

# Two Worlds:

A radio documentary on immigration and national  
identity in Ireland

By

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## Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Media Communications is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

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2 August 2018

## Abstract

*Two Worlds* is a radio documentary that illustrates the experiences of immigrants in Ireland as they negotiate their national identities after migration. This dissertation accompanies *Two Worlds* with a discussion of the existing research that informed the documentary and an examination of the documentary production and findings.

This dissertation was produced in a radio documentary format as the nature of the narrative construction of identity is best suited to the aural medium of radio. Twenty-five minutes in length, the documentary highlights the key findings of the dissertation.

In *Two Worlds* contributors' stories emphasise the significance of culture and belonging to identity formation. The process of integration into Irish society requires the adoption of local cultural norms, and while adapting to the Irish culture and experiences of social inclusion facilitated belonging to and identification with Ireland, the rejection of local cultural norms and experiences of social exclusion fostered otherness and reinforced an immigrant identity. Ultimately, those who successfully integrated into Irish society found that adopting Irish cultural norms in order to integrate compromised their sense of ethnic national identities. Thus, immigrants in Ireland are posed with the challenge of integrating into Irish society while navigating their evolving identities in the process.

This dissertation provides a platform for future works exploring national identity and immigration in Ireland and internationally. While narrow in scope, the design and findings of *Two Worlds* serve to inform future media products that may endeavour to examine the topic on a larger scale, perhaps incorporating a more diverse range of contributor demographics and experiences.

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# Chapter 1.0 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

This dissertation by practice endeavours to offer a high-quality media product exploring national identity after immigration to Ireland, accompanied by a detailed written thesis outlining its background, design, production and contribution to the field.

## 1.2 The Topic

Ireland is a country with a long history of emigration (O'Sullivan, 2013); however its repositioning as a host country to inward migration in the 1990s has resulted in a significant non-Irish national population residing in Ireland (Central Statistics Office, 2016; Moskal, 2011).

The occurrence of transnational migration has highlighted the concept of national identities, or the geographical or political communities that people feel they belong to (De Cilla et al., 1999). Scholarly research examining immigration and national identity has established that identities change after migration (Faas, 2009; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015). Further, existing academic research has indicated that integration and social inclusion play a significant role in host country identification after immigration (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Tafjel, 1978). Likewise, research has established that experiences of social exclusion and othering reinforce immigrant or outsider identities (Bond, 2006; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017; Loyal, 2011). Finally, perceptions of social and legal inclusion in host countries have also been found to have an impact on immigrant identification (Faas, 2009).

## 1.3 Significance and Relevance

Until recently, the Irish narrative of immigration has primarily been one of emigration and the Irish diaspora (Corbally, 2015; O'Sullivan, 2013). In light of Ireland's relatively new position as a host country, accounts of immigrant experiences in Ireland are particularly significant now that it has established itself as a receiving country to immigrants and during the current global migrant crisis.

The merit of academic research exploring the topics of immigration and national identity is well established, with a significant body of knowledge on both subjects (Bond, 2006; De Cilla et al., 1999; Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011; Faas, 2009; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017; Hadj-Abdou, 2014; Loyal, 2011; Tafjel, 1978). However, limited research has been conducted in the Irish context (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015).

## 1.4 Dissertation Aims

Considering the role of integration, inclusion and exclusion in shaping national identities, this dissertation aims to address Ireland's function as a host country in facilitating belonging and identification among immigrants in Ireland.

The media product resultant of this dissertation attempts to provide a platform to illustrate the experiences of immigrants in Ireland regarding their sense of national identity, while also producing a metanarrative of national identity after immigration in an accessible and accurate format. Thus, the objectives of this dissertation are significant in contributing to the contemporary narrative of immigration in Ireland.

### **1.5 Documentary Format**

As identities are constructed via linguistic strategies (De Cilla et al., 1999; Faas, 2009; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Ram, 1994), the radio documentary is the ideal medium for sharing first-person narratives about human experiences such as identity formation (Lindgren, 2011: 40).

Radio is the optimum platform to support oral storytelling in that it allows the contributors to construct visuals of place, emotion and experience via their narratives of national identity, particularly when access to settings or events described in these narratives is not available for filming. Enhanced by rich sounds and appropriate music, the documentary can effectively transport the audience on an aural journey that evokes such imagery and emotions, and establishes place (Lindgren, 2011).

### **1.6 The Written Dissertation**

The media product is accompanied by a written dissertation comprised of the following chapters.

In Chapter Two, I outline the existing literature on the topics of immigration and national identity in Ireland and provide evidence of the research that informed the dissertation. In the chapter, a background on immigration and emigration in Ireland is established. Relevant theories of social identity and immigration are presented and explained, and the existing academic research on the topic is addressed. A justification for the radio documentary format is also provided in this chapter. Finally, limitations to the existing research on immigration and national identity as well as the current supply of media products on the subject are discussed.

In Chapter Three, the construction and design of the documentary is outlined. The selection criteria, recruitment strategy, and descriptions and backgrounds of the contributors are presented. The data collection method and design is explained and justified. The treatment of the documentary, including the themes that structured the documentary and the use of narration, music and sounds to

link the themes and over-arching narrative, is discussed. Finally, the ethical considerations and the challenges that occurred during the production of the documentary are detailed.

In Chapter Four, the dissertation process and the final documentary are discussed. Here, the complete timeline of the dissertation, from the initial proposal to its submission, is detailed and the evolution of the narrative and editorial decisions that took place are explained.

Finally, in Chapter Five, the dissertation is concluded with a reflection on the research topic and contributions of the final media product. In addition, the choice of the radio documentary format, the theoretical framework and central motif of the documentary, and the responsibilities of and decisions made in the editorial role are assessed. Finally, the implications of this dissertation for future works are discussed.

## Chapter 2.0 Evidence of Research

### 2.1 Ireland: Migration

#### 2.1.1 Inward Migration in Ireland

Prior to the mid-1990s, Ireland has historically been a country of outward migration (O’Sullivan, 2013). During the Celtic Tiger, however, a shift toward inward migration occurred and Ireland became a desirable host country to labour migrants (Moskal, 2011). After the EU enlargement in 2004, which enabled transnational mobility and unrestricted access to selected labour markets across Europe for EU and EEA citizens, Ireland experienced an even greater influx of immigration (Moskal, 2011). As a result, there were a recorded 535,475 non-Irish nationals from approximately 200 different countries residing in Ireland as of 2016 (Central Statistics Office, 2016).

