to Ireland for family events (e.g. weddings or funerals) and their lack of access to healthcare:

> to have the fear of expulsion from the US removed and above all else to put in place a system to allow Irish citizens to come and go to see their families in Ireland as they so wish, which one would have thought is a basic human right (Connaughton, 2007: 159).

> The mention of people trying to get into the United States in different ways raises the issue of undocumented Irish immigrants in the US. People in that situation have encountered serious difficulties in coming home on the occasion of family bereavements or weddings. They also need medical treatment and find it unaffordable, and elderly Irish immigrants may have concerns about the cost of long-stay hospitals, nursing homes or carers, as occurred in a situation I was dealing with in recent times. This is a real issue affecting Irish people and we must continue to work on it (Kitt, 2009: 686).

The undocumented Irish in the US are offered a considerable amount of sympathy by parliamentary members. Yet, it is interesting how the 'humanitarian' problems that the undocumented Irish in the US contend with do not seem to be on a similar level as the difficulties that illegal immigrants in Ireland have to face, such as exploitation or danger. The use of language is very important here, as the term illegal refers to unauthorized migrants in Ireland, while the term undocumented is used to refer to unauthorized Irish migrants in the US. It is also argued that because the undocumented Irish lack the right to citizenship they are in some way existing with an unfulfilled identity:

> These are our people who are in America for personal and social reasons. One can imagine the terrible suffering they must endure. They are really non-people in the sense of being undocumented…This House could assist in resolving the issue by showing its concern for the undocumented Irish in America every so often. That description is somewhat clinical in nature, particularly when one considers that these individuals are our people (Ó Murchú, 2009: 288).

Not only does this text express empathy towards these migrants and relay the harsh conditions of their lives, but this statement also implies that due to the absence of citizenship rights these migrants lack a true identity and are *'non-people'*. This text further states that they are '*our people'*. Therefore, the argumentation is forwarded that because the Irish in the US have no citizenship rights in the US, they are not truly possessing a current hybrid Irish/US identity. This overall liberal attitude towards the undocumented Irish in the US can be contrasted with the very conservative attitude of a significant number of parliamentarians towards immigrants who are illegal in Ireland. The humanitarian requirements of the undocumented Irish are represented to be radically different from the humanitarian requirements of illegal immigrants in Ireland. Parliamentary members do not argue that the undocumented Irish in the US require protection in relation to employment rights, or protection in relation to smuggling, trafficking, or other fundamental rights. The undocumented Irish lack access to Ireland, to healthcare, to a permanent status in the US, and to an up-to-date and 'legitimate' identity. Through the 'humanitarian' topos illegal immigrants in Ireland are mainly represented as 'victims', while the undocumented Irish are represented as 'good citizens', who are treated unfairly by the US authorities.

4.3.4 The 'Danger' Topos

Throughout the various discussions on immigration in the Irish Parliament, there is an underlying concern with the dangers that immigration can pose to Irish society. Immigration, and most especially illegal immigration, has been constructed as a threat for many years (Bigo, 2004). Illegal immigration is depicted as an invasion, particularly if migrants (attempt to) enter a country without permission from the State (Bigo, 2004; Nevins, 2002; Van der Valk, 2003; van Dijk 2000c; van Dijk, 2000d). Illegal immigrants are also treated as dangerous criminals when they are detained and deported by authorities (Bigo, 2004: 63-64; Mountz, 2010: 101-113). 'Negative' associations have also been made between immigrants and social unrest, drug crime, ghettoization (Coghlan, 2007: 20-21; Nevins, 2002: 63-77), the employment market, and health and safety (immigrants are often portrayed as carriers of diseases) (Mountz, 2010: 100; Nevins, 2002: 63-77). This conceptualization of immigrants as dangerous characters

came to the fore in recent years in the context of international terrorism and violent religious extremism (Bauder, 2008c: 292; Coghlan, 2007: 20-21), frequently resulting in politicians constructing immigrants as potential security threats (Bigo, 2004: 63-64). Although it must be noted that the issue of islamophobia is largely absent in Irish discourses. The 'danger' topos is in many ways linked to the 'culture' topos, as 'unknowns' (illegal immigrants) are often perceived as 'undesirable' individuals and a prospective danger to society. Illegal immigration can be seen to be dangerous due to its elusive character and the unknown entity of immigrants' statuses or locations. Texts that counter these notions of 'danger' ('danger-positive') are evident in the Irish Parliament:

> With this Bill, the Minister has chosen to follow the well-worn path of his predecessor in promoting a culture of disbelief, in which every asylum seeker is first of all suspected of being a fraud and a liar, intent on abusing the system and in which, despite the assurances of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Deputy Brian Lenihan, to the contrary, the implication is that migrants are coming here to take advantage of the State and its benefits and to gain residency through fraudulent means. The Minister, like his predecessor, would have Members believe the world is full of people who are simply waiting for an opportunity to come to Ireland and are eager for us to relax our vigilance. The reality is far removed from that proposition (O' Caoláin, 2008a: 648).

In this text Deputy O' Caoláin dismisses notions that immigrants are frauds, liars, and '*intent on abusing the system*'. He asserts that immigrants are not deceitful and dangerous people who are attempting to gain residency in Ireland under fraudulent methods. Nevertheless, the majority of 'danger' texts from the Irish Parliament link illegal immigration to a 'danger-negative' topos. The following text was quoted previously and analyzed to contain an 'economy-negative' topos, but it also contains a 'danger-negative' topos. This is an example of how one text can contain multiple topoi:

> In recent years, personnel at the Garda National Immigration Bureau and in the UK Border Agency have detected abuses within the Common Travel Area including movements of illegal persons, suspected human trafficking, illegal immigration and substantial levels of social welfare fraud are among the consequences of such abuse (Ahern, 2009: 693).

This text links illegal immigration with '*human trafficking*' and '*social welfare fraud*'. It feeds into a 'negative' image of illegal immigrants and associates it with criminality. On occasion, 'danger-neutral' texts are evident from the Irish Parliament. The following text associates illegal immigration with criminal activities, but it is neither 'positive' nor 'negative' about illegal immigration; thus, it is coded as 'danger-neutral':

The only thing we know for certain is that there is an enforcement Bill in the US Congress that will demonize and criminalize any person, in this case an Irish person, who knowingly helps in any way an illegal immigrant (Deenihan, 2008: 641).

4.3.4.1 Results and Analysis

In figure 4.7 the results of the 'danger' topos are relayed, representing 7% of all texts about illegal immigration from the Irish Parliament. Overall, the 'danger' topos is mainly 'negative' (77%) and only 21% of texts are 'positive'. The 'danger-positive' texts occur mainly in 2003 (42%), 2005 (38%), and 2008 (38%). These 'danger-positive' texts argue that illegal immigrants are not dangerous or '*sinister*' individuals; illegal immigrants merely want to reside in Ireland:

I hear mention of people who are here illegally, and some did come here illegally. However, others became illegal by virtue of changing their address. Some cases could have done with another hearing and a sympathetic ear. From all the questions I have asked these individuals, their motives do not appear to be in any way more sinister than simply avoiding having to go back to from where they came (Durkan, 2008: 647).

Additional 'danger-positive' texts refer to the undocumented Irish in the US and concentrate on how they are not a 'danger' to the US in terms of the economy or in terms of national security. The following statement from Deputy Kenny exemplifies this viewpoint:

This would be helpful in demonstrating that the undocumented Irish are of no danger to the US economy or its security (Kenny, 2006: 621).

Figure 4.7: 'Danger' Topos

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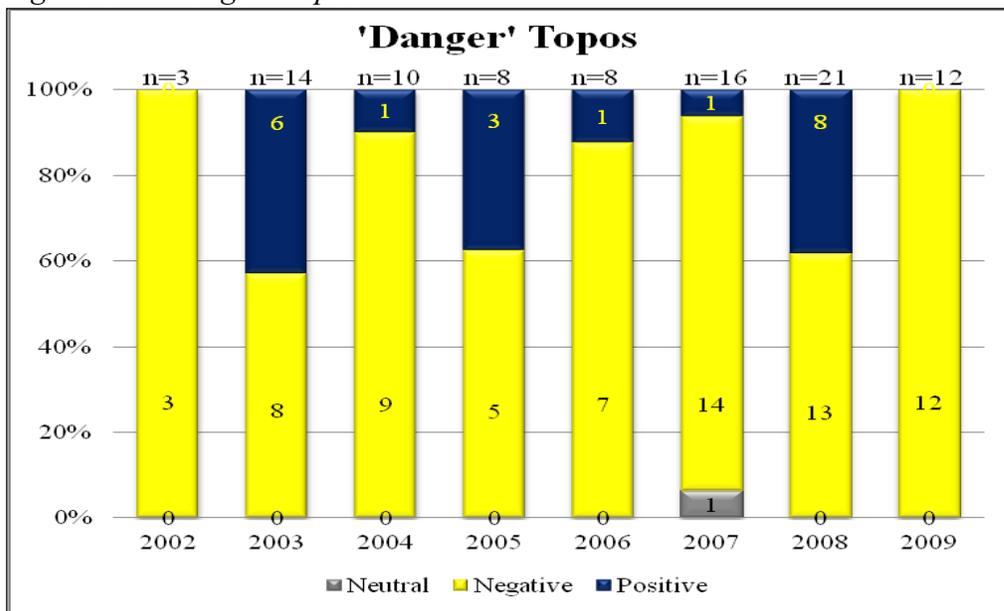
'Danger-negative' texts refer to a number of discourses ranging from accusations of criminality, to fraud, invasion, terrorism, and sexual offences. Such accusations justify the requirement of increased border controls (van Dijk, 1993c: 181). This section firstly examines texts that describe illegal immigrants as criminals. These types of depictions argue that illegal immigrants are involved in criminal activities and serious crimes:

> Immigration must be managed in a way that keeps Ireland safe. We must ensure that Irish laws are understood and adhered to by immigrants. We must also send a strong message that people who want to come to this country to commit serious crime are not welcome and will be dealt with severely (Naughten, 2008: 647).

The first line of this quotation implies that immigration is not '*safe*' but dangerous, and if it is managed by the State, the people of Ireland will be protected from potentially dangerous immigrants. Deputy Naughten asserts that immigrants must understand Irish laws and adhere to them. This gives the impression that either immigrants do not understand Irish laws, or that they are purposefully not following Irish laws because they are involved in criminal activities. The Deputy's final sentence in this text implies that immigrants are targeting Ireland as a place to commit crimes. This text relays an overall image of immigrants as criminals and as dangerous individuals.

An additional aspect of the 'danger-negative' narrative revolves around the association between illegal immigration and fraud:

> The company, based in Paris, has successfully produced Irish visa stickers for several years on behalf of the Irish Naturalization and Immigration Service. A core consideration in accessing such services is that the company is a recognized and reputable provider of such visa stickers to several European countries. In order to minimize illegal immigration and fraud, visa stickers utilize a range of essential security features such as hologram, unique serial number identification and other specialized printing features, and they must conform to an agreed EU standard (Ahern, 2009: 687).

In this text it is implied that illegal immigrants are in some way involved in the production and utilization of fraudulent documents to enter Ireland. As alluded to earlier in this chapter, there is some contention over how the majority of illegal immigrants come to be in Ireland, (i.e. do they enter illegally, or do they enter legally and become illegal). Nevertheless, the Minister for Justice is concerned with preventing people from entering illegally, especially in preventing those with fraudulent documents from entering the State. This text ties illegal immigration with fraud and the utilization of fraudulent documents (Coghlan, 2007; Ruhs, 2009; Ruhs, 2005).

A prominent 'danger-negative' discourse links illegal immigration and border control. This type of discourse argues for the requirement to protect Irish borders against an array of dangerous elements: criminality, invasion, terrorism, and various sexual offences (including rapists, prostitution, sex offenders, and sex trafficking). This section firstly examines texts that refer to border controls and criminality. The following text associates the need to protect vulnerable Irish borders from illegal immigration and criminality:

> Participation in joint operations, in particular with the United Kingdom Immigration Service, is ongoing and recognizes the vulnerability of the Common Travel Areas to abuse by persons engaged in illegal immigration and associated criminality (McDowell, 2006: 628).

It is also claimed that European and Irish borders need to be protected against criminality and an invasion of immigrants:

> The Bill is important legislation which will allow us to regulate who will migrate to Ireland. The decision as to who can migrate to here is an important process. The Government has a responsibility to decide which foreign nationals can live here and who cannot. In doing this, the Government will be helping to make Ireland a better place to live in; both for Irish citizens and newcomers, as well as meeting the needs the economy might face at any particular time. It will also ensure that Ireland reduces risk of being used as a base for international criminality. If the Government or its agents did not have the power to make these decisions, then effectively we would be operating an open door immigration policy. If that happened, immigration policy and legislation would be meaningless in this country. We would be also failing in our duties towards our European partners as regards ensuring the borders of Europe were protected (Connick, 2008: 648).

> I attended a meeting hosted by the European People's Party at which comments were made to the effect that if the population of Africa doubled in the next 20 years - which it will - and if only 10% of young males from that continent decided to emigrate, no country in Europe would be able to withstand the immigration pressure (Kenny, 2008: 665).

The first text puts forth the argument that migration needs to be regulated and that Irish borders and its people need to be protected in order to reduce the risk of Ireland '*being used as a base for international criminality'*. This course of action is also justified by stating that if Ireland had an '*open door immigration policy*', the country '*would be failing'* in its duties towards Europe by not protecting its borders. This statement reinforces a sense of urgency and authority by referring to the responsibility that Ireland has to protect European borders. In the second text, Deputy Kenny creates an impression of an inevitable influx or invasion (Nevins, 2002: 63-77) of African immigrants to Europe in the future. This type of text creates an unsubstantiated fear of African immigrants (particularly young African men) and a panic concerning the need to protect

Irish and European borders from non-EU immigration in order to *'withstand the immigration pressure'* of the future.

A large level of text from the Irish Parliament surrounds the issue of terrorism and the requirement to protect Irish borders from international terrorism. The Irish Government's fear of international terrorism is in many ways contradictory, as Ireland has never been attacked by international terrorists and there are, in fact, existing internal terrorist groups on the island of Ireland (due to the conflicts within Northern Ireland). These domestic terrorist groups are not referred to in this context. The Government's use of the topical argument of terrorism is in many ways a convenient way to argue for the continued and possible increased control of Irish borders. Clear associations are made between illegal immigration and terrorism in the following texts:

> Europe is already deepening co-operation between the Member States in the fight against international crime, terrorism, illegal immigration and trafficking in people and drugs…In this age of globalization, when goods, services, information and communications flow relatively unrestricted across our borders, we must work together to prevent international criminal syndicates, drug traffickers and others from exploiting our more open world for their own criminal ends. The role of the European Union in breaking up international criminal gangs, preventing terrorist attacks and securing our borders against people traffickers and illegal immigration is not well understood or appreciated by many people. However, it is critical to the security and functioning of our communities (Ahern, 2005: 610).

> Personnel engaged in immigration control duties are tasked with detecting illegal immigration, with a view to protecting the State from terrorism and other forms of criminality, while processing millions of passengers (Ahern, 2008: 662).

Illegal immigration is constructed as a threat, as it is associated with other dangerous elements that the State must protect against, such as '*terrorism*', and '*other forms of criminality*' and Europe is held up as the nation's protector from these dangerous elements. It is argued in this dissertation that these types of texts are utilized in order to justify immigration controls (Coghlan, 2007: 20-21).

Irish Parliamentary texts additionally contend that the State must defend its borders from sexual offenders:

> Our three semi-State airports, in Cork, Shannon and Dublin, have airport police but there are none in any of the other airports in the country. Police with similar powers to those in Cork, Shannon and Dublin need to be appointed to the port authorities around the country. For example, in the part of the country of the Minister of State, Deputy Kelleher, there was a case concerning an illegal immigrant and rapist who set up a restaurant in Cork and travelled in and out of Ireland

using a murderer's passport. Despite his using this passport, he was never stopped, even when the convicted murderer went on the run from British police. The individual was only caught after getting drunk and coming to the attention of the immigration officers in Fishguard. When he was questioned by the immigration officers in Fishguard he could not remember where he was staying in London, so they looked with greater attention at his passport and recognized that it was a false one. There are, I am sure, numerous other cases, which do not come to the attention of the public, of people using our ports because they are seen as a soft touch in terms of immigration checks. I hope the Minister of State takes note of my points because this matter costs the taxpayer a significant amount of money in terms of the deportation of those who have entered the country illegally and what it is doing to fuel Ireland's significant sex industry (Naughten, 2009: 682).

In this text Deputy Naughten argues for tighter control of Irish ports in order to prevent '*rapists*' and other dangerous criminals from entering Ireland. The Deputy asserts that he is sure that there are *'numerous other cases'* like this and he wants the ports of Ireland to be protected against this type of criminality. This text creates a sense of danger and fear of illegal immigration, as it links illegal immigration with rape, criminality, and prostitution. Sexual offenders and illegal immigrants are also a concern for other Ministers and Deputies. In the following text, a sense of fear is created as Senator Henry questions the location of illegal immigrants (whom she implies are sex offenders):

> I support Senator O'Meara's comments on the availability of the memorandum on sex offenders in both jurisdictions. I was very worried to hear a senior official in the Home Office tell a committee in the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, that the authorities had no idea of the location of thousands of illegal immigrants. Is it possible some of them are here? (Henry, 2006: 183).

A final aspect of the border control narrative maintains that the border must be controlled against the trafficking of illegal immigrants:

> Operation 'Pentameter 2' which is being launched with the UK Authorities continues to recognize the vulnerability of the Common Travel Area (CTA) to abuse by persons engaged in illegal immigration and is targeting those suspected of involvement in the trafficking of human beings, as well as liaising with those persons directly affected by this type of criminality (Lenihan, 2007: 639).

In this text illegal immigrants are accused of exploiting the CTA through their involvement in the '*trafficking of human beings'*. Illegal immigrants are represented as dangerous individuals because they are engaged in criminal activities.

On the whole, it is evident that numerous parliamentary texts link illegal immigration and multiple forms of 'danger'. 'Danger-negative' texts refer to several criminal acts, from fraud, to terrorism, to sexual offences. These texts depict illegal immigration as a threat and something that must be prevented and controlled. Many of these 'danger-negative'

texts occurred in the context of debates about border control. This thesis contends that the reproduction and discursive construction of illegal immigrants in this 'negative' manner is an exercise of power, as the State has the ability to assign and to classify immigrants in this 'legitimate' way (Mountz, 2010: 114). This research argues that 'danger-negative' texts are used by parliamentary members to justify ongoing (van Dijk, 1993c: 181) and increased measures of border control and the general attempt to control immigration into Ireland and Europe.

4.3.5 The 'Culture' Topos

People from different parts of the world can possess diverse 'cultural' attributes in terms of politics, religion, education, work ethic, sexuality, marriage, family, food, language, etc. Immigrants can be thought of as exotic, different, and perhaps not easy to relate to due to these numerous cultural elements (Said, 1978). Frequently, immigrants are characterized by their cultural desirability. For example, elite economic migrants are often portrayed as 'desirable' individuals, while poorer economic migrants or those fleeing persecution are often represented as 'undesirable' individuals (Nevins, 2002: 104). The practice of racial stereotyping and the representation of non-Europeans as culturally non-belonging have a long tradition in European countries (Driedger and Halli, 2000; Mahtani, 2001; Zolf, 1989). The practice of depicting immigrants in 'desirable' ('positive') and 'undesirable' ('negative') terms is evident in Irish Parliamentary texts.

The cultural desirability of illegal immigrants has been expressed in parliamentary texts. These texts refer to both illegal immigrants in Ireland and undocumented immigrants in the US as culturally 'desirable' people (e.g. hard-working, family orientated, and law abiding). The following text depicts the undocumented Irish in the US as culturally 'desirable' people:

> Those who have gone to the United States have done well and what they have achieved through their progress, efforts, hard work and sense of community down the years reflects well in their country and families (Cowen, 2009: 679).

The undocumented immigrants in the US are represented through a 'culture-desirable' ('positive') argumentation as they work hard, have families, and are involved in the communities in which they reside. Alternatively, illegal immigrants can be represented as

'culture-undesirable' ('negative') people due to their different cultural practices, their perceived criminality, or the potential 'negative' financial implications they may have on the Irish State. Illegal immigrants are also referenced in conjunction with other forms of criminality, which is an 'undesirable' entity:

> to meet the challenges of the marked increase in international travel with the increased threat of illegal immigration, serious and organized crime and terrorism (Cowen, 2007: 640).

Some instances of 'culture-neutral' texts occur in the Irish Parliament:

> Immigrants should be welcomed provided they can integrate and contribute to the social and family life and economic development of the country (Byrne, 2008: 648).

This text not only states that immigrants are 'culture-desirable' or 'culture-undesirable', but asserts that those immigrants that '*should be welcomed*' must be 'desirable'. Overall, it can be said that the underlying assumption in the 'culture' topos is the notion that 'us' – Irish citizens – are on the whole 'culture-desirable' people, as 'we' are bound by similar cultural traits and heritage, while 'them' – illegal immigrants – are different and 'culturally-undesirable'.

4.3.5.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the 'culture' topos are portrayed in figure 4.8 below. This data represents 4% of all texts about illegal immigration from the Irish Parliament. Overall, the 'culture' topos is mainly 'positive' ('desirable') (73%) and 20% of the 'culture' texts are 'negative' ('undesirable'). There are two particular years that are an exception to these 'positive' texts. Firstly, in 2002, 100% of texts were 'negative' (however, there was only one 'culture' text during that year). Secondly, in 2004, 50% (this consisted of only four texts) of the 'culture' texts were 'negative'. These 'negative' texts occurred in the context of the Citizenship Referendum of 2004 and a government rationality to restrict the numbers of immigrants seeking asylum in Ireland.

Figure 4.8: 'Culture' Topos

'Culture' Topos
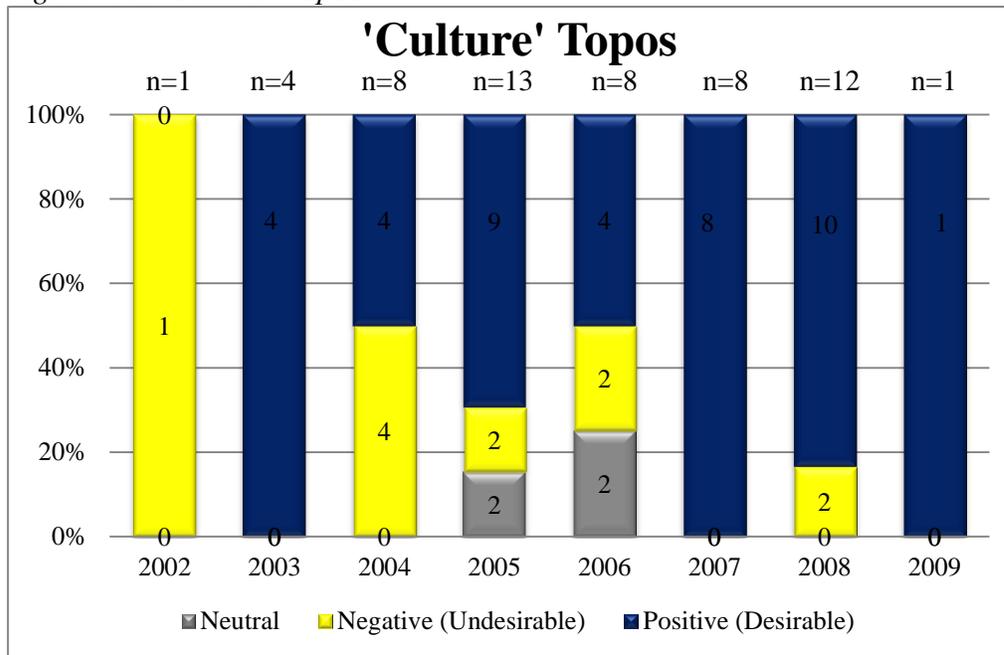
As the majority of 'culture' texts are 'positive' ('desirable'), this section deconstructs the differing 'culture-desirable' narratives that occurred. The most common occurrence of 'culture-desirable' narratives concentrates on the undocumented Irish in the US:

> Does the Taoiseach have a strategy in place to work towards legitimizing the undocumented Irish in the US, who pay their way, have social security numbers and who may be married with school-going children? (Kenny, 2008: 666).

The undocumented Irish are stated to '*pay their way*', '*have social security numbers*', and '*may be married with school-going children*'. They are represented to be 'desirable' people, as they contribute to the economic, social and cultural life of the US:

> They have not been a burden on the US because they have worked hard and contributed to the economy and paid their taxes. The Irish community has a long and proud history and tradition of living and working in the US and it continues to contribute to the economic, cultural and social life of the country. Irish people do not want to be illegal (O'Mahoney, 2007: 641).

Irish undocumented immigrants in the US are also described as 'desirable' individuals due to their English language skills. This seems to be a cultural aspect that has allowed Irish undocumented workers to be culturally accepted and generally embraced by US society over other immigrants in the US:

> With their language and work skills Irish workers are regarded as the jewel in the crown of US labour markets…Of all the nationalities in the United States, the Irish are most likely to meet criteria of the proposed legislation. Not only are most of them in well paid jobs but many of them are employers whose skills are urgently required in the economy (Connaughton, 2005: 607).

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> In the United States, Irish people always had an edge over people of other nationalities. Even if they were illegal immigrants, as English speakers they had an edge over those who had green cards. English is very important (Deasy, 2006).

Once again the argumentation is evident that the Irish in the US are 'culturally-desirable' people due to their economic success. It is noteworthy that Irish immigrants are depicted as distinct from other migrants in the US, implying that Irish immigrants are in some way superior. The undocumented Irish are consistently depicted in parliamentary texts as a culturally homogenous group of people that are 'culturally-desirable'. This conceptualization of the undocumented Irish is depicted as a logical and accepted way for them to be thought about as 'we' – the Irish/Irish politicians – know what the undocumented Irish are like, as 'we' share the same culture. It is argued here that the undocumented Irish are represented differently from illegal immigrants in Ireland as they are not perceived as the 'other' – unfamiliar and non-Irish. On rare occasions it is acknowledged in the Irish Parliament that a number of undocumented Irish are deported back to Ireland from the US every year due to criminal offences (and not due to their undocumented status). Between 2002 and 2008 a total of 386 Irish migrants were deported from the US, of which approximately 30% were deported for criminal offences (Martin, 2009: 679). One would imagine that this is a 'culture-undesirable' attribute, however this aspect is not highlighted by parliamentarians or the media. Overall, it is argued here that the undocumented Irish are depicted in an overall 'positive' way for two reasons: (i) they are seen to be part of the Irish community, and (ii) in the hope of gaining regularizations for them in the US.

The remainder of 'culture-desirable' texts refer to illegal immigrants in Ireland. The first narrative centres on the Citizenship Referendum of 2004. In some texts, it was argued that 'newly' categorized illegal immigrants (those no longer eligible to be Irish citizens following the referendum) who had '*contributed to Irish society'* should be allowed to remain in Ireland:

> It is clear that Irish citizenship should be available to those from other shores who have lived in and contributed to Irish society and who wish to apply for citizenship. We should ensure that Irish-born citizens of non-national parents who have lived here for a number of years acquire Irish citizenship at birth. That is right and proper and underpins the welcoming nature we have always had in Ireland. We must end the abuse of our citizenship law which has enabled those with no connection with Ireland to travel here, claim citizenship for their child at birth, depart immediately

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never to return and yet have all the benefits of Irish citizenship conferred on them by our Constitution. To allow people with no connection to use Irish citizenship and our Constitution in an attempt to get around basic immigration controls in the European Union would certainly call into question the integrity of Irish citizenship in other jurisdictions, something which would reflect badly on this House and the country as a whole (Power, 2004: 591).

It is notable how this government member portrays Ireland as a nation that has a '*welcoming nature*' and one which accommodates and attends to the rights of migrants. Deputy Power depicts the Government as a caring and compassionate institution (Bauder, 2008d: 84). He constructs an image of the State as one which protects human rights and upholds international laws (Bauder, 2009: 263-264). Although this text is 'positive' about those immigrants that have contributed to Irish society, the second half of this text is 'negative' towards immigrants, as it argues for the end of the '*abuse of our citizenship law*' and calls for a control over '*basic immigration controls*', which if not attended to '*would reflect badly on this House and the country as a whole*'. This statement refers to how Ireland, as part of the EU, must be seen to protect its borders against unwanted and unregulated immigration. A further 'culture-desirable' narrative emerges in the context of the deportation of those who were unsuccessful in their claim for asylum (commonly referred to as 'failed' asylum seekers). The following text represents these illegal immigrants in a 'culture-desirable' way, as they are said to be '*decent, hard-working men*' who want to contribute to Irish society:

> Last week, Deputy Costello and I met 120 Afghans who had been refused permission to remain in this country. Decent, hard-working young men who wanted to live in Ireland and make a contribution to society were being sent by the State back to Afghanistan, a war-torn area. Is this not a very tough stance to take and is it not in breach of international law? I am also concerned about their human rights (McGrath, 2005).

This research has found that 'culture' texts from the Irish Parliament are on the whole 'positive'. However, 'positive' texts are, in the majority of cases, referring to the undocumented Irish in the US. Perceived 'culture-desirable' traits are utilized by Irish politicians to create a 'positive' image of the undocumented Irish in the US, with the aim of the US Government granting residency rights to them. 'Culture-desirable' texts about illegal immigrants in Ireland usually occur in reaction to some type of restrictive immigration policy or legislation that aims to exclude immigrants from society (e.g. deportation orders). In essence, 'culture' discursive argumentations were employed in the parliament as a mechanism for constructing individual and collective identities and

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legitimized/delegitimized identities. This thesis contends that the practice of depicting illegal migrants in a culturally 'negative' manner justified their exclusion from Irish society (Gray, 2006a: 355; Guibernau, 2007: 25; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-5).

4.4 Representations of Illegal Immigrants in Irish Parliamentary Texts

Irish Parliamentary texts and the broader discourses that are formed through these texts represent illegal immigrants through distinctive argumentations, namely 'control', 'economy', 'humanitarian', 'danger', and 'culture'. While it is acknowledged here that the majority of texts are 'positive', a considerable proportion of these 'positive' texts refer to illegal immigrants who are outside of the Irish jurisdiction. This section aims to bring together the detailed data that has been outlined thus far and relay a broader overview of how illegal immigrants are discursive represented by parliamentary members. To begin, it is quite clear that the 'control' topos refers in differing ways to two key groups of illegal immigrants. The undocumented Irish are overtly portrayed in a 'positive' manner, while illegal immigrants in Ireland are mainly portrayed as having deviant characteristics and as embodying the 'other'. This 'negative' image that is reproduced about them is compounded through the additional 'negative' texts that are invoked through the other topoi (e.g. 'economy'). These multiple 'negative' attributes feed into the 'control' topos and combine to form a strong 'dominant' discourse, asserting that illegal immigrants are a 'negative' entity that must be controlled. These discursive representations aid the Government's argumentations and justifications of regulation and control. For example, in 2004 the Minister for Justice denied the availability of a regularization scheme for illegal immigrants (McDowell, 2004: 579), claiming that it would undermine legal migration, reward dishonest employers and disingenuous asylum seekers, and attract further unwanted illegal migration. Illegal immigrants were represented as bad characters and asylum seekers were depicted as disingenuous people. These representations justified the denial of allocating them with a legal status in Ireland. This dissertation contends that illegal immigrants are represented in a number of 'negative' ways through the 'control' topos in order to justify their exclusion from Irish society, to prevent their access to Irish citizenship and residency rights, and most importantly to portray an image of the Government as protecting its citizens.

While the 'economy' topos represents the undocumented Irish as having a 'positive' impact on the US economy, illegal immigrants in Ireland are overall represented as having a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy. The 'economy' topos portrays illegal immigrants in Ireland as a drain on state resources, especially in reference to the asylum system (e.g. when those seeking asylum are deemed to be 'bogus' and illegal) and the costs of providing aid and welfare to those seeking asylum. In general, illegal immigrants are said to be an expense on the State due to the resources that are assigned to their control, prevention and deportation them. This thesis maintains that texts which refer to the 'negative' economic impacts that illegal immigration has on the State do so in order to justify the implementation of government regulations on immigration (e.g. Carriers' Liability). Particular 'negative' phrasings were utilized to convey this image, such as '*sponge off the State*' (Kehoe, 2004: 591), '*blatant exploitation of Irish hospitality*' (O' Flynn, 2004: 591), and '*social welfare fraud*' (Ahern, 2009: 693).

The 'humanitarian' topos represents illegal immigrants 'positively' and as people who require and deserve humanitarian protection and rights. Although these texts are compassionate towards illegal immigrants, this attitude also implicitly conveys an image of helpless victims and desolate people, who 'we', as white Western Europeans should protect. This approach places the Irish Government and the Irish people into the role of tolerant protectors of those from outside of Europe who require 'our' security. This representation is clearly evident in the texts that refer to those who are smuggled and/or trafficked into Ireland, most especially in reference to children. This portrayal is especially distinctive when compared to representations of the undocumented Irish in the US. The undocumented Irish are not depicted as people who require 'our' humanitarian protection; rather, they are represented as 'good citizens' whose access to travel to and from Ireland and from a legal status in the US. It must be noted that 'humanitarian-negative' texts are also evident and these texts represent illegal immigrants in a 'negative' manner in order to justify the denial of providing humanitarian protection to them. These denials are justified through a legalistic discourse that validates and rationalizes the management and exclusion of immigrants from society, placing the control of immigration to be paramount over humanitarian protection (e.g. Kennedy, 2008: 648).

Overall the 'danger' topos represents illegal immigrants as a threat to Irish society. A very small number of texts counter 'negative' representations of illegal immigrants and argue that they are not deceitful or dangerous people. However, these texts are extremely limited in number and some refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. Illegal immigrants are portrayed as a 'danger' through a range of discursive depictions. Firstly, due to the fact that illegal immigrants' statuses are deemed to be illegal, this illegality creates an impression of illusiveness, which is to be feared. Additionally, illegal immigration is often constructed as an invasion. Furthermore, texts can associate illegal immigrants with an array of criminal activities, namely fraud, terrorism, human trafficking, and sexual offences. The multiple representations of illegal immigrants as dangerous characters functions in the ongoing aim to justify increased migration regulations and restrictions.

Through the 'culture' topos illegal immigrants are portrayed as both 'desirable' and 'undesirable' individuals. The desirability of illegal immigrants is assessed by referring to their perceived cultural attributes and cultural practices. The majority of texts that represent illegal immigrants in a 'desirable' manner refer to the undocumented Irish in the US, who are said to be hard workers (this argumentation links to the 'economy' topos), family orientated people, and involved in the community. Illegal immigrants in Ireland are also described as 'desirable' individuals (they are usually referred to as good citizens and are said to contribute to the community), but a substantial cohort of 'culture' texts represent illegal immigrants (including poorer economic migrants or those fleeing persecution) in an 'undesirable' manner. Illegal immigrants are overall deemed to be unlike 'us' as they are said to have different cultural practices (inferring negativity, for example in relation to religious beliefs or customs) and they are also described as having bad or dangerous characteristics due to their perceived criminality. It must be noted that these argumentations are also linked to the 'danger' topos.

On occasion parliamentary members utilize certain terminology in an attempt to persuade others of their argument and to naturalize certain immigration measures. One phrase that is particularly noteworthy is the term '*common-sense'*. This term is used to normalize a number of immigration control measures (e.g. Hoctor, 2004: 579). Most distinctively the

term functioned to naturalized the acceptance of the Citizenship Referendum by the Irish people in 2004. It is argued here that the phrase *'common-sense'* is an indication of broader power structures, as immigration control measures were exercised through this naturalized phraseology (van Dijk, 1993a; 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10). It is noteworthy that this term was also utilized to represent illegal immigrants in a 'positive' manner. Deputy White, for example, argued for the protection of the rights of illegal immigrants and attempted to naturalize this ideology by invoking this phrase (White, 2009: 675). Therefore, the term '*common-sense'* was utilized for both 'positive' and 'negative' ends in order to aid a particular mode of argumentation and to convince the audience of a certain point of view. Linked to the topic of persuasive terminology is the consistent reoccurrence of the misuse of migration terminology (i.e. referring to different 'types' of migration/migrants as the same entity). This is particularly the case in reference to illegal immigration and asylum seekers (e.g. McDowell, 2003: 569; O'Connor, 2003: 565). Perhaps this practice is not always carried out intentionally, however terminology misuse creates confusion around immigration issues and can represent those who seek asylum to be illegal, unlawful, and disingenuous. The misuse of terminology is also a method of refraining from providing correct and accurate information on migration issues and a lack of information can function in power structures. By keeping the populous ill-informed, those in power have the ability to govern migration as they see fit and less resistance will arise from the broader population. Furthermore, those who seek asylum in Ireland are often referred to as not-genuine or as 'bogus' asylum seekers. This 'negative' terminology undermines the rights of migrants to claim asylum and constructs an impression of those seeking asylum as fake and deceitful people (e.g. O'Flynn, 2003: 565). The phraseology of the 'bogus refugee' implies that the majority of claims for asylum will prove to be false (indeed most applications for asylum in Ireland are refused) and represents those who require protection as fraudulent, deviant people (Mountz, 2010: xvii).

