

Content and Representation in Diaspora Media: A Study of Metro Éireann Newspaper in Ireland

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Abstract

This study seeks to explore content of ethnic media in the lives of their audiences. In recent years there has been an increase in African ethnic media publications in Western Europe as an alternative to mainstream media. Yet relatively little is known about the content and role of these ethnic media in the articulation and re-articulation of collective identities. Academic assertions in this area remain theoretical. Very few studies have empirically investigated the content of these media. For instance, how diaspora media represent African ethnic minorities and how do these representations differ from those of mainstream media? A number of issues have thus remained under-explored, such as the extent to which ethnic media (re)construct the identities of the community they serve. Studies of the content of these media can help to identify and proffers solution to these challenges. At the same time, relatively little is known about representation of various groups in these media. This study identifies and examines these issues through a content analysis of ethnic African newspaper, *Metro Éireann* in Ireland. To this end, a quantitative and qualitative content analysis is combined in this study. The main research findings concern issues around representation. *Metro Éireann* tends to be objective in the representation of the ethnic minority and the majority. However, the newspaper gives more prominence to the ethnic minority in terms of celebrating their achievements. In most cases it relies on the views of ordinary sources without featuring those of elite sources.

Introduction

Metro Éireann is popularly referred to in Ireland as *Metro*; it is Ireland's first and only weekly multicultural newspaper. It was set up by two Nigerian journalists, Chinedu Onyejelem and Abel Ugba. It is the highest-selling ethnic newspaper in Ireland, with a circulation of 5,000 copies as at June 2013 (Onyejelem, 2011). The emergence of *Metro Éireann*, which started publication on 17 April 2000, has enabled active participation of Africans in the ethnic media sector of the Irish media landscape, particularly in terms of investment. The newspaper, which started as a monthly publication in tabloid format, became a weekly newspaper in 2007 (Ugba, 2009).

Ugba, who was the commissioning editor of the newspaper, argues that *Metro Éireann* enables Africans in Ireland to remain visible and indeed contribute to the evolution of Ireland as a multi-ethnic society. He said, "When *Metro Éireann* hit the newsstands, it served as a major invitation to the dominant culture to acknowledge and debate diversity" (ibid, 2009).

Metro Éireann started as free newspaper but is now sold for €1. It has recently extended circulation to Northern of Ireland. According to the editor, "The newspaper wants to provide opportunities for empowerment of the minority ethnic communities in Ireland by being in the forefront of promoting enterprise among the ethnic minority groups" (Onyejelem, 2011).

Media Content

Various studies on the representation of ethnic minorities in the media have consistently shown that such representation is often presented in distorted forms, associating them with crime, terrorism and violence (Van Den Bulck & Broos, 2011). According to Cottle, "Under-representation and stereotypical characterization within entertainment genres and negative problem-oriented portrayal within factuality and news forms ... and lived racism experienced by ethnic minorities in both, are recurring research findings" (Cottle, 2000:7-8). Over the years, there has been little or no noticeable change in representation of ethnic minorities in the mainstream and outdoor media, particularly those visible in public places, as shown by photographs placed in the public domain in the United Kingdom and United States which depict white supremacy (Cottle, 2000).

The negative reporting of ethnic minorities, as often reflected in the news, in culture and in society, plays a leading role in the creation of an 'us and them' attitude among the majority group in a society. Again, mainstream journalism practices have come under scrutiny in terms of the marginalisation of ethnic minority communities, in particular of the professionals and others who are sidelined for interview purposes, especially when it comes to issues that also affect the generality of the society; they rather tend to be reserved for issues concerning immigration and related issues (Van den Bulck & Broos, 2011). This is largely seen as stigmatisation of the ethnic minority (see Hussain, 2000).

One of the factors responsible for this, according to Cottle (2000), is linked to the social status of the majority of mainstream journalists, who belong to the majority group in the society, which hinders to certain extent any close interaction with the minority group; they are thus not familiar with ethnic minorities (Cottle,

2000). It is obvious that people with different social and cultural backgrounds and membership of different social organisations with little or no familiarity reflects differences in the social capital of the two communities (Van den Bulck and Broos, 2011). Hence, when it comes to news-gathering, there is a tendency for the content of news production by mainstream journalists to reflect the structure of the society they live in. Mainstream journalists “will therefore fall back on their own social network, resulting for instance in the absence of ethnic minority experts in the news and in an homogenizing ‘us-them’ perspective on ethnic minorities” (Van den Bulck and Broos, 2011:197).

Again, the demands of the characteristics of news texts, as required in those ‘news values’ which actually influence events through prioritising of coverage by journalists in the news-gathering process, are also responsible for the misrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the news media. Van den Bulck & Broos (2011) argue that “news values, form conventions and medium restrictions may be important in explaining the representation and framing of ethnic minorities” (Van den Bulck & Broos, 2011:198).