#### 2.1.2 Discrimination

In spite of Ireland’s self-image as “the land of a hundred thousand welcomes” (Mannion, 1999: 1), racism towards migrants in Ireland has been consistently documented (Loyal, 2011). In 2000, survey data revealed that approximately 80% “of individuals from black or ethnic minority groups living in Ireland” reported experiences of racism or discrimination while residing in the State (Loyal, 2011: 182). More recently in 2009, the EU’s Fundamental Rights Agency “found that Ireland [ranked] among the worst five countries in the EU when it came to racial discrimination and abuse” (Loyal, 2011: 182). Non-Irish nationals have also cited facing obstacles to accessing employment, as they “are three times more likely [than Irish nationals] to experience discrimination while looking for work” (Loyal, 2011: 183).

#### 2.1.3 History of Irish Emigration

Interestingly, the discriminatory environment experienced by migrants in Ireland replicates the Irish experience abroad (Corbally, 2015). Ireland’s history as a country of emigration is marked by experiences of discrimination and exclusion in receiving countries such as the UK and the US (Corbally, 2015; O’Sullivan, 2013).

In an examination of the Irish experience of Commonwealth immigration to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, Corbally (2015) claimed that, similar to EU labour migrants of the 21st century, post-war emigration in Ireland was prompted by transnational mobility facilitated by the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. While securing employment upon migration did not pose a challenge for the Irish in Britain in the 1960s, discrimination and social exclusion resulted in a prevailing sense of otherness among Irish immigrant communities (Corbally, 2015).

Incidentally, in their discourse analysis exploring immigrant identities in contemporary Ireland, Gilmartin and Migge (2015: 99) found that “processes of inclusion and exclusion” are crucial to immigrant integration. Immigrants’ narratives indicated the fluidity and ambiguity of their perceptions of “home” and “identity” after migration – concepts that were constructed “as imbued with rich social relationships that are local and translocal, and as sites of ambiguous and changing meaning” (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015: 99).

## **2.2 Integration**

Research has indicated that the degree of immigrant integration could influence host country identification as well as sense of belonging (Tajfel, 1978). Ersanilli and Saharso (2011) examined the role of national integration policies in the ethnic identification of second-generation immigrants through a mixed methods investigation of Turkish youths in Germany, the Netherlands and France. Findings indicated “that integration policies do not affect ethnic identification, but an inclusive policy has a positive impact on settlement country identification” (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 907). They propose a two-dimensional typology of integration policies which emphasises first, the rights and access to citizenship afforded to immigrants, and second, “the degree of accommodation of diversity” (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 910). Findings of the study indicated that “settlement country identification [...] is influenced by processes of both exclusion and self-exclusion” (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 910).

In an article exploring the immigrant integration policies of both Austria and Ireland, Hadj-Abdou (2014: 1875) asserts that “in both cases immigrant integration is essentially used as a tool to foster and to maintain economic growth in the city.” Findings from the study challenge the view that integration policies are established with objectives of “the inclusion of ethnic minorities” and overcoming social inequalities (Hadj-Abdou, 2014: 1877). Regardless, the integration and legally inclusive policies surrounding immigration in Ireland (Moskal, 2011), have positioned the country as receptive to “intercultural immigrant integration” and accommodating ethnic diversity (Hadj-Abdou, 2014: 1889), despite evidence of pervasive discrimination within the State (Loyal, 2011).

### **2.2.1 Othering**

In addition to prospective cultural and/or ethnic differences between migrants and host country nationals, limitations to integration or perceived differences often result in the “othering” of migrant groups (Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017: 23). According to Griffith Williams and Korn (2017: 23):

“Othering is the process by which one group reproduces and reinforces distinctions, dominance, and subordination against those without power. [...] Othering may occur

when one group emphasizes a commonality, while belittling the lack of that commonality in the other.”

Similarly, in an article examining limitations to “claims to national belonging,” Bond (2006: 611) explains that such claims are “based on ‘identity markers,’ defined as [...] any characteristic associated with an individual that they might choose to present to others, in order to support a national identity claim.” These “identity claims” are subject to the appraisal of in-group members and can be subsequently approved or rejected (Bond, 2006: 611). Thus, claims to a national identity require validation, with more “straightforward” identity markers such as “residence, birth [or] ancestry” perceived as less problematic than other, more tenuous or subjective markers (Bond, 2006: 611). Griffith Williams and Korn (2017: 24) argue that the process of othering can function as an aspect of identity formation itself, leading to marginalisation and exclusion, two factors which can manifest as prominent aspects of identity.

Loyal (2011: 184) explains that the function of othering, or “denying equal legitimacy to individuals and cultures that do not conform to one’s own arbitrary, ever shifting criteria of normality,” is twofold, as it serves to identify a “them” within the “Us vs. Them” paradigm, while simultaneously “forg[ing] a bond of solidarity” amongst in-group members. According to Loyal (2011: 185), “all European societies construct ‘Others’ in order to construct an in-group identity.” For instance, in the Irish context, the “in-group” Irish identity is traditionally understood as “white, settled and Catholic” – indicators which conflict with the increasingly diverse demographic in Ireland (Loyal, 2011: 185).

## **2.3 Identity**

### **2.3.1 Nationality**

Within the broader concept of “identity,” or “the communities [...] people feel they belong to” (Faas, 2009: 304), the concept of “nationality” refers to the “nation” or the geographic or political “imagined communities” individuals claim membership to (De Cilla et al., 1999: 154). While citizenship, ancestry and place of birth are widely accepted factors that comprise one’s nationality (Bond, 2006), De Cilla et al. (1999: 154) explain that “the construction of national identity builds on the emphasis on a common history” and the “notion of ‘collective memory,’ the selective recollection of past events which are thought to be important for the members of a specific community.” In addition to “collective memor[ies],” shared culture plays a significant role in constructing a sense of national identity (Hall, 1994). According to Hall (1994: 200), nations are not only “political constructs, but also [...] ‘systems of cultural representations,’” which facilitate the interpretation of imagined communities. Essentially,

culture functions as a means by which to represent an imagined community or national identity, as well as to perform one's membership to such.