In parliamentary texts comments in relation to illegal immigration can be juxtaposed with denials of racism and xenophobia. Often these assertions are followed by justifications for state controls of immigration (e.g. Power, 2008: 648). In addition, other parliamentary

members justify the existence of a racist attitude within broader Irish society, accepting that racist views are 'normal' and acceptable under certain conditions (e.g. Kehoe, 2004: 591). These types of statements are typical of elite racism, which denies racism among its own elite group and recognizes others who may fail to be as tolerant of those from 'outside' the nation state (van Dijk, 1993c: 189-190). It is also noteworthy how reoccurring references to national identity and belonging are evident in parliamentary texts. Firstly, discourses of national identity are formed through the use of terms which juxtapose a difference between 'us' and 'them', or between 'our(s)' and 'their(s)'. This practice denotes a clear boundary between 'us' (the national community) and 'them' (illegal immigrants who are not part of the broader imagined community and who do not belong) (e.g. O'Flynn, 2003: 565). This practice functions in the continuous reproduction of national identity (which is necessary, as identities are never fixed and are always in formation) by identifying those who belong to the national community (Guibernau, 2007: 23-25; Wodak, 2012: 216-217; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-23). Secondly, discourses of national identity are enabled through justified texts that include or exclude immigrants into the national community. Inclusion into the national community is conditional and based on the desirability or undesirability of the migrant (e.g. Byrne, 2008: 648). The assumption is put forward that only 'desirable' immigrants should be included in the national community. Thirdly, discourses of national identity are formed by representing the nation state, its government, and citizens as a 'natural' stature and immigrants as 'unnatural' and something which must be reluctantly tolerated and accepted by the nation (e.g. O'Connor, 2003: 565). These types of texts naturalize state structures and the processes that govern migration. Furthermore, they actively place migrants in the role of the 'other' (van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10). The nation state and national citizenship is also represented as a sacred entity and as something which is almost god-like, as it must be respected and cherished. It is argued here that illegal immigration functions in constructing the importance of the State and its citizenship through multiple argumentations that assert that the State must be protected from immigration (e.g. O'Flynn, 2004: 591). These types of texts normalize and naturalize the existence of the nation state and its powers to grant or deny citizenship (van Dijk, 1993a: 245; van Dijk, 2001: 302; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10). Lastly, notions of

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national identity emerged through texts that represent the undocumented Irish in the US. They are portrayed as 'desirable' characters and '*our people'* (Ó Murchú, 2009: 288) and *'our kith and kin'* (McGinley, 2004: 593). The undocumented Irish are included in the Irish national community, as they are seen to belong to the Irish Diaspora.

4.5 Conclusion

Irish Parliamentary texts have proven to be a rich resource of institutional references to illegal immigration. The chapter began by briefly outlining the Irish nation state, the Irish Parliamentary model, and the mechanics involved in the production of legislation. The core section of this chapter concentrated upon parliamentary texts that occurred between 2002 and 2009. Through a CDA this research identified five key argumentations (topos) that were employed when illegal immigration was referred to. Following a quantitative analysis of this data, an in-depth qualitative analysis of these texts was conducted. This included a comprehensive evaluation of each topos and examples of the texts that were identified within each topos. Lastly, a broader discussion was provided on how illegal immigrants were discursively represented in parliamentary texts. This chapter contends that the various discourses that referred to illegal immigration contributed to the way that people thought about illegal immigration and most distinctively these discourses impacted upon the manner in which illegal immigration was 'justifiably' governed. Parliamentary representations of illegal immigration were intertwined with governmental rationalities of power and national identity. As these texts were disseminated through the parliament and other institutions (e.g. the newsprint media) and into the public domain, it is argued here that aspects of these rationalities may have been internalized by the general public. This process functions in the operation of governmental power as these representations can become 'natural' and taken for granted ways of thinking about illegal immigration, creating a legitimized 'truth' about illegal immigrants. The parliamentary 'knowledges' that were (re)produced about illegal immigration resulted in the justification of exclusionary measures, the legitimization of governmental strategies of regulation and control, and the maintenance of the unequal position of illegal immigrants in Irish society (Hall, 2001: 73-76; van Dijk, 1997: 36; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34; Wodak et al., 2009: 1). It is

acknowledged here that the parliament is one of numerous institutional sites where the discursive dissemination of power and ideologies can take place. Furthermore, this chapter addressed particular aspects of the construction of national identity in a particular context; it cannot capture the full historical complexity and diversity of national belonging (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 21-22). The next chapter examines another key institutional site where nationhood and governance is also (re)constructed through discourse, namely the Irish newsprint media.

Chapter 5: Irish Newsprint Media Texts

5.1 Introduction

The newsprint media are the second core set of institutional texts that are under investigation in this dissertation. As discussed in Chapter 3, this thesis concentrates upon the newsprint media as opposed to other news media outlets (such as radio or television) for a variety of reasons (e.g. accessibility to the data, level and depth of coverage). The ability of other news media outlets to influence Irish public opinion is not denied here; nevertheless, in the case of this research project, the newsprint media provides a more suitable data source. Overall, the newsprint media fulfils an important service to society by reporting upon and investigating current events. However, various ideological conceptualizations are infused within newspaper content (Berger, 1972; Crespi, 1997; Fairclough, 1992; Fowler, 1991; Taylor, 2001; van Dijk, 1991; Wetherell et al., 2001). These ideological conceptualizations stem from both social 'norms' and from those in positions of influence, be they political, economic, or cultural elites (van Dijk, 1987: 358-377). Indeed, discourses from other institutions (e.g. the parliament) are disseminated widely through the newsprint media (Bell, 1991: 59; Tuchman, 2002: 89). Furthermore, many elites have an organized relationship with the press (van Dijk, 1988: 120), and in some cases, elites are in control of newsprint media outlets (van Dijk, 1987: 358-377). The result of this, Fairclough argues (1995: 49), is that a predominantly elite view of the world becomes established in and through the newsprint media (Mautner, 2008: 33; van Dijk, 1987: 361; van Dijk, 1991: 41). As newspapers are consumed on a regular basis by an extensive audience, they gain a substantial amount of public attention and have a considerable level of (political) influence. Thus, the newsprint media are a powerful and influential sector, as they broadly disseminate various ideologies into society that can influence both political opinion and public opinion (Berger, 1972; Crespi, 1997; Hall, 1977; Laclau and Mouffe; 1985; Mautner, 2008).

The manner in which illegal immigration is reported upon in the Irish newsprint media provides an indication as to how it is perceived by those who produce texts about it (e.g. politicians, reporters, commentators) (Mac Éinrí, 2001). These texts and the various

messages and meanings that are encoded within such discursive representations become normalized, 'natural' and legitimized ways of viewing illegal immigration (Williams, 1962). Through a CDA approach, this dissertation concentrates on the broader discourses that are produced within the newsprint media about illegal immigration. Although specific quotations are outlined in this chapter in order to relay key argumentations, the identification of those with specific agendas (such as elites) in relation to illegal immigration are not the key focus of this methodology. This research does not aim to identify the distinct discursive positions of key stakeholders, as the core interest here are the broader discourses that are expressed about illegal immigration in the Irish newsprint media. It is argued here that 'dominant' discourses that are (re)produced in the newsprint media about illegal immigration can affect how the general public conceptualizes it. This process can have tangible effects in society, such as influencing and/or legitimizing migration enforcement measures (Bauder, 2008c; Crespi, 1997; Hall, 1977; van Dijk, 1991; Wodak and Menz, 1990). Ideologically-laden institutional texts can operate as vague and implicit instruments of power (van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). Therefore, materializations of rationalities of governance and national identity can be uncovered by examining newsprint media texts that refer to illegal immigration (Haynes et al., 2010: 3-4; McLaren, 2001: 88; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak et al., 2009: 1). Indeed, newsprint media texts contain a large level of national rhetoric, constructing the legitimized identity of the citizen and the delegitimized identity of the illegal immigrant. This process functions in placing the illegal immigrant into the role of the 'other' and justifying practices of state control. Discursive 'knowledges' and 'truths' about illegal immigration tend to represent illegal immigrants in 'negative' ways and it is argued here that this discursive process contributes towards the maintenance of their unequal position in society (Hall, 2001: 73-76; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Mountz, 2003: 621; van Dijk, 1997: 36; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34).

Compared to previous years, during the period between 2002 and 2009 the level of newsprint media texts that referred to illegal immigration increased, as immigration levels increased considerably in the Irish context (Mac Éinrí and White, 2008). Illegal

immigration must be situated in the broader context of Irish immigration during this eight year period, as newsprint media texts (similar to parliamentary texts) of illegal immigration are often discussed in reference to other types of immigration (e.g. asylum seekers) and frequently refer to geographical contexts outside of Ireland (e.g. Europe and the US). Indeed, the large levels of texts that focus upon the undocumented Irish in the US are noteworthy. It is imperative that Irish newsprint media texts be thoroughly investigated as they can contribute towards wider discursive practices and ideological formations. Additionally, they can reflect 'dominant' discourses in society. All of these elements can shape public opinion on illegal immigration and immigration more broadly (Berger, 1972; Crespi, 1997; Hall, 1977; Laclau and Mouffe; 1985; Mautner, 2008). A systematic study of the ways in which the Irish newsprint media refer to illegal immigration will make a contribution to the study of immigration and illegal immigration in Ireland, and will also reveal how power can function through discursive strategies (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18). The main aim of this chapter is to examine the relationship between newsprint media texts of illegal immigration, the operation of power through ideological discourses (van Dijk, 2000a: 17-18) and the (re)production of Irish national identity. This CDA investigation aims to reveal the 'dominant' discourses and key argumentations (topoi) that actively construct illegal immigration in a particular manner for a number of reasons (Jacoby, 2000; Mautner, 2008; Nelson and Kinder, 1996; Van Der Valk, 2003). Following a quantitative analysis of this data (i.e. the frequency of each topos over time), an in-depth qualitative analysis of the topoi is undertaken. This chapter concludes by discussing how illegal immigration was represented overall in the Irish newsprint media between 2002 and 2009.

5.2 Results of the CDA of All Topoi

A CDA of texts that refer to illegal immigration from four Irish newsprint media sources – the Irish Times, the Irish Independent, the Irish Examiner, and the Sunday Tribune – for an eight year period (2002-2009) is undertaken in this chapter. Over 2,500 texts about illegal immigration are identified. This research identifies five over-arching arguments (topoi) that are employed in reference to illegal immigration. This includes the topoi 'control', 'danger', 'humanitarian', 'economy', and 'culture'. Although the individual

newspapers represent illegal immigration in a variety of ways and employ the five topoi to varying degrees, the main concern in this chapter is relay how illegal immigrants were represented overall through the Irish newsprint media. The five topoi represent 'dominant' discourses that refer to illegal immigration in the Irish newsprint media context, as they are used most often and therefore become 'natural' and 'normal' ways to conceptualize illegal immigration (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 2000d: 93-95; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10). The first distinctive element that emerged from this extensive research is that texts about illegal immigration are dominated by the 'control' topos. The 'control' topos is the most prevalent of all the topoi, as it constitutes 52% (1,934) of all newsprint media texts (see figure 5.1 below). The topos with the next highest frequency is the 'danger' topos, which represents 12% (466) of all texts. This was followed closely by the 'humanitarian' topos with 9% (346) of texts, the 'economy' topos with an 8% (304) proportion of all texts, and the 'culture' topos with 7% (254) of texts. The 'other' topos constitutes 12% (456) of texts.

Figure 5.1: Frequency of Topoi
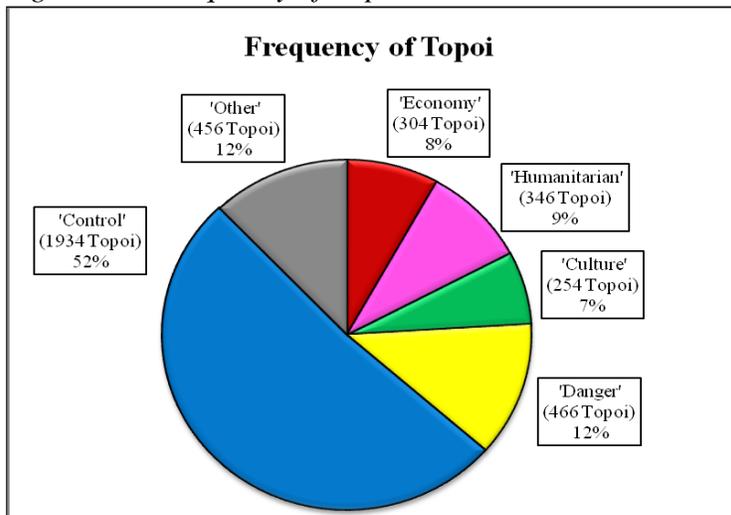
Figure 5.2: Frequency of Topoi over Time
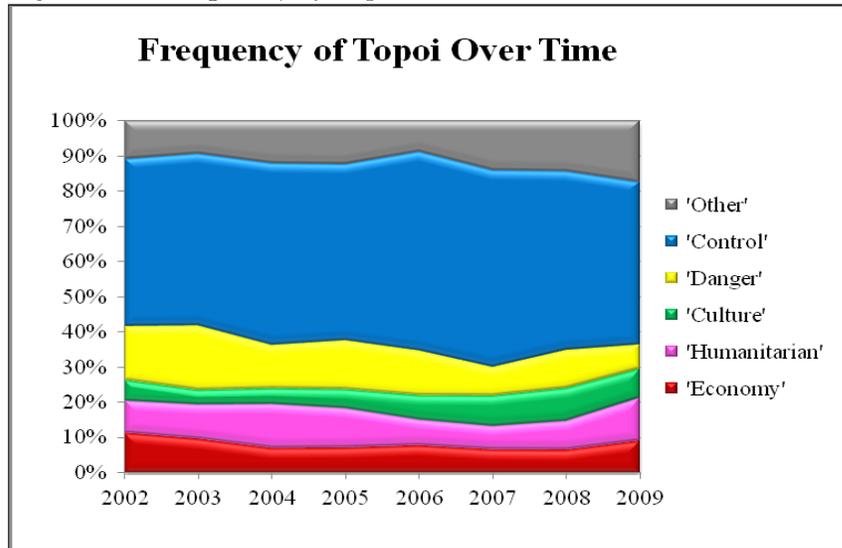
This data is also deconstructed by tracking its frequency over time (in figure 5.2 above). Once again it is noticeable that the 'control' topos is the most prevalent of the topoi. However, the most significant element of figure 5.2 is that all topoi are consistently utilized over time and they also maintain a similar level of occurrence over time. It is argued here that this is an indication of broader governmental powers (Dean, 2010: 18), as 'dominant' discourses about illegal immigration are reproduced in a consistent manner over time through the newsprint media (Mountz, 2003: 633-636). Depicted below in figure 5.3 are the results of the five topoi coded as 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. This analysis demonstrates that the topoi 'economy', 'culture', 'danger' and 'control' are mainly 'negative', while the 'humanitarian' topos is mostly 'positive' (51%). In the case of the 'economy' topos, 35% of texts are 'positive', while 62% are 'negative'. 37% of the 'culture' topos is 'positive', while 62% of texts are 'negative'. In the case of the 'danger' topos, 4.5% of texts are 'positive', while 95% are 'negative'. The 'control' topos is 27% 'positive', while 71% of 'control' texts are 'negative'.

Figure 5.3: Topoi Analyzed Through 'Positive', 'Negative', and 'Neutral' Codes
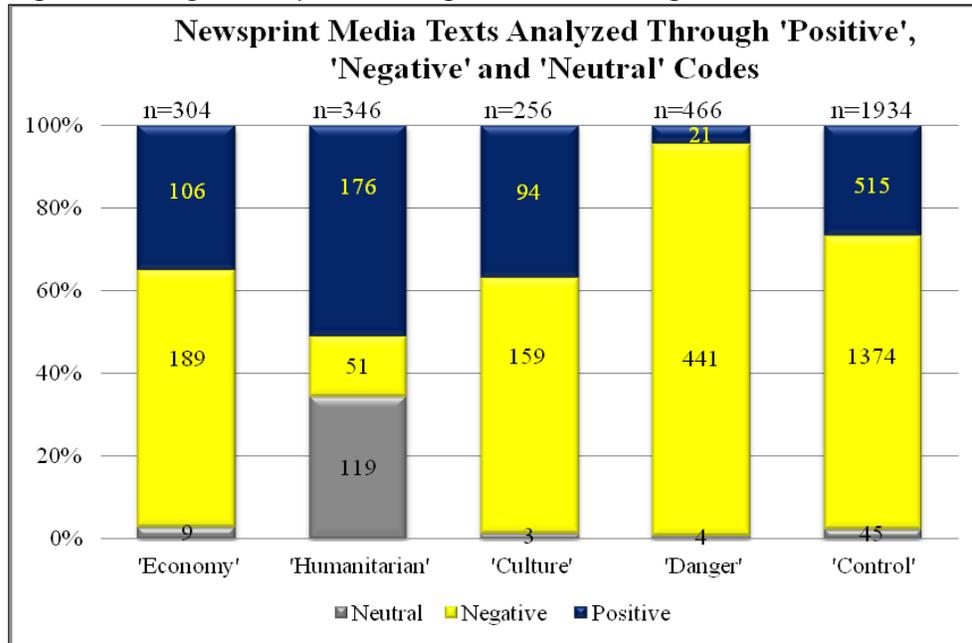
The following sections analyze each individual topos in detail and offers examples of the different texts that occur within each topos. We begin with the 'control' topos as it occurred most often.

5.2.1 The 'Control' Topos

'Control-positive' texts that are evident in the Irish newsprint media argue for fewer restrictions on illegal immigrants and criticize the controlling of illegal immigration:

> As an illegal, you can't study, you can't get a good job. You haven't got a chance. The air that you breathe is the air of illegality (Staunton, 2003b: 52).

> The commissioner said he was "horrified" that some countries had certain targets to meet for the deportation of illegal immigrants (Healy, 2007: 7).

The more dominant topos, however, is the 'control-negative' topos, which argues in various ways that illegal immigration must be restricted, controlled, and prevented:

> He [James Kennedy] pledged in the paper that, if elected, he would work to change the law on asylum-seekers, many of whom now living in Kerry were, he said, not genuine applicants, but illegal immigrants and economic refugees from Africa and the former Eastern Europe who sought to abuse the system (Fahy, 2002: 2).

This text argues for increased restrictions upon asylum applicants who are considered to be *'illegal immigrants'* and *'economic refugees'*. The proposed changes to immigration law are justified in this text, as these immigrants are deemed to be disingenuous and

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people who '*abuse the system*'. The levels of 'control-neutral' texts that materialize in the Irish newsprint media are extremely low. These types of texts refer to the controlling of illegal immigration; however, they invoke neither a 'positive' nor a 'negative' mode of argumentation:

> Immigration is once again flowing strongly, including from Asia. And Mr. Rudd [Australian politician] is pledged to deal less harshly with illegals and asylum seekers (*Irish Times*, 2007b: 15).

5.2.1.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the 'control' topos are relayed in figure 5.4 below. This data represents 52% of all texts about illegal immigration from the Irish newsprint media. Overall, the 'control' topos is significantly more 'negative' (71%) than 'positive' (27%). It is evident that the level of 'control-positive' texts increases from 2002 (13%) to 2006 (37%), nonetheless these 'control-positive' texts decrease steadily over time to 26% in 2009.

Figure 5.4: 'Control' Topos
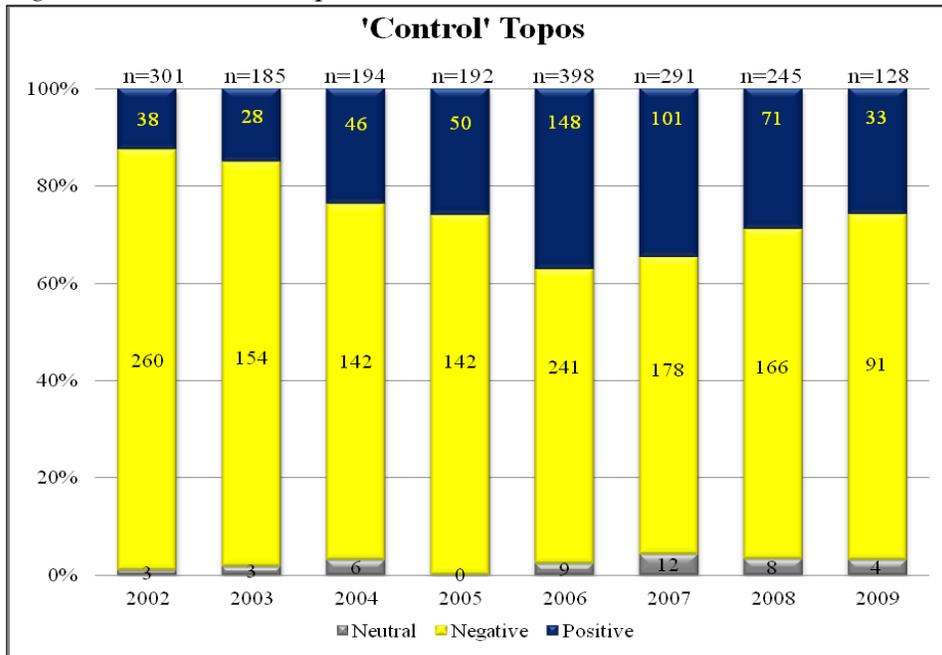
The texts that occur through the 'control' topos centre upon a number of geographical locations, namely Ireland, Europe, and the US. These different contexts will be examined individually. Firstly, in the Irish context texts are relayed from the Government that ascribe to a strict and firm approach to the regulation of illegal immigration. This restrictive approach is also echoed through a variety of topics, most prominently there are

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references to detention centres for illegal immigrants, the deportation of illegal immigrants, the Citizenship Referendum, Carriers' Liability, Operation Gull and Operation Hyphen, English language schools, 'marriages of convenience', and the regularization of illegal immigrants' statuses.

A broad discourse of controlling and restricting illegal immigration is clearly evident in the Irish newsprint media. The main message that is disseminated within the newsprint media, and thus to the populous, is that the Government is taking a '*tough line on illegal immigration*':

> The programme for Government makes it clear that the new Cabinet will take a tough line on illegal immigration and seek to increase the rate of repatriation where asylum applications have failed…The Coalition Government is anxious to devise a voluntary repatriation programme for illegal immigrants (*Irish Times*, 2002b: 15).

> Illegal immigration will be further restricted with the Government's decision to almost treble the number of Garda working with the Garda National Immigration Bureau…The extra staff will step up immigration checks along the Border and will increase the selection rate for people wanted for deportation (Healy, 2002: 10).

> The Government plans to enact new powers to clamp down on illegal immigration before the next general election, requiring non-EU citizens to carry biometric cards and allowing Gardaí to summarily detain and deport illegal immigrants…According to the forthcoming Bill, the proposed new identity and residency card would contain biometric information such as fingerprints and may be required to gain access to public services. It would make it easier for Gardaí to identify quickly people who were in Ireland illegally and to move to deport them (Brennock, 2006: 8).

These types of texts express the Government's continuing intent to carry out a restrictive approach towards illegal immigration by increasing the number of GNIB officers, increasing the staff at immigration checks, '*clamp down*' on illegal immigration, and increasing the number of deportations. The multitude of resources and technologies that the Government intends on employing in the prevention of illegal immigration are also disseminated into the newsprint media:

> A hi-tech new border system is to be introduced to crack down on the increasing numbers of foreign migrants who illegally overstay their welcome in Ireland. The Government is preparing to establish an Irish Borders Operation Centre (IBOC) to monitor those arriving on holiday visas and work permits…Mr. Ahern said the EU saw technology as a key element for member states tackling crime and illegal immigration. There was already shared technology in the fight against organized and cross-border crime and illegal immigration, but this would take it a stage further. He added: "It is important that we identify visa overstayers quickly and accurately. I know from talking to other Justice and Interior Ministers this is regarded as perhaps the biggest problem in terms of illegal immigration into the whole of the EU" (Molony, 2009).

The language that is utilized to describe this restrictive approach towards illegal immigration is noteworthy. It is stated that a hi-tech border system will '*crack down*' on illegal immigrants and will work to '*fight against organized and cross-border crime and illegal immigration*'. This language suggests notions of a battle between border control and illegal immigration. Illegal immigrants are also represented as dangerous people and associated with criminal activities. It is also striking how the Minister sees 'o*verstayers*' as the '*biggest problem in terms of illegal immigration into the whole of the EU'*. Within the previous chapter (on parliamentary texts), much concern was expressed in relation to the entry of illegal immigrants through the border with Northern Ireland. Yet, within this newsprint media text the message that is relayed from the Government is that '*overstayers'* are a great concern. However, perhaps in this case the Minister was referring to the European context as a whole and not specifically to the Irish context. Indeed, newsprint media texts that refer to the entry of illegal immigrants through the border with Northern Ireland are evident:

> Last week, Taoiseach Bertie Ahern said that nine out of ten illegal immigrants found in the Republic are entering through the Border, not via ports, and airports (Hennessy, 2007: 8).

> Northern Ireland security minister Paul Goggins has confirmed that illegal immigrants do cross the land border from the Republic into Northern Ireland…Only a small number of these people remain in Northern Ireland, with most travelling on to Britain…The agency estimates that the number of illegal immigrants travelling in the opposite direction (from the UK to Ireland) is about the same (Millar, 2007: 7).

In order to prevent this alleged entry of illegal immigration through Northern Ireland, Operation Gull was implemented by the Government in 2007. The details of this operation were disseminated into the newsprint media in conjunction with various denials of racism (Van der Valk, 2003; van Dijk 2000c; van Dijk, 2000d):

> Elwyn Soutter, chief immigration inspector with the BIA in the North, said that Operation Gull detects 800 to 900 illegal immigrants per year. "We occasionally get our facts wrong but that is an inevitable by-product. The figures speak for themselves. We are saving the Irish taxpayer millions in fraud," he said. "There is no racism. We detain people if we think they will abscond" (McKay, 2007: 8).

The Government's firm and controlling approach towards illegal immigration is expressed through various discussions on detention centres and deportations of illegal immigrants:

> The Government has backed Italian plans to return illegal immigrants home on EU-organized charter flights in an effort to increase the number of deportations from the Republic. Due to come

into force next May, the plan could help in particular to increase the number of Nigerians forced to leave here, the Minister for Justice, Mr. McDowell, said last night (Hennessy, 2003: 7).

Gardaí have deported 25 illegal immigrants back to their home countries of Monrovia [sic – this spelling was evident in the news report, but they were probably referring to Moldova] and Romania. The eastern European nationals were put on a plane in Dublin at 3pm following a joint operation between Gardaí and the British immigration authorities (*Irish Times*, 2003d).

In order to enhance the number of deportations of illegal immigrants the Government actively sought them out through several Garda operations, such as Operation Hyphen. Once again, the multiple aspects of what was involved in these operations were widely disseminated within the newsprint media. These operations are justified by constructing illegal immigrants as fraudulent people and law breakers:

Nine people have been arrested for deportation as the Garda crackdown on illegal immigrants continued across the State this morning. A Garda spokesman said 92 other people were arrested under the Aliens Act during the second phase of "Operation Hyphen". The people detained are mostly from Eastern Europe and Africa (Daly, 2002).

Gardaí are to be given new powers to arrest bogus asylum seekers for immediate deportation. The measures will abolish the existing 15-day notice, which must be given to the illegals in advance of deportation. This has resulted in many of the illegals evading arrest by the Gardaí two weeks after notice has been given. The powers are part of a Government crackdown by updating the legislation and eliminating loopholes…Justice Minister Brian Lenihan told the Irish Independent last night: "The State must have the right to deport people if they are officially found to be here illegally…This will guarantee a speedy determination of an asylum application and if it is found to be bogus the illegal person can be immediately arrested and deported. The strength of the Garda national immigration bureau is being beefed up to deal with deportations…We need to be generous to the legal migrant who does everything right and plays by the rules. That is the groups at whom State services should be targeted. On the other hand, people who break the law, who lie their way through the immigration process or enter the country illegally need to be treated fairly but firmly, up to and including removal, where necessary", Mr. Lenihan said (Brady, 2007a).

In the first text, the use of language is notable, as it is stated that a Garda *'crackdown'* on illegal immigration was conducted in order to arrest Eastern European and African immigrants. In the second text, immigrants are described as '*bogus asylum seekers'* and *'illegals'* on numerous occasions. Once again, the term '*crackdown'* is utilized to describe firm immigration enforcement. Minister Lenihan constructs an impression of illegal immigrants as law-breakers and deceitful people, which justifies their apprehension and deportation from the country.

A number of measures were implemented by the Government (between 2002 and 2009) in order to prevent illegal immigration. Most prominently, this included the Citizenship Referendum (which was not necessarily directed at illegal immigrants per se, but had an

impact upon people becoming illegal) and the policy Carriers' Liability. These measures were represented as important elements in the ongoing requirement to prevent illegal immigration:

> The number of applicants for asylum has fallen dramatically since the Government announced that immigrant parents were no longer allowed to seek residency solely on the grounds that they had an Irish-born child. "The trend is downwards and appears to be accelerating," Mr. McDowell told the Oireachtas Justice Committee yesterday. He said legislation brought into force last month making airlines and shipping companies punishable for carrying illegal immigrants into the State was likely to reduce the numbers further (Brennock, 2003: 9).

> From today, people caught transporting illegal immigrants into this State will face fines of E3,000 per offence on summary conviction. Each illegal immigrant carried will represent a separate offence…Aircraft, ships and all other vehicles bound for Ireland will be subject to the new penalties if they are found to be transporting passengers with inadequate immigration documentation…Mr. McDowell said his Department had consulted widely with carriers before introducing this legislation. "Carriers' Liability is already in operation in many other states and carriers operating out of Ireland are already familiar with the requirements in terms of document checking," he said. "Inadequate document checks by carriers result in illegal immigrants arriving in Ireland. Inadequate checks also pose a potentially serious threat to the security of the State," Mr. McDowell said (Healy, 2003: 4).

The implementation of the Citizenship Referendum and Carriers' Liability were presented in the newsprint media to be successful barriers to the illegal entry of immigrants and as necessary steps in the deterrence of security threats. Other state measures that were implemented in order to prevent and control illegal immigration (and were disseminated into the newsprint media) included restrictions on schools that teach English and 'marriages of convenience' or 'sham marriages' (as they were referred to). A '*clampdown*' on English language schools and 'marriages of convenience' took place, as they were seen to be a front for illegal immigration:

> The Government wants the EU to change the law so they can ban non-EU spouses married to EU citizens from moving to Ireland – unless they live in another EU country first…Known as the Metock case, the European Court of Justice ruled in July that the decision conflicted with the right to free movement in the EU for EU citizens. It argued an EU person must be able to live with their spouse. Irish authorities argue that this is residency by the back door and immigrants should not be allowed to use freedom of movement legislation in this way. Ireland sets its own legislation on control of borders and illegal immigrants (*Irish Examiner*, 2008).

> Education Minister Batt O'Keeffe is to establish a quality mark for private English-language schools as part of a clampdown of bogus colleges and illegal immigration (McConnell, 2009).

The regularizing of the status of illegal immigrants in Ireland is a contested issue. Nonetheless, in 2009 the Minister for Justice offered temporary regularizations to those who became undocumented '*through no fault of their own*'; however, this regularization

was not open to '*those who entered the State illegally*'. The texts that surround these regularizations account for some of the 'control-positive' topoi:

> Undocumented workers who arrive in Ireland legally but have ended up in a legal limbo through no fault of their own will be "accommodated", Minister for Justice Brian Lenihan pledged…Mr. Lenihan said he would bring proposals to Government on the issue to ensure that certain undocumented workers "form a distinct category", he said. Fine Gael immigration and integration spokesman Denis Naughten and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions had made the case for the introduction of a bridging visa system for the "undocumented worker who come here lawfully but for one reason or another was abused in respect of employment law and finds themselves in legal limbo". He added, however, that they needed to distinguish between foreign nationals who found themselves in that position "and those who, having been refused a renewal of their residents' permissions, deliberately refuse to comply with their obligation to leave the State" (O'Halloran, 2008: 8).

> Minister for Justice Dermot Ahern yesterday confirmed that foreign nationals from outside the European Economic Area who have become undocumented through no fault of their own would soon be eligible to apply for a temporary residence permit or bridging visa for four months. The permit will give holders the chance to find a legitimate job or, if they are already employed, to obtain a work permit from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment…In a statement, Mr. Ahern insisted the programme was not a regularization but a temporary scheme that would be issued only to a specific category of undocumented immigrant. It would not be open to those who entered the State illegally (MacCormaic, 2009: 4).

Overall, it is evident that through a variety of 'control' discourses (that portrayed illegal immigration in a 'negative' manner), various restrictions that the Government implemented in relation to illegal immigration were justified within the Irish newsprint media.

The second main 'control' discourse that is evident in the Irish newsprint media centres upon the European context. Discourses that validate the controlling and '*combating*' of illegal immigration in the EU are quite prevalent:

> Minister for Justice Michael McDowell will bring plans to Government in the autumn, which will see Garda immigration officers sharing information with their counterparts across the EU. According to a statement from the Department of Justice, officers will "establish and maintain contacts with the authorities of the host country with a view to contributing to the prevention and combating of illegal immigration, the return of illegal immigrants and the management of legal migration". They will collect information on: the flow of illegal immigrants originating in or passing through the host countries; the routes followed by those flows of illegal immigrants in order to reach the EU; the ways in which counterfeit or false documents are produced…Mr. McDowell said the plan would "assist the State in fighting illegal immigration". Even closer contact of Irish immigration officials with their European counterparts should result in greater information sharing which will help in combating illegal immigration" (Holland, 2005: 6).

> Combating illegal immigration has become a key objective in France's six-month presidency of the European Union (*Irish Times*, 2008d: 13).

> The European Parliament has approved contentious new rules for detaining and expelling illegal immigrants, despite criticism from human rights groups and the UN. MEPs yesterday voted to allow governments to detain illegal immigrants for up to 18 months and impose a re-entry ban of up to five years (Fitzgerald, 2008: 8).

In the first text, the '*sharing of information*' on illegal immigration between Europe and Ireland is said to '*assist the State in fighting illegal immigration*'. This process is portrayed as a 'positive' step in the controlling, preventing, combating and the '*return of illegal immigrants*'. Additionally, these measures are said to be imperative in the '*management of legal migration*'. An array of further newsprint media texts refer to the methods the EU intend on implementing in order to prevent illegal immigration:

> EU leaders today agreed a "European pact on immigration and asylum" which activists and analysts said marked a further toughening of the continent's migration policies. They pledged to expel illegal migrants and beef up border controls, while vowing to work to attract more highly-skilled migrants…They agreed not to carry out mass regularizations of illegal migrants but rather proceed on a case-by-case basis…"It looks at immigration policies through the prism of 'control first', making this more explicit than in the past." EU ministers agreed earlier this year that illegal immigrants could be detained for up to 18 months and face a 5-year re-entry ban (*Irish Times*, 2008g).

> A satellite system linking two continents became the latest weapon in Europe's armoury against illegal immigration yesterday, as police forces in countries as far apart as Spain, Senngal and Mauritania were hooked up to a single high-speed communications and data network. The EU-funded Sea Horse system helps relocate the effort to prevent illegal immigration back to the coast of Africa…The system should allow police in all the countries involved to track immigrant vessels in real time as they are spotted travelling up the Atlantic coast of Africa, and then veering west in search of the Canary Islands or heading north for the southern shores of Spain or Portugal. Police can plot charts and draw up shared maps of where vessels carrying would-be illegal immigrants are going and what routes they follow (Tremlett, 2009: 11).

Texts that comment upon and justify controlling illegal immigration also centre upon a number of European countries, most especially France, Britain, Italy, and Spain. A sizable number of 'control' texts refer to illegal immigration in France and Britain:

> France and Britain signed an accord under which London will pay more towards tougher controls on illegal immigrants crossing from northern France (*Irish Times*, 2009d: 11).

> French Immigration Minister Eric Besson called the site – known as the Jungle – a "base camp for human traffickers", who promise the migrants passage for enormous fees or dump them there after bringing them across Europe. The people who camped here – mainly immigrants from Afghanistan – have strained relations between Britain and France and become a symbol of Europe's struggle with illegal immigration. A total of 278 people, nearly half of them minors, were detained in the first part of the operation…Bulldozers were later brought in to raze the maze of makeshift tents built from sticks and sheets of plastic amid the sand and brush. Workers with chainsaws cut down the trees that had supported the tents…"I welcome the swift and decisive steps that the French Government has taken today to close the 'Jungle' in Calais, action which will disrupt illegal immigration and people-trafficking routes," Johnson said (*Irish Examiner*, 2009b).

The controlling and removal of illegal immigrants is presented in a 'positive' way in these texts. Texts that relate to the controlling of illegal immigration in Italy concentrate upon the prevention of illegal entry to the country:

> From yesterday and for at least six months, 3.000 soldiers will be deployed on the streets of nine major Italian cities including Milan, Naples, Rome and Turin as part of a drive by Silvio Berlusconi's government to tackle street crime and illegal immigration…Last month the Government declared a state of emergency, giving police and local authorities increased powers to tackle immigration-related problems (Agnew, 2008a: 8).