McQuail (2005) proposed a number of phrases to describe the position of the mass media in our society, including: windows that enable us to see; interpreters that help us to make sense; carriers that convey information; interactions that allow for feedback, and barriers that block us from the truth (McQuail, 2005). In the same direction, Lasswell’s model helps understanding of the important role played by the media, by exploring content on its own; however, we should not ignore content as news articles, news features and commercials, among other types of media content, portray the world in various ways, conveying different meanings to many people. The implication here concerns the ability of content to influence many people’s thoughts, and their social environment (Hodkinson, 2011).

To understand how ethnic minority media in Ireland have been able to represent the minority communities and the majority in the society, meticulous analysis must reflect the relationship between ethnic journalists and their wider environment (Van den Bulck and Broos, 2011). Particular attention must be paid to how news events are selected, including the issue of accessibility to news events.

Literature review

Media articulation of ethnic identity

In our society today, formation of individual identity is a matter of some ambivalence, taking into consideration the dynamic nature of identity as defined by literature and the narratives on identity and belonging (Georgiou 2006, McQuail 2005). Many scholars, including Downing and Husband (2005), Holtzman (2000) and Awani (2008), have examined media representations of race and ethnicity, and proposed that representation of ethnicity and race in the media are shaped by a dominant ideological position which manipulates the way individuals relate with each other within the context of their identity; the media thus relay a distorted picture of cultural beliefs and practices and ultimately of different identities, and the audiences have a choice of picking the preferred ones and deciding on how to make use of these messages.

According to Hall (1990), distorted meaning resulting from the ideological leaning of the media leads to the minority in society understanding themselves as ‘Others’. Hence, the manipulative will of the media in European society has further imposed their ideological position on the will of these minority people in terms of domination, which aims to lower their estimation in the larger society (Hall, 1990). The subjective position of the dominant press in society further demonstrates that media representation has played a significant role in the ways the larger society understands the ethnic minority groups and indeed how the ethnic minority communities understand their own identities. The media play an important role in that process of articulating collective identity. Therefore, instead of it being natural, it has become a factor of history as narrated by the media or as a trend within the social settings. However, (Hall, 1996) suggests that media references form a point of reference for identity in terms of historical narratives and relinking of cultural values to communities, for displaced subjects. Hall (1994) argues that “they impose an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all diasporas” (Hall, 1994:394).

The emerging issues concerning identity and difference have become a familiar debate in the media and culture generally. Identity itself as a word crops up often in the title of books. Pieterse (1992:232) argues that the “ideology of alter involves ideology of ego”, explaining that we cannot seriously consider the identities or representation (see below) of others in the absence of representation of ‘self’, due to the fluid nature of identity. Here, we should look beyond identity as mere difference, but more importantly as the opposite of identity is ‘non-identity’. We also need to bear in mind that individual identity must be formed through a fair and recognised procedure, which is currently lacking (Ferguson, 1998).

Media images in print and broadcast media present representations of people that are more or less an imperfect ‘copy’ of groups and individuals. The media represent minorities under the general category of ‘Otherness’. An example is the representation of Japanese people by a former BBC radio presenter who referred to them as “our little yellow friends”, which obviously provoked outrage among his listeners. This was reported by the *Newcastle Journal* of 6 February 1995 as a race row (Hammond, 1997 cited in Ferguson, 1998). Again,

the recent forms of racial discourse, developed in the context of migration of populations from former colonies to Western countries, have drifted away from the notions of natural or biological racial inferiority towards the “notion of essential differences of culture”. According to Hodkinson (2011), the political reactions to the migration of blacks, south Asians and others to the United Kingdom from the mid-20th century onward provide a case in point. Anti-immigration rhetoric centred on the perceived encroachment of essentially different ‘others’ on British territory and the resulting threat to (white) British cultural identity, assuming that conflict would be an inevitable result. In his famous call for repatriation of immigrants from the United Kingdom in 1968, the politician Enoch Powell suggested that whites were becoming strangers in their own country and a bloody conflict was in danger of breaking out. A decade later, Margret Thatcher lamented the potential for a ‘swamping’ of the character of Britain; more recently, the ‘flooding’ of British culture by a mixture of asylum-seekers and economic migrants has been alluded to by various politicians and national newspapers in the UK (Malik, 2002 in Hodkinson 2011).

In his seminal work, which explores the relationship between culture and imperialism, Edward Said (1993) notes that the media mould and manipulate perceptions and political attitudes. Since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, he argued, the Western press representation of the Arab world was “crude, reductionist, coarsely racist”, all of which, he noted, had been well documented earlier (Said, 1993:36). Said’s (1993) findings notwithstanding, film and television continued to portray Arabs as sleazy, as terrorists and as offensively wealthy sheikhs (ibid: 36). Not much changed up to or during the first Gulf War. The media in general rallied behind President George Bush Snr and devoted little attention to dealing with social and political issues in the Arab communities. Said (1981) accused journalists of sensationalism, which is bound to heat up the polity (Said, 1981). He argued that journalists are part of an interrelated apparatus that includes the academy and government, all of which are driven mainly by politics rather than by truth or accuracy, and that thus *misrepresentation becomes more challenging when differences among human beings are reduced to mere categorisation based on assumptions, particularly when majorities use the differences in justifying their position and continue to foster inequality and prejudice, which in itself promote otherness, ‘us vs them’*. This involves strong criticism of the media; however, such arguments raise difficult questions for those who argue that statutory regulators in the media industry should seek to develop content that represents or facilitates a cohesive national public culture. Given that ethnic media are presented as an alternative to mainstream, do they represent minorities differently from the mainstream media?