### **2.3.2 National Identity in the Context of Migration**

Globalisation and transnational migration have highlighted the concept of hybrid identities, which "can be understood as 'mixed' identities which emerge as a result of the interconnections between diasporic or ethnic affiliations and political identities" (Faas, 2009: 304). Faas (2009: 299), proposing the fluidity of identity, explored the formation and negotiation of identities among Turkish secondary-school students in Germany and England through a qualitative study. Findings revealed that socio-economic status influenced identification, with the "ethnic dimension" favoured by participants from working-class schools and the political (i.e. citizenship), dimension favoured by those from middle-class institutions, perhaps reflective of participants' perceptions of social and legal inclusion within their host countries (Faas, 2009).

### **2.3.3 Social Identity Theory**

Social Identity Theory postulates that minorities are likely to identify with the group that they feel most accepted by as members or those they perceive as penetrable (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 912). In other words, settlement countries with legal rights and opportunities for citizenship offered to immigrants (i.e. "legal inclusion"), are likely to inspire more settlement country-identification among immigrants than countries that do not offer individual rights comparable to those of the native population (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 912). This theory was supported by their finding that second generation Turkish immigrants felt the least accepted as "settlement country citizens" in Germany, "the country with the least open citizenship regime" (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 931). The same is true of experiences of social inclusion or exclusion when considering immigrants' national identification and sense of belonging (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011).

Further, in an examination of the social relations and identities of minorities in Europe, Tajfel's (1978) "Theory of Social Identity" explains the construction of one's cultural and social identity in relation to the rejection or acceptance of local norms upon migration and decisions pertaining to the degree of integration assumed in one's host country." Thus, level of integration and experiences of social and legal inclusion are all factors contributing to immigrants' negotiation of their changing national identities after migration (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011).

### **2.3.4 Narrative Strategies of Identity Construction**

De Cillia et al. (1999) assert that identities are built via linguistic strategies used throughout the narrative process, supporting Faas (2009) in that identities are constructed by the individual rather

than predetermined and static. In their investigation of the construction of nation and identity in Austria through critical discourse analysis, De Cillia et al. (1999: 160) determined that “constructive,” “perpetuating,” “transformation” and “dismantling” linguistic strategies all serve to compose a sense of national identity. Thus, “nationality is a narrative, a story, which people tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to their social world” (Ram, 1994: 153).

Further, Faas (2009: 303) highlights the key approach to understanding the construction of identity, whereby, according to the post-structuralist framework:

“The only way an ‘I’ comes to exist is through the productive power of discourse. Secondly, post-structuralist approaches allow for multiple categories of identity and, most importantly, these multiple shifting identities do not have to be reconciled. Thirdly, a post-structuralist framework challenges the idea of a single monolithic truth and identity.”

The post-structuralist approach highlights the fluid and subjective nature of identity (Faas, 2009), and supports De Cillia et al.’s (1999) assertion of the role of narrative in constructing individuals’ identities.

### **2.3.5 “Home” Narratives**

In regards to identity narratives in the context of migration, previous research conducted in Ireland indicates that the evolution of immigrants’ constructs of “home” after migration is influenced by “local and translocal” relationships (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015: 99). Gilmartin and Migge (2015: 90) note that “‘home’ should be understood in conjunction with ‘belonging’” and Social Identity Theory explains that social relationships, inclusion and exclusion determine belonging (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011). Further, Gilmartin and Migge (2015: 2) assert that “identities are changed through the act of migration,” citing findings of their qualitative study which highlighted the experience of immigrants who find themselves “pulled between two different places: connected to both and, as a consequence, whole in neither.”

## **2.4 A Platform for the Radio Documentary**

### **2.4.1 Existing Literature**

To date, existing academic research exploring immigration and national identity from a global perspective is substantial (Bond, 2006; De Cillia et al., 1999; Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011; Faas, 2009; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017; Loyal, 2011; Tajfel, 1978). The aforementioned research has indicated that identity is fluid and constructed via narrative and

linguistic strategies (De Cilla et al., 1999; Faas, 2009; Ram, 1994), and that migration influences identity and national identity (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015). Further, national identity after migration is impacted by integration and experiences of inclusion and exclusion (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011). Finally, processes of othering impact host country identification and sense of belonging (Bond, 2006; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017; Loyal, 2011).

Immigration research conducted in the Irish context has revealed that Ireland has high rates of inward migration (Central Statistics Office, 2016); Ireland has a traditionally limited view of “Irishness” or an Irish national identity (Loyal, 2011); and studies have indicated that a high degree of racism and discrimination exists in Ireland despite tourist-oriented portrayals of being “welcoming” to immigrants (Loyal, 2011; Mannion, 1999).

#### **2.4.2 Related Media Products**

Though existing research conducted both in Ireland and abroad has focused on immigration and identity, media products created in the Irish context which highlight immigration and national identity are limited (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Mortley, 2007).

To date, few radio documentaries have been produced that explore the immigrant experience within the Irish context. For instance, *Birds of the Air: Immigration Mosaic*, is a 2007 radio documentary following migrants from from Algeria, Turkey, Somalia, Bosnia, Chechnya and Poland who now live in France, Germany, Finland, Austria, Poland, and Ireland (Mortley, 2007). Though the documentary, produced by RBB, explores themes of identity and belonging, there is minimal focus on the Irish context and concepts of nationality or national identity (Mortley, 2007).

#### **2.4.3 Radio Rationale**

According to Kolmer and Semetko (2009), audiences tend to view broadcast news as more trustworthy than print news and “as the most important source of news and information in many democracies, and often described [it] as more impartial than the press;” thus radio is perceived as a credible medium by audiences. Similarly, McLeish (2005) asserts that the radio documentary is a medium reflective of truth and real life events while lending itself to the creative elements of voices, music and sounds.

Radio documentaries are also appropriate for exploring “contemporary social issues,” and, in exploring broader social phenomena, they “can provide background to what is going on in the world or examine how society copes with change” (Crook, 1999: 213).

Further, Lindgren (2011: 39) explains that another merit of the radio documentary as a medium for addressing sensitive, divisive or emotive social issues is in its “ability to get listeners to identify

with interviewees; [thus] the radio documentary can be seen as a way to increase empathy and tolerance in the world.”

Finally, exploring concepts of immigration and national identity utilising a radio documentary format is supportive of the narrative discourse strategies of constructing identity outlined by De Cilla et al. (1999). In other words, as social and national identities are constructed by the individual through narratives, aural presentation of the material is an effective format.