> Defending Italy's new policy of halting would-be illegal immigrants in the Mediterranean and then towing them back to North Africa, the prime minister seemed to suggest that he was opposed to the vision of a multi-ethnic Italy…Replying to criticism of the maritime blockade policy of sending back immigrants without first screening them for asylum purposes, La Russa [Italy's Defence Minister] said: She (Laura Boldrini) [UNHCR] is either inhuman or a criminal. She is inhuman because she wants us to lock up the migrants for months before sending them back. Or she is a criminal because she wants to evade the law, so that the migrants escape in Italy and move all over the national territory…The comments come against the background not only of the boat people blockade but also at a time when a bill is going through Italian parliament that is intended to combat illegal immigration by imposing fines on the immigrants and by jailing those who house them (Agnew, 2009: 12).

In the above text the practice of towing immigrants back to North Africa by Italian authorities is justified by stating that this is a more humane practice than imprisoning people. Illegal immigration is depicted as a serious problem in Italy. It is so serious that soldiers are policing *'immigration-related problems',* implying that immigrants 'naturally' come with a distinct set of problems. Immigrants are depicted as criminals and dangerous people in this text. A number of texts that refer to controlling immigration in the Spanish context are distinctly different. This difference is evident as the Spanish Government diverged from the broad European agenda of preventing and deporting illegal immigrants, by offering an amnesty to illegal immigrants in 2005:

> In February, Spain introduced a three-month amnesty for illegal immigrants as part of a drive to lift them out of the shadow economy, give them rights and make them pay taxes. About 70,000 people took advantage of the scheme, which the Government said was designed to help it better regulate immigration in a country, which is a main gateway into the European Union from both Africa and Latin America (*Irish Times*, 2005e: 12).

In the Irish newsprint media, an array of texts refer to how the EU and individual European countries are controlling illegal immigration. By 'normalizing' immigration restrictions that are being implemented in other countries and by holding them up as examples of 'best practice', they are given validity and authority, which functions to justify immigration control measures in Ireland. European immigration regulations are

portrayed as 'good' examples of how to control illegal immigration, implying that these are practices that the Irish State should follow.

The final main 'control' discourse that occurs in the Irish newsprint media centres upon the undocumented Irish in the US. These texts tend to invoke a 'control-positive' topos:

> The Taoiseach, Brian Cowen, yesterday signalled that the Government would be launching a new drive to resolve the issue of the undocumented Irish in the US…Minister for Foreign Affairs Michael Martin would be in the US in September, he said, adding: "He'll be lobbying on the Hill (Capitol Hill) on this issue. It's a priority for our administration to try and sort this out" (De Breadun, 2008: 7).

> Although he had no illusions about how challenging it will be, the Irish Government hopes an immigration Bill may pass early next year…With mid-term congressional elections in November 2010, it is unlikely such a controversial issue will be addressed later in the year. Mr. Martin said it was a bit strange that given the long history and bond between us, there was not a bilateral immigration agreement between Ireland and the US. He said he hoped a Bill would include a reciprocal agreement that would allow some 10,000 Irish people to live in the US and the same number of IUS citizens to live in Ireland (Marlowe, 2009: 12).

The message is broadly disseminated within the newsprint media that the Irish Government is continually working to regularize and resolve the situation of the undocumented Irish in the US. The undocumented Irish are said to be a '*priority*' for the Government, who hope to implement a '*reciprocal agreement'* with the US. These 'control-positive' argumentations are clearly different from the texts that refer to illegal immigration in Ireland and in Europe. In conclusion, the 'control' topos that materializes in the Irish newsprint media centres upon three broad discourses, which concentrate upon the Irish, European, and US contexts. Overall, 'control' texts are 'negative' and revolve around the controlling and the prevention of illegal immigration. Nevertheless, some 'positive' texts are apparent, which focus upon offering regularizations to illegal and undocumented immigrants and these texts refer to the Irish, European, and US contexts. Therefore, place-based discourses are clearly evident and play a considerable role in Irish newsprint media texts.

5.2.2 The 'Danger' Topos

Illegal immigrants are represented as a danger to Irish society in the Irish newsprint media. Texts that counter these assertions are also evident ('danger-positive'); however, they are quite rare:

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The tragedies of September 11th and March 11th are used to justify such exclusionary practices. The labelling of migrants and asylum-seekers as terrorists or security threats has resulted in the "securitization of migration", often to the detriment of migrants' rights (*Irish Times*, 2005a: 12).

The Government plans to establish a separate detention centre in the new Thornton Hall prison complex for foreign nationals such as asylum seekers or illegal immigrants…However, the move is certain to anger a range of interest groups, which have been campaigning against the detention of asylum seekers who have not committed any criminal offence (O'Brien and MacCormaic, 2008: 1).

These texts argue that illegal immigrants and asylum seekers are not dangerous, they did not commit any '*criminal offence',* and they are not '*terrorists or security threats'* to society. Nevertheless, texts that contain a 'danger-negative' argumentation dominate the 'danger' topos. 'Danger-negative' texts are numerous in form and create a 'negative' impression of illegal immigrants:

Law and order and street security were major themes for the centre-right in last spring's election. In that context, the newly-installed government was quick to introduce measures this summer aimed at combating illegal immigration. A highly controversial census of the inhabitants of nomad camps, much criticized outside Italy as a racist norm, was seen by many as a valid way of controlling communities held responsible for a wide range of petty theft, burglary, and violent crime (Agnew, 2008b: 12).

Although Agnew is not relaying a personal view of these migrants the core argumentation remains that illegal immigrants are represented as a threat, as dangerous individuals, and they are associated with criminality. Illegal immigrants (residing in '*nomad camps'* in Italy) are said to be involved in '*petty theft, burglary, and violent crime'.* 'Danger-neutral' texts are evident in the Irish newsprint media, but these 'neutral' texts occur quite rarely. The following text links illegal immigration with criminal activities, but it is not explicitly 'positive' or 'negative' about illegal immigration:

President George Bush applauded its passage [US immigration bill], but House Representative Republican leaders have dug in their heels against it, favouring a House-passage measure that would make felons of illegal immigrants, build hundreds of miles of fencing on the southern border and offer no new guest worker programmes (Weisman, 2006: 9).

5.2.2.1 Results and Analysis

The results of the 'danger' topos are portrayed in figure 5.5 below, representing 12% of all texts about illegal immigration. Overall, the 'danger' topos is substantially more 'negative' (95%) than 'positive' (4.5%).

Figure 5.5: 'Danger' Topos
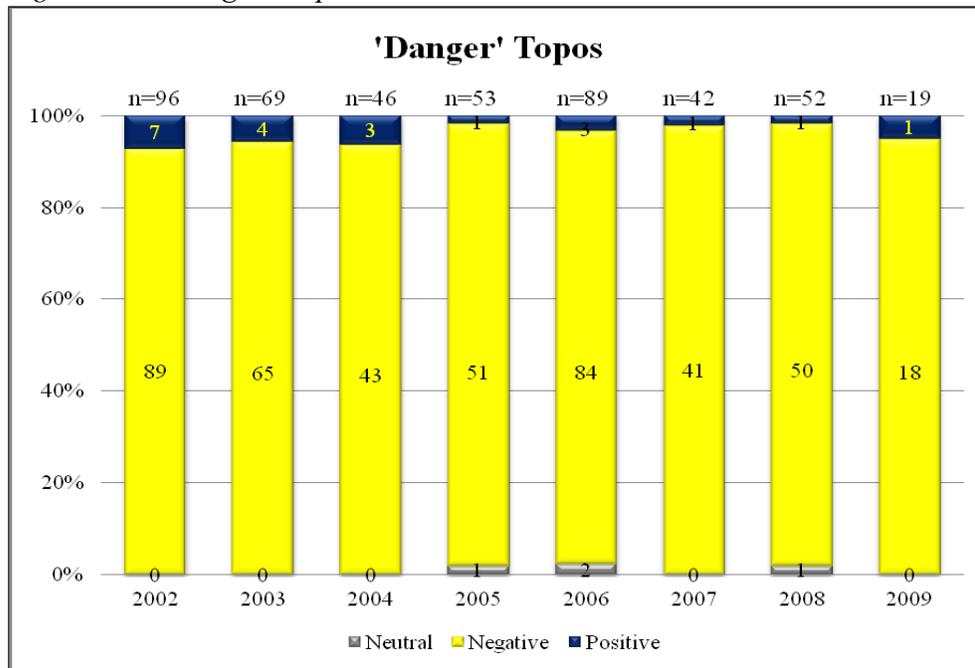
The level of 'danger-negative' texts is consistently high over the eight year period between 2002 and 2009. Throughout this time, the 'danger' texts were dominated by a number of distinct discourses. This includes discourses that refer to illegal immigration in conjunction with multiple forms of criminality, discourses that specifically assert that illegal immigration is a crime, and discourses that argue that illegal immigrants are criminals. These types of discourses constitute a large volume of the 'danger-negative' texts. In addition, illegal immigration is also depicted as an invasion and it is viewed as a threat in terms of national security and the safety of society. Furthermore, illegal immigrants are described as dangerous people and are accused of carrying diseases.

This section firstly examines how illegal immigration is said to be a dangerous entity, as it is linked with numerous forms of criminality. These types of texts form the taken for granted assumptions disseminated through the newsprint media (Haynes et al., 2010: 3-4; McLaren, 2001: 88; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak et al., 2009: 1) that illegal immigrants are involved with organized crime activities, such as '*drug trafficking', 'human trafficking'*, '*money laundering', 'commodity smuggling', 'fraud',* and '*financial crime*':

> The threat from organized crime in the EU has been a major political concern for several years. Europol has already identified some 3,000 organized crime groups active across the EU with 30,000 members between them, and the true number is undoubtedly higher. They are involved in

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drug trafficking, illegal immigration, trafficking in human beings, all sorts of commodity smuggling, fraud and other forms of financial crime (*Irish Times*, 2003a: 15).

The European Organized Crime Threat Assessment (OCTA) report by Europol assesses organized crime trends such as drug and human trafficking, money laundering and illegal immigration (Carbery, 2009: 10).

Illegal immigrants are also linked with '*domestic and international terrorism*', '*road safety*', '*public order*', '*benefit fraud*', and '*identity theft*':

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, on the other hand, has dismissed civil liberties concerns, while selling the proposed ID card as a necessary protection against terrorism, benefit fraud, illegal immigration, and identity theft (Millar, 2005: 7).

As well as tackling organized crime, the remaining priorities set by Mr. Ahern for the Garda for next year are: domestic and international terrorism, road safety, public order, illegal immigration and human trafficking, customer service and response times (Lally, 2008: 10).

Furthermore, illegal immigrants are referred to in conjunction with '*gang members*', '*other fugitives*', '*drug smuggling*', and '*crime and violence*':

A computer system capable of tracking the movement of criminals, illegal immigrants and drug dealers across European borders will be built for the Garda at a cost of E15 [sic] million within two years (Smyth, 2002: 56).

The decision by the governors of Arizona and New Mexico to declare states of emergency along their troubled borders with Mexico has embarrassed the US Department of Homeland Security, which has scrambled to defend itself from charges it was not doing enough to combat the crime and violence associated with drug smuggling and illegal immigration (Gaouette, 2005: 12).

US customs officials arrested more than 2,000 illegal immigrants, gang members and other fugitives in a nationwide sweep, the head of the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency said yesterday (*Irish Times*, 2006e: 12).

The above texts outline how illegal immigration is represented as a crime through its association with other forms of criminality; however, illegal immigration in itself is also explicitly deemed to be a criminal offence:

Ireland is to become part of a special European borders agency set up to combat organized crime and illegal immigration (Brady, 2006).

But London, which is constructing the most advanced PNR collection system in Europe (called e-Borders), opposes the proposal to curtail the use of information such as names, e-mail addresses and credit card details. It wants its security services to be able to use PNR to track illegal immigrants and investigate other crime (Smyth, 2008: 10).

Illegal immigrants are described as criminals, as '*the army of evil*', and as '*alien gang members who terrorize communities*':

House judiciary committee chairman James Sensenbrenner argues that the bill will "help restore the integrity of our nation's borders and re-establish respect for our laws by holding violators

accountable, including human traffickers, employers who hire illegal aliens and alien gang members who terrorize communities" (Staunton, 2005: 15).

Italy's Silvio Berlusconi pledged today to use his big election win to push through economic reforms, and vowed to close the border to illegal immigrants in a crackdown on criminals he called "the army of evil" (*Irish Times*, 2008b).

It must be noted that Roma people are not necessarily illegal immigrants (within the EU context), but they are often categorized as such within the newsprint media. Illegal immigrants are also explicitly accused of being involved in criminal activities, such as *'drug pushing'*, *'burglary'*, *'violent crimes', 'forged and stolen documents', 'scams',* and *'false identities'*:

> According to immigration authorities, forged and stolen documents are the lifeblood of illegal immigrants involved in crime or operating scams with the aid of false identities. The forgeries are becoming increasingly sophisticated (Brady, 2004).

> Mr. Berlusconi campaigned on a law and order ticket in the general election this spring, capitalizing on public concern about illegal immigration, illegal nomadic shanty towns and the widespread involvement of a minority of mainly Roma immigrants in drug pushing, burglary and violent crimes (Agnew, 2008a: 8).

> The troops were also sent to guard detention centres processing illegal immigrants, blamed for much of Italy's crime (*Irish Times*, 2008e).

'Danger-negative' texts, such as the examples mentioned above, are formed through a variety of descriptions that combine to form an impression of illegal immigrants as dangerous and criminal people. Texts that counter these types of representations are also evident in the Irish newsprint media, however, they are minimal. In the following 'danger-positive' texts, it is argued that illegal immigrants are not criminals, they have not committed any criminal offences, and they should not be held in prison and criminalized:

> Anti-racism and human rights groups were united yesterday in their condemnation of Operation Hyphen as unfairly criminalizing asylum-seekers and illegal migrants…The clear message from the Minister is that anybody who is not recognized as a refugee is treated as a criminal (Cunningham, 2002).

> We're [Robin Hanan – Irish Refugee Council] extremely concerned at the idea that someone coming to Ireland seeking the basic international right of protection from persecution could be in fear of being imprisoned and treated essentially like a criminal (MacCormaic, 2008: 11).
> A further group is made up of illegal immigrants awaiting deportation. These have committed no criminal offence, and should not be counted as part of the convicted population or, indeed, held in prison at all (Coulter, 2008: 6).

The second main 'danger' discourse represents illegal immigration as a threat to national security and describes illegal immigration as an incoming invasion:

> British National Party leader Nick Griffin said boats carrying migrants from Africa to Europe should be sunk to stop Europe being swamped by the Third World (*Irish Times*, 2009e: 10).

This text conjures up an image of millions of illegal immigrants invading Europe (Van der Valk, 2003; van Dijk 2000c; van Dijk, 2000d) and calls for drastic measures in order to prevent their entry. Texts that present illegal immigration as a security threat and refer to it in conjunction with terrorism are quite frequent. One example from the US context exemplifies this point:

> "Illegal immigration poses an increasing threat to our security and public safety, and hard-hitting interior enforcement will reinforce the strong stance we are taking at our borders," he said. [Mr. Chertoff – US Homeland Security Secretary] "With the interior enforcement strategy of the secure border initiative, we will aggressively target the growing support systems that make it easier for aliens to enter the country and find work outside of the law" (Staunton, 2006a: 11).

Illegal immigration is depicted as posing '*an increasing threat*' to '*our security and public safety*'. It is argued that this must be prevented by securing the border and '*aggressively*' targeting systems that allow '*aliens*' to enter and to work illegally. Illegal immigrants are also said to pose a '*serious threat to the security of the State*'. In the following texts, illegal immigration is described as a security problem and is associated with terrorism in order to justify the necessity for increased border control measures:

> "Inadequate document checks by carriers result in illegal immigrants arriving in Ireland. Inadequate checks also pose a potentially serious threat to the security of the State," Mr. McDowell said (Healy, 2003: 4).

> The British Government has said it will introduce personal identifiers like fingerprints and face recognition on passports and driving licenses to help tackle a growing security threat and deter illegal immigration…Biometric technology, which also includes iris recognition, will allow the Government to crack down on identity theft, illegal immigration and will help fight terrorism (*Irish Times*, 2003c).

Overall, illegal immigrants are described as dangerous characters and different case study examples of 'dangerous' individuals are conveyed in the newsprint media. It must be noted that the explicit nature of the author of the following abstract (Myers) is atypical of Irish journalists:

> Multicultural Man of the year must surely be the illegal immigrant Ciprian Mircescu who recently escaped imprisonment for a spot of baby battering. While caring for his girlfriend's baby, he managed to fracture its skull and cause bleeding to the baby's brain. He says he was shaking it, but who is to say so?...It might come as a surprise to most people that baby-battering is an acceptable part of Romanian culture…are we quite sure we want to spend so much money turning every

violent and illegal immigrant into a solid citizen? Because logically, if we are to be so extravagant towards people who have no right to be here at all, then we should be even more generous to those who are here lawfully, but who still have to be coaxed out of indulging their traditional cultural practices – oh, you know, a spot of girl-killing here or maybe a touch of rape there…We are inevitably becoming a multicultural society, with many hues of human culture and conduct assembling in our cities. We should certainly welcome the benefits, but also be alert to the dangers – and dangers there certainly are (Myers, 2003d: 13).

The first item to refer to in relation to this text is that Romanian immigrants (as referred to previously) are described here as illegal immigrants. At the time that this text was produced (2003), Romania was not yet an EU member state (Romania joined the EU in 2007). This text describes how an 'illegal' immigrant *'escaped imprisonment'* and physically assaulted a baby. The author explicitly argues that the violence perpetuated on the child is the 'norm' in Romania. The author continues by implying that all illegal immigrants are '*violent*' and suggests that Irish society can potentially turn these types of people into '*solid*' citizens. Furthermore, the author assumes that all Irish citizens are solid and 'desirable' individuals. The representation of the violent illegal immigrant continues when the author asserts that these people are 'culturally-undesirable', as their '*traditional cultural practices'* involve *'oh, you know, a spot of girl-killing here or maybe a touch of rape there'*. The text concludes by warning against the dangers of illegal immigrants.

A final characteristic that is imposed upon illegal immigrants are descriptions of them as carriers of diseases. The following text is an example of how texts can contain multiple topoi (e.g. 'danger-negative' and 'culture-undesirable'). It is maintained here that illegal immigrants in Ireland should be subject to '*compulsory health checks*':

> I'm suggesting the following: the application and deportation process should be speeded up and a special High Court judge designated to deal with legal matters. There should be compulsory health checks for all illegals so that our health system is protected and our disease eradication programmes are not interfered with (*Irish Times*, 2002a: 2).

> In recent days, at least three US congressmen called for travel across the Mexico border to be stopped or restricted to prevent the spread of the virus a measure the Government has said would be ineffective. Syndicated columnist Michell Malkin blamed the spread of contagious diseases in uncontrolled immigration in a blog, and other conservative talk show hosts made similar claims (*Irish Times*, 2009b: 13).

Overall, a broad range of discourses from the Irish newsprint media link illegal immigration and numerous forms of 'danger'. Through a multitude of 'danger'

discourses, illegal immigrants are associated with criminal activities and are specifically accused of being criminals and of carrying out criminal acts. Illegal immigrants are also constructed as dangerous characters and as a threat to society in terms of their potential invasion, crime, and terrorism. However, illegal immigrants are also seen to be a threat in terms of their 'dangerous' cultural characteristics and as mobile vessels of diseases. Many of these 'danger-negative' texts occurred in the context of border 'control' argumentations. It is argued here that the discursive construction of illegal immigrants in this manner is an exercise of power. This is because the institution of the newsprint media has the ability to assign and to classify migrants in such a way (Mountz, 2010: 114), which 'naturalizes' and justifies ongoing and increased measures of border control that aim to prevent migration to Ireland and Europe.

5.2.3 The 'Humanitarian' Topos

The 'humanitarian' topos is consistently employed in Irish newsprint media texts in reference to illegal immigrants, as asylum seekers are often constructed as illegal immigrants and vice versa. Furthermore, illegal immigrants, some 'economic' migrants (often poorer migrants), and asylum seekers can travel through similar routes and by similar means (under extremely harsh and dangerous conditions) in order to reach their destination. During the period between 2002 and 2009, the Irish newsprint media widely reported upon cases of such hazardous journeys from around the world. Some of the most prevalent newsprint media reports referred to the illegal movement of people from the continent of Africa to European countries, most especially the countries of Spain, Italy, Malta, and Greece. The humanitarian assistance that immigrants may require when they are illegally resident in a country (e.g. employment rights or state assistance) is also reported upon in the Irish newsprint media. 'Humanitarian-positive' texts are sympathetic to the difficulties that illegal immigrants may face and portray them in a 'positive' manner. It has been argued in the Irish newsprint media that the human rights of all immigrants should be upheld:

> There is too much emphasis on security and border controls and not enough focus on the rights and entitlements of immigrants (*Irish Times*, 2005c).

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Opposing views ('humanitarian-negative') accept that illegal immigrants may require humanitarian assistance, but deny this assistance by claiming that these immigrants have no legal rights to be in the country. Alternatively, 'humanitarian-negative' discourses can deny the humanitarian plight of illegal immigrants and portray illegal immigrants and asylum seekers in a 'negative' way. The following text justifies the State's denial of providing humanitarian protection:

> They are economic migrants illegally using the asylum process to gain entry to this country for a better life. They are not fleeing persecution. They use our citizenship laws as a method of staying here. Virtually none is [sic] deported (Cahill, 2003).

It is noticeable that there is a high occurrence of 'humanitarian-neutral' texts in the Irish newsprint media. This is due to the large level of reporting on tragic cases of immigrants attempting to make their way to Europe (e.g. boats capsizing, people drowning, or dying of starvation). As these texts merely report the basic details of human tragedies, no mode of argumentation is evident. The following text exemplifies this point:

> Over 1,000 illegal immigrants died on their way from Senegal and elsewhere to the Canary Islands in the first quarter of 2006 (*Irish Times*, 2008f: 9).

5.2.3.1 Results and Analysis

The 'humanitarian' topos represents 9% of all newsprint media texts about illegal immigration (see figure 5.6 below). Overall, the 'humanitarian' topos is distinctly more 'positive' (51%) than 'negative' (14%). As referred to previously, there is also a considerable level of 'humanitarian-neutral' texts (34%). Examining the data between 2002 and 2009, the levels of 'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral' texts fluctuate. In 2002, 53% of texts are 'positive', only 14% are 'negative', and a substantial number of 'neutral' texts exist (33%). In 2003, 30% of texts are 'positive', 19% are 'negative', and 51% are 'neutral'. In 2004, 57% of texts are 'positive', 11% are 'negative', and 32% are 'neutral'. In 2005, 42% of texts are 'positive', only 14% of texts are 'negative', and a high level of texts are 'neutral' (44%). In 2006, 2007 and 2008 the 'humanitarian' texts are mainly 'positive' and in 2009 the level of 'positive' texts remains at a high level (50%). Thus, over time the 'humanitarian-positive' texts generally maintain a high level of occurrence. This research maintains that these levels of 'humanitarian' texts focus upon three broad discourses. The first discourse focuses upon the human tragedies that result from people immigrating illegally and how illegal immigrants are detained and deported. The second

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discourse refers to the 'humanitarian' conditions of illegal immigrants in Ireland. The third discourse concentrates upon the 'humanitarian' conditions of the undocumented Irish in the US.

Figure 5.6: 'Humanitarian' Topos
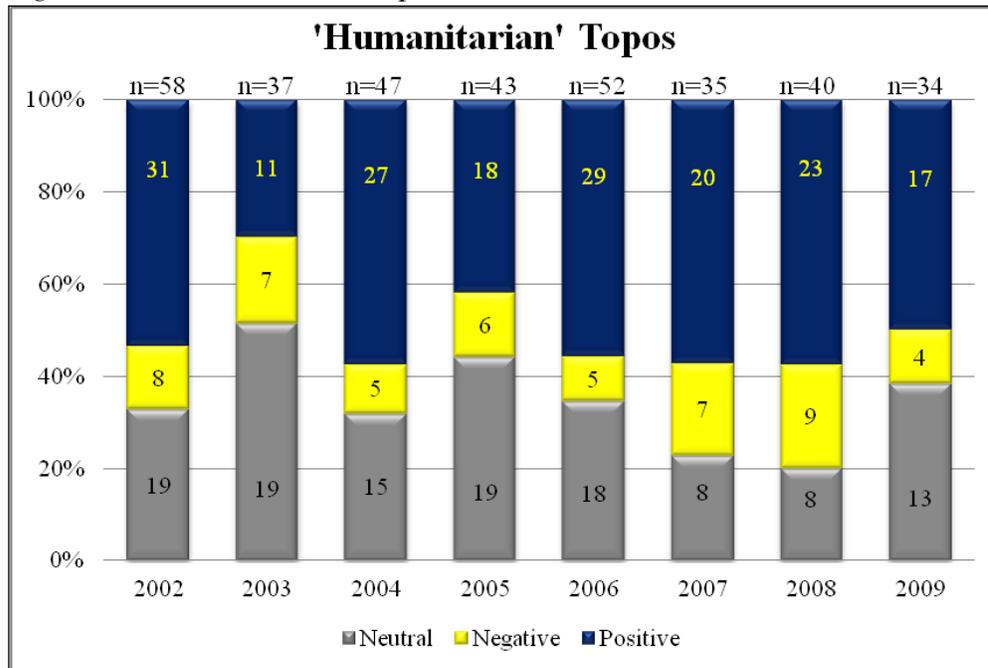
The tragic consequences of people immigrating illegally through hazardous and unsafe methods and the human tragedies that often occur were detailed in the Irish newsprint media. People immigrate in this precarious manner for a variety of reasons, for example to seek a better quality of life (referred to in the media and by politicians as 'economic' migrants), or to flee persecution:

> As the island [Malta] parties away in the heat, scores of asylum seekers are landing on rickety boats after making their gruelling journey from Libya. Some, however, have perished in the seas. The situation has become so desperate that the Government has called a state of emergency, and appealed to other EU states to consider a system of reallocation to help with the burden. As expected, no solution has yet been found (Grech, 2005: 12).

> Human rights groups estimate that thousands of Africans have drowned or died of exposure this year while attempting to make the treacherous journey across the Mediterranean from states such as Libya, Senegal and Morocco on unseaworthy vessels (*Irish Times*, 2006b: 12).

> Illegal immigrants, predominantly from Turkey and including children, were shipped to London from mainland Europe in cramped containers and lorries in journeys that could have taken months (*Irish Times*, 2006f).

> Since December 24th, a further 2,400 people have come ashore in the Pelagic islands between Libya and Sicily. The most recent landings took place on Sunday after a boat carrying 331

migrants crashed into rocks fringing the tiny island of Linosa. Mediterranean crossings in the depths of winter were once a rarity. But Laura Boldrini, UNHCR's spokeswoman in Italy, said these had become increasingly frequent. That is more dangerous because the sea conditions are apt to change more abruptly in the colder months. She said another factor adding to the perils facing migrants was that they were being consigned by traffickers to ever more unseaworthy vessel, like home-made semi-dirigibles and ageing fishing boats (Hooper, 2008: 12).

The human tragedies that result from illegal immigrants and asylum seekers attempting to reach Europe are clearly depicted:

> On illegal immigration, the leaders stressed the urgency of strengthening efforts to prevent and combat illegal immigration at the EU's southern maritime borders to prevent future human tragedies (Smyth, 2009: 10).

At times, these tragic events can be used to justify the establishment and maintenance of immigration prevention measures. However, it can also be argued that if the restrictions that are imposed upon immigrants were not so stringent it would not be necessary for people to attempt to travel through such unsafe means. Irish newsprint media texts also depict the ways that illegal immigrants and asylum seekers are treated inhumanely when they are detained and deported:

> Illegal immigrants in Italy say authorities have beaten them, given them sedatives and gagged them during expulsion…Many incidents involved unnecessary detention, the inability to file asylum claims and a lack of access to legal counsel at the centres, which process migrants for possible deportation, the group said. But some accusations were more serious…"One man, after being spat at, slapped, beaten with a truncheon and force-fed raw pork, had his clothes taken off and was forced to stay in an outside courtyard in the winter cold for several hours," Amnesty said (*Irish Times*, 2005b: 9).

> Two government ministers [from Amsterdam] have resigned after a damning report condemned safety lapses at a detention centre where 11 illegal immigrants died in a fire last October. The long-awaited report into the fire at the centre at Amsterdam's Schiphol airport criticized the justice ministry and was a major embarrassment for the Government just two months ahead of a national election (*Irish Times*, 2006e: 11).

> Rights activists say migrants are more often victims of repression than trouble-making. They describe brutal police raids against them and say the Government's policy of systematically deporting illegal immigrants is inhumane (*Irish Times*, 2009a).

These types of texts portray the harsh conditions that illegal immigrants face, including physical and mental abuse. These texts are assigned the 'humanitarian-positive' topos as they depict how illegal immigrants are treated inhumanely and argue for the protection of their humanitarian rights.

The second 'humanitarian' text that was dominant in the Irish newsprint media concentrated upon the difficult 'humanitarian' conditions that illegal immigrants and asylum seekers face in Ireland:

> Ireland's record in its treatment of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants has been patchy, at best, in spite of our experience as a people of long-term, forced emigration. Immigration took place elsewhere. So, when asylum seekers began to come here in significant numbers in the early 1990s, our legal and administrative structures were unable to cope. That surge has now slowed to a trickle, partly because of tough new legislation and economic measures that deny asylum seekers work while requiring them to stay in direct provision centres with an allowance of EUR 19 a week. Terms and conditions are harsh (*Irish Times*, 2008d: 13).

A number of texts refer to how illegal immigrants are '*vulnerable*' people, how they are being '*exploited*', and how they live under '*tremendous stress and fear*'. Such texts argue for the protection of their '*human rights*' and access to '*social benefits*' and '*health services*'. The following texts relay how the State functions in its role as 'protector' of vulnerable people:

> While flows of migration can be tracked through employment records, personal public service numbers and so on, a huge swathe of undocumented migrants exists. These are among the most vulnerable and exploited. Many may have entered the country on tourist visas, but with the intention of finding jobs. They may be labelled 'illegal' or 'non-national', but they are human beings and they have human rights (*Irish Independent*, 2007b).

> Once undocumented and labelled as illegal, migrants lived under tremendous stress and fear, no longer allowed to work and denied access to social benefits or health services. "Undocumented workers become the prime target for exploitation, as many are fearful of coming forward to report such mistreatment," said the centre's coordinator, Jacqueline Healy (Black, 2007).

An additional 'humanitarian' text that frequently occurred in the newsprint media was the dissemination of case study examples that portrayed the suffering of illegal immigrants. The subsequent text refers to an incident that relates directly to the Irish context and highlights the case of a group of illegal immigrants who travelled to Ireland in a container, resulting in the death of eight people due to a lack of oxygen:

> A Belgian court has heard about the harrowing four-day journey from Belgium to Ireland of 13 illegal immigrants, eight of whom were found dead in a truck container in a Co Wexford business park 14 months ago…Det Supt Pat Brehony of the National Bureau of Criminal Investigation told a court in Bruges yesterday that the victims, who included three children aged between four and 12, had entered the container at a truck stop outside Brussels on the morning of December 4th, 2001. "When they were being loaded they were told they were going to Dover and that they would be there within three hours," he said. In fact, the immigrants spent more than 101 hours in the container, surviving on 18 bottles of mineral water and some cheese. The container was ventilated by four small aperture, measuring two inches by six inches, and the victims died of lack of oxygen (Staunton, 2003a: 4).

The third main 'humanitarian' discourse that is evident from the Irish newsprint media focuses upon the 'humanitarian' conditions of undocumented migrants in the US. Texts such as these show the harsh conditions that migrants, especially the undocumented Irish faced when detained by US immigration authorities ('*physical and verbal abuse'*), the arduous conditions they live with, the abuse they suffer, and their lack of rights in the US. The following text refers to the treatment of migrants (including Irish migrants) by immigration authorities in the US:

> Many innocent foreigners in the United States were held in jail for months in "unduly harsh" conditions without contact with families or lawyers in the aftermath of the September 11th, 2001, attacks, according to a report from the US Justice Department's inspector general. The long-awaited report confirms the fears of civil rights groups that the Justice Department under the Attorney General, Mr. John Ashcroft, abused the rights of undocumented immigrants with no connection to terrorism and who were arrested after the attacks mainly because of their Middle Eastern origin…The report by Insp. Gen. Glenn Fine found "significant problems" in the Bush administration's treatment of people held on immigration violations and a pattern of "physical and verbal abuse" by guards, but did not specify if laws were broken or civil rights abused (O'Clery, 2003: 11).

> Regardless of people's politics, the issue of undocumented Irish in America and all the hardships that go with such status has to be resolved in a humane manner, said Mr. McGuinness (*Irish Times*, 2007a: 9).

These texts refer to how the 'humanitarian' rights of migrants (including the undocumented Irish) can be denied and argue for the rights of these immigrants to be upheld. In 2005, the then Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland, Bertie Ahern referred to the 'humanitarian' plight of the undocumented Irish in his address to the US Congress in Washington. This statement was reproduced in the Irish newsprint media and it is a clear indication of the Irish Government's consistent goal between 2002 and 2009 to lobby for the rights of the undocumented Irish in the US and to influence US authorities in favour of Irish nationals:

> I welcome the wise words of your President when he addressed you on the State of the Union earlier this year and said he hoped to find a sensible and humane way to deal with people here illegally, to resolve a complicated issue in a way that upholds both America's laws and her highest ideals (*Irish Independent*, 2008).

Overall, this research has found that the 'humanitarian' texts from the Irish newsprint media concentrate on 'positive' representations of illegal immigrants (migrants in Ireland) and undocumented immigrants (Irish migrants in the US). These texts relay the human tragedies that transpire when people migrate illegally, when they are subsequently detained and deported, and the 'humanitarian' conditions of illegal immigrants in Ireland.

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The Irish newsprint media displays a considerable level of empathy towards those who travel illegally in the Irish and international contexts. Perhaps one reason for the prevalence of the 'humanitarian-positive' texts in the Irish newsprint media is due to the space that is available to those who work with migrants (such as NGO groups from Ireland and the US) to voice their 'humanitarian' concerns about illegal immigration. Nevertheless, although 'positive' texts are welcomed, they also function in power formations, as these texts justify state practices and affirm the State's role as protector of human rights (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 50-51).

5.2.4 The 'Economy' Topos

During 2002 and 2009, the Irish newsprint media broadly represented legal immigration as a 'positive' entity, as it was seen as a necessity for the functioning and growth of the Irish economy. However, illegal immigration and the employment of illegal immigrants were generally viewed in a 'negative' manner, as they were thought to undermine wage levels and direct employment away from indigenous workers. Additionally, the topic of asylum seekers was continually intertwined with illegal immigration. Frequently, immigrants that were seeking asylum were seen as 'bogus', illegal, and merely 'economic' immigrants who were accused of taking advantage of the Irish asylum system. The expense associated with the asylum system and the deportation of both 'failed' asylum seekers and illegal immigrants was described as having a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy (e.g. Brady, 2007a, 2007b; Doyle, 2003). Nevertheless, there is evidence of 'economy-positive' texts about illegal immigration from the Irish newsprint media. Some texts refer to the 'positive' economic impacts of illegal immigration, but in the majority of cases these 'positive' texts relate to other geographic contexts, such as the UK or the US:

> Legalizing illegal immigrants could boost Britain's output by £3 billion (EUR 3.6 billion) a year, a report showed yesterday, but the public will need convincing as the recession bites and jobs continue to be in short supply. London Mayor Boris Johnson, who commissioned the London School of Economics study, has used the findings to support his argument for legalizing a large portion of the estimated 618,000 illegal immigrants in Britain. Far from a financial burden, as some suggest, this new research has found an amnesty could be worth up to £3 billion a year to the country's economy, Mr. Johnson said in a statement (*Irish Times*, 2009c: 12).

This text suggests that the legalizing of illegal immigrants in Britain would benefit the economy. Regularization is portrayed as a 'positive' action and is said to be *'far from a financial burden'* on the State. It is argued that *'an amnesty could be worth up to £3 billion a year'* to the British economy. The results of this research show that the opposite viewpoint is most prevalent in the Irish newsprint media. In the majority of cases, 'economy' texts argue that illegal immigration has a 'negative' impact on the economy. This text highlights the financial implications that the State incurs by deporting illegal immigrants:

> The Minister for Justice, Mr. McDowell, is backing plans for EU-organized charter flights to return groups of illegal immigrants to their countries of origin. The Government hopes this will speed up the rate of deportations, which are proving highly expensive on an individual basis (Cullen, 2003: 9).

It is also possible for 'economy-neutral' modes of argumentation to be employed in Irish newsprint media texts. The following text imparts information on the cost of the *'fight'* against illegal immigration. Although this text may be considered 'negative' due to the use of the term *'fight'*, in terms of the 'economy' mode of argumentation, it merely states the cost of illegal immigration and is neither 'positive' nor 'negative':

> The Government has almost tripled the budget to fight illegal immigration to EUR 100 million (Thornhill, 2005: 11).