Methodology

Quantitative content analysis

Content analysis, according to Hansen et al (1998:95), is “a quantitative method used in identifying and counting of occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance”. McQuail (2005:551) described content analysis as a technique for the systematic, quantitative and objective description of media texts that is useful for certain purposes of classifying output, looking for effects and making comparisons between media over time or between content and ‘reality’. In order to have reliable results from content analysis, the research should be consistent and lack ambiguity (Weber, 1990).

Complementary qualitative textual analysis

The literature lists a number of shortcomings relating to qualitative content analysis; it has been criticised for displaying a lack of sensitivity to hidden meanings that may be conveyed by media text (Gunter, 2002). Another concern is that qualitative content analysis gives attention to certain themes that illustrate various meanings of a phenomenon, rather than the statistical significance of the number of occurrences of particular texts or concepts, which is regarded as more scientific (Berg, 2001). For Denzin and Lincoln (2003), these meanings and processes “are not experimentally examined” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003:13). Hence, qualitative content analysis has often been challenged as involving subjective interpretation. However, it is also an excellent tool for addressing broad cultural values and beliefs, particularly as they evolve over time, while it has also been noted for cost efficient, safe and easy to deploy, as it present few ethical problems.

These fundamental differences in the two methods have generated various responses, but the purpose of merging the two approaches in this study is to yield a different type of information in this media content study. According to Ritchie (2003), “we are of the view that there can be benefit in harnessing qualitative and statistical enquiry provided that the two methods, and the data they generate, can be clearly delineated” (Ritchie, 2003:38). The Glasgow University Media Group’s adoption of both the quantitative and qualitative methodologies in the Bad News (1976) study also justifies the use of this dual method. Hence, our counting and quantifying are supplemented with an interpretative procedure of textual analysis (qualitative content analysis), which will enable us to clarify the weight and implications of the media messages in terms of their potential impact on the audience, i.e., interpretation of the meaning of those messages (Gunter, 2002:220).

With textual analysis, our intention is not to count the prevalence of elements in the case-study

newspapers' content, as we are more interested in identifying patterns by linking them to something outside the count itself (Potter, 2009:232). Hence, we decided to use qualitative discourse analysis after quantitative analysis of 520 articles in *Metro Éireann* newspaper.

Findings: Content of Metro Éireann

General breakdown of sources

Based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the news contents of *Metro Éireann* which examines how the newspaper represents and deploys its news sources, the following sourcing pattern emerged. We first classified sources into two types, namely ordinary sources and elite sources, and calculated how frequently they appeared across the sample. Out of 520 articles analysed, a total of 2,687 sources were identified. Of these, 812 ordinary sources were revealed as against 1,875 elite, in a ratio of 1 to 2.3. Ordinary sources amount to (30.22%) of the total sources identified, while elite sources make up the remaining (69.78%).

The high number of elite sources does not imply that ordinary citizens are not represented or given prominence by the newspaper in its coverage of events and publication, since they are only consulted when issues neglected by the mainstream media are given prominence (Ogunyemi, 2007:643). These data confirm Ogunyemi's (2007) analysis of the African Voice in the United Kingdom which showed that the ethnic African newspaper relies heavily on elite sources and only uses non-established intellectuals, who are regarded as ordinary sources in covering issues ignored by the mainstream media (Ogunyemi, 2007:645). A similar pattern emerged in the sourcing hierarchy of *Metro Éireann*.

Table 1.

Breakdown of Ordinary and Elite Sources in Metro Éireann newspaper						
Ordinary Sources			Elite Sources			
	Num of S	%		Num of S	%	
Interested communities	317	39%	Politicians	750	40%	
Clergy	129	16%	International institutions	450	24%	
Activists	82	10%	Public institutions	169	9%	
Workers	82	10%	Police	150	8%	
Others	65	8%	Academics	94	5%	
Citizens/Vox pop	57	7%	Lawyers	94	5%	
Refugees	32	4%	Mainstream media	75	4%	
Social formations	24	3%	Private institutions	56	3%	
Voluntary Organisations	24	3%	Social concern	37	2%	
Number of Ordinary sources	812	100%	Number of Elite sources	1875	100%	
Ratio of Elite sources to ordinary sources = 2.3.1 - Number of articles analysed = 520						
Total Sources - Ordinary + Elite = 2687 : Ordinary sources = 30.22%, Elite sources = 69.78%						