#### **2.4.4 Audience**

RTÉ is the national public service broadcast service in Ireland (RTÉ, 2018). The RTÉ channel, *Documentary on One*, hosts a wide range of radio documentaries, including a number on the topic of immigration (RTÉ, 2017). Though the majority of the documentaries covering immigration reflect on the Irish history of emigration, with a few more recent documentaries beginning to address inward migration to Ireland, their presence on RTÉ’s *Documentary on One* indicates an audience and a platform for this radio documentary (RTÉ, 2017).

#### **2.5 Conclusion**

This dissertation aims to offer an accessible media product that focuses on national identity after immigration exclusively within the Irish context (Mortley, 2007). The radio documentary format, in particular, offers an optimal method of allowing contributors to construct their sense of national identity via oral narrative (De Cilla et al., 1999).

#### **2.6 Research Questions**

In response to the lack of media products exploring immigration and national identity in the Irish context, this dissertation aims to address the following research questions:

1. How have experiences of immigrating to Ireland influenced immigrants’ national identities?
2. How do experiences of integration in Ireland influence immigrants’ sense of belonging in Ireland?
3. How have immigrants’ negotiated their sense of national identity after living abroad?
4. Has living abroad changed the way immigrants’ perceive their own identity?

## **3.0 Construction and Design**

### **3.1 Introduction**

According to Lindgren (2011: 43) in her PhD study exploring radio documentary theory and practice, “there is a methodology to journalism practice.” This chapter aims to explain the methodology behind the construction and design of this radio documentary.

### **3.2 Contributors**

This dissertation is based on interviews with four contributors of four different nationalities: Lithuanian, Indian, Estonian and Polish.

#### **3.2.1 Selection Criteria**

Contributors were sourced who met the following selection criteria

- Non-Irish nationals who have lived in Ireland for at least 12 months.

#### **3.2.2 Recruitment**

The contributors were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling techniques (Ritchie et al., 2014). Ritchie et al. (2014) claim that, when the selection criteria for participants requires specific characteristics or features in order to effectively address the research questions, purposive sampling is the most appropriate strategy. Further, both male and female contributors were intentionally selected in order to provide a wider range of perspective and tone.

#### **3.2.3 Contributors**

- Arina Obuchova: She is a 32 year old Lithuanian national born in the former Soviet Union. Arina moved to Lithuania when she was five years old. She has a Lithuanian passport (making her a member of the European Union), with a sticker in it that says “Russian.” She moved to Ireland when she was 17 years old and has lived in Ireland for the past 15 years. She would describe herself as 60% Russian, 5% Lithuanian and 35% Irish. Her entire working and adult life has been spent in Ireland. She describes her social life as primarily Irish, with an Irish roommate, Irish friends and Irish partners. Interview length: 45 minutes.
- KL “Ken” Labhe: He is a 28 year old Indian national from Mumbai. Ken moved to Ireland in 2013 and has lived there for almost five years. Ken originally moved to Ireland to pursue a masters in management after getting a scholarship to Smurfit Business School. He currently works in IT. Ken has an Indian-national fiancé whom he met in Ireland. The pair live with both

his brother and his fiancé's brother (both Indian nationals). He describes his social networks as primarily Indian and Irish. In one year he will qualify for Irish citizenship but India does not allow dual citizenship so he will have to choose between the two identities/nationalities in the coming year. He notes that in Ireland he feels more Indian and when back in India he feels more Irish. Interview length: 44 minutes.

- Anna: She is a 23 year old Estonian national. She considers herself Russian as both of her parents are Russian and she had a culturally Russian upbringing. Anna moved to Ireland when she was five years old and has lived in Ireland for 17 years. She now has Irish citizenship. Her youngest brother was born in Ireland and her family was able to remain in the country under family reunification until being awarded Irish citizenship. She considers herself Russian first and Irish second, even though she has Estonian citizenship and does not have Russian citizenship. However, she doesn't speak Estonian but she speaks Russian. Her older sister feels more Estonian than Irish and has recently moved back to Estonia – Anna explains this as a result of the fact that her sister was older when they emigrated and had more time to establish an Estonian identity. Anna currently has an Irish boyfriend and a few Irish friends but she remembers being bullied and struggling to make friends in primary school after immigrating to Ireland. In secondary school her social network was comprised of primarily other immigrant students which she suspects was due to their shared otherness. Interview length: 46 minutes.
- Aleksandra Kiwala: She is a 36 year old Polish national. Aleksandra moved to Ireland 12 years ago and lived there for 11 years. Aleksandra has worked in Ireland and in Poland as a psychotherapist specialising in mental health among immigrants and the identity issues that arise from migration. Though her partner is Polish, both of her children were born in Ireland and have mixed Irish-Polish identities. One year ago she and her family returned to Poland because her son was experiencing social exclusion and bullying at his Irish school, which she suspects was due to his Polishness. She says that, returning to Poland after 11 years in Ireland, she now feels like an immigrant in her own country. Interview length: 66 minutes.

### **3.3 Interviews**

#### **3.3.1 The Interviews**

The interviews conducted for this documentary were “long-format audio interviews” (Lindgren, 2011: 61), and were what McLeish (2005: 81) has termed “discovery” interviews. The aim of a discovery interview is for the interviewee to divulge personal information about themselves, with the intent of “providing an insight into the interviewee's inner world so that listeners can better understand the human condition” (Lindgren, 2011: 61).

The interviews were qualitative and semi-structured (Denscombe, 2014), addressing the themes listed in the interview schedule. The interviews were 44 to 66 minutes in duration and three of the four interviews were conducted in the contributors' homes within County Dublin. The fourth interview with Aleksandra, who now lives in Poland, was conducted via FaceTime.

### **3.3.2 Interview Schedule**

An interview schedule (see Appendix II), was created with questions that addressed the following themes of immigration and national identity:

- Immigration to Ireland
- Adjustment
- Integration
- Experiences of inclusion and exclusion
- National Identity

### **3.3.3 Recording Software**

The interviews were recorded using Cool Edit Pro 2.0 software and edited in Audacity software. The in-person interviews were recorded using a M-Audio Fast Track Pro and the FaceTime interview was recorded using the PC internal mic and the contributor's smartphone.