5.2.4.1 Results and Analysis

The 'economy' topos represents 8% of all texts about illegal immigration and is on the whole more 'negative' (62%) than 'positive' (35%). In 2002 (see figure 5.7 below), the vast majority of 'economy' texts contained the 'economy-negative' topos (82%), but the texts become more 'positive' from then onwards. Nevertheless, the 'negative' texts remained at a substantial level over time. In 2004, the 'economy-positive' texts were at 54% and in 2007 they reached 59%. This research argues that the majority of 'economy-positive' texts do not refer to illegal immigration in Ireland, but to illegal immigration in other geographical contexts, such as the UK, Spain, and the US. Indeed, considerable levels of 'economy-positive' texts refer to the manner in which the undocumented Irish contribute to the US economy:

> "Immigrants contribute a significant amount," she says [Sheila Gleeson – Irish Immigration Centre Boston, US]. "Billions of dollars, money they can never collect on if they don't get legal status. They contribute more than they take from the system. You see they're not eligible for benefits of

any kind and they just wouldn't survive unless they were working, and there's a demand for their labour" (Kilroy, 2003: 54).

We must remember that the undocumented Irish work very hard and make a powerful contribution to American social life and the economy. It is now time for them to be granted citizenship (*Irish Times*, 2007a: 9).

"They don't understand what our children are going through. America is their home now, so how can they just pack up and leave?" he said [Father of undocumented Irish woman]. "My daughter would happily pay fines to try and change her status. She's already paying taxes. All she wants is a way to come out of the shadows and live a normal life" (O'Brien, 2007b: 4).

Figure 5.7: 'Economy' Topos
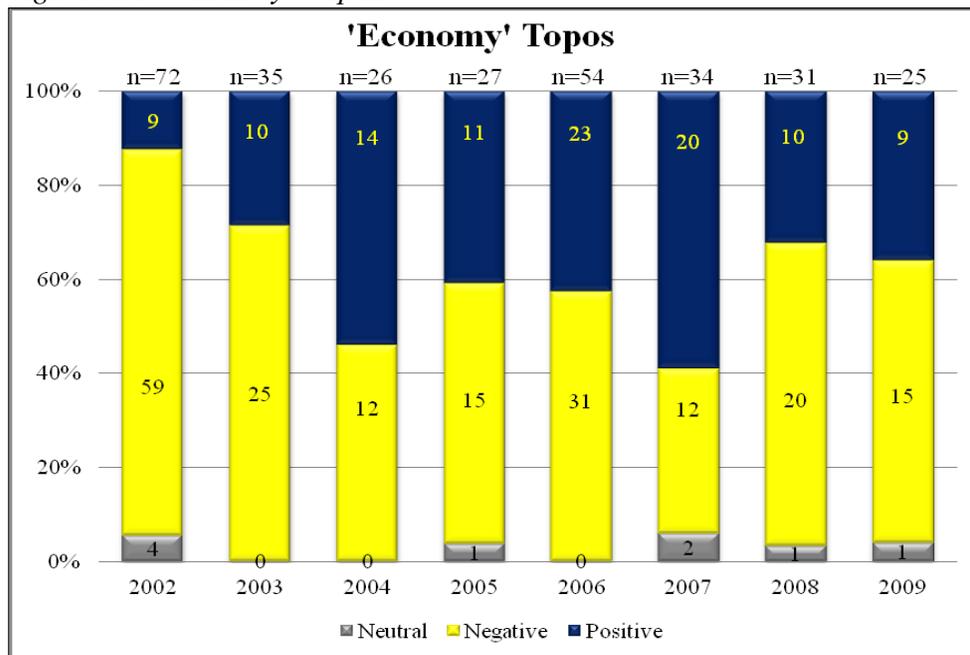
Specifically focusing upon texts that refer to the Irish context, the newsprint media conveys a variety of 'economy-negative' discourses. A relatively small number of texts refer to the illegal employment of immigrants and the impact this practice has upon wage levels and the diverting of employment from indigenous Irish workers to illegal immigrants. A large number of texts accuse illegal immigrants of being involved in fraudulent activities and the exploitation of the welfare system:

Illegal immigrants (not asylum seekers) are coming here to exploit our hospitality and are deliberately targeting Ireland because of the generosity of our welfare system. Many have multiple identities, are claiming social welfare benefits in different names, and are even travelling back and forth from the UK to claim in both jurisdictions (Morrissey, 2003).

Illegal immigrants are said to be exploiting '*our hospitality*' and '*the generosity of our welfare system*'. The use of the term '*our*' implies that illegal immigrants are not part of

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'*our*' imagined Irish community. This text reinforces a sense of collective identity, which justifies exclusionary measures that serve the interests of broader power structures (Nevins, 2002: 157-163; Wodak, 2012: 216-217). Illegal immigrants are also assigned 'undesirable' characteristics, as they are said to have '*multiple identities'*, they are accused of claiming '*social welfare benefits in different names',* and they are charged with claiming welfare benefits in the jurisdictions of Ireland and the UK. By portraying migrants as potential threats to the economy (Guibernau, 2007: 30), sentiment towards the nation and defence measures are enacted under the guise of the protection of the nation (Gray, 2006b: 122). It is maintained here that such protection measures are ways of excluding 'unwanted' immigration from society (Nevins, 2002: 157-163; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

In the Irish newsprint media there are a large level of texts that construct asylum seekers as illegal immigrants. Concerns are expressed over the expenses associated with asylum claims (e.g. accommodation, lawyers, court hearings, etc.) and the costs associated with false claims and the deportation of those who are refused asylum:

> The Government said that 15,000 asylum-seeker families, whose cases were taking years to resolve, were living on state benefits and draining taxpayers' money (*Irish Times*, 2003b: 9).

> Up to 90 per cent of all asylum claims in Ireland are rejected, Mr. McDowell said. He said that although Ireland fully intends to honour the terms of the Geneva Convention, he stressed to Mr. Lubbers that the Government was under increasing financial pressure due to the number of bogus applications (Doyle, 2003).

The first text represents asylum seekers in an 'economy-negative' manner, as it asserts that asylum seekers are '*living on state benefits and draining taxpayers' money'*. As this accusation derives from a government source the 'knowledge' that it disseminates into the newsprint media possesses validity and authority. This portrayal of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers is thus represented as a legitimized 'truth' (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008: 4-6). However, what is not mentioned in the above text, and it must be noted here, is that those seeking asylum in Ireland are not permitted to engage in employment, and therefore they must receive state assistance. In the second text, asylum seekers are explicitly portrayed in a 'negative' manner. This text asserts that the majority of those seeking asylum in Ireland are doing so under false

pretences. These immigrants are represented as fraudulent people, as it is stated that *'up to 90 per cent of all asylum claims in Ireland are rejected'* and it is claimed that they are making '*bogus applications'*. These opinions are justified through expressions of concern over the '*increasing financial pressure'* that false and '*bogus'* asylum claims are having upon the State's finances. Immigrants accused of making false asylum claims (considered illegal immigrants) are also depicted as deviant people that are inappropriately taking money from the State:

> Fianna Fáil's Mr. Noel O'Flynn added his voice to a growing clamour against asylum-seekers. "We're against the spongers, the freeloaders, the people screwing the system," he said. "Too many are coming to Ireland and too many to Cork in my view. In the past five years, there have been 35,000 applications for asylum and 80 per cent of those have been illegal immigrants using the refugee system to get in. I'm saying we will have to close the doors. The majority of them are here for economic reasons and they are thumbing their noses at Irish hospitality and demanding everything under the guise of the Geneva Convention while the taxpayer is paying for it all. The bill was (pounds) 20 million in 1997 and by the end of last year it was rapidly approaching (pounds) 200 million" (*Irish Times,* 2002a: 2).

As referred to in the previous chapter Mr. O' Flynn's opinions are not typical of those of his party. Nevertheless, he represents asylum seekers as illegal immigrants, as abusers of the asylum system, and as 'economic' migrants. These asylum seekers are described in very 'negative' terms, as *'spongers',* as *'freeloaders',* as *'people screwing the system',* and are said to be '*thumbing their noses at Irish hospitality and demanding everything under the guise of the Geneva Convention'*. Mr. O'Flynn expresses these 'legitimized' sentiments in the newsprint media and creates a highly 'negative' impression of those fleeing persecution. Mr. O'Flynn also asserts that *'there are too many coming to Ireland'* and '*we will have to close the doors'*. The argumentation of 'control' forwarded by Mr. O'Flynn is justified by representing illegal immigrants as having a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy. He references extravagant figures for the cost of the asylum system ('*200 million')* and he states that the *'taxpayer is paying for it all'*. This type of 'economy-negative' text is continually reproduced within the Irish newsprint media over the eight year period between 2002 and 2009.

Additional 'economy-negative' texts refer to the expense associated with deporting those who did not receive asylum in Ireland. The following texts relay extremely high figures that the State incurs in deporting '*bogus asylum seekers'* and '*illegal immigrants'*:

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Deporting bogus asylum seekers has cost the State more than €2m in the past two years for flights alone. The Department admitted last night that the deportation of illegal immigrants and refused asylum seekers was costly, particularly to distant countries such as Nigeria and China (Brady, 2007b).

It costs the State an average of EUR 4,500 for each person deported from Ireland, according to Fine Gael immigration spokesperson Denis Naughten, who called for greater EU co-ordination to reduce costs, Mr. Naughten said EUR 1.2 million had been spent deporting 264 people in the past 18 months, including EUR 151,900 for a single deportee in 2008 and EUR 35,888 for another this year. This was unsustainable, he said (*Irish Times*, 2009f: 9).

It is evident from the above texts that there is a blurring in the terminology that is used to refer to different types of immigrants. This practice occurs in the majority of texts about illegal immigration from the Irish newsprint media. The use of multiple terms distorts and obscures how immigrants are conceptualized. It causes confusion around notions of the types of people that are asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. It is contended here that this practice (perhaps sometimes carried out unintentionally) draws attention away from the issue of providing asylum to immigrants and constructs all non-EU migrants as illegal and '*bogus*' individuals. This strategy justifies the very high level of asylum seekers that are denied asylum in Ireland. The active construction of asylum seekers as deviant illegal immigrants or 'economic' migrants, who are an enormous expense on the State, justifies their exclusion from society, their denial of protection, and the deportations of hundreds of immigrants from Ireland each year (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 1993a: 255-257; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

This research has found that 'economy' texts from the Irish newsprint media are mainly 'negative'. While 'economy-positive' texts about illegal immigration do occur, these texts mainly refer to illegal immigration in other jurisdictions. 'Economy-negative' texts represent illegal immigrants and asylum seekers as frauds and as people who take advantage of the welfare system. They also concentrate heavily upon the costs associated with the asylum system (in which illegal immigrants and 'economic' migrants are included) and the expense associated with deporting 'failed' asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. Overall, illegal immigrants are represented as deviant people who take advantage of state welfare, who cost the State a substantial amount of money as they go through the asylum process, and as people who will inevitably be deported. The constructed characteristic of asylum seekers as fake and criminal individuals enables

more restrictions on immigration and stronger measures of 'legitimized' exclusion by those in powerful positions in Irish society (Mountz, 2010: 95-96).

5.2.5 The 'Culture' Topos

The discursive depiction of illegal immigrants as culturally 'desirable' or 'undesirable' people is a common occurrence (Driedger and Halli, 2000; Mahtani, 2001; Nevins, 2002; Zolf, 1989) in the Irish newsprint media. 'Culture-desirable' ('positive') texts portray illegal immigrants as 'desirable' people who have 'desirable' attributes. These texts also defend illegal immigrants by denying that they are culturally 'undesirable' people. The following text exemplifies this point:

> Archbishop Agostino Marchelli told Vatican radio illegal immigrants should not be treated as criminals because those who worked were making a contribution to society (*Irish Times,* 2008c: 13).

Nevertheless, texts from the Irish newsprint media also describe illegal immigrants in a culturally 'undesirable' ('negative') manner:

> The problem is not immigrants from the new member states; the problem is illegal immigrants from the third world, from outside (Sweeney, 2004).

Illegal immigrants from the *'third world'* are described as distinctly 'other', while EU migrants are represented as belonging to the broader national community. This process functions in the reproduction of European and national identity and the operation of power formations (Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). 'Culture-neutral' texts occur in the Irish newsprint media, but not to a noteworthy level. The following text describes the cultural attributes of Roma immigrants in Ireland (who are often constructed to be illegal immigrants, but are no longer so in relation to the Irish context), but invokes neither a 'positive' nor a 'negative' argumentation:

> There are believed to be between 3,000 and 4,000 Roma gypsies in Ireland. While many Roma have settled and have sought and gained employment, many others remain dependent on State handouts, begging, and crime (Cusack, 2007).

5.2.5.1 Results and Analysis

The 'culture' topos represents 7% of all texts about illegal immigration from the newsprint media. Overall, the 'culture' topos is more 'negative' (62%) than 'positive' (37%). In 2002 and 2003, the 'culture-undesirable' ('negative') texts are at a distinctly

high level, 79% and 88% respectively. In 2004 and 2005, this figure decreases, resulting in a large proportion of 'culture-desirable' ('positive') texts (53% in 2004 and 62% in 2005). The level of 'culture' texts changed again in 2006, as the texts were mostly 'negative' ('undesirable') (65%). In 2007, the levels of 'culture-desirable' and 'culture-undesirable' texts are relatively even. In 2008 and 2009, high levels of 'culture-undesirable' ('negative') texts are evident. Thus, as the overall figures suggest, there is a consistently large level of 'negative' ('undesirable') texts. Yet, in 2004 and 2005, the 'positive' texts ('desirable') are at a greater level.

Figure 5.8: 'Culture' Topos
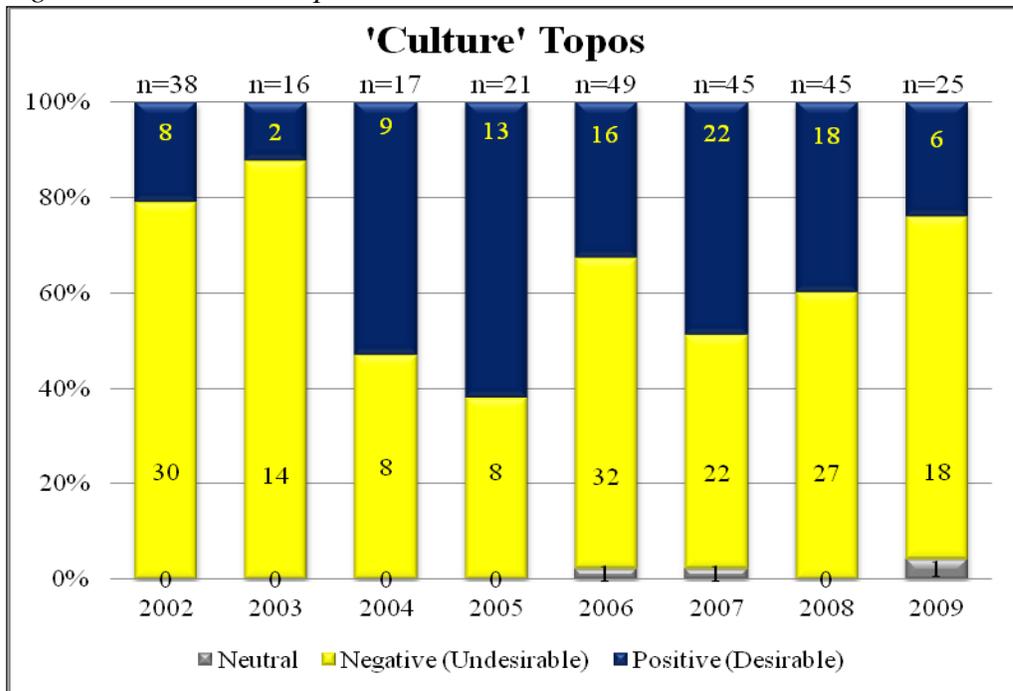
Overall, the 'culture' topos concentrates upon a number of distinct discourses. Firstly, asylum seekers are represented as illegal immigrants and as fake individuals. Secondly, Irish immigration laws are described as insufficient against 'undesirable' illegal immigrants. Thirdly, texts centre upon the US context, depicting the undocumented Irish in a desirable way.

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The first main 'culture' discourse centres upon the depiction of asylum seekers as *'bogus'*, fake, and illegal individuals. Once again, the intertwining of the topic of illegal immigration and asylum seekers is evident:

> The Minister for Justice and the Garda Commissioner both defended the GNIB against arguments that it is being racist and heavy-handed against those it suspects of entering Ireland illegally…"This country has been inundated with bogus applicants using every trick in the book to try and get around our immigration laws," he said [Dermot Ahern] (McGreevy, 2008: 10).

This text identifies asylum seekers as illegal immigrants, as *'bogus applicants',* and as immigrants *'using every trick in the book'* to evade *'our immigration laws'*. Immigrants who seek asylum are represented as illegal immigrants who knowingly utilize fraudulent methods to evade immigration authorities. It is also noteworthy how immigration laws are referred to as *'our'* immigration laws, invoking notions of difference (Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). The portrayal of immigrants in this 'undesirable' manner justifies *'heavy-handed'* immigration control measures. This text also defends itself against a racist attitude towards immigrants, which is a typical practice of statements expressed by elites (van Dijk, 1993c: 189-190). Defence against accusations of racism is a reoccurring event in texts that depict immigrants in an 'undesirable' manner:

> It is not racist to want to control the numbers of immigrants entering a country. It is not racist to say the State has a right to restrict the number of Africans coming to live here. It is not racist to say the congregation of immigrants in ghettos is a factor in creating a racist environment. It is not racist to say that the arrival of a large number of fundamentalist Muslims into Ireland is simply not desirable. It is not racist to say that those who arrive here under the false flag of asylum-seeking should be deported (Myers, 2003a: 15).

While Mr. Myers is an opinion columnist and his assertions may not represent the overall ethos of this newspaper, his views are quite explicit. This text not only denies that certain attitudes are racist, but it also attempts to normalize 'negative' attitudes towards illegal immigrants and asylum seekers (van Dijk, 1993: 189-190). The text also endeavours to justify the controlling and deporting of illegal (African) migrants by representing them negatively. The depiction of illegal immigrants and *'those who arrive under the false flag of asylum-seeking'* as congregating in *'ghettos',* and of large numbers of *'fundamentalist Muslims'* arriving in Ireland, creates an impression that immigrants are an imminent threat and something to be feared.

During this time, the control, prevention and deportation of illegal immigrants and '*bogus asylum seekers'* is also justified through the creation of the image of '*pregnant'* non-EU immigrant women, who are coming to Ireland to gain residency on the basis of having an Irish-born child. This text occurred in the context of the Citizenship Referendum 2004:

> Justice Minister vows get-tough measures to stop 'substantial' abuse of asylum laws. Non-EU parents of Irish-born children could be forced to leave the country under constitutional changes being considered by Justice Minister Michael McDowell. It is just one of a number of tougher measures aimed at combating what he views as substantial abuses of Ireland's asylum system. Emphasizing that bogus asylum seekers should be deported he said: "Clearly there are too many of those" (Moloney, 2002).

> We have no choice but to turn all illegal immigrants around at the point of entry (pregnant ones especially); and to deport those already resident so that the many law-abiding, tax-paying immigrants can remain on, without being overwhelmed by bogus asylum-seekers (Myers, 2003c: 21).

The 'negative' and 'undesirable' depiction of immigrants, especially female '*pregnant ones*' (gender plays a key role here), is utilized to justify the prevention of entry and the deportation of illegal immigrants from Ireland. Illegal immigrants are represented as 'undesirable' people compared to the '*law-abiding'* and '*tax-paying',* 'desirable' immigrants. The depiction of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers in a 'culturally-undesirable' manner justifies '*get-tough measures*', '*constitutional change',* and measures to combat and exclude illegal immigrants from Irish society. Stating that '*there are too many of those',* the Minister for Justice portrays illegal immigrants and asylum applicants as a 'negative' homogenous category, which places 'them' into the role of the 'other'.

The second prominent 'culture-undesirable' discourse that occurs in the Irish newsprint media refers to how Irish immigration laws are insufficient to prevent against 'undesirable' illegal immigrants:

> Ireland is now the 'softest touch' in Europe. We have become the great 'Simon Community' for every Third World unwanted and undesirable (Forde, 2003).

The Irish immigration system is described as weak and a '*soft touch'* against '*unwanted and undesirable'* immigrants from the '*Third World'.* Immigrants are also represented as criminals (this text is also linked to the 'danger' topos) and considered a threat to European '*cultural identities and traditions'*:

The concern about migrant workers is strongly echoed in the EU poll, which shows that 86% of Irish people – the second-highest in the EU – fear that enlargement will increase illegal immigration in Europe. More than three out of four Irish people also fear that enlargement will increase the risk of crime – the fifth-highest proportion in the EU. Also, while most EU countries believe enlargement will enrich Europe's cultural diversity, Ireland, along with Britain and Greece, is most concerned about the disappearance of cultural identities and traditions (Frawley, 2006: 5).

In addition, illegal immigrants and '*non-EU*' immigrants are representations as mobile '*infected*' bodies of uncleanliness and disease:

This means enforcing our immigration laws with rigor, and imposing compulsory medical checks on all non-EU citizens who seek to live here. This will also involve sending infected illegal immigrants back where they came from. Otherwise, we become Africa's AIDS out-patient clinic. This is not just to protect ourselves, but those Africans who have lawfully settled here, and who no more want to see the disease spreading through their communities than do the rest of us. For AIDS is the enemy of us all, immigrants especially (Myers, 2003b: 17).

This text is extremely 'negative' as it constructs all non-EU immigrants as dangerous vessels of diseases. It is notable how AIDS is described as an enemy for '*us all*' and especially for immigrants, implying that immigrants are more likely to be carriers of the AIDS disease. This text justifies enforcing '*our*' immigration controls in order to '*protect ourselves*' from '*disease spreading*' through '*our*' communities.

The third main 'culture' narrative that is evident in the Irish newsprint media is set in the context of the US. Illegal immigrants from Mexico are portrayed as 'undesirable' individuals, as they are assigned numerous 'negative' attributes:

News reports said Severin on air called Mexican migrants criminal aliens, primitives, leeches and exporters of women with moustaches and VD. In response to the sharpened tone, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists urged the media to be fair and prudent when covering the [swine] flu and to resist scapegoating Mexican immigrants (*Irish Times*, 2009b: 13).

Mexican illegal immigrant women, in particular, are described as having '*moustaches*' (implying that they are primitive people) and as carriers of infectious diseases such as VD (suggesting prostitution) and swine flu. The English language also plays a key role in the determining of the desirability of illegal immigrants in the US. In reaction to illegal Mexican immigration in the US, it is argued that English should be '*the official language in the US*':

Chabot favours building a fence along the border with Mexico, imposing tougher penalties on illegal immigrants and those who help them and making English the official language of the US. He told the seniors that illegal immigrants are placing a burden on society that had a direct impact on the tax bill of ordinary Americans (Staunton, 2006b: 11).

Immigration control groups, however, say the majority of Americans believe high levels of illegal immigration have harmed the US quality of life and support restrictions on them (Watanabe and Becerra, 2006: 11).

It is noteworthy how the Irish newsprint media depict the undocumented Irish in the US in a distinctly different way from Mexican illegal immigrants in the US. Furthermore, the number of undocumented Irish (50,000) relayed in the following extract is not based on evidence:

> There are 50,000 Irish men and women who are in this country illegally at this time, who are hardworking people who want to become citizens (Staunton, 2008: 11).

The undocumented Irish are presented as 'culturally-desirable' people through various 'positive' descriptions of their characters:

> She says her son and other Irish "undocumented" should be judged "on merit", not by some category as an illegal. He works hard and pays his taxes. He contributes to his new home and is a good citizen. That should count for something (*Irish Times*, 2005d: 5).

> Many of these people [undocumented Irish] have set up home and have deep roots in the US, raising children and contributing to their community. I [Dermot Ahern] have heard their sad stories at first hand on my many visits to the US (O'Brien, 2007a: 3).

> We must remember that the undocumented Irish work very hard and make a powerful contribution to American social life and the economy. It is now time for them to be granted citizenship (*Irish Times*, 2007a: 9).

> "Despite having made a positive contribution to US society, these thousands of Irish émigrés find themselves classed as felons," the Newry and Armagh MLA argued. "I have urged all of the candidates in this presidential election year, to raise the case for these hard working, law abiding Irish people to be brought into the fold of US life in a complete way, allowing them to be given an amnesty which would enable them to travel freely between their homeland and the USA without fear or penalty" (*Irish Times*, 2008a).

The undocumented Irish are represented as '*hardworking people',* who desire to be legal citizens in the US. They are also described as family people who contribute to their community and pay taxes. Notably, the undocumented Irish are also considered to be more 'desirable' than other illegal immigrants (e.g. Mexican immigrants):

> "The Irish," adds Lewandowski quickly, "are here to work". If some stay over, that's not the biggest problem. They're not the ones destroying American culture, they're not over here trying to change the words of our national anthem into Spanish, they're not breaking into people's houses when they're away (O'Driscoll, 2006: 4).

The undocumented Irish are not considered to be the *'ones destroying American culture'*, they are not trying to convert the *'national anthem into Spanish,'* and they are not

committing criminal acts. The Irish are perhaps seen to 'belong' to American society more so than other migrants, as they speak English and are thought to have similar 'cultural' values as US citizens.

Overall, the Irish newsprint media represents illegal immigrants as undesirable characters. Although some 'positive' discourses do exist, it is argued here that these 'positive' discourses primarily concentrate upon the 'desirable' attributes of the undocumented Irish in the US. Three key 'culture' discourses are evident from the Irish newsprint media during the eight year period under analysis. The first discourse portrays illegal immigrants and 'bogus' asylum seekers in Ireland in a 'culture-undesirable' way. The second discourse depicts illegal immigrants as taking advantage of Irish immigration laws and refers to them as a threat to society because they are said to be carriers of diseases. The third discourse describes the undocumented Irish in the US as 'desirable' people, while Mexican illegal immigrants are represented as 'undesirable' people. It is contended here that discursive argumentations that invoke notions of 'culture' are employed in Irish newsprint media as a mechanism for constructing individual and collective identities that result in the inclusion or exclusion of illegal immigrants from society. 'Culture' argumentations construct 'positive' and 'negative', 'desirable' and 'undesirable', and 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' discursive identities, which function as apparatuses of power (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000: 24-28; Gray, 2006a: 355; Guibernau, 2007: 25; Wodak et al., 2009: 3-5).

5.3 Representations of Illegal Immigrants in Irish Newsprint Media Texts

This chapter has thus far offered a detailed outline of how the Irish newsprint media represent illegal immigrants through five argumentations and this section aims to relay how they are represented overall. Firstly, the 'control' topos represents illegal immigrants in Ireland as a distinct group of people (allowing no room for individual identities), who are assigned a range of 'negative' characteristics. Illegal immigrants are portrayed to be unlawful mobile bodies, who are assigned into the role of the 'other'. This representation is compounded within the context of the four other topoi, which feed into the 'control' topos, resulting in the dissemination of a strong 'negative' argumentation about illegal

immigration. It is argued here that the 'control' topos functions by justifying migration-related regulations and controls, such as Operation Hyphen and the policy of Carriers' Liability.

The 'danger' topos overwhelmingly represents illegal immigrants as a potential risk, danger, and threat to Irish society through various discursive depictions. Firstly, illegal immigration itself (i.e. the act of migrating illegally) is defined as a criminal offence. Secondly, illegal immigrants are represented as invaders. Thirdly, illegal immigrants are portrayed as people who are involved in an array of criminal activities, such as petty theft, burglary, violent crime, drug trafficking, human smuggling, money laundering, commodity smuggling, fraud, financial crime, public order offences, benefit fraud, false identity/identity theft, gang members, other fugitives, drug smuggling, violence, drug pushing, and forged and stolen documents. In the Irish newsprint media, the list of criminal activities that illegal immigrants are associated with is quite extensive. Fourthly, illegal immigrants are perceived to be a potential threat to national security and are associated with terrorism. Lastly, illegal immigrants are said to be carriers of dangerous infectious diseases (e.g. *Irish Times*, 2002a: 2; *Irish Times*, 2009b: 13). This dissertation maintains that this practice of assigning various dangerous characteristics to illegal immigrants functions in the ongoing process by those in positions of influence to justify migration controls and to put forth the argumentation that migration regulations are necessary in restricting these 'dangerous' illegal immigrants.

Through the 'humanitarian' topos, illegal immigrants are represented in a mainly 'positive' manner and as people who require humanitarian protection and rights. Although these texts are compassionate towards illegal immigrants, it can be argued that this attitude characterizes the State as a 'protector' and illegal immigrants as 'victims'. However, the humanitarian protection that is on offer to illegal immigrants is conditional and depends upon the desirability of the immigrant in question. Additionally, the dangerous methods through which illegal immigrants travel by to get to Europe and the tragedies that often occur during these journeys, are utilized by some in the newsprint media to justify further migration control measures. Rather than arguing for safer entry

routes and for more opportunities for those from outside of Europe to enter, these tragedies are utilized to justify increased restrictions on migrants. On the other hand, 'humanitarian-negative' texts represent illegal immigrants and asylum seekers as mere 'economic' migrants. The term 'economic' migrant has taken on highly 'negative' connotations in recent years and constructs the practice of seeking employment or a better standard of living as something illegal and underhanded. Meanwhile, 'humanitarian-negative' texts represent those who claim asylum as disingenuous individuals (e.g. Cahill, 2003). These discursive representations direct the public's 'mentality' towards a particular framing of immigration regulation, one that sidelines the importance of providing humanitarian protections and focuses upon the prevention and control of unauthorized migration.

The 'economy' topos describes illegal immigrants as having a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy. Recognizing that some texts represent illegal immigrants as having a 'positive' impact on the economy, the majority of these 'positive' texts refer to the undocumented Irish in the US, who are described as hard working people who make a 'positive' contribution to the US economy (e.g. *Irish Times*, 2007a). Through the 'economy-negative' topos, illegal immigrants in Ireland are represented as a drain on the State's finances, as frauds, and as 'undesirable' characters who take advantage of the welfare system and the asylum system. They are said to attain multiple identities that permit them to claim social welfare in Ireland and the UK (e.g. Morrissey, 2003). Furthermore, illegal immigrants are represented as a drain on the economy due to the expense incurred by the State in deporting them (e.g. *Irish Times*, 2009f: 9). The representations of those who seek asylum to be deviant and illusive illegal immigrants and an expense on the State justifies their denial of protection, their exclusion from society, and their eventual deportation from the State (Foucault, 1991b: 59-60; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; van Dijk, 1993a: 255-257; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

The 'culture' topos refers to both the cultural attributes and the cultural practices of illegal immigrants. The majority of texts that represent illegal immigrants in a 'desirable' manner refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. These undocumented immigrants are

considered to be 'desirable' people, as they are said to be hard workers (Staunton, 2008: 11), family orientated individuals, and they contribute to their community (O'Brien, 2007a: 3). Notably, in the Irish newsprint media there is also a distinction made between the undocumented Irish in the US (who are considered to be 'desirable' people) and Mexican illegal immigrants (who are represented as 'undesirable' people). The majority of newsprint media texts represent illegal immigrants (including poorer 'economic' migrants or those fleeing persecution) in an 'undesirable' manner. Illegal immigrants are represented to be unlike 'us', as they are said to have different cultural practices, inferring that this is a 'negative' characteristic. This argumentation becomes clear in reference to religious beliefs or customs. Linked to the 'danger' topos, illegal immigrants are also described as having dangerous characteristics due to perceived criminality. They are represented as a 'problem' for Irish society (Frawley, 2006: 5; Sweeney, 2004). Furthermore, illegal immigrants are associated with disease and are portrayed as mobile bodies of infection and as a potential threat to people in Ireland (this argumentation is also assigned the 'danger-negative' topos).

Several discursive aspects that occurred in the newsprint media are noteworthy. In a similar manner to parliamentary texts, in the newsprint media some references to illegal immigration can be juxtaposed with denials of racism or xenophobia. For instance, a number of elite individuals disseminated a message through the newsprint media that the claims they made regarding immigrants were not racist or xenophobic. On one occasion, the then Minister for Justice Dermot Ahern, along with Garda officials, defended themselves against accusations of racism, claiming that certain individuals who claim asylum are illegal and 'bogus' (McGreevy, 2008: 10). Also similar to the parliamentary texts, there is a frequent misuse of migration terminology in the newsprint media. This includes the referring to different 'types' of migrants as the same entity and the labelling of migrants through 'negative' terminology (e.g. bogus). This dissertation argues that by providing incorrect or inaccurate information to the public, the newsprint media present distorted 'knowledges' of illegal immigration. The frequent blurring of terminology and the confused use of migration terminology obscures how immigrants are conceptualized, resulting in an abstract view of immigration among those reading and internalizing such

newspaper reports. This practice creates uncertainty in relation to immigration issues and keeps the populous ill informed. This practice also aids broader power structures, leading the (majority of the) public to passively consent to the current 'truths' about illegal immigration and the current regime of migration governance. The lack of alternative viewpoints on illegal immigration discourages resistance to the status quo. It is argued here that the newsprint media has a responsibility to the general public to provide correct and accurate information regarding migration. A clear example of how this practice can be influential is evident in the manner in which those who apply for humanitarian protection are often represented as illegal immigrants, undermining the rights of migrants to claim asylum and constructing an impression of those seeking asylum as a disingenuous group of people. This justifies the very high level of asylum refusals and the lack of an avenue for illegal immigrants to regularize their status in Ireland. Lastly, it is noteworthy how reoccurring references to national identity and belonging are reproduced in the newsprint media. Discourses of national identity are formed through the juxtaposition of 'us' and 'them', or between 'our(s)' and 'their(s)' (e.g. Morrissey, 2003). Furthermore, by portraying migrants as a threat to the Irish economy and to Irish culture, sentiment towards the nation is mobilized and defence measures are enacted under the guise of the protection of the nation (e.g. McGreevy, 2008: 10). It is argued here that these 'protection' measures are mere justified methods of excluding unwanted immigration from Irish society. Additionally, by identifying an 'other' embodied in illegal immigrants, immigration policies in relation to them can function to reinforce a sense of collective identity (Nevins, 2002: 157-163; Wodak, 2012: 216-217).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined in detail how illegal immigration was represented in the Irish newsprint media between 2002 and 2009. Through a CDA of newsprint media texts, this research identified five key argumentations (topoi) that were employed in reference to illegal immigration. Following a quantitative analysis of this data, an in-depth qualitative analysis of each topos was undertaken. The chapter concluded with a discussion on how illegal immigration was represented overall in the Irish newsprint media. The Irish newsprint media represent illegal immigrants in a mainly 'negative' manner. These

multiple representations (acknowledging a small number of 'positive' representations) were disseminated as legitimized 'knowledges' and 'truths' about illegal immigration through the newsprint media (Van Der Valk, 2003; van Dijk, 2000a; van Dijk, 2000b). As texts are disseminated into the public and internalized by people, they can function in the operation of governmental power by becoming 'natural' ways of thinking about illegal immigration. This process constructs a generic (mostly 'negative') discursively constructed 'legitimate' identity of illegal immigrants. This process results in the maintenance of inequality in Irish society, the justification of exclusionary measures towards illegal immigrants, and the legitimization of governmental strategies of migration regulation and control (Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39; Mountz, 2003: 621; van Dijk, 1997: 36; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 34; Wodak et al., 2009: 1). This chapter argues that the Irish newsprint media is a key site of governmental and identity discourses. However, it is acknowledged here that both the institutions of the newsprint media and the parliament (discussed in Chapter 4) are only two of numerous sites that disseminate discourses of power and ideology (Bauder and Semmelroggen, 2009: 21-22). Furthermore, although the 'knowledges' produced from the two institutions have many similarities, distinct differences are also evident. Indeed, it is interesting how there is a different emphasis in focus between the two institutions (in terms of the geographical focus and levels of 'positive' and 'negative' discourses). The next chapter synthesizes the texts from the Irish Parliament, the Irish newsprint media, and interview data, in order to gain a fuller understanding of institutional representations of illegal immigrants in Ireland between 2002 and 2009.

Chapter 6: Discursive Representations of Illegal Immigrants

6.1 Introduction

Thus far, this dissertation has established that between 2002 and 2009 the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media produced distinctive discursive representations of illegal immigrants. Indeed, one of the main findings of this dissertation is that these institutions, to varying degrees, consistently represented illegal immigration through five key topoi and disseminated very similar 'dominant' discourses about illegal immigrants. The occurrence of these parallel discourses is an important finding, as they indicate some form of relationship or commonality between the two institutions. The uncovering of these common topoi is also an indication of broader discursive power structures, which require continuous reproduction over time through different institutions in order to function. This is so because the function of these 'dominant' discourses about illegal immigration (expressed through the five topoi) is to represent illegal immigration in a mainly 'negative' manner in society. This practice justifies the control, prevention and exclusion of illegal immigrants and the maintenance of inequality in Irish society. The aim of this chapter is to bring together these data sets, as it is these institutional texts that provided the parameters within which the Irish public gained their knowledge about and were led to think about illegal immigrants during this time period. While acknowledging that these two institutions are distinctive in their own right and that there are differences in the manner in which they represent illegal immigrants (for example, the difference in the geographical focus of the texts and the levels of positivity/negativity), this section brings together this data in order to offer a broad overview of how illegal immigrants were discursively represented overall in the Irish context. Therefore, this chapter moves away from the small scale detailed analysis of the institutional data of previous chapters and provides an overall view of the 'dominant' discourses that were (re)produced about illegal immigrants in these institutions. This data is supplemented with interviews that were undertaken with six members of parliament, two NGO workers, and a member of an anti-immigrant group. The interview data serves a number of functions, primarily providing the space for a fuller discussion of illegal immigration in its own right, as, on the whole, the institutional texts did not accommodate for this. Additionally, the use of

interview data aims to assess if the topoi that were identified in the institutional texts reoccur in the context of the interviews. This chapter begins by examining the institutional texts, identifying the overall number of texts from both institutions and the overall results of the topoi. The main section of this chapter relays how illegal immigrants were represented through each topos. In this section, the texts from the parliament and the newsprint media are combined and expanded upon with interview data. The aim of this is to identify the similarities that are evident between the data sources and to acknowledge the differences that also arose. Ultimately, the overall finding from each topos is provided. This chapter concludes by relaying three additional discursive elements that emerged from the data: (1) the occurrence of denials and justifications of racism, (2) the practice of terminology misuse, and (3) expressions of national identity.