Characteristics of news content 2000-10

The aim of this content analysis is to present a descriptive analysis of the newspaper's content in order to ascertain its ideological direction and, most especially, how far it promotes the integration of Africans into the larger Irish society. A qualitative content analysis below also sheds more light on the content produced by the *Metro Éireann* journalists. A summary of dominant issues in the newspaper's content is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Dominant issues in *Metro Éireann* news coverage

Dominating Issues in News Features of *Metro Éireann* newspaper

Issues	Number of sources in news category	%
Immigration	596	22%
Integration	456	17%
Discrimination	376	14%
Politics/policy	183	7%
Employment	188	7%
Education	161	6%
African Origin news	161	6%
Crime	161	6%
Social trends	134	5%
Health	107	4%
Foreign aid	80	3%
Transport	53	2%
Others	31	1%
Total	2687	100%

The content analysis – based on the number of occurrence of specific texts in the articles analysed – shows that immigration issues emerged as the dominating theme (22%), closely followed by integration and discrimination in Irish society. Employment, crime and education feature prominently, while African origin news, health, transport, social trends, politics/policy and foreign aid are less featured.

On the whole, immigration issues clearly dominate the content of the newspaper; for example, the ‘home news’ page of *Metro Éireann* (page 3) of 7 to 13 August 2009, written by Sandy Hazel, is headlined ‘New rules make state schools a no-go for non-EEA children’ (EEA: European Economic Area). The newspaper reports a new regulation from the Department of Justice, which is responsible for immigration issues in Ireland, concerning how the children of non-EU citizens and unaccompanied minors in the state could be prevented from attending state schools. The literature on ethnic media indicate this report is typical of an ethnic newspaper, in the sense that it provides information that is likely to affect immigrants directly. The report includes the views of other elite sources who criticise the new regulation on the grounds of clarity, as it fails to state what will happen to minors whose parents have absconded. However, the newspaper make use of few ethnic minority sources, particularly as ethnic community members are directly affected by the new immigration rule. Hence, their reaction, particularly that of illegal immigrants would have help to achieve balance and clarity in the article and the feelings of these vulnerable people would have help us to further understand the feelings of this group of immigrants.

A front-page story in the *Metro Éireann* publication of 10-16 May 2007 headlined ‘Roddy Doyle backs immigrant writers’ reported that renowned Irish author and Booker prizewinner Roddy Doyle was to help immigrant writers in Ireland emerge through a new writing initiative which was launched and executed through *Metro Éireann*. The annual *Metro Éireann* Writing Award was opened to all people born outside but resident in Ireland for at least two years, as well as people with immigration backgrounds. Applicants must be at least 16 years of age, and the winning entries are published in *Metro Éireann*. Speaking about the competition, Roddy Doyle – who writes an exclusive monthly short story series in *Metro Éireann* – said, “We are looking for the new Irish voices, stories and poetry that bring to life the experiences and feelings of the people who have come to work and live in Ireland”. Again, we see here an ethnic medium getting involved in promoting writing among the immigrant community, and thus healthy competition, while acting as a rallying point for immigrants. This is one of the main functions of ethnic media as indicated in the literature. One fundamental feature in this case is the collaboration with a highly respected indigenous Irish writer in order to develop the writing skills of immigrants.

The majority is seen here to be caring and working towards improving the writing skills of the minority immigrants.

Integration issues are also prominent in the newspaper. For example, a report written by Catherine Reilly headlined ‘Citizenship fees rise to €950’ and the sub-heading ‘Price hike ‘in line with inflation’, says govt dept’, in the April 15, 2010 issue of *Metro*, states that immigrants applying for Irish citizenship will be required to pay almost €1,000, which the writer describes as a significant increase in the naturalisation fee. The report says that a Department of Justice spokesperson told *Metro Éireann* that the certification fee for citizenship had last been changed in 1993. In analysing the increase, the reporter claimed that the new fees structure would bring the amounts in line with inflation for the said period. Here again, we have a report in which an elite source communicates information of direct concern to the immigrant community, through their newspaper. The news writer went on to criticise the high increase in the cost of administering citizenship on immigrants. Though, the government justified the increase was in line with the rate of inflation.

Another example is a front-page story in the 2 to 8 November 2006 issue headlined ‘Gardaí [police] dismissing racism without evidence’. The report quotes Frank Buckley, a native Irish community activist and founder of Sports Against Racism Ireland, as telling the newspaper that there was now a feeling within the migrant communities that the police were dismissing a possible racist dimension to certain incidents without sufficient evidence.

The report quotes Buckley as saying said the gardaí had stated that a particular attack was not racist but were still investigating it, “so how do they know [it isn’t racially motivated]?” Buckley cited the case of a young African university student, Mapfumo Chidzambwa, who was attacked in Dublin. The report states: “A police spokesperson claimed the incident was a serious assault, but was not being treated as racist and when he asked police if there was any reason why racism had been ruled out, the police said there was no reason.” Here a member of the majority questions whether the police are doing enough to protect the minority from some troublemakers who are part of the majority group in society. Mr Buckley suggests that the police should not rule out racist motives prematurely. Again, the newspaper acts as a voice for the immigrant community, by giving prominence to issues affecting them, while also reporting the views of a member of the majority community who is concerned about community relations and integration.