## **3.4 Treatment**

“Radio documentaries start with people's stories and it will be the producers themselves – their interest in the subject, their commitment, creativity and their skills – who will determine how the story is developed” (Lindgren, 2011: 46).

Editorial decisions regarding the treatment of the interviews transformed the contributors' stories into a single, cohesive narrative that highlighted the key themes of this dissertation.

Utilising treatment elements such as interviews, narration, music and sounds, these “building blocks” serve to “orchestrate and illustrate” the central motif of the documentary (Lindgren, 2011: 50). Hedemann (2006: 61) describes five key radio documentary “ingredients,” of which this documentary employs four: the “monologue interview” in which the interview with the main character is featured and the interview questions are edited out; sounds effects that are not naturally-occurring in the interview; narration and music.

The final product is 25 minutes in duration.

### **3.4.1 Themes and Structure**

According to Lindgren (2011: 49), “a documentary is a type of hypothesis – a tentative explanation for a particular phenomenon, a theory in need of investigation.” In producing a radio documentary, identifying the “central motif” or focal point of the story is essential to establishing the structure of the documentary (Lindgren, 2011: 49). This is also known as the story “angle,” and provides the narrative “thread that holds the program together” (Lindgren, 2011: 49).

This radio documentary was organised according to the following themes which support the documentary’s central motif of immigration’s role in identity:

- National identity
- Immigration to Ireland and cultural adjustment
- Integration
- Experiences of inclusion and exclusion
- Reconciling multiple identities

### **3.4.2 Narration**

Narration is an essential element of a radio documentary, particularly when attempting to craft a single narrative using the stories and experiences of multiple contributors. Lindgren (2011: 56) explains that narration “is the glue holding together the many different components that make up the storyline,” guiding the listener by linking the stories together and providing relevant facts and details about the contributors. According to Crook (1999: 216), writing a script that effectively guides the listener as the contributors “unfold the story” is crucial.

In addition to introducing the contributors, documentary themes and other relevant information, the narration served the purpose of compensating for one of the challenges faced during the production of the documentary (outlined in section 3.6), in which a total of approximately 25 minutes from two of the interviews was distorted beyond repair and unfit for inclusion in the final product. In this case, the narration was used as a means of incorporating the pertinent interview responses from the unusable audio segments into the final documentary.

#### **3.4.2.1 Script**

There is a key distinction between writing for audio versus writing for print (McLeish, 2005). When writing for radio, it is recommended to use brief and direct sentences and to “ensure simplicity [in order] to assist cultural understanding” (Lindgren, 2011: 82).

The script written for this documentary (see Appendix III), aimed to incorporate the aforementioned strategies of writing for audio.

### **3.4.3 Music**

Music was selected with the aim of building the appropriate “emotional impact” (Lindgren, 2011: 46), as well as establishing the desired mood and tone for the documentary.

The primary song woven throughout the documentary, “Not without Rest” by Twin Musicom, was sourced from YouTube’s Creative Commons Audio Library with the intention of setting the overall tone of the piece.

Brief clips were used from three additional songs in order to accompany stories told by the contributors and evoke imagery and a sense of place.

First, I incorporated a short clip from Dmitri Shostakovich’s “Waltz No. 2” into Anna’s discussion of the Soviet Union, as he was a prominent Soviet composer with a strong sense of patriotism.

Next, I applied a short clip of “Traditional Irish Music” behind Ken’s description of being welcomed into Irish social life.

Finally, “Relaxing Sitar Music” plays softly during the narration of Ken’s fear of losing his Indian culture. This was done to signify to the listener that the contributor was being quoted by differentiating the segment from the standard narration occurring throughout the remainder of the documentary. Further, Ken had recommended sitar music as representative of the Indian culture.

### **3.4.4 Sound Effects**

Incorporating sound elements other than speech into a radio documentary allows the producer to “create meaning” and establish a “sense of place” (Lindgren, 2011: 55). This documentary utilises special effect (SFX) sounds from the “commercially available sound libraries” on YouTube (Lindgren, 2011: 53). “Spot sounds” such as “Passport Stamp SFX,” “Russian Crowd SFX,” “Fast Food Restaurant Ambience,” “Sizzling Bacon SFX,” “Busy Bar at Night Ambient Noise,” “School Yard Ambience,” “Kids Giggling SFX,” “School Bell SFX,” “Middle School Girls Talking SFX” and “Plane Take Off SFX” were applied to the documentary in order to conjure a setting, tone and “sense of place” for the listeners (Lindgren, 2011: 53-55).

### **3.4.5 Style References**

Lindgren (2011: 44) notes that “the final ‘sound’ of [a] documentary is dependent on a range of things,” such as “the style of the individual producer, the requirements of the broadcasting network, [...] and the culturally determined ‘radio sound’ of the country where the documentary will be broadcast.” For this reason, style references from regional radio sources such as BBC radio documentaries and RTE’s *Documentary on One* were taken into account in the production of this

documentary.

### **3.5 Ethical Considerations**

This dissertation was conducted in accordance with the research ethical principles outlined by Kvale (1996). Contributors were given release forms (see Appendix I), prior to the interview which outlined the terms of their involvement. Informed consent was obtained from the contributors prior to the commencement of the interview (Kvale, 1996). Contributors were also given the opportunity to request the use of a pseudonym in the production of the documentary.

Participation was voluntary and contributors were allowed to terminate the interview or their participation at any time (Kvale, 1996).

### **3.6 Challenges and Limitations**

A few challenges arose in the production of this radio documentary.

First, I faced a significant challenge after recording my first two interviews. I began the edit before conducting my third and fourth interviews only to discover that there had been a malfunction with the recording equipment (despite conducting sound checks at the start of each interview), and the audio of the first interview had become distorted past the point of repair at 39 minutes in (losing approximately six minutes of the interview), and the second interview was distorted after 25 minutes (losing approximately 19 minutes of the interview). Unfortunately, some of the best data was in the later stages of the interviews during which time we were discussing the topic of national identity and rapport had been established; thus the interviewees were more open than they had been earlier on in the interviews. After attempting (and failing), to recover the distorted audio, I decided to incorporate the most relevant information from their lost responses into the narration in order to complete their stories.

Next, two additional and un-included interviewees cancelled last-minute and the second two interviewees I used were sourced on short notice.