6.2 Irish Institutional Texts

6.2.1 The Overall Number of Texts

Between 2002 and 2009 a total of 3,430 texts were identified from both institutions. It is clear from figure 6.1 below, that the Irish Times (42% – 1,447 texts) was the largest producer of texts about illegal immigration.

Figure 6.1: Number of Texts
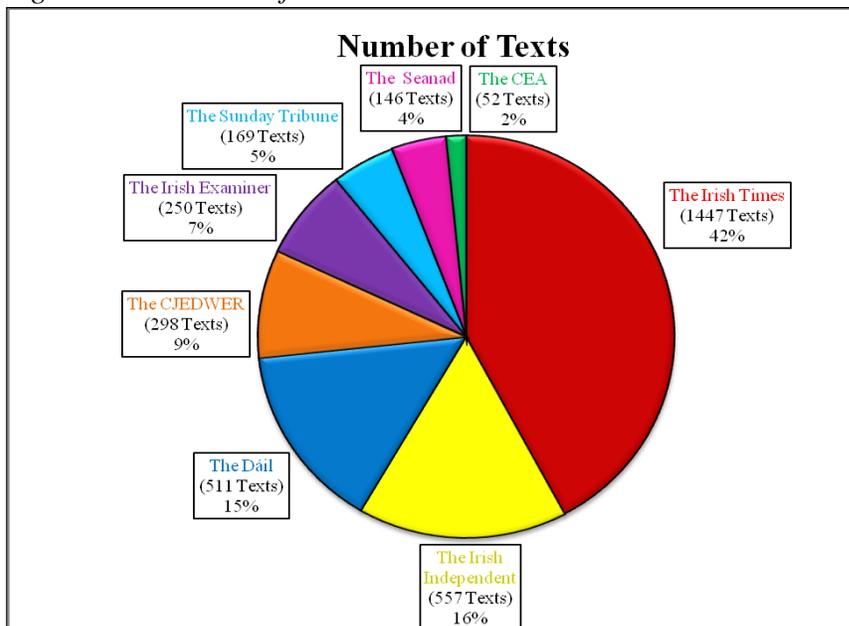
This large proportion of texts from the Irish Times was followed by the Irish Independent and the Dáil with 16% (557) and 15% (511) respectively. The CJEDWR produced 9% (298), the Irish Examiner produced 7% (250), the Sunday Tribune produced 5% (169), the Seanad produced 4% (146), and the CEA produced 2% (52). Overall, the newsprint media produced the majority (70%) of texts about illegal immigration.

Tracking the total number of institutional texts about illegal immigration over time, the first striking element of note from figure 6.2 is that there is a frequent and consistent level of texts (re)produced between 2002 and 2009. This data indicates that illegal immigration was continually and regularly discussed in both institutions. When these institutional texts were separately tracked over time in Chapter 3, clear peaks in the data was evident. However, now that these institutional texts are combined, the delineations between clusters of texts and specific peaks in the data are not so apparent. Nevertheless, certain concentrations of institutional texts can be identified during the period between 2002 and into mid-2003, during 2006, and during 2008.

Figure 6.2: Number of Texts Over Time
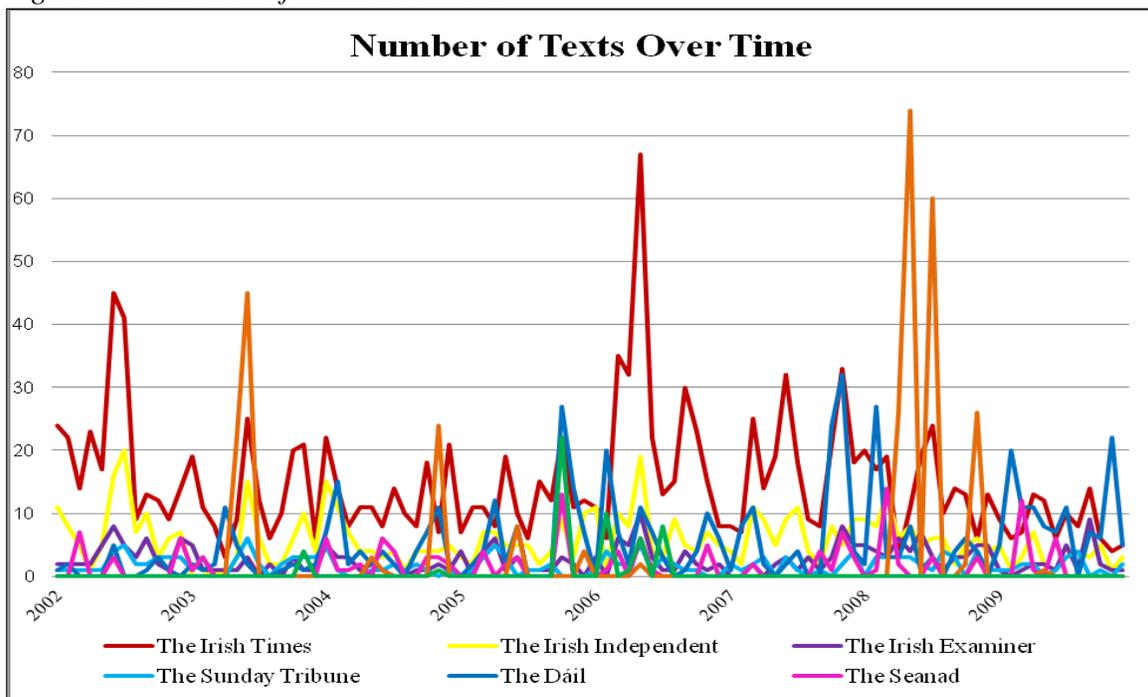
The cluster of texts that occurred between 2002 and into 2003 referred to an array of topics, but mainly concentrated upon the concern to a 'crackdown' on illegal immigration. This included references to a proposed new work permit system, which aimed to prevent the employment of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, the expense of deportations on the State, and the cost of the asylum system. EU policies on illegal immigration were also discussed. As this time period witnessed the emergence of the debate on the Citizenship Referendum, it is surprising that the levels of texts are not considerably higher during 2002 and 2003.

The peak in the number of texts during 2006 mainly referred to the undocumented Irish in the US and the protection of EU borders. Additionally, the expenses associated with the deportation of illegal immigrants dominated the texts, along with proposals for biometric identity cards for immigrants, and the legal ability of the State to detain and deport illegal immigrants (under the proposed *Immigration Bill*). During 2006, a number of texts are evident from civil society groups that called for a 'bridging visa' for undocumented immigrants in Ireland.

In 2008, a large level of texts from both institutions referred to the *Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill*. Other texts during 2008 were very much a continuation of previous discussions on 'bogus' weddings, deportations, and restrictions on illegal immigration. Proposals for detention centres also emerged during this time and there were calls for increased co-operation between Irish and UK border controls. Lastly, an EU pact on immigration and asylum was widely referred to during this time, which included the expulsion of illegal immigrants and the intensification of border controls.

As referred to previously, texts that refer to illegal immigration, the attitudes and argumentations that are implied in these texts, and the way in which illegal immigrants are represented overall, are very much based on notions of place and identity. Institutional texts do not solely refer to illegal immigration in the Irish context. They also refer to the undocumented Irish in the US and illegal immigration in the European and international contexts. Texts from the Irish Parliament mostly refer to illegal immigration

in the Irish context (66%), while texts from the Irish newsprint media mainly refer to illegal immigration in other geographical contexts (59%). When this data is combined (see figure 6.3 below), it is evident that the texts that refer to the Irish context and the texts that refer to other geographical contexts are at similar levels (48% of texts focus on Ireland and 52% refer to other countries). Over time, however, the number of texts about illegal immigration in Ireland fluctuates. In 2002 and 2003, references to the Irish context are at a relatively high level (58% and 66% respectively), although this level decreases to 32% in 2006. In 2007, the number increases again to 40% and to 57% in 2008. However, this figure decreases in 2009 to 42%. This discrepancy in the geographical focus of the institutional texts is important, as notions of place and the construction of identity plays a crucial role in how illegal immigrants are conceptualized and represented to the public. For example, texts that refer to the undocumented Irish in the US are distinctly more 'positive', compared to texts that represent illegal immigrants in Ireland (non-EU migrants), who are mainly represented in a 'negative' manner.

Figure 6.3: Number of Texts that Refer to Illegal Immigration in Ireland and other Geographical Locations
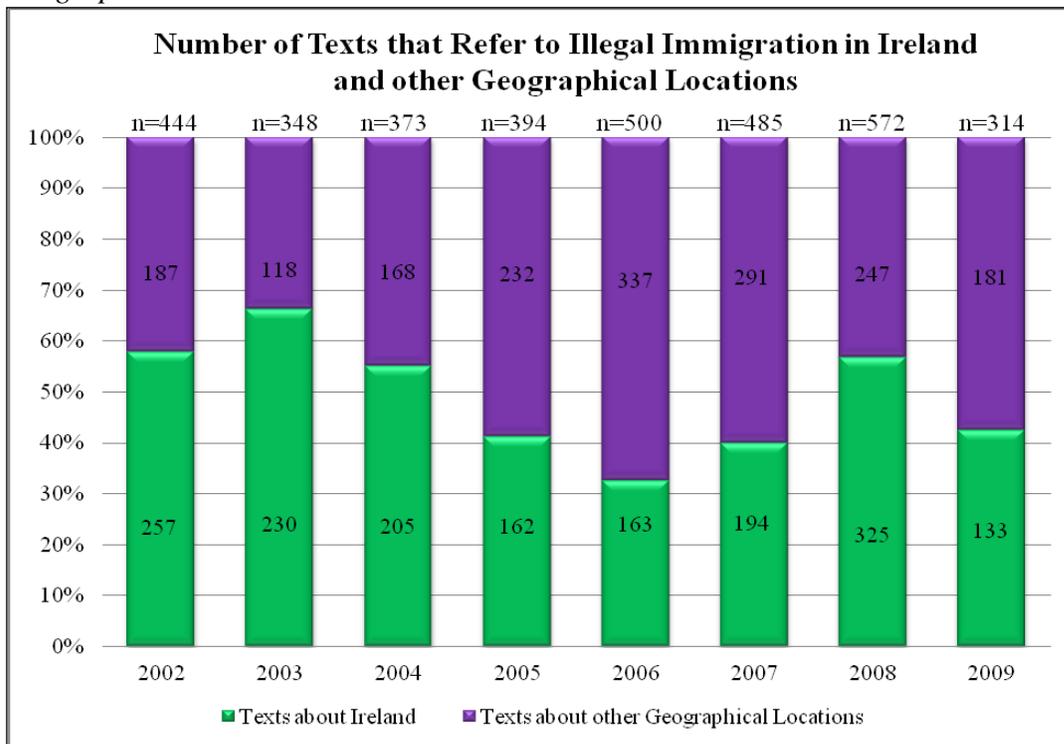
6.2.2 The Overall Results of the Topoi

This section combines the findings of the CDA of institutional texts that refer to illegal immigration. At the outset of this section it must be reiterated that the number of topoi is more than the number of texts (unit of analysis), as there can be multiple topoi within a text. It is evident that overall the institutional texts are dominated by the 'control' topos, as it constitutes 54% of all texts (see figure 6.4). The topos with the next highest frequency is the 'danger' topos, which represents 11% of all institutional texts. This is followed closely by the 'humanitarian' topos (9%) and the 'economy' topos (8%). The topos that was utilized the least was the 'culture' topos, which constitutes 6% of texts. The 'other' topos accounts for 12% of texts. Texts that were coded as 'other' referred to illegal immigration but contained no argumentation scheme.

Figure 6.4: Overall Frequency of Topoi
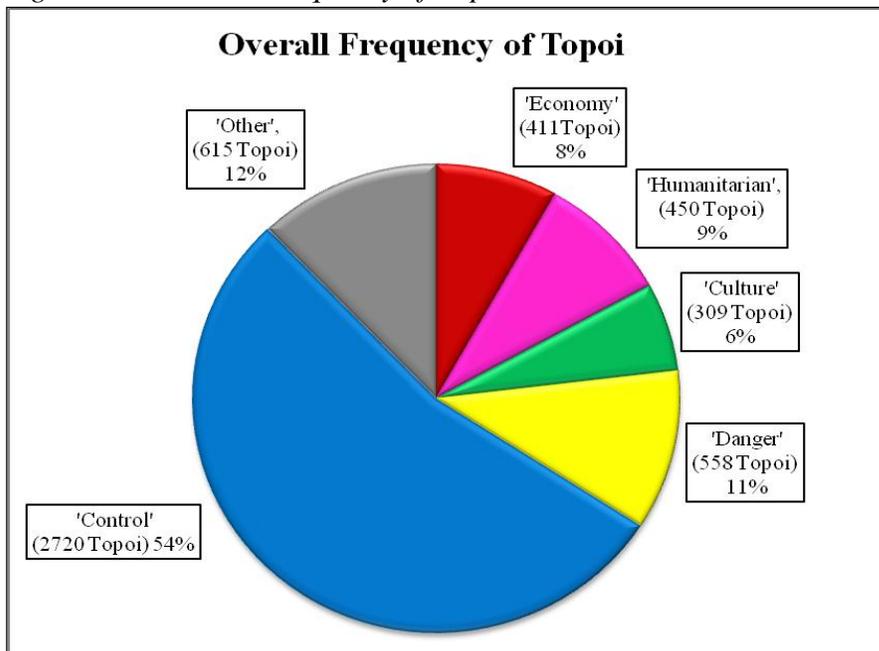
These topoi can also be assessed by tracking their frequency over time. It is evident from figure 6.5 below that all five topoi are consistently utilized to similar levels between 2002 and 2009. It is noticeable, as it is in figure 6.4 above, that the 'control' topos is the most dominant of all topoi and all of the other topoi maintain a similarly lower level of occurrence over time. The manner in which these five topoi are consistently produced

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and employed to varying degrees in Irish institutions is noteworthy, as it is an indication of broader discursive power processes. In order for governmental power to operate through discourses, ideologically-laden texts must be reproduced in a range of ways through a number of institutions over time. This dissertation contends that the consistent production of these five topoi (and particular ways of representing illegal immigrants) from these two institutions is evidence of how power can operate through institutionalized texts.

Figure 6.5: Frequency of Topoi Over Time
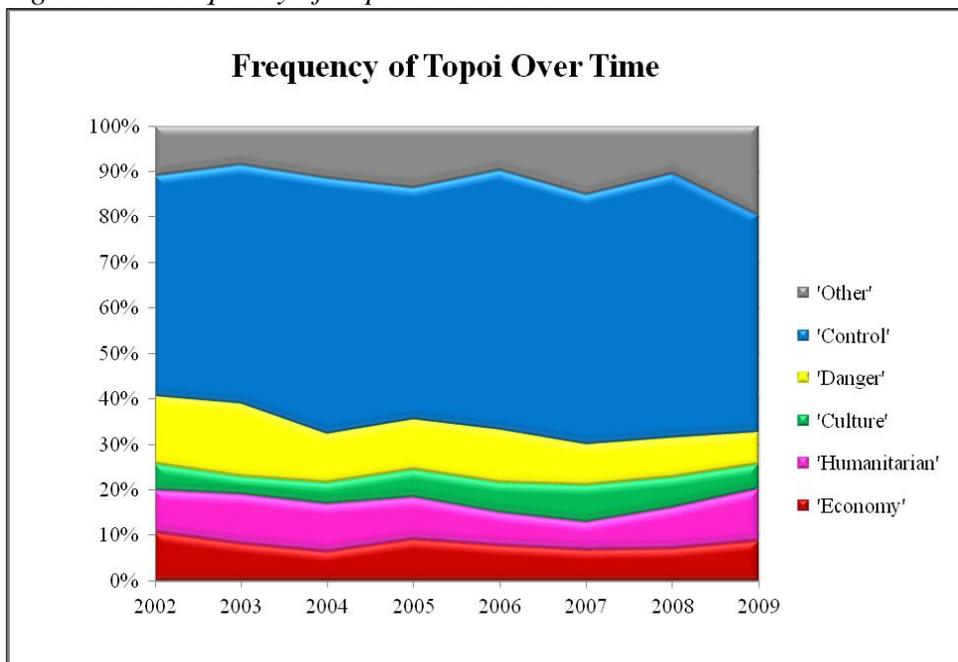
These institutionalized texts have also been assigned 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral' codes. Depicted below in figure 6.6 are the results of the five topoi coded in this manner. This analysis demonstrates that overall the topoi 'economy', 'culture', 'danger', and 'control' topoi are mostly 'negative', while the topos 'humanitarian' is mainly 'positive' (56%). In the case of the 'economy' topos, 40% of texts are 'positive', while 56% are 'negative'. The 'culture' topos is 44% 'positive', while 55% of texts are 'negative'. The 'danger' topos is dominated by 'negative' argumentations (92%) and only a small proportion of texts are 'positive' (7%). The 'control' topos contains 36% 'positive' texts, while 60% of the 'control' texts are 'negative'. This research has found that while the two institutions differ in terms of the composition of the texts that were produced, an overall

'negative' argumentation dominates Irish institutional texts. This research also acknowledges that a considerable level of 'positive' texts were also evident.

Figure 6.6: Topoi Analyzed Through 'Positive', 'Negative' and 'Neutral' Codes
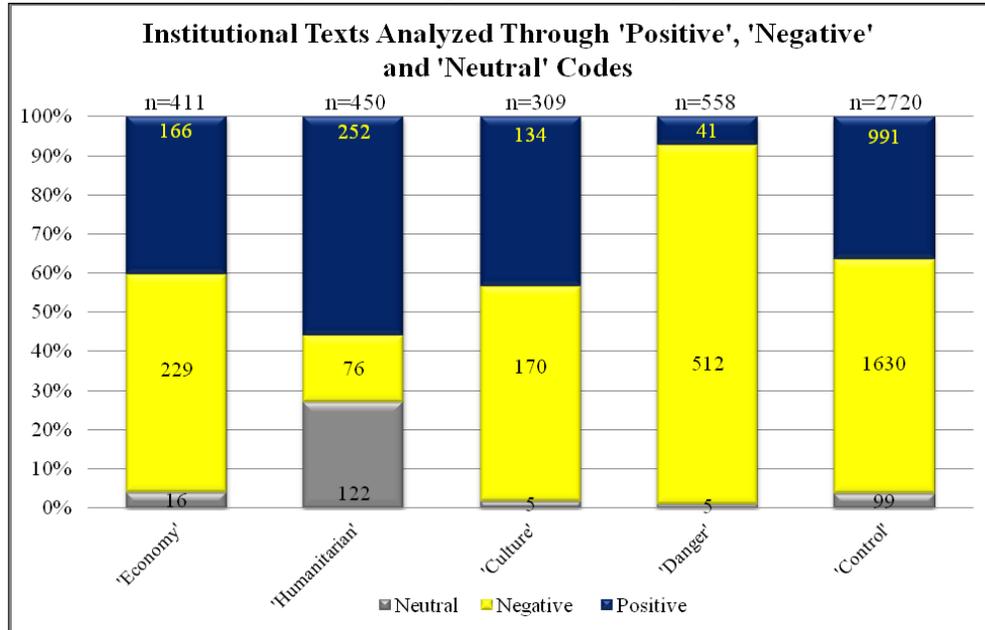
6.3 Representations of Illegal Immigrants in Institutional Texts and Interview Data

This section amalgamates the texts from the parliament and newsprint media to portray the use of the five key topoi in institutional texts. These institutional texts are also combined with interview data to allow for a fuller discussion of illegal immigration with key actors and to assess if the topoi that were identified in the institutional texts reoccur in the context of the interviews. This array of data is merged together in order to provide an overview of the formation of 'dominant' discourses, which are part of broader power formations. While this section aims to identify discursive commonalities, this research recognises that there are variations in each of these data cohorts and each data source is distinctive in its own right. The following sections offer a comprehensive outline of each individual topos, including references to the similarities and the differences in the data. The topos that has the overall highest level of text is addressed firstly – the 'control' topos. Following this, the other four topoi are outlined in an order that aligns to descending levels of occurrence (i.e. 'danger', 'humanitarian', 'economy', and 'culture').

The analysis of the texts from the two institutions reveals that there is a consistent preoccupation with controlling and preventing illegal immigration. The 'control' topos occurs more often than any of the other four topoi (54% of all institutional texts contain the 'control' topos). The overall results of the institutional texts that were distinguished with the topos 'control' are portrayed in figure 6.7. While the parliamentary 'control' topos is more 'positive' (61%) than 'negative' (32%), and the newsprint media 'control' topos is distinctly more 'negative' (71%) than 'positive' (27%), when these texts are combined, the texts are more 'negative' (60%) than 'positive' (36%). Apart from 2002, where the number of 'control-negative' texts are considerably higher (85%) than the 'control-positive' texts, the overall levels of both 'control-negative' and 'control-positive' texts remains relatively consistent between 2003 and 2009.

Figure 6.7: 'Control' Topos
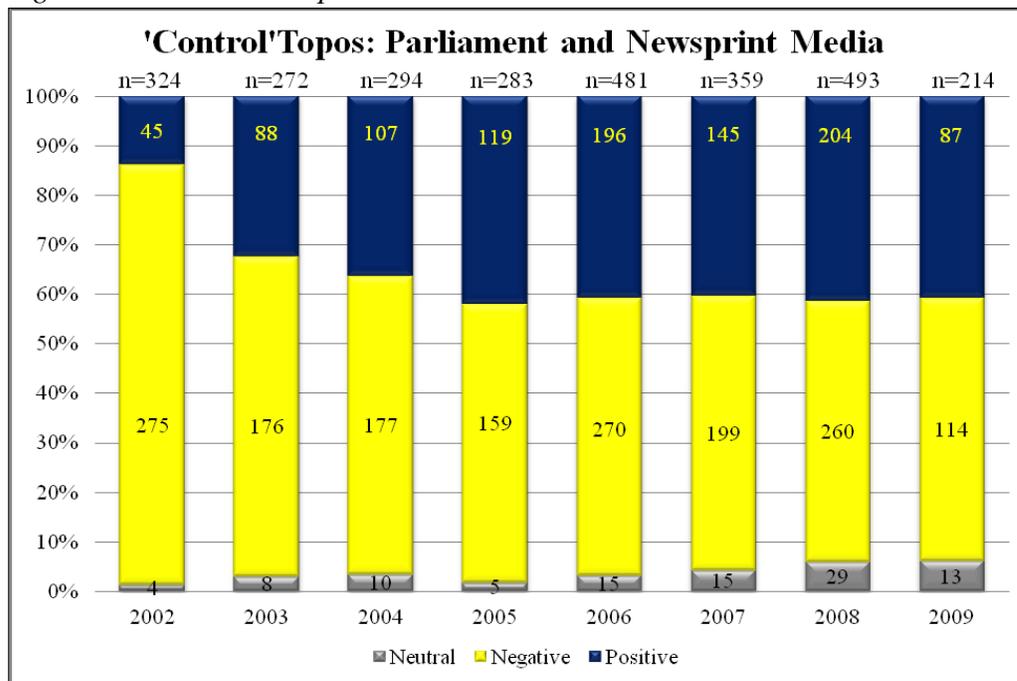
The 'control-positive' and 'control-negative' topoi that are produced in the two institutions are articulated through a variety of forms and refer to a range of topics. 'Control-positive' texts refer to two distinct place-based groups of immigrants, namely, the undocumented Irish in the US and illegal immigrants in Ireland. It is argued that the controlling of illegal immigration by both the Irish and US Governments is too

restrictive. Meanwhile, the 'control-negative' topos concentrates upon illegal immigration in the Irish and European contexts. These texts contend that illegal immigration must be prevented, controlled, and combated. 'Control-negative' argumentations relay a strict and firm approach to the regulation of illegal immigration. For example, it is often argued by those in positions of authority that illegal immigrants should leave the State, offering no opportunity for them to regularize their immigration status. This restrictive approach is echoed through the discussion of various other topics, such as detention centres, deportations, and enforcement measures that aim to curb illegal immigration (e.g. Carriers' Liability, re-admission agreements, Operation Gull, Operation Hyphen, a 'clampdown' on English language schools, and 'marriages of convenience').

The 'control-positive' and 'control-negative' topoi that are evident in the institutional texts are reflected in the interview data. The interview data has a higher level of 'control-positive' texts than 'control-negative' texts. Many of the 'control-positive' texts that emerged from the interview data are similar to the institutional data. However, some differing elements are also evident. For instance, only a very small number of interviewees express sympathy towards the undocumented Irish in the US (e.g. O' Caoláin, 2011) and many of these individuals are aware of the similar situation that exists for illegal immigrants in Ireland. One interviewee (a former government Minister) takes a different view and claims that illegal immigration in Ireland is different from undocumented immigration in the US:

> I think you are not really comparing like with like, as such, because I mean the American system turned a blind eye to illegal immigration over the years, they mainly encouraged it…so it's not exactly the same, and I did lobby for the illegal, the undocumented as they call them, because most of those people were people who were there for a long time, and pre-dated 9-11. You know, I didn't really have much sympathy for people who came subsequent to 9-11 because, you know, once they close down their system, everyone should understand that you are dealing with a different regime…look, if hundreds of people came in we'll say in 2006 and we couldn't deal with their application until 2011, it's because of not having the resources to go through all the files and whatever. It's somewhat unfair then in 2011 to say right we're dealing with your case and now you are ready to go, because they have already, you know, integrated here into society, but in America, it's even more exaggerated in that there are people there from the 80s and 90s and then, low and behold, everything closed down, so you know, I could justify lobbying on behalf of the undocumented (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

The Government's support for the undocumented Irish in the US is justified in this statement by constructing illegal immigration in Ireland and undocumented immigration

in the US as different entities. Undocumented immigration in the US is set apart from illegal immigration in Ireland, as it is claimed that immigration was '*encouraged*' by the US Government and the undocumented Irish have been in the US for decades. This text also excuses the Government's delay in dealing with immigrant applications in Ireland (probably referring to asylum claims) due to a lack of resources. Although the juxtaposition between the undocumented Irish in the US and illegal immigrants in Ireland is noted in institutional texts, a comparatively larger level of interview data refers to the hypocritical attitude of the Irish Government in their support for the undocumented Irish in the US, and their very strict and controlling approach towards illegal immigrants in Ireland. It must be noted however that three out of the four of these interviewees were members of opposition parties between 2002 and 2009:

> Oh it's absolutely hypocritical and I can't think of a strong enough word to describe it and I mean we have had an all party group and many, many have commented on the case for the Irish undocumented in the United States…we are campaigning for it to be addressed in the United States and we should be equally attentive to the need to address the situation as it presents here at home (O' Caoláin, 2011).

> So we can't have it two ways, like we can't, like it is hypocritical to talk about the undocumented Irish in the United States and at the same time say the undocumented here, oh they shouldn't be allowed here. We can't do that for God sake (Durkan, 2011).

> On the one hand, we are saying that we want to get the US authorities to recognize the residency of our undocumented Irish in the US and at the same time not being prepared to deal with the issue here (Naughten, 2011).

> I think a comparison of those two groups exposes rather dramatically the different views that successive governments have taken in regarding different groups of people, but I guess governments tend to, can tend to, lobby for those who elect them or who have influence over those who elect them and that's what I'd see within the Irish Government's efforts to legalize Irish non-documented in the United States, and then a certain reluctance to look after the needs of people who have come to Ireland from elsewhere so, I'm saddened by it, am I surprised by it, not particularly…I could certainly see it as being a bit two-faced of government to have one approach to the undocumented Irish abroad and a different approach here (Cuffe, 2011).

Cuffe's (2011) comments are notable as he contends that the reason for this anomaly in attitude towards these two place-based groups of migrants is that in general, governments will support those that vote for them. Therefore, it is more probable that a Government would gain favour with its citizens by being seen to support their Diaspora in the US, rather than supporting a minority group of immigrants in Ireland, who are relatively invisible within society and who do not hold voting power or any political influence.

Unlike the institutional data, the majority of 'control-positive' topoi that emerged from the interview data concentrates upon the Irish context. These texts criticize the Irish immigration system that operated between 2002 and 2009 and argue that regularizations and amnesties should have been, and should be, offered to illegal immigrants. Interviewees describe the Irish immigration system as *'hopelessly ill-prepared and overwhelmed'* (NGOa, 2011), *'showed a lack of compassion and understanding'* (McGrath, 2011), *'appalling, circuitous, laborious, not open to change'* (Durkan, 2011). These descriptions of the Irish immigration system are significantly more disapproving than the institutional data. Additionally, a number of interviewees contend that the immigration system actually causes people to become undocumented:

> yeah genuinely people can engage with the system and do everything correctly and still become undocumented, very easily (NGOa, 2011).

> It was chaotic and there is no point in calling it anything other than that. We didn't have an immigration system, we still don't have an immigration system, we are going back to Aliens Act of 1935 or 1937, I'm not sure which, and that's it. Migrants coming in here are considered illegal aliens if they don't have proper documentation. So our system really wasn't able to cope with it at all and that's why I suppose we, you know, we were developing the asylum system very much on an ad-hoc basis, you know, and there was a piece-meal approach taken in relation to it…like, for example, now you know it should have been very easy during the boom to take the cohort of people that were undocumented here, but actually paying tax and PRSI into the Irish economy, you know they were working, they were in employment, you know, and dealing with that particular cohort of people. Rather than them having to all apply individually and individually go through the process, at the end of the day nine times out of ten, or ninety nine times out of one hundred they were granted some form of temporary residency that allowed them then to get a long term residency in the country, but it shouldn't have had to go through that (Naughten, 2011).

Naughten (2011) asserts that there was no real immigration system in place, it was developed on an '*ad-hoc basis',* and there was a *'piece-meal'* approach to immigration at government level. Importantly, this interviewee asserts that Irish immigration legislation deems immigrants who lack correct documentation to be *'illegal aliens',* and the immigration process unnecessarily caused a considerable delay in allowing people to receive residency in the country, forcing them to remain undocumented. The interviewee goes on to assert that the immigration system wasn't able to cater for illegal immigrants:

> The system wasn't able to cater for illegal immigrants at all and, you know, if they didn't fall into a category they weren't dealt with…at the time, I pushed Brian Lenihan on the issue of introducing a Bridging Visa…The problem I would have with it was that it was a time limited scheme, in that the door closed on it and there are quite a number of people, for one reason or another, weren't aware of that, language being an issue, not moving in the right circles to know that this scheme was there, like it was nearly closed before it was opened. Now even me as a public representative found that, and I think that more could be done to raise the awareness of it (Naughten, 2011).

Although this interviewee welcomes the Bridging Visa that was available for a three month period at the end of 2009, they are critical of it, as it was only available to a certain cohort of illegal immigrants for a short period of time. Furthermore, information regarding the availability of the scheme was not properly disseminated to those immigrants who could have benefited from it. Thus, the regularization scheme was temporarily available, but its availability was not widely advertised. A number of other interviewees sympathize with illegal immigrants and also argue that an amnesty/regularization should be made available in Ireland, namely NGOa (2011), McGrath (2011), and Cuffe (2011).

A number of 'control-positive' topoi emerged from the interview data that were not evident in the institutional data. It was argued that there should be a right to free movement and there was much empathy with those who migrate for a better life elsewhere:

> I don't know because I think people have the right to move from (a) to (b), do you know what I mean? So, if that's what somebody wants to do and they are ok with being, so what like. I don't have a huge issue with it at all (NGOb, 2011).

> Now a previous Minister for Justice would say, 'some of these are economic immigrants, do you realize that Deputy?' Of course they are economic immigrants, are we all fools, would you not be an economic immigrant if you had an opportunity of improving yourself, or bettering yourself and so on and so forth. So the logic of that kind of a statement is just beyond belief as far as I'm concerned. So I don't blame people for wishing to come to a different jurisdiction, where they think that things are better and all that kind of stuff, at all, that's a natural thing (Durkan, 2011).

> I certainly can understand how people might wish to leave a disadvantaged country and come to Ireland, certainly at that time and I think there is a strong folk memory in Ireland of people leaving and living in other countries illegally and indeed claiming benefits that they weren't entitled to. I've a distinctive memory in an election, probably around about the year 2002 of someone arguing with me that yes lots of Irish people went abroad, yes many of them were living in other countries illegally, yes many of them were claiming benefits, but that was completely different to the kind of illegal immigration into Ireland and I was quite struck by that description (Cuffe, 2011).

Another noteworthy 'control-positive' topos that occurred in the interview data constructs the Government as an institution that is law abiding and rational in its decision making processes and as an institution that upholds the rights of immigrants, while the Irish people are described as '*anti illegal migration*':

> the public opinion is much more, I suppose, anti illegal migration, and wants the Government to do more, and complains when the Government doesn't do enough, when, in fact, you know, there are procedures, you know, I mean you can't just throw people back, you have to determine and go through the, not just the international, but also the local law, as to whether these people are entitled

to be here or not, and obviously in the interim to provide them with basic needs to live here (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

This text portrays a 'positive' image of the Government of that time and describes the Irish public as '*anti illegal immigration*' and wanting to '*throw people back*'. The interviewee contends that there are international and local '*procedures*' and laws to be followed and immigrants must be provided with '*basic needs*' when they are going through the immigration system. This legalistic and authoritative language represents the then Government as judicious decision makers who were fair and balanced, while the Irish people merely want to prevent illegal immigration.

Even though the 'control-positive' topos occurred more often in the interview data, a considerable number of 'control-negative' topoi were also evident. The 'control-negative' topos that materialized from the interviews reflected institutional data. The argument that illegal immigration must be prevented, controlled, and combated was evident. There was a strong argument put forward that illegal immigration must not be tolerated:

> now there may be circumstances that created that illegality, as opposed to a person who seeks deliberately to be, to enter the country illegally. I don't tolerate that at all, for whatever reason (Durkan, 2011).

On previous occasions this interviewee (Durkan, 2011) was quite sympathetic towards illegal immigrants, yet in this text he is distinctly intolerant of migrants who enter Ireland illegally. Another interviewee made the case for a '*zero-tolerance*' approach to illegal immigration:

> I will say that our government would be quite right to tolerate absolutely no illegality. I reject the word undocumented; the proper word is illegal, undocumented is a weasel word used by advocates. Illegal immigration should be absolutely, in our country, dealt with by zero-tolerance…With illegal immigration, as far as I'm concerned, this isn't some vague offence, you know, it's not a victimless crime. I have the right as a citizen and as a voter to vote for a certain kind of immigration policy and I have the right to have the borders of my country defended. That is my right as a citizen. I've often said there are two fundamental duties of the State…to maintain law and order and to defend the borders of the State. Those are the two fundamental duties of government and they are not some abstraction. They are owed to every citizen. If our country is everybody's country, we don't have one, and so to me the defence of the borders of the State and the keeping within whatever immigration parameters the State has laid down is a duty owed to every citizen (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Firstly, this interviewee asserts that the terminology '*undocumented is a weasel word used by advocates*'. This is a highly 'negative' and offensive turn of phrase and explicitly expresses the interviewee's opinion. Illegal immigration is described as a criminal offence and it should be '*dealt with by zero-tolerance*'. This position is justified by

placing the rights of the citizens and the right to protect and '*defend'* the borders of the State, over the rights of people to migrate. It is noteworthy how the interviewee invokes notions of national belonging: '*If our country is everybody's country, we don't have one'.* This text implies that in order for citizens to belong to their particular country, there must be those who are not part of the State and who do not belong. It is argued here that 'naturalized' conceptualizations of national identity justify the interviewee's extremely restrictive approach to the regulation of all types of immigration, most especially illegal immigration.