Integration does not happen in isolation but interacts with other social forces in society. The literature on migration suggests that ethnic media offer information to new immigrants about employment. However, the study of *Metro Éireann* indicates that content on employment is limited compared to coverage of integration issues. Irish government pronouncements and policies on integration within the wider Irish community in the time period close to the dates of the sample could have been responsible for the prominence of integration in *Metro Éireann* news coverage. For example, the release of Irish government policy on integration of new arrivals into the wider society.

The literature on ethnic media suggests that one of the motivating factors for reading ethnic media is the need for immigrants to link back home, but the study revealed that the level of African origin news – news about what is happening in the place of origin – is quite low when compared to other news categories. This low could be related to the fact that ethnic Africans are able to access African newspapers directly on the Internet, thereby reducing the demand for home news in ethnic African print media. New technology has changed the way ethnic Africans engage with their media.

The breakdown of sources in the *Metro Éireann* showing the number of elite sources and ordinary sources used in different categories of our sampled content further revealed the newspaper relied heavily on elite sources; particularly on immigration, which we are already aware dominate the content of the analysed newspaper by (22%). A further breakdown of the sources within the immigration theme revealed elite sources to be 318 or (53%) as compared to ordinary sources amounting to 278 or (47%) of the 596 sourced identified under immigration. These findings revealed immigration to be a major issue being discussed in Ireland. Followed by integration and discrimination, while employment, crime and education featured prominently between the year 2000 and 2010. Though, African origin news, health, transport, social trends, politics/policy and foreign aid are less featured.

Sources and representation

Table 3: Breakdown of types of sources per theme in *Metro Éireann*

News category	Ordinary S	%	Elite S	%	Total Source
Immigration	278	47%	318	53%	596
Integration	152	33%	304	67%	456
Discrimination	139	37%	237	63%	376
Politics/policy	57	31%	126	69%	183
Crime	46	29%	115	71%	161
African Origin News	38	24%	123	76%	161
Employment	32	17%	156	83%	188
Health	20	19%	87	81%	107
Social trends	14	10%	120	90%	134
Education	13	8%	148	92%	161
Others	9	29%	22	71%	31
Transport	7	13%	46	87%	53
Foreign aid	7	9%	73	91%	80
Total	812		1875		2687
Cumulative percentage	30.22%		69.78%		

S= Source
 S=Source

A scrutiny of the link between various categories and sources in table 7.3 indicate that under crime category, the newspaper relied mainly on elite sources with elite sources amounting to 115 or (71.43%) of the content, while ordinary sources account for only 46 or (28.57%) of the 161 sources recorded in this category. Again, Politics/policy issues remain high under elite sources with 126 sources or (69%) as against 57 or (31%) ordinary sources in the category.

Social trends category recorded a massive 120 sources or (90%) as against 14 or (10%) of the 134 sources identified in this category. Under transportation, 46 or (87%) of the total number of sources identified falls under elite sources, as against ordinary sources which amount to for 7 or (13%), of the 53 sources identified in the category. Foreign aid recorded a massive 73 or (91%) of the elite sources as against 7 or (13%) of the 53 sources identified in this category. Employment also follow the same trend with 156 or (83%) coming under elite sources, while only 32 or (17%) fall under ordinary sources. The domineering trend of elite sources continued with 87 or (81%) of sources identified under health coming under elite sources, while only 20 or (19%) of the 107 sources identified under this category fall under ordinary sources.

The trend remain the same under education, with 148 or (92%) of the 161 sources identified under this category, while ordinary sources account for 13 or (8%) of all sources in this category. Sources under integration category showed that elite sources amount to 304 or (67%), while ordinary sources account for only 152 or (33%) of the 456 sources identified under this category. Discrimination recorded similar amount of 237 or (63%) of elite sources, out of the 376 sources identified, with ordinary sources accounting for 139 or (37%). African origin news follow the same path with 123 or (76%) elite sources and 38 or (24%) ordinary sources, out of the 161 sources identified under this category. Finally, 'others' category recorded 22 or (71%) elite sources and 9 or (29%) of ordinary sources, out of 31 sources identified under this category.

Sources and representation: Does Metro represent the minority differently from the mainstream media?

Based on Berg (2001), a qualitative content analysis approach was used in addressing research questions 6, 7 and 8, so as to produce descriptions or typologies that reveal the perspectives of the producers of the text (Berg, 2001). The *Metro Éireann* front-page story of the 15 to 21 February 2007 issue headlined 'BOY OH BOY' followed by: "He represented Ireland in soccer last week, but when the serious games start he'll be left on the side-lines, because he lacks an Irish Passport", was one of the representative front-page stories selected for analysis. The first three paragraphs of the story read: "The career of a promising young Irish international footballer is still in limbo due to his lack of an Irish passport. Nigerian born Emeka Onwubiko, who is 17 years old, has not heard from the department of justice, equality and law reform about the status of his application for citizenship, which the department had said would be examined late last year. A department source has stated that Minister for Justice Michael McDowell has given no indication that he will grant a passport to the youngster, who first arrived here in 2002 and has legal residency." The fact that he was able to represent Ireland in preliminary games qualifies him to be referred to as an "Irish international footballer". This article is typical of *Metro Éireann's* ideological position in the sense that it focuses on reporting and commenting on the social activities of the immigrant community, including analysing immigration policies, and indeed monitoring the people and institutions involved with immigrants.