Finally, the interview conducted remotely via FaceTime posed further recording challenges. Though I had tested the PC internal mic and audio quality over FaceTime prior to the interview using an Irish-based account, the sound quality of FaceTime when using an account located in Poland was poor. After significant attempts at editing in Audacity, I ultimately decided to conduct the interview with Aleksandra a second time while she recorded it from her smartphone.

# Chapter 4.0 Discussion

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss the progression of the dissertation as well as to reflect upon the process, limitations, challenges and editorial decisions that occurred.

## 4.2 Timeline

### 4.2.1 Inception and Research

The concept for this dissertation began with the submission of my research proposal on 7 March 2018. In my initial proposal I pitched a radio documentary on the topic of immigration in Ireland with a different focus. However, in my first meeting with my technical supervisor Colette Kinsella I decided to shift the direction of the documentary while remaining within the field of immigration.

Supervisor allocation took place on 10 April 2018, at which time I was assigned Brian Maye as an academic supervisor and Colette Kinsella as a technical supervisor. My first meeting with Brian took place on 16 April and my first meeting with Colette on 30 May. At these initial meetings it was decided that further correspondence would take place via email. Through continued email communication I sought technical advice from Colette during the production stage and submitted written chapters to Brian for feedback.

After the decision to change the direction of the documentary, I commenced further research on the topic of immigration and national identity within the Irish context. There is a rich body of work and scholarly articles on immigration, national identity and social identity theory; however, little has been done on these concepts applied to the Irish context. Of the existing literature and media products on immigration in the Irish context, the focus is primarily on Irish emigrants and their experiences as immigrants abroad. Perhaps due to the relatively recent status of Ireland as a host country (only really beginning to receive a significant number of inward migrants after the onset of the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s and then again after the EU enlargement in 2004), there is limited research examining the evolution of national identity, in particular among immigrants in Ireland.

Research on national identity and immigration in other, more established host countries indicated that integration and experiences of inclusion and exclusion in host countries influence immigrant identities after migration. This dissertation provided an opportunity to explore the experiences of immigrants in Ireland as well as Ireland's performance as a host country and how it functions in

facilitating integration and processes of social inclusion and exclusion, from the perspectives of its immigrants.

#### **4.2.2 Data Collection**

The interviews took place from 13 June to 28 June 2018. During this time I conducted interviews with four contributors of different nationalities: Lithuanian, Indian, Estonian and Polish. In an effort to balance narratives and offer a variety of perspectives, I sought to ensure differing experiences among the contributors.

The age range of the contributors was 23 to 36 years old with initial ages of immigration to Ireland ranging from five years old to 24 years old. The total number of years living in Ireland among the contributors ranged from five years to 17 years. The contributors were comprised of one male and three females, though I would have liked to have achieved a greater gender balance.

A few challenges arose during the interview process in regards to organising the interviews and technical difficulties with recording. I originally sourced and scheduled interviews with three contributors, two of whom cancelled the day of their interviews. Upon short notice I managed to source and arrange interviews with three new contributors (Ken, Anna and Aleksandra).

My first two interviews were conducted with Arina and Ken and took place within two days. After the second interview I began to review my material in Cool Edit Pro 2.0 only to discover that the recording equipment had malfunctioned 25-40 minutes into each of the interviews, distorting the audio beyond repair (though I had performed sound and equipment checks at the start of each interview). The loss of a portion of the audio is part of the reason I decided to recruit a fourth contributor. Finally, the fourth contributor (Aleksandra), has returned to Poland and the interview had to be conducted over FaceTime. This posed further challenges for audio quality as the connection on FaceTime from Ireland to Poland was poor and impacted the quality. After attempting to edit the audio from the FaceTime interview to no avail, I decided to conduct the interview with Aleksandra a second time while she recorded it from her smartphone and then emailed me the audio after the interview concluded. Though the smartphone audio was not of the same standard as the interviews recorded with the M-Audio Fast Track Pro, it was significantly improved from the previous interview recorded via the PC internal mic over FaceTime.

#### **4.2.3 Evolution of the Narrative**

After collecting the interviews it was essential to identify the “central motif” of the documentary to inform its structure and narrative thread (Lindgren, 2011: 49). One theme in particular emerged across the interviews: feelings of otherness were defining in national identification. In other words, feelings

of difference shaped identity. This motif is reflective of the theories of otherness (Loyal, 2011; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017), and Social Identity Theory (Tafjel, 1978), in migration studies outlined in Chapter Two.

A second theme highlighting the concept of “hybrid identities” (Faas, 2009: 304), among immigrants also emerged, whereby the contributors to the documentary expressed processes of negotiating multiple national identities (e.g., identifying as “60% Russian, 5% Lithuanian and 35% Irish”), in an effort to make sense of having lives that take place across “two [or more] worlds.”

The third and final theme of significance underscored the impact of adopting local cultural norms upon national identity as contributors described experiences or fears of sacrificing their ethnic identities in pursuit of Irish integration.

The identification of these three key themes guided the outline and structure in the production of the radio documentary.

#### **4.2.4 Editorial Decisions**

I addressed the technical challenges that occurred during post-production, which took place from 28 June to 13 July. Through watching numerous YouTube videos on repairing audio on Audacity, I managed to improve the sound quality of the fourth interview to a usable standard, though not to the standard I would have liked. The distorted audio from the first and second interviews was beyond repair.

During the post-production stage I also organised the usable audio content from the four interviews into nine categories: immigration experience; culture shock; integration; inclusion and exclusion; psychotherapy perspective; changes in country of origin life; national identity; two worlds; and home. From there I selected the key clips that best highlighted the concepts and input them into a master outline. The master outline was then reduced and reorganized into seven final themes: national identity, belonging and otherness, immigration experience, integration and cultural adjustment, inclusion and exclusion, culture and identity, and reconciling multiple identities. After reviewing the master outline I composed a narration script (with the principles of writing for audio in mind), that linked the themes together and further informed the documentary (Lindgren, 2011). My solution to the loss of a portion of Arina and Ken’s interviews was to utilise the narration as a means of incorporating information from the lost responses into the documentary. Though this may not be as impactful as hearing the responses directly from the contributors, it allowed me to complete their stories and share their full experiences.

Finally, after reviewing the final documentary structure, I determined the tone of the documentary and sourced and applied music and sounds that appropriately matched the desired mood and response I wanted to evoke.