Similar to institutional data, a firm approach towards illegal immigration is evident in the interview data. The same interviewee (as above) is explicitly clear in their argumentation that if an immigrant's visa expires they must leave the State:

> I suppose the short answer is no; if your visa is up get out of here…But the stronger legal obligation is, if your time is up out you go. You had permission up until then; you don't have permission to be here longer (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Another interviewee also adheres to this strict and unyielding approach, contending that immigration law must be upheld:

> I mean, you know, we had the classic example of Pamela Izevbekhai. In the end I felt sorry for her, and her children, particularly her children, but you know, I mean, she didn't comply with the law (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

Although this interviewee sympathizes with the case of Pamela Izevbekhai (a woman who sought asylum for herself and her daughters on the grounds of Female Genital Mutilation), the interviewee argues that she did not comply with the law and therefore she cannot remain in the State. This interviewee goes on to refer to how the deportation of immigrants, especially children, is not an easy thing to do:

> it was a huge problem, again the media tended to highlight all the, sort of, hard cases, and you know, they are hard to defend in some cases, it's hard to, you know, it's hard to justify throwing little children back on a plane, back to their country, but I mean, you know, that's, you know, these are not easy things to do (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

This text highlights the tension that exists between adhering to the law, implementing deportation orders, and the actual deportation of people, especially in the case of children. It is clear that this interviewee struggled with the implementation of deportation orders (as a former Minister), and in particular, with the deportation of children. It is notable how the interviewee offers no real justification for the deportation of children, but merely

asserts '*but I mean, you know, that's, you know, these are not easy things to do'*. The interviewee also refers to how these children were deported *'back to their country'*, implying that they clearly do not belong to 'our' country. This text is significant, and highlights the advantages to conducting in-depth interviews, as it is rare to see how people who are tasked with the job of implementing immigration law and deportation orders can struggle with difficult decisions that have to be made in accordance with immigration law. One interviewee referenced problems with deportation orders and expressed concern over the lack of exit controls from the State:

> And time after time, you read in the media 'oh they leave the country', but they don't necessarily. Now we don't have exit controls, but there is some sort of alleged airport thing…It suits them to say they have probably left, but I mean that's very unsatisfactory from our point of view. Actually, funnily enough, when Michael McDowell was Minister, somebody challenged him about that sort of thing and he said something about 'oh, these deportation orders; if they go missing, it isn't the Government's job to hunt them down or to track them down', and I said to myself, 'excuse me, if it isn't, whose job is it?' (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

This interviewee refers to how migrants, who are subject to deportation orders, can leave the State by their own means. Government Ministers often refer to how migrants who are subject to deportation orders have left the State 'voluntarily'. However, there is no evidence that these migrants have departed from the country, as the State does not keep a record of those that leave the country. The interviewee asserts that exit controls should be implemented so that migrants don't go '*missing'* and it is the Government's job to '*hunt them down or track them down'*. In many ways, it is to the advantage of the Irish State to allow migrants to exit voluntarily, as it saves the State the expense of deporting people. Nevertheless, this interviewee has an extremely restrictive approach towards immigration and utilizes terms such as '*hunt'* and '*track'* to refer to illegal immigrants. These terms are commonly utilized to refer to animals or criminals and invoke notions of authorities chasing deceptive and unlawful immigrants.

One 'control' element that was often mentioned in institutional texts was the concern over illegal immigrants entering Ireland through the border with Northern Ireland. While many of the interviewees referred to this, the majority of them had no clear insight or evidence of this actually occurring. One particular interviewee's response carries more weight however, as they were a Minister in government during the time under investigation in this research (Fianna Fáil, 2011). While the interviewee acknowledges

that some migrants 'overstay' their immigration visa and enter Ireland initially with some type of visa, it is their opinion that substantial numbers of illegal immigrants came through the border with Northern Ireland between 2002 and 2009:

> Well quite a substantial number will come with a visa, you know, with a holiday visa, a ninety day visa or whatever, but you know…the significant numbers were coming across the border at all hours of the day and night, in taxis and cars at night time, and arriving at the door in Dublin, you know, that was well known, well known [sic], but people being ferried, at off-peak hours across the border…Mainly Nigerian, but mostly, you know, African, Pakistani (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

This short text makes three references to the movement of people into Ireland at night, during '*off-peak hours'*. The time of day that immigrants entered Ireland is stressed in this text in order to create a sense of illusiveness and an image of a veiled entry on the part of illegal immigrants.

The remainder of 'control-negative' topoi from the interviews constructed non-EU immigration to be a problem and viewed the regularization of illegal immigrants to be a possible incentive for further illegal immigration. Non-EU migrants, especially those from the continent of Africa, were frequently constructed to be a problem in institutional texts and this argumentation also arose in the interview data:

> We also had a dramatic increase in, you know, non-EU people coming into the country and that caused problems too, because again the immigration system had to respond to it (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

Non-EU immigrants are targeted as a distinct problem for the Irish immigration system. Rather than conceptualizing the functioning of the immigration system to cater for the needs of immigrants, the idea is forwarded that the immigration system should control certain types of immigration. Non-EU immigrants that engage with the immigration system are represented as a problem due to their utilization of the immigration system. The use of the words '*dramatic increase'* creates a sense of panic and even the image of an impending invasion. Ultimately, the argumentation put forth is clear: immigration from outside of Europe, especially from the continent of Africa, is not welcome in Ireland. Immigration was also represented through a legalistic discourse of entitlement, which added authority to institutional processes of exclusion:

> You see again, people didn't differentiate between Eastern Europeans who are entitled to be here and we'll say the Africans (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

By utilizing the phrase '*the Africans',* immigrants from a whole continent are categorized into one cohort of people, who are not permitted to be in the State.

One way of justifying the exclusion of illegal immigrants from society and of preventing migrants who are illegal from having their status 'regularized', is to construct the regularization of a migrant's legal status in a 'negative' manner and as having a potential 'negative' impact on society. It was argued in the interview data that the regularization of illegal immigrants in Ireland would be an incentive for future illegal immigration, creating a fear of an imaginary 'other' who may, or may not, try to enter the State:

> You can't put a formalized structure in place because, again, all you are doing is putting up in neon lights Ireland is opening up a situation to encourage more people to come in, but some sort of a Bridging Visa or mechanism needs to be put in place for those that are already here to get re-documented (Naughten, 2011).

> if we had granted an amnesty, we would have been the only country in the world to grant an amnesty in that respect, which would have sent out a huge signal, you know, to the various countries from which these people come, that Ireland was a soft touch, you just couldn't, I mean you just couldn't do it. We just didn't have the resources to cope with that, or the infrastructure in the country to cope with large numbers of people into the country (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

Both of these texts assert that a formalized route to legality/regularization would attract further illegal immigration and in order for the State to remain strong in its controlling of illegal immigration, it should not permit regularizations. The 'economy' topos is also employed to argue that the amount of resources that would be involved in catering for illegal immigration would be a drain on the economy. The Fianna Fáil interviewee adds that the possibility of regularizing the status of illegal immigrants is a gift or a reward to 'good' migrants. The argumentation is forwarded that illegality cannot be rewarded, representing all illegal immigrants as people who must be punished for their bad behaviour:

> obviously they should leave, you have to implement the law and the law is, says that if you are here, if you are here illegally…you know, they're, you know, hugely involved in society here and they are doing all sorts of great work, etc., etc., but I mean you can't reward illegality, because in fairness to the genuine refugees and migrants, who are under international law fleeing persecution, you know, the fact that so many people come in claiming, and who were genuinely not entitled to it, to a certain extent, took away from the genuine asylum seekers (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

Once again, a legalistic discourse is employed to justify the exclusion of immigrants: '*obviously they should leave, you have to implement the law and the law is, says that if you are here, if you are here illegally'.* This statement is very clear: the Irish Government

does not tolerate illegal immigrants and if a migrant is here illegally they must leave the State. This attitude is justified by asserting that these illegal immigrants are undermining *'genuine'* asylum seekers, thus assuming that a large proportion of those claiming asylum are disingenuous.

The combining of institutional texts and interview data that invoke the 'control' topos reveals a number of elements. Although many similar topics are referred to in the parliament, newsprint media, and interviews (especially in relation to the 'control-negative' topos – holding a strict approach and anti-regularization), there are also many differences between these entities. Firstly, issues that were prominent in the institutional data did not occur in the interview data. This included the topics of detention centres, English language schools, 'marriages of convenience' and an array of enforcement measures (e.g. Carriers' Liability, Operation Gull, readmission agreements). Secondly, certain topics that were raised within the interview data did not occur to a significant level in the institutional data (e.g. the right to free movement). Thirdly, the 'control-positive' topos was more prominent in the interviews compared to the institutional data overall and it is notable that geographical focus of the 'control-positive' interview data concentrated upon illegal immigration in the Irish context. Unlike the institutional data, interview texts heavily criticize the Irish immigration system between 2002 and 2009, express sympathy towards illegal immigrants, and argued, on the whole, that regularizations ought to be available to illegal immigrants.

This research has found that the 'control' topos utterly overshadows institutional references to illegal immigration. Although the 'control' topos represents illegal immigrants in a mainly 'negative' manner, it is acknowledged here that this argumentation is continually expressed through conflicting (including 'positive') texts. Indeed, the various data sources had differing levels of 'positivity' and 'negativity' entwined in the texts that they produced. However, the domination of the 'control-negative' topos is compounded as all of the other topoi ('economy', etc.) feed into the 'control' topos through their distinct argumentations. This practice results in a mainly 'negative' image of illegal immigration continually expressed through the Irish

Parliament and newsprint media. As it is these institutions that provide the main information or 'knowledge' to the general public on this matter, the 'control' topos provides the key argumentation or 'mentality' within which the public are led to think about illegal immigration. This results in the practice of controlling illegal immigration becoming the 'naturalized' conceptualization in Irish society. Thus, this thesis argues that the 'control' topos has two core functions. Firstly, illegal immigrants are represented in a multitude of 'negative' ways and they are assigned many 'negative' characteristics in order to justify immigration control measures and their exclusion from Irish society. Secondly, illegal immigrants are clearly identified as those that do not belong to Irish society and are represented as different from 'us' (Irish people), firmly placing illegal immigrants into the role of the 'other'. In the prevailing nation state governance ideology that operates in Irish society, this practice of identifying an 'other' and the 'negative' categorization of illegal immigrants is important. This is because those that are in powerful positions in Irish society need to continually renew and legitimize their authority to members of the State. One of the ways of doing so is by identifying a threat to the 'normal' functioning of the nation state. The 'mentality' is forwarded by those in power that the State, as an institution, has a responsibility to members of its society to fulfil the role of 'protector' of its citizens, against the 'undesirable' and threatening 'other'. Many examples of this institutional practice of 'negative' character construction and the resulting exclusion of illegal immigrants (e.g. Operation Hyphen) have been outlined in this research. The culmination of 'negative' characteristics that are expressed through the 'control' topos and indeed the various representations from the other topoi puts forth a strong and legitimized argumentation to Irish society. This argumentation asserts that illegal immigrants must be prevented from entering the State and if they are illegally residing in the State, they must be controlled and deported.

6.3.2 The 'Danger' Topos

In institutional texts the argumentation put forth through the 'danger' topos is that illegal immigrants are dangerous individuals. They are assigned threatening characteristics (e.g. in terms of national security, terrorism, and infectious diseases) and associated with multiple forms of criminality. The overall results of the institutional texts are portrayed in

figure 6.8. The 'danger' topos represents 11% of all institutional texts about illegal immigration. Both the parliamentary data and the newsprint media data have a considerably higher level of 'danger-negative' texts (77% and 95% respectively) than 'danger-positive' texts. The overall combined figures are also more 'negative' (91%) than 'positive' (7%). Thus, 'danger-positive' topoi occur quite rarely in institutional data and the small number that do exist function by countering argumentations that construct illegal immigrants as dangerous people or a threat to society. A number of 'danger-positive' texts refer to the undocumented Irish in the US and contend that the undocumented Irish are not a danger to the US in economic terms or in security terms.

Figure 6.8: 'Danger' Topos
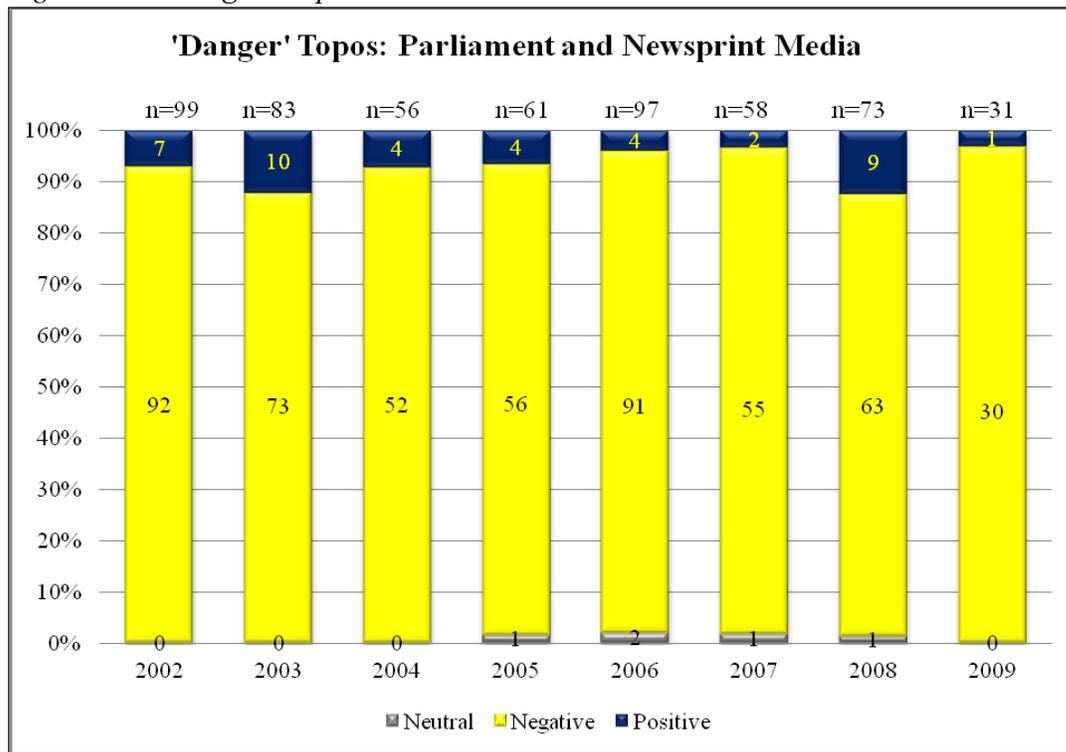
It is clear that the 'danger-negative' topos dominates the 'danger' topos. These argumentations are asserted through a variety of forms. Firstly, the very act of immigrating illegally (without permission from the State) is deemed to be a criminal offence, thus, immigration is associated with criminality/illegality. Secondly, illegal immigrants are represented as dangerous characters and criminals. Thirdly, illegal immigrants are said to be carrying out an array of criminal activities, such as fraud,

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terrorism, and sexual offences. Fourthly, illegal immigrants are portrayed as a threat in numerous ways, as they are said to have dangerous cultural characteristics and they are said to be carriers of diseases. Illegal immigrants are also viewed as a potential source of invasion and as something that must be prevented and controlled. Indeed, many of the 'danger-negative' topoi occurred in the context of broader 'control' argumentations (for example texts that refer to the controlling of the State's borders). Therefore, through a vast array of texts disseminated from the institutions of the Parliament and the newsprint media illegal immigrants are represented overall as a 'danger' to Irish society.

'Danger-positive' and 'danger-negative' topoi also materialized in the interview texts. Similar to the institutional data, a very small number of 'danger-positive' topoi emerged from the interviews. An additional similarity between these various sources is that 'danger-positive' topoi take the form of countering argumentations that construct illegal immigrants as a 'danger' and a threat to society, as exemplified in the following texts:

> I don't think they [illegal immigrants] are a threat to society (Durkan, 2011).

> I wouldn't see an immigrant population as being a threat in their own right as a distinct group (Cuffe, 2011).

> I just fundamentally don't see it I guess because, for me, people that are undocumented are the most threatened and are abused and exploited by anyone, everyone, so just, and people with no rights are rarely much of a threat, I don't think so anyway (NGOa, 2011).

These texts not only counter other texts that construct illegal immigrants as a threat, but also argue that illegal immigrants are '*the most threatened', 'abused,'* and *'exploited'* people in Irish society.

A substantial number of 'danger-negative' topoi were expressed in the interviews. However, it is to be noted at the outset of this section that a number of these texts stemmed from the Immigration Control Platform representative (Ní Chonaill, 2011). On the whole, the manner in which illegal immigrants were represented as a 'danger' in the interviews was similar to the ways in which illegal immigrants were constructed as a 'danger' in institutional texts. The act of migrating illegally was explicitly declared to be a crime and a number of texts linked illegal immigration with criminal activities:

> in Germany it is a crime; well to me it most certainly is a crime, so I say hurray for the Germans who have it down as a crime (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Well first of all, if they are being chased by the law, that's one. We shouldn't entertain anybody who's wanted for criminal activity in other jurisdictions (Durkan, 2011).

> that's the way to deal with it, because it ensures then that the public feel that they are being protected, that you are not opening a flood gate. It's important for a public perception here in Ireland, but also from an international perspective, because the last thing you want to be doing is putting up in neon lights that Ireland is open for illegal immigration of one form or another, but it also deals with the cases that are there, like realistically, I see probably the vast majority of people that are in that legal limbo getting some form of legal residency here in this country, other than those that have, you know, are undesirables and wouldn't be let into any country anyway with serious criminal convictions and so forth, and there, as well, it's to try and weed those out of the system, that's going to be the challenge (Naughten, 2011).

Although the above text is in some way 'positive' and is open to the possibility of regularizations for illegal immigrants in Ireland, the interviewee explicitly represents certain types of illegal immigration in a dangerous manner. The implicit assumption put forward here is that the Government will protect the public from *'undesirable'* criminal immigrants, who must be weeded '*out of the system', a* process which is portrayed as a problem. The interviewee contends that the Government cannot open the '*flood gate'* to illegal immigration; thus, creating the impression that if the State permitted illegal immigrants, the country would be inundated with a mass of illegal immigrants who are just waiting to enter the country. The interviewee claims that the regularization of illegal immigration must be kept below the radar; otherwise, the assumption is that a mass of illegal immigrants will migrate to Ireland. Although the interviewee has no evidence to prove this claim, he actively constructs a threatening image of illegal immigrants. It is contended here that the construction of some (not all) illegal immigrants as having '*serious criminal convictions*' justifies the controlling of immigration against the deviant 'other'. This interviewee also represents illegal immigration as a potential security threat:

> Yes, in relation to security, yes there is always a problem there, there's no doubt about it and I made the point in relation to people circumventing our immigration system and we've had a number of examples of that in relation to, well I don't know whether they were illegal or not. Some of them, I think, were and some of them were legal in relation to those connected with Al-Qaeda and so forth, they trained or worked or lived here in Dublin and lived in Ireland, but as a whole no, I think it's important that we close that off. That we close off that loop-hole for the security of the State, I think the security of the State has to be paramount…I think it's more important from a security point of view and it is important that we close that loop-hole off once and for all and that we know exactly who those illegal immigrants are and get them documented and the only way we can do that is to put a scheme in place and deal with the applications that are before it and if someone has serious convictions or has a record in other jurisdictions, then they are put on the first plane out of here and not let back into the country again, but like if someone has contributed to the community, contributed to society and hasn't come to the attention of the Gardaí or the authorities then I don't see why they can't be given legal status in this country (Naughten, 2011).

Illegal immigrants are portrayed as a '*problem*' and as people who are a threat to the security of the State. Immigrants are said to be '*circumventing our immigration system*' and are accused of being connected to '*Al-Qaeda and so forth*'. This creates an impression of deviant illegal immigrants who are involved in terrorist activities, as the reference to '*Al-Qaeda*' conjures up notions of violent religious extremism. The interviewee justifies these statements by saying that '*the security of the State has to be paramount*'. Although the interviewee holds that illegal immigrants should be assigned documentation, and this aspect is positive, the rationale behind the documenting and legalizing of illegal immigration is not to aid or assist the migrant, but to protect the Irish people and the State from dangerous illegal immigrants and those who may be a security threat. The interviewee argues that immigrants should become documented so that the Irish people are protected from these unknown people, implying that those that are undocumented are a potential threat to society. The interviewee additionally asserts that those with '*serious convictions*' or those that have a '*record in other jurisdictions*' should be deported. It is further contended that those immigrants that have 'desirable' attributes ('*contributed to the community*' and '*society*' and have not come to the '*attention of the Gardaí or the authorities*') should be allowed to remain in the country.

The concept that illegal immigrants are invading Europe and Ireland materialized on a number of occasions in institutional texts, however, only one interviewee (the member of the Immigration Control Platform) repeatedly referred to this (apparent) invasion of illegal immigrants:

> Well I would characterize them as invaders and I'm very anxious that that be seen because sometimes it's thought that that's a metaphor. It is not a metaphor…Illegal immigration is the modern form of invasion. People do not invade Western Europe today with a gun in their hands, in an organized group in that sense. Invasion today is by illegal immigration…The very fact that you can use the term military invasion and it isn't a tautology proves that invasion doesn't have to be military. If I come to your home and I barge my way in and I say, 'Oh you've a spare room and I'm staying in it and there's nothing you can do about it', I have invaded your home. Illegal immigration is the modern form of invasion and until that's recognized; Europe will never deal with it. That's my attitude to it. Anybody who mentions regularization of illegals or amnesties or whatever is to me traitorous (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

By employing the metaphor of a threatening individual illegally entering a person's home and remaining uninvited, the interviewee actively constructs an image of the State as the 'home' of Irish people only. The interviewee sees all forms of immigration, not only

illegal immigration, as an invasion and as a threat to Irish society. This firm approach is justified by the interviewee, who describes the migration of people as a military invasion. The interviewee additionally asserts that you cannot sympathize with those coming from another country, as they are even worse than an invading army:

> illegal immigration being the modern form of invasion, and that's why you can't afford to have any sympathy…If you say to me 'oh, but look, he said we are going and his wife and kid they didn't make the decision', my answer to you would be that they all constitute an invading army. An invading army was usually full of conscripts who didn't want to be there either, who were made to invade, who didn't decide to invade you, but you didn't stand on the shore saying 'ah, sure, I can't shoot the poor bastard, sure he doesn't want to be here; he was made come'. And this is one of the ways, in my opinion, illegal immigration is far worse or more difficult to deal with than military invasion, in that down the years, even an invading army had a particular function to perform and then they wanted to go home…But with this invasion, they do not want to go home. They want to stay in your country. You have a much bigger problem than you had with an invading army; the invading army wants to go home, they can't wait to go home. I can't afford to have sympathy, just as you can't afford, if you were facing a military invader, you can't afford to say that guy there in front of me is just as nice a guy as my husband, my brother who is fighting in our army. It doesn't matter a damn if he is as nice a guy; you fire, right, you cannot think in those terms. You cannot do it…They wish to live in your country, right? The unspoken thing is 'I'm coming here; I know very well that you probably don't want me. I don't give a damn; I'm coming in here and I'll stay. You can try to get me out but I ain't going'. That's invasion, and I mean to me I don't know what kind of human being would accept that (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Illegal immigrants are represented in this text in military warfare terms, as the enemy, as an invading army, and they are even said to be worse than an invading army, as they do not leave the country that they travel to. The interviewee also employs inflammatory and vulgar language to describe illegal immigrants. No other interviewees referred to illegal immigration in this manner. Lastly, illegal immigrants are also linked with disease and the following text explicitly refers to '*sickle-cell disease*' as an '*African disease*', thus constructing an image of immigrants from Africa as unclean and a threat to the health and wellbeing of the people of the State:

> there was and is I'm sure a special clinic that was attached to some of the hospitals in Dublin because we never used to have sickle-cell disease, it's an African disease and babies were being born with sickle-cell disease and there was a special clinic (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Overall, the 'danger' argumentation that is expressed in the institutional texts is distinctively more 'negative' than 'positive'. Indeed, the 'danger' topos is the only topos that has such a high level of 'negative' texts (91%). A distinction is evident between how the two institutions employ the 'danger' topos. Unlike parliamentary texts, the Irish newsprint media tend to construct illegal immigration as an invasion and they are prolific in linking illegal immigration with numerous forms of criminality (e.g. theft, burglary,

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violence). Furthermore, high levels of 'danger-negative' topoi are evident in the interview data. These texts represent illegal immigrants as an invasion and associate them with disease. This dissertation maintains that similar to the 'control' topos, the 'danger' topos has two main functions. The first function of the 'danger' topos is to represent illegal immigrants as a danger to society, which justifies their exclusion from Irish society. The second function is to construct illegal immigrants as the 'other', who are unwelcome, uninvited, and who must be prevented, controlled, and expelled. A minute number of texts counter these 'negative' representations, referring mostly to the undocumented Irish in the US.

6.3.3 The 'Humanitarian' Topos

This research has outlined in detail how illegal immigration and humanitarian immigration are often mentioned in tandem, as asylum seekers are often characterized as illegal immigrants and/or 'economic' migrants. The overall result of the 'humanitarian' topos from the two institutions is portrayed in figure 6.9 and represents 9% of all texts about illegal immigration from these two institutions. As the parliamentary texts are more 'positive' (77%) than 'negative' (20%), and so too are the newsprint media texts (51% 'positive' and 15% 'negative'), the results of the combined institutional texts reveal that they are also more 'positive' (56%) than 'negative' (15%). In the 'humanitarian' topos there is a noteworthy percentage of 'neutral' texts (27%), which refer to the 'humanitarian' situation of illegal immigrants (particularly instances of the tragic deaths of those travelling to European countries), but these texts do not invoke either a 'positive' or a 'negative' mode of argumentation. Over time, the levels of 'humanitarian-positive', 'humanitarian-negative', and 'humanitarian-neutral' texts are relatively similar, but the 'humanitarian-positive' topos consistently occurs more often.

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Figure 6.9: 'Humanitarian' Topos
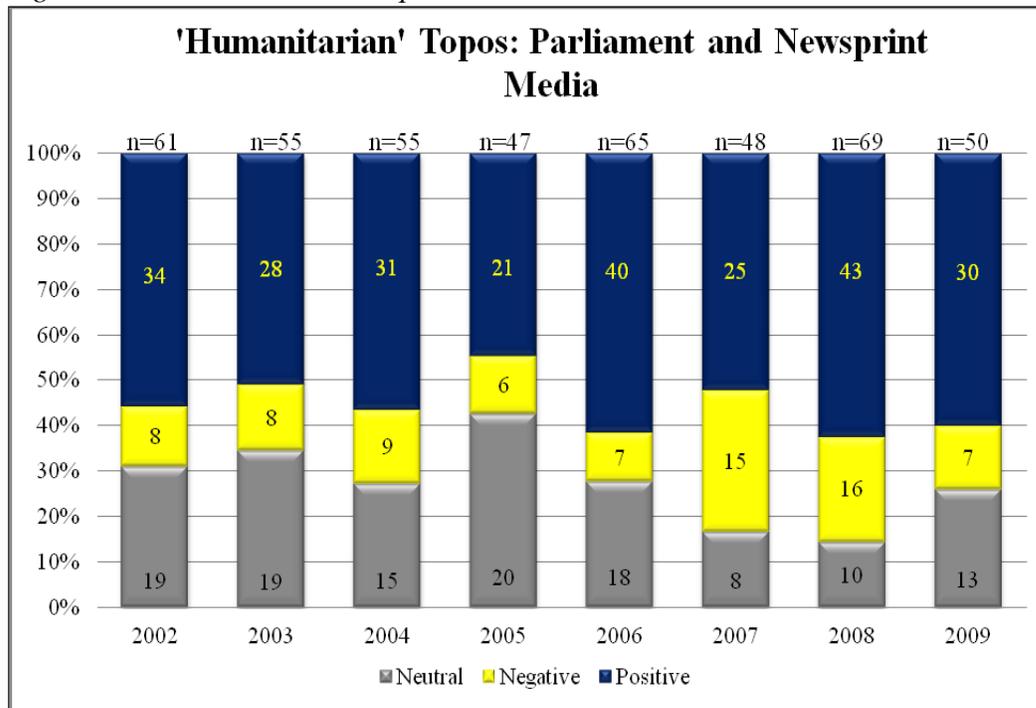
In institutional texts, illegal immigrants are represented in multiple ways through various 'humanitarian' topoi. 'Humanitarian-positive' topoi are the more frequent (56%) and argue for the protection of basic human rights, the implementation of employment rights, and the protection of those who are smuggled and trafficked. References are also made to instances of people travelling illegally through hazardous and unsafe methods and the human tragedies that often occur in these situations. Furthermore, a number of institutional texts refer to how the immigration system in Ireland can treat people inhumanely. A large level of 'humanitarian-positive' texts comment on the undocumented Irish in the US. These texts relay how they endure harsh living conditions due to their undocumented status, how they are prevented access to return temporarily to Ireland, and how they lack access to healthcare provisions. 'Humanitarian-negative' topoi are less frequent and tend to argue for a reduction in the numbers of those seeking asylum, ignoring the basic human rights of migrants to seek humanitarian protection.

Many of the 'humanitarian' argumentations that are evident in the institutional texts emerge in the interview data. Similarly, the number of 'humanitarian-positive' topoi outweighs the number of 'humanitarian-negative' topoi. Indeed, very few 'humanitarian-

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negative' topoi materialize in the interview data. These occasionally occurring 'humanitarian-negative' topoi are, nonetheless, similar to data that is evident in the institutional texts, as they construct asylum seekers to be disingenuous characters, illegal immigrants, and 'economic' migrants. One interviewee contended that the majority of non-EU immigrants illegitimately sought humanitarian protection in Ireland between 2002 and 2009:

> the legislation that was existing, which only allowed, you know, people to come for particular reasons and if the truth be told the vast majority of people that came into the country were illegal immigrants, they weren't running from persecution, they were economic migrants basically, and they were coming to Ireland for a better life, because the feeling was that there were jobs available (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

This statement not only denies the possibility that immigrants may have been fleeing persecution and require humanitarian assistance, but it explicitly shows how all non-EU immigrants were constructed by the then Government (this interviewee was a Minister during this time) as illegal immigrants. The manner in which the term '*economic migrant'* is utilized constructs the act of immigrating for a better life and for employment reasons as an unlawful practice. This attitude towards immigrants demeans their character, constructs a 'negative' image of non-EU immigrants, and justifies the denial of providing humanitarian protection. Another interviewee does not fully acknowledge that asylum is a human right and argues that the act of migrating is not a human right:

> I'm not sure that I would like to see this business of an appeals system for immigration or an independent appeals system for immigration, because there is a difference between asylum and immigration. I don't necessarily acknowledge it, but the international community, a phrase I hate, acknowledge asylum as a human right, whereas immigration is not a human right. Immigration isn't a human right; it is at the grace and favour of any country (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

In this text, the interviewee invokes notions of national identity and reinforces the notion that the nation state is the 'normal' governing structure that has the unique power to control immigration. The argumentation here is that the right of the State to control its admission of immigrant's counters people's right to migrate, regardless of their reasons for doing so.

'Humanitarian-positive' texts are more frequent in interview data and assert (in a similar vein to the institutional texts) that the State needs to, and indeed should, provide humanitarian protection to those immigrants that require it:

> People have a right to access these shores, because of the circumstances that they have had to endure in another jurisdiction, they are fleeing whatever human rights abuses, personal threats, political threats, whatever is the case within their respective stories, you know, if that is shown to be the case it should only take a reasonable period of time to establish the full facts, and, you know, we should be willing them [sic] to grant them access (O' Caoláin, 2011).

> wherever they come from and they are not all from Africa, there are several other societies that are equally intolerant of each other, as well as everybody else. So, I think that a lot could have been done there, to sort of, identify the person's needs, offer them some kind of support and back-up services (Durkan, 2011).

Another element that emerged from the interviews, which is also similar to the institutional data, are criticisms of the Irish immigration and asylum system:

> there are people six and seven years in some of these centres…the length of time it takes, people are held in a limbo situation, I mean their lives are suspended (O' Caoláin, 2011).

This text criticizes the length of time the Irish State takes to process immigrants in the asylum system. This interviewee also refers to the unsatisfactory living conditions in which asylum seekers reside (O' Caoláin, 2011).

It is noteworthy how a number of topics that dominated the institutional data did not materialize in the interview context. This includes references to the need to provide protections to those who are trafficked or smuggled, the deaths of migrants trying to migrate illegally into Europe (a topic that was quite prevalent in the newsprint media data), and the 'humanitarian' conditions of the undocumented Irish in the US. One element that did emerge in the interview data that did not materialize in the institutional data was how this interviewee perceives the manner in which the Irish Government constructs the granting of humanitarian protection to migrants as a gift. They contend that humanitarian protection is portrayed as something that is not a right, but something that is bequest upon an immigrant by the 'generous' State:

> it was always this notion of not considering human rights…the rights for immigrants to have a family life, never, never discussed, you know it's a gift, it's a little gift from the benevolent Irish Government, you know, I think that was hugely the attitude, and to some extent it possibly still is, but what I think most interestingly is, if you look at the permanent administration in this and the secretary general, for years of the Department of Justice, Sean Aylward, was coming out with quite racist statements, what was he calling, describing asylum seekers as cattle and talking, you know, always talking about the negative side of things and that is definitely a [sic], there has to be a sort of atmosphere, environment, or approach within an organization, I think has to come top down and if you have the very person at the top saying these aren't rights, people do not deserve this stuff, it's our decision whether to give it to them or not, that definitely filters down (NGOa, 2011).

It is notable how this interviewee argues that a 'negative' attitude towards immigrants, and towards the provision of human rights to immigrants, comes from those who are in powerful positions in Irish society. This interviewee maintains that this attitude filters down through civil servant structures and ultimately into the general public.

The main findings of this comparison of institutional texts and interview data is that all sources mainly employ the 'humanitarian-positive' topos and only a very small amount of texts refer to humanitarian issues in a 'negative' way. It is also notable how asylum seekers and illegal immigrants are consistently referred to as the same entity in institutional texts and interview data. Nonetheless, the differences between these sources are acknowledged here. In the newsprint media, for example, it is argued that the granting of humanitarian protection depends upon the immigrant's desirability and those seeking humanitarian protection are often represented as 'economic' migrants. There is also a prolific level of reporting by the newsprint media upon the dangerous methods by which illegal immigrants travel to Europe. These topics are not extensively referred to in the parliamentary texts. What's more, a number of topics that dominate institutional texts do not occur in the interview data. These included references to providing protection to those trafficking and smuggled, the occurrence of people travelling by dangerous methods to Europe, and the humanitarian conditions of the undocumented Irish in the US. Notably, one element that emerged in the interview data that did not materialize in the institutional texts is the way that the provision of humanitarian protection is constructed by the Irish Government as a gift and not as a human right.

In conclusion, the 'humanitarian-negative' topos rarely occurred in the discursive data. However, when this topos did occur, the denial of humanitarian protection was argued through a legalized discourse. These types of texts implicitly argued that state controls (including the prevention of immigration) are more important measures for the State to uphold than the provision of humanitarian assistance to immigrants (Mountz, 2010: 95-96). This research welcomes the broadly sympathetic ('humanitarian-positive') approach that is expressed about illegal immigrants. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that even this 'positive' attitude towards illegal immigrants can also function to justify and

legitimize the role and the image of the State. Although 'humanitarian-positive' texts argue that humanitarian protection is to be provided to immigrants who require it, this topos represents illegal immigrants as 'victims' in need of refuge. It also represents the State as the guardian of those from 'outside', who require protection (however, protection is conditional and based upon the 'desirability' of the immigrant in question). This 'positive' representation of the State is especially evident in discussions that address the smuggling and trafficking of illegal immigrants (particularly immigrant children). The image of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers as 'victims' is distinctively clear when compared to the 'humanitarian-positive' topos expressed in relation to the undocumented Irish in the US. The undocumented Irish in the US are not represented as people who require the State to protect them. Rather, they are represented as people who are deprived of residency and/or citizenship rights in the US and as people who are denied the opportunity to travel outside of the US. Therefore, place-based identities play a key role in the differing representations of illegal immigrants.

6.3.4 The 'Economy' Topos

Thus far, this research has outlined how institutional texts refer to illegal immigration in economic terms. The overall results of the institutional data that were distinguished with the topos 'economy' are portrayed in figure 6.10 and this data represents 8% of all texts from the two institutions. While the parliamentary data is more 'positive' (55%) than 'negative' (37%), and the newsprint media data is significantly more 'negative' (62%) than 'positive' (35%), the overall figures are more 'negative' (56%) than 'positive' (40%). The level of the 'economy-negative' topos is at a high level in 2002 (79%), but this figure decreases over time to 28% in 2007. This level of 'economy-negative' topoi increases thereafter to 64% in 2009.