Reporting on the same issue, *The Irish Examiner*, a mainstream newspaper, reported on 19 February 2007, "A promising young footballer side-lined from key international games because of a passport difficulty has finally been granted Irish citizenship. Nigerian born Emeka Onwubiko was unable to play competitive games or matches abroad despite being one of the country's top young scorers."

The story focuses more on Emeka Onwubiko's Nigerian background rather than the Irish representation earlier presented by *Metro Éireann*. This suggests that ethnic media represent the minority more positively than mainstream media, although this does not suggest that *The Irish Examiner* account of the event was wrong. The *Metro Éireann* account of the event projected Emeka Onwubiko as more of an Irish citizen before he was granted citizenship by the Irish government, based on the understanding that the Irish people themselves, by picking him to represent them in international tournaments, had conferred the status of Irish international footballer on him. Though the two newspapers sourced their story from the same elite body, i.e. the Justice Department, their representation of the subject was different.

Another article on the front page of *Metro Éireann* of March 2002 headlined 'O'Flynn defies debate call', refers to a member of the Irish parliament as defiant due to his failure to engage Amnesty International elites in Ireland in a debate after he called asylum seekers "spongers" and "freeloaders". The newspaper features comments from refugees and elite representatives about O'Flynn comments which they claimed were capable of inciting hatred against asylum seekers. The comments said to have been made to and published by a mainstream newspaper, the *Irish Times*, feature prominently on the front page of *Metro Éireann*, with reactions of both refugees and non-governmental organisations denouncing the views of the parliamentarian. O'Flynn claimed he had been misquoted by the press, and said he was trying to point out that public utilities were being overstretched as a result of a massive inflow of refugees. Again, this story reflects what is in the literature, as

ethnic media represent the ethnic minority as against their misrepresentation by mainstream media. Mainstream media also have the responsibility of voicing the concerns of the various communities, but the *Irish Times* failed to feature the reactions of minority representatives to the O'Flynn statement. Hence, *Metro Éireann* decided to feature the voice of the minority.

A front-page report in the issue of 5 to 10 March 2009, headlined 'No visas for child-minders' appears to be sensational, in the sense that the body of the story did not bear out the headline. The Department of Justice, which is responsible for issuing visas, indicated that it would no longer extend visas for parents of immigrants coming to Ireland on a visitor's visa but with the intention of coming to stay for a longer period, sometimes to help in looking after their grandchildren. The Justice Department did not say it would not issue visas for grandparents coming to look after their grandchildren, but that they needed to indicate this in their application right from the start, to avoid wasting the time of immigration officers. Here, the newspaper tried to portray immigrants as victims of obnoxious immigration laws.

Another story, about a Nigerian teenager stabbed to death by an Irish national, was published in *Metro Éireann* of 15-21 April 2010 and headlined 'Dublin mourns for slain Toyosi'. The story written by Catherine Reilly recalls the last words – "I'm okay" – of 15-year-old Nigerian-born Toyosi Shitta-bey as he bled to death on Good Friday. Taking the story from eye-witnesses (ordinary sources), the *Metro Éireann* journalist, who is an Irish national, also painted a picture of the incident. The mainstream *Irish Independent* report of 5 April was headlined 'Nationalities united in grief after death of football fanatic Toyosi', and reported that people were united in memory of a "very peaceful and very loving" friend. Again, this is typical of ethnic media in reporting on 'one of their own' – particularly when death is involved. A mainstream daily newspaper also gave prominence to the case. This story comes within the news value criteria of both ethnic and mainstream media as a result of the tragedy involved. We could also see cautiousness in the reports, as both sides refrain from blaming any of the parties involved as the matter was *sub judice*. The two newspapers take a similar approach, reporting the event without adding anything that reflects any type of ideology.

The sports column of *Metro Éireann* of 9-15 November 2006 headlined 'From fans' favourites to the ones best forgotten', paints a picture of foreign players joining football clubs in Ireland. The article written by Irish national Stephen Finn, who is a sports contributor to the ethnic newspaper, revealed how Irish mainstream media and fans had been celebrating the arrival of immigrant footballers, which they saw as a blessing for the development of the football league in Ireland. He made particular mention of a few players, such as Paul Ometeso from Nigeria playing for Waterford football club and Jose Quitongo from Angola, noting their outstanding performance in the previous season and the love between these immigrants and football fans in Ireland as a way of improving relations between the immigrant and the native communities. Here, we see how sport is seen as an avenue to integrate different communities in Ireland. Unlike in many areas, in sport there appears to be a compromise between the various parties involved as no one is blamed, no one is wrong, and the various communities are happy with each other.