### **4.3 Reflection**

If I were to produce another radio documentary in the future, there are a number of things I would do differently. First, I would begin conducting interviews at an earlier stage in the documentary process in order to allow time to interview more contributors and to limit the stress induced by late cancellations. Second, I would record the interviews via two methods: with primary recording equipment and a secondary backup method (e.g., smartphone, Dictaphone, etc.). During the dissertation process the most significant challenge that I faced pertained to technical difficulties with recording. Though I performed tests and sound checks, my chosen recording methods consistently failed me. From this experience I learned that if something goes wrong with the recording method it may not be discovered until after the interview is finished and by then it is too late.

Ultimately the challenges faced during this dissertation provided opportunities for learning and to improve my audio editing skillset.

## **Chapter 5.0 Conclusion**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Though the topics of national identity and immigration have been the subjects of extensive academic research in the past, the current political and social climates of 2018 have highlighted their relevance and the need for accessible media products that explore them.

### **5.2 Research Topic**

This dissertation aimed to provide a media product that explored national identity after immigration in the Irish context, a subject that has been only minimally addressed thus far (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; Mortley, 2007). As noted in Chapter Two, research and media products that address national identity and immigration in the Irish context tend to focus on Irish emigrants rather than on non-Irish nationals who have immigrated to Ireland. Though this may be due in part to Ireland's relatively recent establishment as a host country to immigration, it is a warranted area of attention.

### **5.3 Radio Documentary Format**

The decision to produce this dissertation in the radio documentary format was based on the nature of the topic and the merits of the radio format as opposed to video or print. This dissertation emphasised the concept of national identity construction in the context of immigration from the perspectives and experiences of four individuals and, according to Lindgren (2011: 40), radio documentaries are "about sharing human stories and experiences."

The content of the documentary is arguably more aural than visual, as contributors explain and construct their national identities through narratives of place, culture and belonging (De Cilla et al., 1999; Gilmartin and Migge, 2015). Thus, in examining the phenomenon of national identity construction after immigration, "radio is a perfect medium for documenting reality and creating pictures of life in the mind's eye of the listeners" (Lindgren, 2011: 41).

Further, the use of the radio documentary format offers the final product more credibility in regards to perceptions of truth and factualness as the audience is able to listen to the contributors tell their stories in their own words and in their own voices, unlike in the print medium (Lindgren, 2011: 38).

### **5.4 Theoretical Framework**

Because immigration and national identity are both subjects with rich theoretical backgrounds, I chose to incorporate prominent theories within those fields into the design and production of this documentary, such as Social Identity Theory (Tafjel, 1978), and theories of otherness (Loyal, 2011; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017). As outlined in Chapter Two, Social Identity Theory postulates that immigrants are most likely to identify with the groups that they perceive as penetrable or those that they feel a sense of membership to (Tafjel, 1978). Similarly, processes of otherness, which occur when perceived differences between immigrants and the mainstream population are magnified, also serve to facilitate immigrant identification (Loyal, 2011; Griffith Williams and Korn, 2017). The emergence of themes reflective of the aforementioned immigration and identity theories within the dissertation findings not only reaffirms the validity of the findings but also provided a platform for the organisation of the documentary product.

### **5.5 Central Motif**

The final product *Two Worlds* illustrates the key findings of this dissertation which are reflective of the theoretical framework that guided its production. This research found that while culture and belonging are central to identity formation, integration into a host society requires the adoption of local cultural norms. Further, contributors' accounts revealed that adoption of cultural norms and experiences of social inclusion facilitate belonging and host country identification, while rejection of cultural norms and experiences of social exclusion foster otherness and reinforce an immigrant identity. Because cultural practices influence identity, the adopting of local Irish cultural norms in order to integrate compromised immigrants' ethnic national identities. Therefore, immigrants are in a position in which successful integration into Irish society may come at the expense of their existing national identities; thus they must negotiate their evolving identities while attempting to preserve both.

### **5.6 Editorial Role**

From an editorial standpoint, I felt that it was my obligation to tell the contributors' stories accurately and truthfully. I believe that my editorial decisions and the final product are reflective of the contributors' individual experiences while delivering a metanarrative about immigration and national identity that is applicable to a larger population on a global scale.

I intentionally selected contributors that were demographically and situationally varied in order to achieve greater scope and insight. For instance, contributors' nationalities spanned four different countries (though two identified as Russian); the duration of their residencies in Ireland ranged from five to 17 years; one contributor emigrated as a child, one as a teenager, and two as adults; and one

immigrant has since returned to her country of origin. While there were both male and female voices, this documentary or future works would benefit from more male voices in order to achieve a greater gender balance.

### **5.7 Implications for Future Work**

Though *Two Worlds* offers insight into the immigrant experience in Ireland, there remains much to be explored in this area in both the Irish and the international contexts. Ultimately, this dissertation acts as a resource to inform future media products examining national identity and immigration in Ireland and abroad. As a recommendation to future works, I would propose the use of more voices, particularly the incorporation of more non-white contributors who may have experiences of exclusion due to racism, and immigrants from outside of the European Union. Alternatively, a documentary examining national identity among second-generation Irish nationals who must negotiate their heritage and their citizenship or place of birth (Ireland), when defining their sense of identity would have merit.

### **5.8 Reflection**

The production of this documentary was rife with challenges, limitations, and opportunities for creativity and insight.

Though I was disappointed by the loss of interview clips of substance due to the technical issues experienced (Ken in particular had a strong interview examining national identity), I would like to arrange an opportunity to re-record those portions of the interviews at a later date and perhaps create a longer piece incorporating the perspectives of more contributors in the future.

Overall I feel that *Two Worlds* offers a substantial contribution to the body of knowledge on immigrant identity in the Irish context and to the supply of accessible media products highlighting this topic.

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## **Appendices**

# Appendix I: Personal Appearance Release Form

## A Radio Documentary on Immigration and National Identity

### Release Form

Production Date(s): 13 June to 2 August 2018

Program Title: Two Worlds

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Producer/Production Entity: Cayla Williams

Production Location: Dublin, Ireland

I hereby authorize Cayla Williams to record and edit into the Program and related materials: my likeness, voice and participation in the Recordings for use in the above Program or parts thereof. I agree that the Program may be edited and otherwise altered at the sole discretion of the producer and used in whole or in part for any and all broadcasting, non-broadcasting, audio/visual, and/or exhibition purposes in any manner or media, in perpetuity, throughout the world.