Figure 6.10: 'Economy' Topos
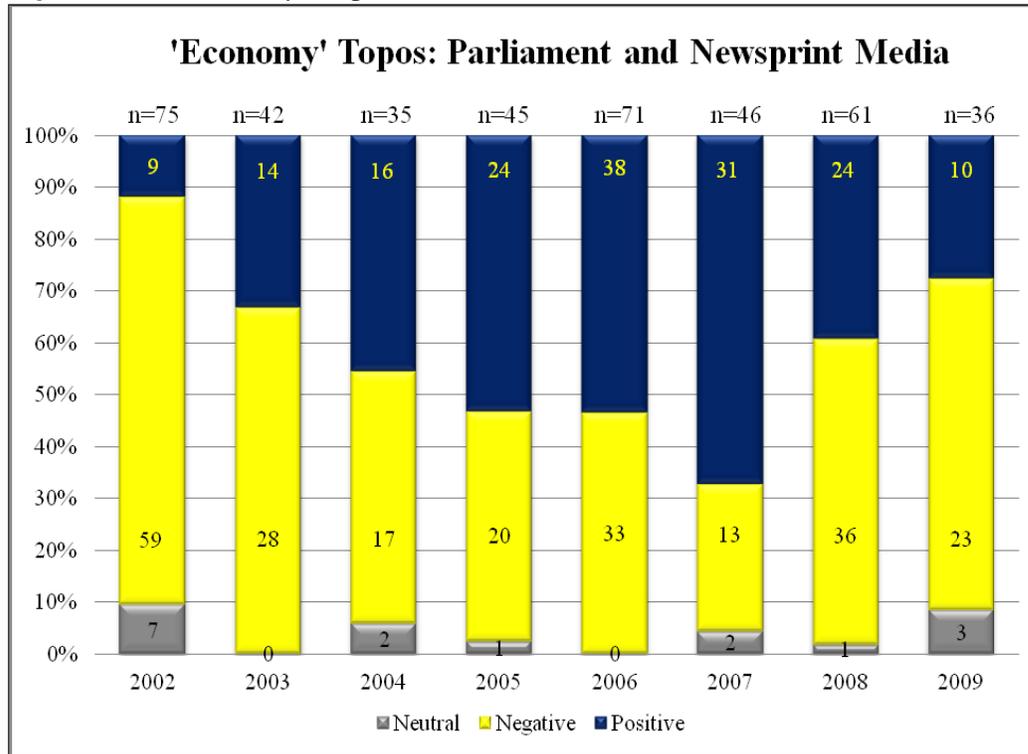
In the two institutions, 'economy' argumentations are asserted in a variety of forms and through the articulation of an array of topics. 'Economy-positive' topoi concentrate upon how illegal immigrants can benefit Ireland economically and how the undocumented Irish in the US positively contribute towards the functioning of the US economy. 'Economy-negative' topoi (the more frequent topos – 56%) refer, in various ways, to how illegal immigrants have a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy and how illegal immigrants are a burden on the State. This includes several discussions on the expense associated with controlling and preventing illegal immigration, the cost of the immigration system, the expense of the asylum system, and the outlay of welfare granted to immigrants. The cost associated with deporting 'failed' asylum seekers is a frequently expressed concern. A multitude of institutional texts construct asylum seekers as illegal immigrants. These migrants are considered to be 'bogus', disingenuous, fraudulent, and deceitful people, who are trying to take advantage of the immigration and asylum systems, which has a 'negative' impact on the finances of the Irish State.

Many similar 'economy' topoi occurred in the interview data. Nevertheless, some differing elements also emerged. Although there was a considerable level of 'economy-positive' texts from the interview data, 'economy-negative' topoi were more prominent. This finding aligns with the overall results of the institutional data. Similar to the institutional data, a small number of 'economy-positive' topoi referred to how illegal immigrants had a 'positive' impact on the Irish economy. It is noteworthy that unlike the institutional data, no interviewee referred to the undocumented Irish in this 'economy' context. Perhaps the specific concentration in the interview on illegal immigrants in Ireland can account for this lack of texts about the undocumented Irish. Nevertheless, the topic of the undocumented Irish in the US was put to the interviewees. This offered the interviewees an opportunity to discuss the undocumented Irish in an 'economy' positive way, but this did not occur. The undocumented Irish were only discussed in relation to the 'control' topos. Thus, one can argue that the interview data is more 'positive' about the discourses that link illegal immigrants and the 'economy' than institutional texts, as they do not refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. The majority of 'economy-positive' topoi articulated in the interviews commented on how there are noteworthy levels of 'negative' misinformation about welfare payments to illegal immigrants:

> there still are huge myths out there…in terms of immigration, because of the downturn in the economy and they are saying all those coming in here and they are taking our social welfare (NGOb, 2011).

> you also have the constant commentary in relation to child benefit entitlements, and all of this, I believe, needs to be better addressed than letting this drift…ill-informed comment can feed the worst possible tendencies in people (O' Caoláin, 2011).

These texts contend that myths and misinformation about welfare payments to immigrants construct a 'negative' impression of illegal immigrants. One particular interviewee maintained that immigrants have a right to be in Ireland, irrespective of the economic implications for the State:

> I don't believe, for instance, in the theory that because times are bad, you know, we should treat in-migration, migrants differently because we don't have the resources. If they were good enough to be there, whether legally or illegally, in the good times then we shouldn't change the law and say look we don't like you and we don't want you…So we cannot go that way. It is illegal, it is racist, and we can't do it (Durkan, 2011).

On the other hand, the 'economy-negative' topos that emerged from the interview data revolves around a similar set of concerns to the institutional data. In a number of ways,

the argumentation was put forth that illegal immigrants have a 'negative' impact on the Irish economy:

> They [illegal immigrants] have had an impact on the economy not necessarily in positive ways, some of them, in that because they were exploited, they were actually either fuelling the profits of the employers that were exploiting them, or undermining legitimate employment and legitimate employers, and that happened, for example, in the construction industry (Naughten, 2011).

This text constructs illegal immigrants, who were exploited, as having a 'negative' impact on the economy, because they were '*fuelling the profits'* of exploitative employers and undermining legitimate employment and employers. Another interviewee perceives all types of immigration, including illegal immigration, to be an expense on the State:

> Economically it's a fact of life that migrants are expensive. It's much cheaper to run a homogeneous society rather than a diverse society. If it's nothing other than things like, let's say, how many languages you use for your brochure and your leaflets, on this that and the other, or English teachers in schools, extra English, all this kind of stuff. I presume having to provide halal food in various institutions as well, which used not be the norm and all the rest of it (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

It is argued in this text that a '*homogeneous society'* would be less expensive to operate than a '*diverse society'*. It refers to English language provisions and food that is not *'the norm'* as examples of the expense incurred by the State due to immigrants. The interviewee's reference to non-English speakers and to '*halal'* food is utilized to highlight differences between 'us' Irish people and immigrant 'others'. Immigrants are constructed to be 'undesirable' people, as they negatively impact upon the Irish economy. The same interviewee also claims that immigrant students are illegal and a drain on the economy. The interviewee contends that immigrant students come to Ireland under false pretences and take jobs from Irish people:

> A group that we [Immigration Control Platform] would worry about as illegals would be so-called students…you know there is this idea that international students will bring money in…our government is constantly putting forward the argument that international students bring in €300 million into our country every year. This is balderdash, because unless they are very rich people in the Royal College of Surgeons, in most cases they fund themselves by working here. That is where the money is coming from, out of this economy; they don't bring €300 million in with them and leave it here. They get the €300 million here, and consequently somebody else, e.g. another student, can't get work…I mean it's a phenomenon that's well documented in Britain as well as here, that they are only using it to get into the country and they don't actually study at all. So there are students coming in and they would by definition be illegal if they are using, or abusing the system and overstaying. That would be an area where there are quite a lot of illegal immigrants (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

The interview data was preoccupied with the expense of the immigration and asylum system and the costs associated with providing welfare to immigrants. These concerns

were also echoed in the institutional data. Many of those interviewed state that the asylum system and the legal costs that are incurred through the asylum process result in a huge expense on the State. The following statement (from a former government Minister) refers to the legal expense of the asylum process and the cost of providing accommodation for asylum seekers. The interviewee also refers to the case involving Pamela Izevbekhai:

> she [Pamela Izevbekhai] was in the high court twenty four times and she had two separate Supreme Court cases, I mean huge money. Huge money… it's a huge bill, legal bill by the State because even if they were successful, the State is unsuccessful; I mean ultimately they couldn't get their costs from the asylum seeker because they have no money. So that's an added sort of pretty dramatic difficulty…there were two areas, that were the budget areas that were going through the ceiling that we had to do something with was asylum seeker accommodation, which was something like ninety million Euro a year and still is, and, legal aid costs, costs for solicitors and barristers in criminal cases, which I think was about sixty million, so you know, among other things, I think two of the things in the IMF agreement is that there would be some halter put on those two rising expenses, demand led expenses as they are called, demand led. In other words, the State has to pay it (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

In this text the specific case of Pamela Izevbekhai and the legal actions of other asylum seekers are repeatedly characterized as incurring '*huge money*' and a huge '*legal bill*' upon the State. It is also noteworthy how the IMF is said to have identified the area of asylum as an economic concern and an expense on the State that must be reduced. The accommodation and legal aid that is provided to those seeking asylum is said to be hugely expensive and figures of '*90 million*' and '*60 million*' are referred to by the former Minister. Another interviewee quotes the distinctively higher figure of '*300 million*':

> that really galled the Irish public then, that here they were footing a bill for an asylum system that there was no end to. It was roughly about 300 million Euro per annum that was costing the tax payer and, you know, that was really frustrating then, and it was targeting anyone whose skin pigment wasn't similar to our own, as being an asylum seeker. You couldn't explain to someone, well they are actually junior hospital Doctors that are keeping our health system going, they are not an asylum seeker, you know, but, everyone was tarred with that brush (Naughten, 2011).

The interviewee asserts that the Irish public was '*galled*' by the expense associated with the asylum system. The argumentation forwarded here is that this vast expense of the asylum system on the State caused the Irish public to view all non-white people (assuming non-Irishness) to be asylum seekers. It is remarkable how the interviewee refers to '*anyone whose skin pigment wasn't similar to our own*', which implies that all Irish people have a similar (white) skin type. It is also notable that the interviewee does not refer to the manner in which the members of his own elite group (politicians) view the expenses associated with the asylum system. Contrary to texts expressed in the

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'economy-positive' section above, one interviewee referred, on a number of occasions, to the expense illegal immigrants have cost the welfare system:

> I don't know how easy it is for illegal people to access the social welfare. I think maybe anybody can access the social welfare, supplementary, emergency stuff…Diversity is expensive, and particularly in their early years migrants tend to be greater users of social welfare because let's say they can't get work. For example, recently, because so many of them were in the construction industry and that has collapsed, they are disproportionally reflected in our dole queues. There was a recent figure that one third of rent supplements are going to migrants, Well, they are not a third of the population, so that's an over representation. Migrants tend to be expensive and illegal immigration is a particular problem because those are jobs taken up…They are taking jobs and they are in jobs that should be done by others. Migrants are an expense. They tend to be expensive and it's particularly awkward at the moment because so many came in and then came the crash. Some of them have left, but others won't (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

It is noteworthy how a number of interviewees referred to the misinformation that surrounds the payment of welfare to immigrants and how this misinformation can represent immigrants in a 'negative' manner. This specific interviewee (Ní Chonaill, 2011) utilizes a range of misinformation about welfare payments to portray illegal immigrants in a 'negative' way. In the above text illegal immigrants are said to be taking advantage of welfare payments, which according to the interviewee, they are doing so illegally. In actuality, illegal immigrants are not entitled to any welfare payments from the State and it is highly unlikely that any illegal immigrants would be gaining welfare benefits from the State, as if they did so, they would probably come to the attention of the authorities. The interviewee is probably referring to different 'types' of migrants (e.g. asylum seekers and 'economic' migrants) and constructing them as the same entity. Evidence of this lies in the fact that the interviewee accuses migrants who are employed of claiming benefits. If a person (be they a migrant or a citizen) is employed in Ireland, it is (on the whole) doubtful that they would be claiming benefits from the State. The interviewee actively and continually constructs immigrants to be an expense on the State. Examples of this are evident in the following statements: *'Diversity is expensive'*, *'Migrants tend to be expensive',* and *'they are taking jobs'.* The interviewee clearly conceptualizes immigrants in a highly 'negative' manner and wants them to leave the country, *'Some of them have left, but others won't'.* Similar to the institutional data, interviewees also referred to the cost associated with the deportation of illegal immigrants:

> The sad thing about that is, and don't think for one moment that I'm saying you don't deport them, deportation is expensive and troublesome and difficult (Ní Chonaill, 2011).

Notably, the topic of the expense of controlling and preventing illegal immigration, which was a dominant theme in the institutional texts, was not referred to in the interview data. Additionally, only one interviewee (a previous government Minister) represented illegal immigrants as 'not-genuine' people, compared to a large range of institutional texts that referred to asylum seekers in this manner:

> the problem was again, those people who were illegal, and who were milking the system, you know, gave the genuine people a bad name, and that in itself, sort of, caused problems (Fianna Fáil, 2011).

Immigrants are referred to in this text as *'illegal'* and non-genuine. They are said to have a 'negative' impact on the finances of the State, as they '*were milking the system'* and taking advantage of the asylum system. The interviewee asserts that these disingenuous immigrants gave genuine asylum seekers a *'bad name'.* It is argued here that it was texts from the institutions of the parliament and the newsprint media that contributed towards representing asylum seekers in 'negative' ways. It is also acknowledged that 'positive' discourses were expressed in institutional texts, nevertheless, as this research has outlined, immigrants are continually referred to through 'negative' terminology, such as 'bogus', 'illegal', and 'economic migrant'.

Overall, it is evident that all sources refer to the economic benefits of illegal immigration to a small degree, but the focus of each source is upon the 'negative' impacts of illegal immigrants on the economy. There is a distinction in the typology of 'economy' argumentations that are articulated between the two institutions. The newsprint media are more prolific than the parliamentary texts in their use of 'negative' and misleading terminology towards illegal immigrants. In addition, the newsprint media are more inclined to represent illegal immigrants as dangerous frauds. There is also a difference in the use of the 'economy-positive' topos between the institutional data and the interview data – the interview data does not refer to the undocumented Irish in the US through the 'economy-positive' topos. Thus, the 'economy-positive' topos from the institutions mainly refers to the undocumented Irish in the US, while the interview data refers to illegal immigration in the Irish context. In sum, this dissertation maintains that illegal immigrants and those seeking asylum in Ireland are represented as having a 'negative' impact on the economy in order to justify state controls, which exclude them from Irish

society. In contrast, the undocumented Irish in the US are represented as having a 'positive' impact on the US economy.

6.3.5 The 'Culture' Topos

This research has shown that the practice of depicting illegal immigrants in a culturally 'desirable' and a culturally 'undesirable' way is evident in Irish institutional data. The overall results of the institutional data that were distinguished with the topos 'culture' are portrayed in figure 6.11, which represents 6% of all texts from the institutions. While the parliamentary texts are more 'positive' (72%) than 'negative' (20%), and the newsprint media texts are more 'negative' (62%) than 'positive' (37%), the overall figures are only slightly more 'negative' (54%) than 'positive' (43%). As referred to in previous chapters, the high level of 'positive' texts is misleading as a considerable proportion of these texts refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. Over time, the level of 'culture-desirable' ('positive') and 'culture-undesirable' ('negative') topoi from the two institutions fluctuates considerably. The level of 'culture-undesirable' texts is very high in 2002 (79%) and this figure slowly declines to 29% in 2005. In 2006, the level of 'culture-undesirable' texts increases to 62%. However, this figure decreases again in 2007 to 44%. In 2008 and 2009 the level of 'culture-undesirable' texts increases to 50% and 67% respectively.

Figure 6.11: 'Culture' Topos

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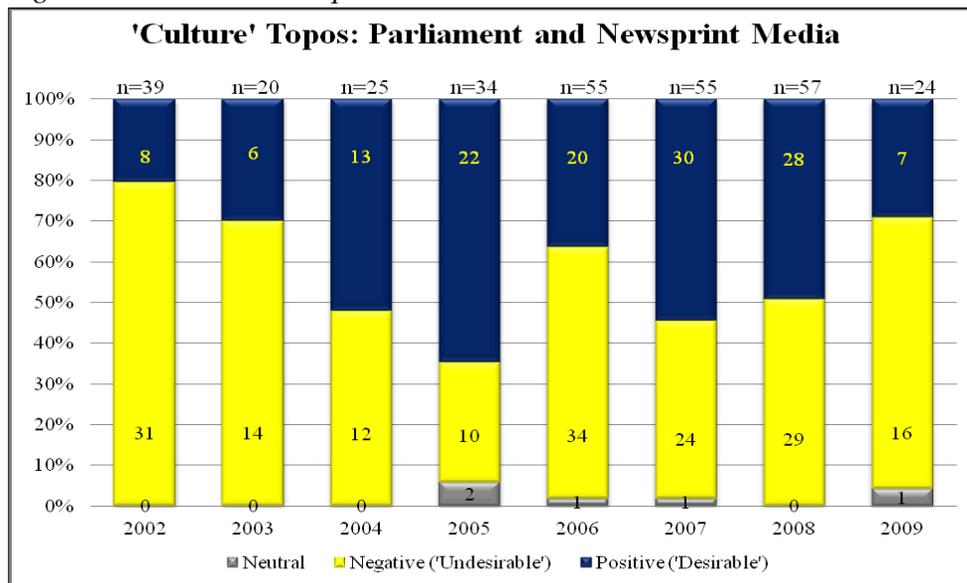
'Culture-desirable' texts that occur in the institutional data mainly refer to two place-based groups of illegal immigrants, namely the undocumented Irish in the US and illegal immigrants in Ireland. Notably, it is the texts that refer to the undocumented Irish in the US that dominate the 'culture-desirable' topos. 'Culture-desirable' texts that refer to illegal immigrants in Ireland usually occur in response to a proposed immigration policy. Overall, the 'culture-desirable' topos contends that illegal immigrants are of good character and that they contribute to society, to the economy, and to the local community in which they reside. Illegal immigrants are also portrayed as hard workers and family orientated people. 'Culture-undesirable' texts focus upon 'bogus' and 'fake' asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in the Irish context. Disingenuous asylum seekers are represented to be deceitful people, who take advantage of the Irish asylum and immigration systems. Illegal immigrants are also described as a threat to society in terms of both terrorist activities and infectious diseases. There are multiple links between the 'culture' topos and the other topoi, such as 'economy', 'danger', and 'control'.

The 'culture' argumentations that are evident in institutional texts are reflected in the interview data. The majority of the interview data held a 'culture-desirable' argumentation and there were very few 'culture-undesirable' topoi. A distinction is evident between the institutional texts and the interview data as the 'culture-desirable' interview texts only referred to illegal immigrants in Ireland and did not refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. As referred to previously, the topic of the undocumented Irish in the US was addressed in the interviews, but they were not discussed through this topos. Thus, on the whole, the interview data represented illegal immigrants in Ireland in a 'culture-desirable' manner.

The 'culture-desirable' topoi that emerged from the interview data represented illegal immigrants as good characters, as people who are seeking a better life, as people who contribute to society, and as hard workers:

> 95% of these people came to better themselves, to better their children and my experience was that these so called illegal people, a lot of them just wanted to start a fresh life…the vast majority of illegal immigrants that I know, they are here, they want to work, they want to make a contribution, they don't want to go home or to the country they came from due to the negative situation they

came from and they want to better themselves, so I think that those people would make a massive contribution if you respect them and bring them into the system (McGrath, 2011).

> people who are undocumented here, who are contributing to their own communities, are contributing to their own society…like we have plenty of examples of that in my own constituency, we have a very strong Brazilian population, many of whom have become very involved in the local community, some of whom, you know, would have been doing odd jobs and that, most of them were working in the meat factory in Athleague, but when people weren't available or didn't want to work, the Brazilian community were quite prepared to come in, help an older person, cut their grass, you know, clean up their garden. Whatever had to be done they were prepared to do it (Naughten, 2011).

Illegal immigrants are portrayed in these texts as people who contributed to local communities, to society and to Irish cultural identity in a 'positive' manner. It is argued in the following texts that immigrants should be included in '*the circle*', due to their 'positive' involvement in the community:

> I go to football matches and you'd see, you know, Brazilian kids with Roscommon jerseys on, shouting for Roscommon, you'd see them now beginning to come through the underage football and so forth, you know, and you know, some of them are damn good footballers and places like Roscommon, we need them more than anywhere! So, no I don't see that, I think, you know, we are not a society that feels threatened by our Irishness and I don't think that we have anything to worry about. I think immigrants can add a lot to communities and to society. I think, you know, those that have got involved in local communities, in local organizations, all of them have been very happy and have been thrilled that they are contributing something additional to what the local community would have come up with. I think integration is important and I think, you know, we need as a society to reach out to those individuals and bring them more into the circle (Naughten, 2011).

> I've met young people from a variety of national backgrounds, who are now able to talk to you in the cupla focail [Irish language], and who are participating in Irish dancing and I mean history has taught us down through the centuries that while people will hold to their own language and culture and expression among themselves, you'll find that they will assimilate equally and be as interested and as curious and as exploitative in relation to the language and culture of their new setting, and I think all the evidence shows that the contrary is the case that if anything at all, they are only embracing what we have cherished and wished to see strengthened and developed in the future (O' Caoláin, 2011).

Interview texts broadly represented illegal immigrants as 'desirable' individuals, who had many 'positive' elements that Irish people could gain from and should embrace in order to form a better society. These texts are welcomed, as they turn the focus away from viewing immigration as a burden on 'us' and on 'our' society, to something which can be a 'positive' experience:

> it's not only that we have a role to help and support, we actually gain so much in terms of listening and learning from what they have to tell and share with us, and it's in that way that, I think that we can present it as what it can be, a very enriching experience (O' Caoláin, 2011).

> I would strongly argue that immigration has been a very positive experience for Ireland, I think the exposure of Irish people to different cultures, different ways of life, different religions, different cuisines, different music, can only be, in overall terms, a healthy experience (Cuffe, 2011).

Unlike the data from the institutional texts, a number of interview texts even counter 'culture-undesirable' argumentations, arguing that such representations of immigrants are incorrect and can cause xenophobic and racist attitudes:

> I think that that's unfortunate, because this is again suggesting that, in some way, these are parasitic people in our midst and it's very easy to scapegoat people at a time of economic downturn, people who feed that view are just looking round for somebody to blame and these are very easy people to single out, I think it's completely wrong…I'd say that government have probably not helped prepare, you know, communities better, informing communities better, there is a terrible under, how would I describe it, an almost, it's not covert all of the time but there is a constant covert slight against many of the new people who have settled in our respective communities and it's all over the country, it feeds into xenophobia and racist remarks and I think that more should have been and still can be done (O' Caoláin, 2011).

> there is huge resentment out there towards immigrants, huge, huge, and racism and all of that and it's all below, below, below the surface. Like and I would get comments like and most people know that I work with refugees and asylum seekers, but they say 'are they still coming in', 'are they still coming in', whoever 'they' are, do you know what I mean? And people don't see them as people that have a right, you know, we talk about the right of movement, the right to migrate and all that, but we don't, we don't because they are still a threat (NGOb, 2011).

These two texts are important as they recognize the implied nature of anti-immigrant sentiment that exists in Irish society. Although there is a distinct lack of explicit racist remarks, it is asserted in these texts that there is an undercurrent of xenophobia in texts that refer to immigrants. This thesis contends that this ideology of anti-immigration is disseminated into society through institutional texts that are not overtly racist, but function through taken for granted discourses that function by excluding illegal immigrants from Irish society.

The comparison of this data reveals how institutional texts can vary in their formation compared to those gathered in an interview context. This research has found that the majority of 'desirable' topoi that are disseminated from the institutions refer to the undocumented Irish in the US (or occur in response to immigration policies in Ireland), while the majority of 'undesirable' topoi refer to illegal immigrants in Ireland. Through the 'culture-undesirable' topos, illegal immigrants are represented as having 'negative' cultural characteristics (e.g. dangerous and deceitful people) and 'negative' cultural practices (e.g. religious practices). Illegal immigrants are additionally characterized as

disingenuous, 'bogus' and fake individuals, as they are seen to be taking advantage of the immigration system and not truly in need of humanitarian protection. There are even distinctions to be made between the institutional texts. It is noteworthy how the newsprint media make a distinction between the undocumented Irish in the US (who are characterized as 'desirable' people) and illegal Mexican immigrants in the US (who are described as an 'undesirable' group of immigrants). Furthermore, the parliamentary texts mostly referred to illegal immigration in a 'culture-desirable' manner, while the newsprint media mainly referred to illegal immigration in a 'culture-undesirable' manner. Overall, although a significant level of 'culture-undesirable' argumentations are evident in the institutional data, a considerable level of 'culture-desirable' topoi occurred within both institutional texts and interview data. Unlike the institutional texts, the majority of interview texts represent illegal immigrants in a 'desirable' manner and do not refer to the undocumented Irish in the US. These 'positive' texts not only portray illegal immigrants as 'desirable' characters, but also view their inclusion into Irish society as an overall 'positive' experience and one that enhances the cultural life of Ireland. Furthermore, unlike institutional data, the argumentation put forth in the interview data counters 'culture-undesirable' argumentations, remarking that these types of 'negative' comments that originate from institutional texts are incorrect and racist.

6.4 Additional Discursive Aspects

Taken as a whole, this dissertation has shown significant evidence of the manner in which illegal immigrants were continuously represented through five topoi in institutional texts. These topoi overlap and combine to form an overall 'negative' representation of illegal immigration in Ireland. This 'negative' representation of illegal immigrants places these people into the role of the 'other' and justifies their exclusion from Irish society. A number of additional discursive elements of note emerged from the data (parliamentary texts, newsprint media text, and interview data) that are important to acknowledge. This includes denials and justification of racist comments, the (mis)use of migration terminology, and discourses of national identity. These three elements are significant, as they aid in the functioning of the five topoi that have been previously outlined.

6.4.1 Denials and Justifications of Racism

The first discursive element of note that emerged from the data is the manner in which 'negative' statements about illegal immigrants are often juxtaposed with denials of racism. In turn, these denials of racism are frequently followed by justifications for such 'negative' opinions. These justifications typically claim that illegal immigrants have a 'negative' impact on society in some way (for example, by employing the 'economy-negative' topos) due to these 'negative' associations, it is held that government immigration controls should be supported and/or enacted and the exclusion of illegal immigrants from Irish society is justified, rationalized, and normalized. In the case of parliamentary texts, some parliamentary members definitively deny that they hold racist attitudes and distance themselves from holding a racist ideologies, but refer to how the Irish public can hold racist views. van Dijk contends that the assigning of a racist attitude on the populous is a typical practice of those that are in elite positions in society (1993c: 188-190). By assigning racist attitudes to the populous, those in elite positions can express racist sentiments 'legitimately', without incurring personal criticism. Furthermore, as parliamentary members can express statements through parliamentary privilege within the parliament, they do not have to provide evidence for their assertions about illegal immigrants and they are not legally accountable for the discourses they express. Additionally, the apparent racist attitude that exists in Irish society (according to parliamentary members) is justified and normalized under particular conditions. For example, it was claimed in the Irish Parliament that because many immigrants are 'bogus' (disingenuous) and a drain on the economy, Irish people can hold racist attitudes (Kehoe, 2004: 591).

In the context of the Irish newsprint media, the practice of denials and justifications of racist attitudes by political elites is also evident. Parliamentary members relay statements in the newsprint media about illegal immigrants, denying that migration regulations are racist and then represent illegal immigrants in a 'negative' manner, which justifies their exclusion from Irish society (e.g. McGreevy, 2008: 10). Individual journalists from the Irish newsprint media also express highly 'negative' texts, which are often followed by denials that these texts are racist (e.g. Myers, 2003a: 15). By doing so, they are

attempting to normalize 'negative' and racist attitudes towards illegal immigrants. It is maintained here that this is a dangerous practice, as it may lead the general public to 'legitimately' employ such 'negative' sentiments in everyday life.

The practice of justifying a racist attitude also occurred in the interview texts. The case forwarded by one individual was that the vast expense of the asylum system on the State caused Irish people to view all non-white people as asylum seekers (Naughten, 2011). However, it is to be noted that a number of interviewees were critical of racist remarks that occurred in the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media. Overall, the practice of employing 'negative' discourses about illegal immigrants, which are juxtaposed with denials that they are racist remarks, is an important practice for those who produce institutional discourses in Ireland. This is because as long as racism is denied, there is no need for official measures against it, or for stricter laws, regulations or institutions to combat discrimination. Furthermore, there is no need for moral campaigns to change or regulate the biased attitudes of those in positions of influence and power (van Dijk, 1993c: 181-182), or an official format to hold those in elite positions accountable for 'negative' and racist commentary.

6.4.2 The (Mis)Use of Migration Terminology

The second distinctive element that emerged from the data was the manner in which particular migration-related terminology and phrasings were utilized in institutionalized texts. Terminology that defined, categorized and labelled immigrants in Ireland played a key role in how immigration was understood and conceptualized. In addition, the utilization of certain phrasings naturalized ways of comprehending illegal immigration, which legitimized the enforcement of government controls and regulations. One particular phrase that was regularly employed in the parliamentary context was the term 'common-sense' (Brandi, 2007; Crowley et al., 2006). This phrase functioned by normalizing immigration control measures, for example, this phrase was prolifically utilized by political elites in support of the Citizenship Referendum. The more common occurrence in institutional texts was the misuse or confused utilization of migration terminology. The most prominent example of this was the practice of referring to asylum

seekers as illegal immigrants and vice versa. This occurred regularly in parliamentary texts, where parliamentary members represented asylum seekers as 'economic' migrants, 'bogus' migrants, and disingenuous characters. This thesis argues that this 'negative' and inaccurate terminology was employed in order to discredit the character of immigrants, to justify their denial of humanitarian protection, and to exclude them from Irish society. The misuse of migration terminology also occurred in the interviews that were conducted for this research. For example, phrases such as '*so-called students'* (Ní Chonaill, 2011) and *'genuine refugees and migrants'* (Fianna Fáil, 2011) were expressed in the interview data. The misuse (arguably the purposeful misuse) of migration terminology was a method of providing incorrect, inaccurate or a distinct lack of information to the general public about immigration issues, which denied or concealed the complexities involved in this subject. This lack of 'knowledge' about immigration (i.e. incorrect information or no information) that was disseminated or not disseminated into society functioned in the operation of broader power structures. By keeping the populous ill informed of immigration issues, those in powerful and influential positions had the ability to govern migration without (significant) resistance from the Irish public. It is argued here that the 'knowledge' (taken for granted and 'legitimized' information) (re)produced about 'bogus' asylum seekers through Irish institutions justified the extremely high level of migrants who were denied asylum in Ireland during this period (2002-2009) and the continued lack of a permanent avenue for illegal immigrants to regularize their immigration status in Ireland.

6.4.3 Discourses of National Identity

Discursive expressions of national identity are the third distinctive element that emerged from the sources. Given that a national identity is a discourse that needs to be continually reproduced and disseminated within society (Foucault, 1991b: 59-60), Irish national identity was enabled and reproduced in Irish institutional texts through discursive references to the nation (including the Government and its citizens). Additionally, the reproduction of national identity was facilitated through references to those that are outside of the nation and that do not belong (i.e. immigrants and especially illegal immigrants). In order for the national to be able to identify himself/herself as such, the

identification of the non-national or the 'other' is imperative (Nevins, 2002: 157-163). In institutional texts and in interview texts, Irish national identity was expressed through the juxtaposition of 'us'/'ours' (i.e. the national community) and 'them'/'theirs' (i.e. illegal immigrants). In the institutional texts, the undocumented Irish in the US were continually considered to belong to the category of 'us', the Irish national community. Illegal immigrants in Ireland, however, were referred to as those from 'outside', as the following text exemplifies: *'If our country is everyone's country, we don't have one'* (Ní Chonaill, 2011). One must briefly note that not all discourses of national identity were 'negative' and some discourses, especially those from the interview data, were very inclusive, for example Naughten (2011). Nevertheless, the possible inclusion of illegal immigrants into the national community was conditional and based on the desirability or undesirability of the immigrant in question. The assumption put forth in institutional texts between 2002 and 2009 and in interview texts was that only 'desirable' immigrants should be offered humanitarian protection, the opportunity to regularize their immigration status, and inclusion into the Irish national community.

It is argued here that the discursive construction of 'subjects'/identities in institutional texts is an apparatus of power, which operates through a process of legitimization (Wodak el al., 2009: 28). In essence, through the nation state governing structure, the national always holds a legitimate identity, while the illegal immigrant holds an illegitimate identity. The discursive practices of identification, categorization, and de-legitimization of illegal immigrants are directly identifiable exercises of power, as the State has the lawful and authoritative ability to categorize migrants to be illegitimate and illegal (Mountz, 2010: 114). The de-legitimizing of illegal immigrants through discourses and the legitimizing of the citizen allows members of the nation state (i.e. the public) to see themselves as part of the nation and to become attached to it through notions of belonging (Guibernau, 2007: 23-25; Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). Discursive expressions of national identity were also formed by portraying the nation state, its government and its citizenry as 'natural' entities. Illegal immigrants, on the other hand, were constructed as unnatural entities within the nation state framework and as a 'phenomenon' that occurs in society that should be reluctantly tolerated at a low level. The nation state was also

represented as a god-like entity that must be respected and cherished, as the following text exemplifies: *'Immigration isn't a human right; it is a grace and favour of any country'* (Ní Chonaill, 2011). Foucault argues that through discursive practices that are expressed in specific institutional settings, 'knowledge' is exercised to regulate the conduct of others (Hall, 1997: 47). This thesis maintains that in the Irish context, legitimized 'knowledges' of belonging (i.e. the citizen) and non-belonging (i.e. the illegal immigrant) were disseminated through the institutions of the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media in order to naturalize the nation state governing structure and to regulate both the citizenry and illegal immigrants.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together data from two Irish institutions, as it is these institutions that provide the discursive parameters within which the Irish public gain a significant amount of 'knowledge' about illegal immigrants. More significantly, it is through these institutional texts that the public think about illegal immigrants. Institutional data was amalgamated in order to offer a broad overview of how illegal immigrants were discursively represented through 'dominant' institutional discourses. The interview data was also combined with institutional data for a number of reasons. Firstly, in the interview context the topic of illegal immigration was the central concern (this was not always the case in institutional data) and so it was discussed at length. Secondly, the interview data allowed key actors the opportunity for expansion upon the topic, as institutional texts did not always allow for this. Thirdly, the interview data also referred to illegal immigration through the five key topoi. On the whole, the interview data proved to be very fruitful in this regard, expanding upon topics and referring to additional topics that were not addressed to a significant level in the institutional data. All of the data analyzed in this chapter leads to a broader discussion in the next and final chapter. Chapter 7 investigates the overall findings from this research and aims to reveal the function of these various representations of illegal immigration and what this data exposes about broader power structures and the processes of identity formation.

Chapter 7: Overall Findings and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, this dissertation is brought to a close by examining the overall findings of this research. The findings from the analysis of institutional texts are aligned to the theoretical framework that the thesis employs. Furthermore, the elements that this research has uncovered about broader power structures and the processes of identity formation are outlined. Significantly, the function of the various discursive representations of illegal immigrants are discussed, which include: (1) the continuation of the governmental regime that functions through the nation state rationale; (2) the maintenance of inequality in society and legitimized practices of exclusion; and (3) legitimized expressions of racism in Irish society. Subsequent to this, a discussion on how this thesis contributes to knowledge is presented and suggestions for future research are offered. The chapter concludes by briefly addressing whether there is a solution to illegal immigration and refers to the lived experience of illegal immigrants in the Irish context.

7.2 Overall Findings

One of the key aims of this dissertation was to reveal discursive evidence of power formations that materialize in institutional texts, as these texts and the broader discourses that they form can influence public perceptions of identity formation and understandings of illegal immigration. This included a number of key questions: (i) how was the topic of illegal immigration articulated in institutional texts between 2002 and 2009? and (ii) what can these discursive representations of illegal immigration expose about identity constructions and power formations? In order to answer these questions, a CDA investigation was carried out on institutional data, employing the specific methodology of topoi analysis. This dissertation has extensively outlined the multiple ways that illegal immigrants were discursively represented ('positively' and 'negatively') in institutional texts between 2002 and 2009. This analysis uncovered implicit portrayals of illegal immigrants that were expressed through five key topoi, which formed 'dominant' discourses about illegal immigrants in Irish society. It is through these various representations of illegal immigrants that aspects of power can be uncovered and notions

of national belonging are expressed. Through a Foucauldian understanding of governmental power and 'subjectivity', this research showed how specific texts (and the overall discourses that were formed) about illegal immigration were used as instruments of power. Institutional texts reproduced governmental ideologies and taken for granted conceptualizations of national identity and illegal immigration, which constructed and naturalized notions of legitimate identities (i.e. the citizen) and illegitimate identities (i.e. illegal immigrant) (van Dijk, 1995a: 3). In essence, discursive representations of illegal immigration are significant, as they can influence how both those in elite positions in society and the general public think about illegal immigrants. This process results in particular 'mentalities' of illegal immigration and belonging becoming entwined in the psyche of the general public.

This dissertation does not view power as a hierarchical structure or as an abstract concept. It is argued here that power is a lived experience that operates through multiple sites, which form discursive ideologies that materialize into actions (Dean, 2010: 18; Gunn, 2006: 708-709; Hall, 2001: 77; Mountz, 2003: 633-636). As governmental power is never secured or guaranteed, it must be productive and reproduce itself over time (Gordon, 1991: 4-5). It does so by operating at various scales, through a network of institutions, across disparate geographies, comprising of different individuals, working within diverse mandates, who continually disseminate ideologically-laden discourses into society (Dean, 2010: 18; Foucault, 1991a: 102-103; Hall, 2001: 77). This dissertation maintains that the institutions of the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media are vital to the operations of governmental power in the Irish context, as they provide two key forums for the reproduction of discourses of influence (Gordon, 1991: 4-5). This research has provided extensive evidence to portray how these two institutions have continually reproduced ideological texts about illegal immigration between 2002 and 2009. While the differences between the typologies of the institutional texts are acknowledged here, the overall results indicate that on some level these institutions have an intricate relationship with each other, as they reproduced similar argumentations about illegal immigrants. As both institutions are highly influential in their own right, when the texts they produce are disseminated into Irish society, they combine to form a 'dominant' ideology or

'knowledge' of national belonging and 'negative' impressions of illegal immigrants (van Dijk, 1995a: 4-6; van Dijk, 1995b: 12-29).