Another article, based on an interview with the Nigerian Ambassador to Ireland, published in the 17 to 23 July 2008 issue in a centre spread, quotes the ambassador as saying, "There is exaggeration of things that happen in Nigeria. In fact there is nothing that happens in Nigeria that doesn't happen in any other country. That is the truth." Here we see the elite source defending a national discourse. The ambassador complained about misrepresentation of Nigeria by the western mainstream media, blaming them for paying attention to negative things happening in Nigeria and Africa in general, instead of also focusing on the good things that happen in and come from Africa. Using elite sources to counter-attack elite sources and their media, and particularly to voice displeasure over misrepresentation of ethnic minorities and their activities by the mainstream media, is raised in the literature as part of the functions of ethnic media.

The above analysis suggests that *Metro Éireann* represents the ethnic minority differently in issues that fall within their ideological remit, by way of according favourable publicity for the minorities, while issues that are outside their ideological remit, such as deaths and sports, are given fairer representation. This, of course, is part of the functions of ethnic media, as stated in the literature that ethnic media strive to lend a voice to the ethnic minorities.

Sources and representation: how are majority represented in *Metro Éireann*?

On both sides of the Atlantic, literature on media research shows a history of under-representing ethnic minorities in the mainstream media. The unhappiness of ethnic minorities in this respect raises the question of how the majority native Irish are represented in the ethnic media. Analysis of the front-page story of *Metro Éireann* of 2-8 July 2009, headlined 'Dundalk school is 'open to all', with the sub-heading 'Principal believes inclusion policy is key to integration', gives a fair representation of a majority representative and his views about the minority. The story, written by Emilia Marchelewska, an immigrant ethnic journalist, focuses on the positive and accommodating nature of the Irish education system. The principal (Elite Source representing majority Irish) of St Nicholas National School (a primary school) in Dundalk, Ireland revealed that the school was happy with

the high numbers of non-Irish nationals attending the school. The first three paragraphs of the story read: “A primary school in Dundalk is breaking the trend of restrictive enrolment policies by opening its doors to immigrant pupils. Of the 120 pupils at St Nicholas National School in Dundalk, 60% are of foreign origin, coming from 40 countries including Nigeria, Croatia, Germany, Spain and Poland. ‘We are very happy to have such a high percentage of non-Irish nationals here and are very proud of them,’ says Evelyn McCullins, the retiring principal of the school. ‘Some schools don’t take immigrants. They don’t want to change, maybe. I think that’s morally wrong.’ Here, we see an elite source attacking other elite sources on behalf of ethnic minorities in the Irish society. The blame game is between elite members in the society, with one member of the elite community presenting inclusiveness in schools (and other public institutions) as the solution for achieving cohesion in the wider Irish society.

Contrasting with the presumption of some people that a high number of immigrant children in the classroom will decrease the quality of education, this story reports on Irish national Mrs McCullins, a teacher of 43 years and whose own grandchildren were enrolled at the school, as saying that the claim of a lower quality of education was not tenable, but rather that enrolling more non-nationals would enable the wider community to learn from them. The newspaper thus represents the Irish majority positively as “accommodating”.

Another front-page report in the 13 to 19 August 2009 edition of *Metro Éireann*, headlined ‘Dublin Lord Mayor to open first Nigerian Irish business expo’, reports that Dublin’s Lord Mayor Emer Costello would elately open the Nigerian Irish Expo at the Royal Dublin Society in Dublin. The event was hosted by Visage World, which also presents the popular annual Best of Nigeria Expo in the UK. Visage World executive chairman Afolabi Andu said the idea behind extending the initiative to Ireland was based on the premise that Africans were best suited to effectively promote African resources and potential globally. The Nigerian Irish Expo is intended to help businesses boost their brand awareness and enhance their market potential.

Here we see majority support for ethnic businesses and majority business collaboration, since the Nigerian Irish Expo was also meant to promote business between Irish and Nigerian businesses. Such collaboration would foster improved relations between the two communities. In this case, the ethnic business community who are seen as ordinary sources by the mainstream media are reaching out to the wider society by promoting trade among the two communities through ethnic newspaper.

A story published in *Metro Éireann* of 20 September 2007, headlined ‘Lenihan defends language-citizenship link’, reports that Integration Minister Conor Lenihan had defended plans to link English language competence with citizenship and long-term residency entitlements, saying this would benefit immigrants settling in Ireland. He said that while some people wanted the government to “aim for the stars” in terms of integration measures, an “achievable” midpoint was instead being pursued. “We will aim for a midpoint that is subconsciously in touch with our own history and traditions,” he added. The lack of migrant voices, he said, “seems to be a problem” within the NGO sector he was encountering through his role as Integration Minister, but it was also apparent in various statutory structures, including his own ministry, and needed to be address. The elite source quoted is looking into ways of solving the employment problems of ethnic minorities by criticising elite bodies, including his own department, for not ensuring that minority staff are employed in their organisations in adequate numbers. This representation in *Metro* indicates the majority in the society are interested in employment prospects of ethnic minorities.