'Knowledge' that is linked to power not only assumes the authority of the truth, but also has the power to make 'knowledge' true (Hall, 1997: 49). Thus, constructed 'knowledges' of illegal immigration were disseminated in Irish institutional texts and were internalized by those in elite positions and by the general public, resulting in a broad, taken for granted 'truth' about illegal immigration operating in Irish society (Wodak et al., 2009: 1; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). As 'knowledges' about illegal immigration originate from authoritative institutions, the 'truths' that are produced about illegal immigration by these institutions are perceived to be legitimate, which normalize common (mostly 'negative') representations of illegal immigrants (van Dijk, 1993b: 59). Various texts of differing typologies were repeatedly produced in Irish institutions between 2002 and 2009, which formed distinctive discourses of illegal immigration that materialized in several contexts (Jager and Maier, 2009; Lemke, 1995; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2008; Wodak and Krzyzanowski, 2008). As Foucault argues, what 'we' (the populous) think 'we' know in a particular period of time (2002-2009) about a particular topic (illegal immigration), has a bearing on how 'we' regulate and control the resulting 'subjects' (illegal immigrants). The identity of the 'subject' (illegal immigrant) is constructed by assigning certain attributes that society would expect these particular 'subjects' to have (such as criminality or disease), given the current 'knowledge' that exists about them at that time and in that context. Thus, 'legitimized' representations of illegal immigrants have resulted in a taken for granted, 'negative' conceptualization of all illegal immigrants and their legitimized exclusion from Irish society. This research holds that discourses are not abstract concepts; they can have tangible outcomes, as they can produce both 'subjects' and 'reality' (Hall, 2001: 73-76; Jager and Maier, 2009: 36-39).

The discursive exercise of power through Irish institutions between 2002 and 2009 was an important process, as it resulted in a number of outcomes. Firstly, without denying that there are those that resisted the various 'dominant' 'mentalities' that were disseminated

through Irish institutions, due to the absence of any large resistance from the Irish public, it can be assumed that the general public perceived the regulation and control of illegal immigration to be acceptable. Practices of regulation and control in relation to illegal immigrants were rationalized, naturalized, and justified through routine, everyday texts that were articulated through the two institutions (Wodak et al., 2009: 1; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-10; van Dijk, 1993a: 254; van Dijk, 2001: 302; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). The consistent reproduction of ideological argumentations resulted in a 'natural' way for the public to think about (or not think about) illegal immigration and for the State's treatment of illegal immigrants (e.g. exclusion and deportation) to be thought of as an acceptable practice. For the vast majority of Irish people, they would never have knowingly met an illegal immigrant; therefore they probably have no first hand experience or impressions of illegal immigrants. While acknowledging that there are various other sources the public could have gained information about illegal immigration (e.g. via the internet), it is argued here that between 2002 and 2009 the institutions of the parliament and the newsprint media provided the main pillars of knowledge for the Irish public on this specific matter. Secondly, due to the internalization of particular 'truths' about illegal immigration and national belonging, the populous self-regulate, which can result in certain actions. This can include the reporting of illegal immigration to state authorities or the voting to change (immigration) legislation that excludes immigrants (e.g. the Citizenship Referendum) (Wodak et al., 2009: 1; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). This process of self-regulation also resulted in the production of 'subjects'/identities, which are linked to both place and governance. Therefore, it is argued here that the majority of the Irish public internalized and accepted the taken for granted 'mentality' that they hold a legitimate identity (i.e. Irish, citizen), while 'others' or 'outsiders' hold an illegitimate identity (i.e. illegal immigrants) (Dean, 2010; Gray, 2006b).

This research aimed to de-mystify governmental ideologies of identity formation and to reveal how the identity of the citizen and the identity of the illegal immigrant were constructed for a number of key reasons. Based in the US context, Hiemstra (2010) argues that the construction of the category 'illegal immigration' functions by allowing

for labour market flexibility, by justifying a lack of employment rights to immigrants, by normalizing economic disadvantage, and by producing surveillers (Hiemstra, 2010: 86-96). This dissertation argues that the production of legitimized identities (i.e. the citizen) and illegitimated identities (namely, the illegal immigrant) in Irish institutional texts had a number of different functions. Firstly, discourses of illegal immigration functioned to maintain the prevailing taken for granted 'mentality' that Irish society must be governed through the nation state rationale and these discourses functioned to continue the practice of nation building processes. Secondly, discourses of illegal immigration functioned to establish and sustain unequal power relations and dominance within Irish society and to operate legitimized practices of exclusion. Thirdly, discourses of illegal immigration accommodated for 'legitimized' expressions of racism. These distinct functions shall be individually outlined in the following sections.

7.2.1 Governance through the Nation State Rationale and the Continuation of Nation Building Processes

This dissertation maintains that the production of the category 'illegal immigration' and the numerous representations that are assigned to people who are deemed to belong to this category, function by normalizing the prevailing 'mentality' of nation state governance. The very phrasing of the term 'illegal immigration' reveals the (accepted) authority of the nation state to categorize immigrants and to legitimately regulate the flow of people into its territory. One way that the State exercises it power and enforces its exclusionary practices is through institutional texts, which deem certain types of immigration to be acceptable, while other forms of immigration are discursively classified to be unacceptable. The authority of the State to exclude immigrants is continually normalized in society, which legitimizes the role of the State and maintains the governing rationale of the nation state. Indeed, the nation state justifies its power over a certain territory by regulating the movement of people who cross its borders and by having a monopoly over the legitimate means of movement (Nevins, 2002: 159; Torpey, 2000: 13). Not only is the category of the illegal immigrant contingent upon the concept of nation state sovereignty, but the legitimacy of the worldwide system of nation states is itself bolstered by the identification of those unfortunate enough not to belong to a nation

state, or those who are outside of their nation and lack official documents. Institutional texts represent illegal immigrants as lacking something that only a state can provide – legitimacy (Gill, 2010: 626). Thus, illegal immigration functions by maintaining the status quo (in governance terms) and by allowing elites to maintain their powerful positions in Irish society (Wodak et al., 2009: 1; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89).

In a similar vein, it is argued here that discursive representations of illegal immigration also function to maintain nation building processes and to continue the internalization of aspects of belonging and nationhood among the populous. A national culture is a discourse and it is continually reproduced through discourses that are expressed at a range of sites. Indeed, discursive representations of national belonging are a way of constructing meanings that influence and organize people's conceptualizations of themselves and others, and significantly, these texts influence their actions in society (Wodak et al., 2009: 22-23). The language of statelessness is the mechanism through which the State reproduces itself (Mountz, 2003: 630), as the citizen can identify that they belong to the nation and recognize those that do not belong (i.e. illegal immigrants). Indeed, illegal immigration provides a necessary function to the nation state, as it allows for the continuing production of nation building processes. Therefore, those who do not belong to the State are actively identified and categorized in order for the 'other' to be identified and for nation state citizenship to be legitimized. As Gill argues (2010: 626), what better way to reinforce the rationale of the worldwide system of nation states than through the identification and exclusion of those outside of it?

7.2.2 The Maintenance of Inequality in Society and Legitimized Practices of Exclusion
While this research found that the institutional texts were complex in formation and that a considerable number of 'positive' texts are evident, this thesis has provided an array of evidence of the manner in which illegal immigrants were represented in a highly 'negative' manner. It is argued here that one of the reasons that illegal immigrants are represented in this manner is to maintain inequality in society and to 'legitimately' exclude people from Irish society. Building on the argument put forth in the previous

section, discourses of illegal immigration justify a governance regime that operates through the nation state rationale, which includes elite dominance in society, and the power of those in elite positions in society to legislate over the movement of people and to control and prevent immigration. Indeed, elite people are relatively free to migrate, while poorer migrants are 'justifiably' excluded from such freedoms. By representing illegal immigrants in a 'negative' manner, illegal immigrants are excluded from society, inequality is maintained, and unequal power relations dominate within Irish society (Wodak et al., 2009: 1; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3-8; van Dijk, 2009: 88-89). Through institutionalized texts of fear, the exclusion, vilification and controlling of illegal immigration is justified (McNevin, 2006: 140; Samers, 2004: 43). The articulation of illegal immigrants as illegitimate individuals, in conjunction with acts of 'necessary' exclusion (i.e. detention and deportation), reinforces the particular account of political belonging from which the State gains its legitimacy (McNevin, 2006: 140; Samers, 2004: 43). Institutional texts normalize the categorization and elimination of rights and protections from certain 'unwanted' types of immigration (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010: 175-176). It is held here that this 'legitimate' exclusion of particular immigrants is a modern form of racism. The exclusion of immigrants is not explicitly asserted in institutional texts. Nevertheless, through 'negative' and legitimized discourses, the same consequences of racism are evident – the exclusion of particular (unwanted) people by those in elite positions in society.

7.2.3 Legitimized Expressions of Racism

The chapter has already outlined how 'negative' representations of illegal immigrants are juxtaposed with denials of racist remarks among elites and justifications for racist and xenophobic sentiments. It is additionally argued here that texts that refer to illegal immigration allow for legitimized expressions of racism. Indeed, 'negative' and exclusionary texts about illegal immigration are convenient outlets for expressions of racism. These 'negative' texts are currently 'sayable' (Foucault, 1991b: 59-60) in Irish society, as they are 'legitimized' in the laws of the nation state. Although laws exist that attempt to prevent racism (e.g. incitement to hatred legislation), the priority in law is always given to the nation and to citizens over those who are illegal. Currently, it is

acceptable and 'normalized' for parliamentary members and those employed in the newsprint media to engage in the production of implicit 'negative' texts about illegal immigration. Indeed, racist discourses and accusations made against illegal immigrants are often expressed with legitimacy, but are not grounded in specific evidence. An example of this is discourses that represent illegal immigrants as a threat to society and as criminals. In this way, the texts that surround illegal immigration can be used as an outlet for racist remarks. The emphasis that is placed on the illegality of immigrants may serve as a cover for race-based arguments that are no longer publicly acceptable (Nevins, 2002: 96-118). Racist sentiments are not always expressed in institutional texts through explicit and vulgar language, but through implicit, taken for granted and every day texts, which are currently 'sayable' in Irish society. These implicitly racist and xenophobic texts about illegal immigration mask an undercurrent of racism, which allows those in power to 'legitimately' exclude illegal immigrants (or non-EU immigrants). 'Negative' representations of illegal immigrants offer those in positions of influence an opportunity to refer to those from 'outside' in a 'negative' or racist manner, which results in their legitimized exclusion from Irish society. Implicit expressions of racism serve broader structures by reproducing and reinforcing a sense of nationalism and by strengthening a sense of political belonging, which the nation state relies upon for the continued operation of its regime (Nevins, 2002: 162-163).

In conclusion to this section, overall this dissertation has uncovered a number of key elements. Firstly, it has shown that the Irish Parliament and Irish newsprint media are a fruitful source of institutional texts. Secondly, it has outlined an array of evidence to portray how there is a noticeable preoccupation with controlling illegal immigration in both the Irish Parliament and in the Irish newsprint media. Thirdly, it has identified that illegal immigrants are represented through five key topoi, namely, 'control', 'danger', 'humanitarian', 'economy', and 'culture'. Fourthly, while acknowledging that some 'positive' texts are evident in institutional texts; this research has found that illegal immigrants in Ireland are represented in a mainly 'negative' way. Fifthly, it has found that these topoi consistently occur at similar levels over time (2002-2009) in the two institutions. Sixthly, it has found that the manner in which illegal immigrants are

represented is very much place-based. The most prominent example of this is evident by comparing representations of the undocumented Irish in the US and illegal immigrants in Ireland. Seventhly, and most significantly, this dissertation has identified aspects of governmental power in institutional texts. It is argued here that governmental discourses are identifiable, as the two institutions of the parliament and the newsprint media represent illegal immigration through five topoi (in a similar manner). Additionally, these texts were disseminated from these institutions in similar proportions continually over an eight year period (2002-2009). This is a key finding, as governmental power needs to continually renew itself over time and permeate all levels of Irish society in order to operate. Eighthly, this dissertation found that the five key topoi also materialized in interviews. The interview data proved to be quite useful as they allowed for an in-depth discussion of illegal immigration and expansion upon the data. Lastly, this dissertation has found that the governmental discourses that surround the topic of illegal immigration have a number of functions: (1) to legitimately govern through the nation state rationale and to continue the nation building process, (2) to maintain inequality and to practice legitimized forms of exclusion – by producing legitimate identities and illegitimate identities, and (3) by allowing for legitimized expressions of racism. Ultimately, the thesis has uncovered the manner in which 'dominant' discourses about illegal immigrants function to maintain notions of belonging and non-belonging, which legitimize the exclusion of immigrants from Irish society.

It is acknowledged here that the discursive data that was analyzed in this dissertation focused upon the Irish context and is quite specific in terms of both time and place. Thus, this research recognizes that not all of the findings and claims that are made in this thesis can be generalized to the whole field of power formation, identity formation, and the functioning of discourses. Nevertheless, it is argued here that due to the vast range of data that was examined and analyzed in this dissertation, certain insights are valid, and indeed, compelling. Identifying with the principles of critical geography and committed to social equality and justice, this thesis has revealed how two institutions have represented illegal immigration in a 'negative' manner to a significant level, which allowed those in elite positions to 'legitimately' exercise considerable influence over this minority group (van

Dijk, 2009: 62; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 1-2). This power and influence operated through normalized and implicit discourses that were disseminated into society through everyday language. This research did not focus on explicitly discriminatory texts, but on the more subtle and indirect forms of dominance over illegal immigrants and non-European immigrants. These texts were reproduced by parliamentarians and those working for the newsprint media through indirect and subtle texts that normalized, rationalized, and legitimized the exclusion of illegal immigrants from Irish society (van Dijk, 1993b: 59; van Dijk, 1997: 35-36).

7.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This dissertation contributes to academia and the discipline of geography in a number of ways. To begin, it has addressed an area of migration that has been considerably under researched in both the European and Irish contexts. This dissertation provides the first in-depth study of how illegal immigrants are discursively represented in institutional texts in the Irish context. Furthermore, this research moved away from the prevailing research agenda on illegal immigration, which involves viewing illegal immigration as a security concern and the gathering and analyzing of statistics on the number of illegal immigrants in a given area. Instead, the focus here has been upon how illegal immigrants are represented in institutional texts and what these representations can inform us about the operation of power and the reproduction of national identity.

This research contributes to the broad school of thought within human geography that adopts a Foucauldian approach in understanding power and the role of discourses (Huxley, 2009: 258-260). The concept of governmentality was initially utilized by political geographers in the mid-1990s and this work shifted in emphasis from questions about 'what' to 'how'. Attention also shifted to the construction and operation of power through other non-state actors (e.g. the media), rethinking the scales of geopolitics, and how the 'mentalities' of geo-political rule are constructed, disseminated, and internalized through non-state institutions (Hakli, 2009: 631-632). The concept of governmentality led political geographers to rethink the internal organization and political management of spaces of the nation state, and the geopolitics of international relations and globalization

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(Huxley, 2009: 258-260). Foucauldian approaches to power and discourse have been adopted in geographies of sexuality, gender, feminism, economics, and post-colonial studies. These sub-disciplines highlight how 'dominant' discourses can be implicated in the materialities of spaces, e.g. how a space can be seen as a heterosexual space (Huxley, 2009: 258-260). Critical geographers have focused upon the role of language and discourse in the maintenance of political arrangements of domination and oppression (Berg, 2009: 215). However, geographical studies that employ the concept of governmentality have been criticised for failing to account for resistance to discursive norms and 'truths' (Hakli, 2009: 631-632). This dissertation adds to this large body of work by highlighting how power does not only operate through government institutions, as it examined the institution of the Irish newsprint media. Focusing upon the scale of the nation state, this thesis draws attention to the discursive formation of the concept of the national belonging. This dissertation unravelled the discursively constructed nature of the Irish nation state and how a prevailing 'dominant' discourse normalizes it as a space for Irish people, while those from outside are delegitimized as the 'other' in the nation state mentality. This research also examined how discourses function to maintain exclusionary practices in the Irish context. Although this thesis highlights the multiple 'negative' and 'dominant' discourses that are (re)produced about illegal immigration (as they occurred more often in institutional texts), 'positive' discourses about illegal immigration that resist the prevailing 'negative' ideology are acknowledged throughout this dissertation.

It is argued here that Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and discourse are inherently geographical and this dissertation has portrayed this in three broad ways. Firstly, Foucauldian concepts of discourse place great emphasis upon context. Knowledge, text, truths, practices, and realities are all products of particular spaces and times, therefore discourses have a distinctive spatial character. The work of Foucault is grounded in particular times and places, and the 'knowledges' that arise are specific to that context. This dissertation is firmly grounded in the context of both place and time, as the 'knowledges' and 'truths' that were uncovered are based in the Irish context between 2002 and 2009. Secondly, discourses arise in very specific sites. Different sectors of society and different institutions (e.g. the parliament and the newsprint media) are all

micro-geographies that are both the context for and part of discourse. Discourse must acquire authority in order for it to be 'sayable' and to produce discursive, legitimized 'truths'. Part of this authority comes from the place from which the discourse is produced. The institutions of the Irish Parliament and newsprint media produced 'dominant' discourses and discourses of influence due to the legitimacy of the institution from which they came. Thirdly, discourses are implicated in the production of places and in the judgement of people's practices within certain places. What counts as acceptable and appropriate behaviour in a certain place is often determined by the discourses that construct it (Cresswell, 2009: 213-214). Thus, the illegal immigrants are seen to be out-of-place in a given nation state, as the 'dominant' discourse states that people must enter and remain in the State with permission from the governing authorities. Overall, this dissertation has highlighted the inherently geographical nature of texts and the broader discourses that they form.

This research contributes to the methodological use of CDA in both the geographic discipline and in the broader Irish academic context. The field of CDA is not widely utilized in the Irish academic arena or within the discipline of geography. This thesis adds to the growing body of CDA work and portrays how this approach is overall highly functional and valuable. Indeed, this specific dissertation relays the usefulness of the specific method of topoi analysis as a marker of attitudes on a given matter. It is acknowledged that some limitations of topoi analysis can be identified. As topoi analysis aims to uncover key argumentations in relation to a given subject, it does not differentiate between discourses and explain different stakeholder viewpoints. However, this aspect could be adopted into future research projects, but would be quite labour intensive and time consuming. Indeed, topoi analysis can involve a large number of texts (as it does it the case of this dissertation). If one wished to take account of those who are making particular argumentations and setting agendas, one would have to perhaps analyze a smaller time period (with a smaller number of texts) or choose a significant event/moment in time. Overall, although CDA can be a time-consuming process that requires concentration and reflection, the overall results that stem from this method outweigh any negative aspects. Researchers can gain enormously from CDA as it offers

both a conceptual framework and a methodological tool kit. Thus, this research sheds light on how the methodological approach of CDA offers a comprehensive avenue to analyzing discourses and power, one that produces rich results. Additionally, this dissertation is multidisciplinary in its approach, drawing upon a number of different academic fields. The thesis portrays the importance of moving between academic disciplines for theoretical and methodological approaches that can aid the research process.

Lastly, this thesis examined institutional texts in order to oppose discriminatory discursive ideologies that are prevalent in Irish society. It did so by raising awareness of the opaque manners in which power is legitimized in institutional texts and the exclusionary practices that are justified in discourses of influence (KhosraviNik, 2008: 4). Therefore, this dissertation aims to produce enlightenment (among those in elite positions and the general populous) and emancipatory action by making visible the connections between institutions, elite power, identity formation, and discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 6-7).

7.4 Suggestions for Future Research

This research offers a number of suggestions for future research. Firstly, future research can be undertaken on how other institutions in the Irish context represent illegal immigration (e.g. religious institutions or educational institutions) or how institutions represent other 'types' of immigration. Research on other institutions would assess whether governmental power also operates through these institutions in Irish society. Secondly, further research can be undertaken on the texts that are produced about illegal immigration in other Irish newsprint media outlets. As referred to in Chapter 3, this research was constrained by the current availability of certain (mainly tabloid) newspapers and the manner in which archival newsprint material is only available for restricted time periods. If this data became available, representations of illegal immigrants could be analyzed from these sources. Indeed, the attitudes/argumentations that are evident in relation to illegal immigrants may also be applicable to other types of immigration. Future research could also analyze discursive representations of illegal

immigration from other media outlets such as radio, television and internet sources. Thirdly, the way illegal immigration is represented in other time periods could also be assessed. This research concentrates upon the period between 2002 and 2009 and so the data for the years 2010, 2011, 2012 and onwards from the Irish Parliament and the Irish newsprint media is available for analysis. In conjunction with current institutional texts, research on public opinion could also be undertaken in order to assess if institutional discourses impact upon public opinion. As secondary opinion poll data on Irish attitudes is lacking for the period between 2002 and 2009 (and as one cannot assess public opinion of the past) this aspect could not be assessed in this research. Nevertheless, future research could undertake public opinion surveys and align that data with institutional ideological discourses. Fourthly, the methodology employed here (topoi analysis) could be applied to consider how other 'types' of migration or other minority groups (in terms of gender, race, or class) are represented in institutional texts. In essence, there are numerous avenues for future research in the area of illegal immigration and in the context of the broader scope of migration. Indeed, there are also various other areas that could be researched where exclusionary practices are normalized, rationalized and legitimized in Irish society. Lastly, this research offers a template for the analysis of discursive representations of a given subject, which can be applied to other geographical locations.

7.5 Conclusion

This dissertation began in Chapter 1 by presenting the topic of illegal immigration in the international, European and Irish contexts. Chapter 1 also examined the terminology that surrounds illegal immigration and how it is defined. It concluded by outlining the aims and objectives of this research and how it contributes to academia. Chapter 2 detailed the theoretical framework of this research. This included an examination of the links between power and ideology, an exploration of Foucault's theory of governmentality, and the concept of 'subjectivities'/identities. The role of the nation state and national identity in the functioning of power was also examined. In addition, the concept of discourses was investigated in detail. Chapter 2 argued that all of these elements are linked to a broader understanding of the ways in which power functions through discursive ideologies. Chapter 3 outlined the methodological approach of CDA and the specific method that this

research employs – topoi analysis. The chapter also explored the nature of parliamentary texts and newsprint media texts and the link between these two institutions. Furthermore, the research design of the dissertation was outlined, including an explanation of how the data was gathered and organized, the number of texts identified, and an explanation of the interviews that were undertaken. Chapter 4 analyzed the texts that were produced about illegal immigration in the Irish Parliament between 2002 and 2009. Chapter 5 investigated the texts that were produced about illegal immigration in the Irish newsprint media during this same period. Within Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, a CDA of texts that referred to illegal immigration was undertaken and revealed the manner in which illegal immigrants were discursively represented in these institutions. The main aim of Chapter 6 was to bring together the range of data that was analyzed from the institutional texts with interview data, offering a comprehensive understanding of the numerous discursive representations of illegal immigration in the Irish context.

The present chapter began by examining the overall findings of this dissertation. It linked the findings of this research to the overall theoretical framework of the dissertation. This section also discussed the function of the discursive representations of illegal immigration in the Irish context. Following this, a discussion of how this dissertation contributes to knowledge and some suggestions for future research were offered. To conclude this research, there will be a brief consideration of whether there is a solution to illegal immigration. In this concluding section, there is also comment upon the lived experience of illegal immigrants. Throughout the research process, there was a continuous awareness that behind the various representations of illegal immigrants expressed in Irish institutions there are real people who are struggling to gain a legal status in Ireland. It is in this spirit that the final section of this thesis briefly reflects upon the lived experience of illegal immigrants in Ireland.

7.5.1 A Solution to Illegal Immigration?

This dissertation contends that the category 'illegal immigrant' is an entity that is constructed by those in powerful positions for particular reasons. Working upon this basis, if the category 'illegal immigrant' can be produced, it can equally be abandoned.

Additionally, the availability of routes for people to legally migrate could be made more accessible to immigrants, thus reducing the occurrence of illegal immigration. Of course, these changes could only be undertaken if the political will was behind such liberal conceptualizations. Admittedly, these are utopian notions, but it is important to explore these concepts momentarily. Indeed, there seems to be an emerging appreciation (among those in powerful positions) that a complete absence of illegal immigration is impossible in the current context of globalization. The global market place actively encourages and requires immigration, and illegal immigration is a consequence of being involved in the global market. If a state attempts to implement a 'no illegal immigration' policy, it will ultimately fail for various reasons, for example due to ineffective border controls and the migration of those fleeing persecution (Papademetriou, 2005). It is argued here that modern nation states need to accept that illegal immigration will happen and it is only through this rationale that illegal immigration will be addressed in a real way.

This dissertation maintains that there are two broad ways to address illegal immigration. The first way is to pose the notion that the world could operate through a different type of state formation. This approach admittedly pushes the boundaries and suggests an alternative governmental regime that contains no borders, porous borders, or the elimination of nationalism. The abolishing of borders and the opening up of territories would transform existing territorial states into regions of global common areas (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 51-54). This topic has been widely debated by Falk (1995), Held (1995), and O'Neill (2000). It is suggested by economists that no borders/open borders might generate significant economic growth and these gains, if distributed equally, have the potential to considerably decrease migration pressures. Indeed, a small-scale version of freedom of movement is currently practiced in the EU and it is notable how Polish nationals (who were at a point in time the largest illegal immigrant population in the EU) have become part of the European community (Duvell, 2006: 13-14). An alternative possibility is to retain existing territorial divisions, but to make all borders extremely porous, which might entail the implementation of a universal right to migration for all people (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 48-49). The third option is to change the way we think about borders and community memberships. This approach would make nationalistic

narratives and their territorial dimensions 'weightless' for the purpose of devising a legal migration policy for all people (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 48-49). By replacing migration controls and exclusionary forms of nationalism (that view migrants as the 'other' and render the illegal migrant a threat to the national community), it is argued that more relaxed forms of association would formalize (Kostakopoulou, 2004: 51-54).

The second broad way to address illegal immigration (and it is argued here the more realistic way) is to offer solutions to illegal immigration within the context of the current governance rationale and immigration system. This includes making legal immigration more accessible (Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009; Papademetriou, 2005) and offering permanent residency to migrants (Bacon, 2007). Additionally, regularization programmes could be offered to illegal immigrants (Duvell, 2006: 14) and family reunification programmes could be made available (Bacon, 2007). Regularizations can have positive outcomes for a state, as they can aid in the regulation of the labour market and increase the collection of tax revenues. Furthermore, regularizations benefit illegal immigrants by allowing immigrants access to the legal labour force and for them to fully participate in society (Coghlan, 2007: 23). All of these suggestions would contribute to a decrease in illegal immigration, as well as upholding the human rights of all migrant workers (Coghlan, 2007: 59).

Overall, it is argued here that the most realistic way to address illegal immigration is to make more routes available for migrants to legally migrate and to offer regularizations to those who are illegal in Ireland. However, this research acknowledges that illegal immigration is not currently a priority issue for the Irish Government. Regularizations are broadly viewed by the Government as a negative entity and as a way of drawing further illegal immigration into the State. This dissertation argues that illegal immigration has three core functions in the Irish context (namely, the continuation of the nation state rationale, the maintenance of inequality in society and legitimized practices of exclusion, and legitimized expressions of racism). For these reasons, a solution to illegal immigration is not warranted at a political level or by the general public, and so the likelihood of a solution to illegal immigration is improbable. Thus, the prevailing

rationale that some migrants are illegal (and illegitimate) will remain in Irish society as long as illegal immigrants serve a function to the nation state rationale of governance in Ireland.

7.5.2 The Lived Experience of Illegal Immigration

Drawing attention to the lived experience of illegal immigration is perhaps the most compelling way to illuminate the contradictions and absurdities in the practice of excluding people from society based on their (constructed) immigrant status. The first paragraph of this dissertation referred to how the term illegal immigrant lacks a human element and a face(s) behind this terminology. Therefore it is apt that the lived experience of illegal immigrants is addressed at the end of this research. Although the focus of this dissertation has been upon institutional texts (in order to portray how power operates), one cannot forget that there are people involved in the process of categorization and the numerous representations that are assigned to those considered to be 'illegal'. Illegal immigration is an abstract concept, but there are people who are experiencing illegality and the resulting government regulations that result from this illegal status on a daily basis in Ireland. This short section aims to offer a brief space for reflection upon the lived experience of illegal immigrants in Ireland.

The recent case of one particular illegal immigrant in Ireland highlights how the laws of the Irish nation state and the rights of its citizens are often prioritised over the employment and humanitarian rights of illegal immigrants. This case also highlights how illegal immigrants can live under extremely harsh and unfair conditions in Ireland. Mr. Younis was employed in a Dublin restaurant since 2002. During his employment he experienced exploitation, working seven days a week for little money. Mr. Younis brought his case before the courts under the *Terms of Employment (Information) Act, the Organization of Working Time Act,* and *the National Minimum Wage Act*, resulting in the Labour Court awarding him €92,000. Subsequent to this his employer rejected these claims, alleging that this man had a work permit for only one year and he lived with him as a member of his extended family. The court found that while the employer could defend against criminal proceedings on the grounds that they took reasonable steps to

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ensure compliance with the law, that defence was not available to the employee, as they were illegally employed. Therefore, the Rights Commissioner and the Labour Court did not make the monetary award to Mr. Younis as he was an illegal immigrant. It can be argued that this is merely a badly drafted law and not necessarily an anti-immigrant measure. Nevertheless, this case is an example of how those that are illegally employed in Ireland are open to exploitation. Furthermore, there are no state protections available to them, there are no means for them to seek redress for exploitation, and they are deprived of the benefit of employment legislation (Carolan, 2012).

Although no interviews were conducted with illegal immigrants for the purpose of this thesis, NGO representatives who work with illegal immigrants were asked about the daily lives of illegal immigrants in Ireland. Obviously, one of the main aims of those who are illegally residing in Ireland is for them to gain a legal status:

> Well people who are undocumented, just status, getting status is the issue…being legal gives you the security of, you know, being able to rely on employment laws, being able to rely on other laws and other systems…getting the status to give them the security to either work legally, have their family here that has to be the key thing (NGOa, 2011).

The consensus from the NGO interviewees was that illegal immigrants in Ireland face a very difficult life:

> the actual outcomes for an individual who gets into that [illegal] situation are always, pretty much always, very, very poor (NGOa, 2011).

> people are much more likely to either be exploited in work, more likely to themselves [sic] not pay tax or PRSI, because they don't want to engage with the system, out of worry that they will be found out or whatever (NGOa, 2011).

Well the big thing is somewhere to live and to get money basically (NGOb, 2011).

Additionally, people who are illegal in Ireland face very difficult family situations:

> The family issue is huge obviously. Someone undocumented here with family outside the country has no way of getting them in, or an entire undocumented family here…the parents, not at all worried about their own situation. They couldn't give a crap really, but worried about the child who is in school and whose, maybe, been born and is living here and that's, that's a very big thing. I mean we'll see like a lot of non-EU migrants who have children here, you know, that's the focus of it…they'll do whatever is required (NGOa, 2011).

This dissertation has relayed an array of representations of illegal immigrants that were disseminated from Irish institutions and so perhaps it is apt to conclude with a more

realistic and humane representation of illegal immigrants with the words of a member of an NGO: '*they're just normal people, they just want a chance to live and work*' (NGOa, 2011).

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Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH
MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE, IRELAND

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary to NUI Maynooth Ethics Committee

NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

25th November 2010

Dr Elaine Burroughs
Geography Department
NUI Maynooth

RE: Application for Ethical Approval for a project entitled:
"Illegal Immigration in Ireland: A critical discourse analysis of public discourses on illegal immigration as a window into Irish national identity and governmentality"

Dear Elaine,

The Ethics Committee evaluated the above project for approval and we would like to inform you that ethical approval has been granted.

Kind Regards,

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary, NUI Maynooth Ethics Committee

cc. Dr Mary Gilmartin
Geography Department

Appendix 2: Information Sheet and Consent Form

Information Sheet: Illegal/Undocumented Immigration in Ireland.
You are invited to participate in this doctoral research on illegal/undocumented immigration in Ireland, as you can offer valuable insight into issues relating to this topic. This information sheet explains the nature of the study and what I will be asking you in the interview. It also explains how your interview will be used in this research.

About this research
This research concentrates on illegal/undocumented immigration in Ireland, specifically examining the period 2002-2009. It is funded by the John and Pat Hume Scholarship, NUI Maynooth. The focus of this research is how illegal immigration is discussed in institutional discourses and what arguments are employed in the Irish print media and the Irish parliament to discuss illegal immigration. Interviews will be conducted with politicians and civil society activists in order to supplement this data, to inform the findings of an examination of the arguments employed to discuss illegal immigration, and lastly, to obtain a fuller understanding of illegal immigration in Ireland.

This research is based in the Department of Geography, NUI Maynooth, and will be conducted by Elaine Burroughs as part of her PhD research. This research commenced in late 2008 and will be completed in 2012.

About the interviews
I would very much appreciate your views on this subject and if you agree to participate, I will interview you at your convenience in a mutually agreed location. This interview will take between thirty minutes and one hour. The questions will relate to illegal immigration in Ireland.

With your permission, the interview will be recorded and afterwards transcribed. All of the information obtained, interview tapes and transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet at NUIM. Your identity will be kept confidential and I will use a code number on your tape and your name will be recorded in a separate location. If you are willing to be identified in the thesis, a transcript will be sent to you and you can withdraw statements or the interview from the research, or decide not to be identified, if you wish to do so. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You can refuse to take part, you can refuse to answer any questions, and you may stop the interview at any time without explanation. Additionally, you can withdraw from this research up until the work is completed. There are no risks involved in this research. The benefit is that you will have access to this research when it is completed.

Questions?

Should you have any questions concerning the research, you may contact me, Elaine Burroughs, Department of Geography, National University of Ireland, Maynooth at elaine.burroughs.2009@nuim.ie or call 017086460. Alternatively, my PhD supervisor, Dr. Mary Gilmartin, can be contacted at mary.gilmartin@nuim.ie or call 017086617.

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at research.ethics@nuim.ie. Please be assured that you concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Consent Form

Research Title: **Illegal/Undocumented Immigration in Ireland.**

Researcher: Elaine Burroughs

Please answer each statement below concerning the collection of the research data.

1	I have read and understood the information sheet.	Yes ❏ No ❏
2	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	Yes ❏ No ❏
3	I have had my questions answered satisfactorily	Yes ❏ No ❏
4	I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, up until the research is completed.	Yes ❏ No ❏
5	I agree to the interview being recorded and to its contents being used for research purposes.	Yes ❏ No ❏

Please answer this statement referring to confidentiality.

6	I wish for my interview to be kept confidential. *All of the information obtained, interview recordings and transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet at NUIM. Your identity will be kept confidential and I will use a code number on your tape and your name will be recorded in a separate location.*	Yes ❏ No ❏
7	I agree to be identified in any publication that result from this research *All this information obtained, interview recordings and transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet at NUIM. After the interview is conducted and transcribed, the interview transcript will be sent to you – at this stage, you can edit the transcript, or decide not to be identified in any publications that result from this research.*	Yes ❏ No ❏

Name (printed) _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

I appreciate your valuable contribution. Please feel free to contact me if you have any further questions.

Elaine Burroughs   Phone: 01-7086460   Email:elaine.burroughs.2009@nuim.ie

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at *research.ethics@nuim.ie* *Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.*

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

1. Ireland experienced significant changes during the period 2002 and 2009 in terms of the number of immigrants coming to the country and type of immigrants coming to Ireland. The Irish immigration system had to respond to these changes. What is your opinion on the Irish immigration system during this time?...was it fair and just? Should the immigration system have been more restrictive or less restrictive?

2. Illegal immigration was clearly evident in Ireland during this period (2002-2009). What are your views on the occurrence of illegal immigration in Ireland?

3. What are the main causes of illegal immigration?

4. What do you think should happen to those who travel to Ireland without permission or remain in Ireland without permission?

5. What is your opinion on how illegal immigrants have been dealt with by the Irish government during 2002-2009, in terms of deportations, visa restrictions?

6. Do you think that the majority of illegal immigrants enter Ireland illegally (through the border with Northern Ireland), or do they, as groups such as the MRCI claim, enter the country legally initially and subsequently become illegal?

7. How widespread is illegal immigration in Ireland?

8. In your experience of working with illegal immigrants, what would you say are the major issues facing illegal immigrants in Ireland? (Question specifically for NGO workers).

9. What impact do illegal immigrants have on Irish society? (i.e. economically, culturally)

10. How would you characterize illegal immigrants? Are they in the majority of cases deceitful people or do you sympathise with them? Justification for this opinion? Evidence?

11. Is illegal immigration a threat to Irish society? In what ways? (i.e. in terms of security or identity)

12. What are your views on the way the Irish Government has treated and campaigned for illegal/undocumented immigration of Irish people in the USA?

13. In your opinion, how do the media report on illegal immigration?

14. Do the media have a role in shaping public opinion about illegal immigration?

15. Do you believe that the Government of 2002-2009 had an impact on public opinion about illegal immigration?

16. Are there any aspects of the topic of immigration or illegal immigration that have not been covered and that you would like to address?

17. Does your party have a position on illegal immigration? Is your position different from that of your party? (A specific question for the politicians)