In the *Metro Éireann* publication of Thursday, 20-26 May 2010, a report headlined ‘Ireland must tap African potential’ states that the Irish Minister for Overseas Development Peter Power had said: “Ireland and Africa have never been so close, whether through increased development co-operation or growing cultural, trade and community ties.” The ‘Africa day’ event is a way of celebrating everything that is positive about Africa and it also raises awareness of the challenges faced by much of the African continent and Ireland’s contribution to the response. Uganda’s Honorary Consul to Ireland, Sylvia Katete Gavigan, who participated in the discussion, later told *Metro Éireann* that “NGOs and Irish Aid, the government’s overseas assistance programme, could have a greater role in encouraging entrepreneurial-minded Africans in diaspora to assist the continent in its development”. Here, *Metro Éireann*’s article evenly represents the minority and the majority working together towards ensuring Africa’s development. The newspaper paints a picture of the two sides mutually benefiting from each other, with labour coming from Africa and Ireland assisting in various ways, including developing Africa’s human resources.

The two parties are not blaming each other; rather the majority are presenting solutions for facilitating the development of the place of origin of the minorities, ravaged in many areas by poverty and HIV. It is the literature that ethnic media strive to work towards the development of the place of origin of its community.

Sources and representation: how are minority Africans represented?

One of the major reasons for the emergence of ethnic media was to represent ethnic minorities truly in the community they live in. Hence this study examines how ethnic media are representing the minorities. For example, the *Metro Éireann* publication of 23-29 July 2009, headlined ‘Black Orangemen turn heads; gave an

account of how African members of the Protestant Orange Order had been visiting Northern Ireland for many years, and that in this case five men from Ghana and Togo had participated in the organisation's annual marching season in Northern Ireland, which regularly sparks political tensions. Two of the African participants said that Orange parades in Accra and Lome in Ghana and Togo respectively did not degenerate into trouble, as in Northern Ireland. "In our parades we don't have any controversy and don't have any problems during parades with the Catholics," said Atchoe of the Heroes of Peace (Loyal Orange Lodge) Number 3 in Accra, Ghana. His Togolese colleague from the Wisdom and Intelligence Lodge Number 7 in Lome said, "In Togo we don't have these problems." Historically, 19th century missionaries are believed to have brought the Orange Order, a Protestant fraternity, to parts of West Africa, where it is heavily connected with the evangelical Presbyterian Church. Here, we see African minority representatives suggesting that the Orange members of the majority community in Northern Ireland cause disorder in their society as a result of their religious intolerance, and urging the people of Northern Ireland to learn to live at peace with each other. The story represents the black Africans involved positively and also informs the readers of the ethnic newspaper that certain African Christians also have a parade season 'back home'; it thus enlightens both the black and white communities in Ireland about a feature of the African way of life. The literature raised the issue of bridging and bonding as a way of integration, particularly both communities learning and taking some good cultural practice from each other.

A front-page story in *Metro Éireann* of 19-25 February 2005, headlined 'Immigration consultant jailed for human trafficking', reports the case of a black Irish citizen of Nigerian origin working as an immigration lawyer being convicted by a jury on 12 counts of organising or knowingly facilitating on 24 October 2004 the entry into Ireland of 12 adult Mauritanian nationals whom he knew or had reasonable cause to believe were illegal immigrants. In sentencing Olaitan, the judge, Justice Nolan, is quoted as saying that Olaitan was involved in a scheme that also involved others, and that he had made financial gains through it. The issue here is a minority ethnic African involved in human trafficking, which is a criminal offence; the blame is placed on Olaitan for getting involved in criminal activities, having come to seek asylum in Ireland from Nigeria. The outcome is that Olaitan has to take a custodial sentence as a deterrent to others. The newspaper here gives an independent account of the event, without taking sides.

Conclusion

Sources and representation

Analysis of representation in *Metro Éireann* tends to be objective in the representation of the ethnic minority and the majority. However, the newspaper gives more prominence to the ethnic minority in terms of celebrating their achievements. In most cases it relies on the views of ordinary sources without featuring those of elite sources.

In *Metro Éireann*, the majority are fairly represented, particularly in the case of the story about access for ethnic minority children to a school in the town of Dundalk. The views of elite representatives in pushing for inclusion or separation were carefully represented without bias.

Minority Africans are well represented in *Metro Éireann*. When they are successful, they are well celebrated and when they are unjustly treated by the state or by members of the elite in society, they are defended.

In general, the ethnic media newspaper present and represent ethnic Africans in Ireland positively. However, the study notes that there is a danger of misrepresentation or over-representation on the part of the ethnic media in the process of projecting issues from a personal angle without due consideration for professionalism. The study also confirm that ethnic media represent the minority differently from the mainstream media, writing their stories more from the personal angle against the mainstream's more of elite angle. The majority in Ireland are portrayed positively in *Metro Éireann* as accommodating and willing to accept new arrivals.

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