Cayla Williams may use and authorize others to use all or parts of the Recordings. Cayla Williams, or relevant successors and assigns shall own all right, title and interest, including copyright, in and to the Program, including the Recordings, to be used and disposed of without limitation as Cayla Williams shall, with sole discretion, determine.

I warrant that nothing said or implied by me shall infringe the copyright or any other rights of any third party or be defamatory or infringe the right of privacy of any third party and I agree to indemnify you and your licensees or assignees against any costs, claims, demands or expenses arising out of any breach or claimed breach of this warranty.

Signature of Person Appearing: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

City, Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix II: Interview Schedule

### Demographics

- Name
- Age
- Nationality
- Years living in Ireland
- Occupation in Ireland

### Experience moving abroad

- When did you move Ireland?
- What made you decide to move to Ireland?
- How did you initially feel when leaving [home country]?

### Adjustment

- Can you tell me about any experiences of homesickness after moving to Ireland?
- Can you tell me about experiences in Ireland in which you felt like you didn't fit in?

### Integration

- Can you tell me about your social life and social networks in Ireland?
- How long did it take to develop these relationships after moving?
- Can you tell me about how they compare to your relationships/work experiences in your home country?
- Can you tell me about any challenges/obstacles you feel you've faced in integrating/developing social relationships in Ireland?

### National Identity

- Can you tell me about your sense of being [Nationality] prior to moving to Ireland?
  - Has this changed since moving to Ireland?
  - Can you tell me about the role your nationality plays in your sense of self/identity?
  - Can you tell me about any experiences you've had in Ireland in which your nationality was brought up/magnified?
  - Do you feel like being from [home country] has had an impact/influence on your personality/preferences/sense of self?
  - Do you feel like you've adopted any Irish customs/ways/accents?
- Have you returned to [home country] many times since moving to Ireland?
  - Can you tell me about your first visit home after moving?
  - Did/Do you feel like you've changed?
  - Do you still feel like you fit in in [home country]?
  - How do you feel about the prospect of moving back to [home country]?
- Where is 'home' for you now?

## Appendix III: Narrator Script

### [Introduction]

[Arina Clip]

### [National Identity]

Arina left her family in Lithuania when she was 17-years old to start a new life in Ireland. 15 years later, her successful integration into Irish life has come at the expense of her Russian identity, after spending nearly half of her life caught between two nations.

Often determined by geography and citizenship, national identities are the cultural communities that people feel they belong to. Fluid and ambiguous, identities are often constructed by the individual through narratives of place, belonging and culture.

After immigrating to Ireland, non-Irish nationals must negotiate their evolving identities as they reconcile two lives spanning two cultures.

32-year old Lithuanian-national Arina's sense of national identity highlights the role of cultural membership in identity.

[Arina Clip]

Social belonging and cultural identification are often more prominent indicators of national identity than legal citizenship.

23-year old Anna's family moved from Estonia to Galway when she was only five years old. Because she was so young at the age of immigration, Anna doesn't recall having much awareness of her immigrant status in Ireland at the time. More prominent was her experience of a distinctive Russian identity while living in Estonia, as the country established a clear divide between the two ethnicities after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Like Arina, she also identifies as predominantly Russian despite possessing both Estonian and Irish citizenship.

[Anna Clip]

Otherness, or a sense of difference from the mainstream population, is another powerful determinant of identification. Upon returning to their home countries after living in Ireland, immigrants often notice a change in themselves as a result of adapting to another culture. This change usually becomes

most evident when back in their home country, as it is in this context that their newly acquired Irishness sets them apart from the mainstream.

28-year old Indian-national Ken moved to Ireland when he was 23 years old to pursue a master's degree in business management. 5 years later, Ken says: "I think I'm more Indian when I'm in Ireland. And when I go back to India, I am Irish."

[Ken Clip]

While a sense of belonging to a community is significant in facilitating identification, otherness can be an even more powerful determinant. In other words, identification is primarily shaped by both the groups we are included *in* and the groups we are excluded *from*.

After 11 years in Ireland, 36-year old Polish-national Alex returned to Poland last year, only to realise that she no longer felt the same sense of belonging to the Polish nationality that she had before leaving for Ireland 12 years ago.

[Alex Clip]

Though Alex never fully adopted the Irish culture, her experience in Ireland had made her different from the mainstream in Poland and left her with a prevailing sense of otherness in both countries.

### **[Immigration Experience]**

Before feeling at home in Ireland, immigrants are faced with the initial pain of leaving a life behind. This pain is often magnified by the loss of cultural belonging encountered in the host country and new social position as an immigrant.

For Arina, leaving her life in Lithuanian came at a great emotional cost.

[Arina Clip]

Though Alex initially immigrated with her fiancé at the time, she noticed a dramatic change in her social and economic circumstances upon arriving in Ireland.

[Alex Clip]

### **[Integration and Cultural Adjustment]**

In establishing a life in Ireland, immigrants may find that their identities become unstable and open to reconstruction as they make both conscious and unconscious decisions about adapting to the local culture in order to integrate.

For Ken, integration required a period of learning the nature of Irish friendships.

[Ken Clip]

As Arina gradually learned the Irish cultural norms after immigrating, she discovered that they were often at odds with her Eastern European culture.

[Arina Clip]

After immigrating as a child, Anna's early social experience with her Irish classmates was marked by exclusion and feelings of otherness, reinforcing her sense of Russian identity while growing up in Ireland.

[Anna Clip]

In the first few years after immigrating to Ireland, Alex's social circle was primarily Polish as she too felt that the nature of Irish relationships differed from her Polish understanding of friendship. She felt that she had to learn and follow the Irish "rules" of social life in order to integrate.

[Alex Clip]

### **[Belonging and Otherness]**

Experiences of social inclusion and successful integration into Irish life not only establish a sense of belonging to the Irish mainstream but also facilitate an identification with Ireland.

Though Ken initially planned to stay in Ireland for only one year, his positive early experiences with the Irish and success in establishing local connections impacted his decision to remain.

[Ken Clip]

While Arina has successfully integrated into Irish life and identifies with the Irish nationality, her efforts to integrate came at the expense of her Russian culture.

[Arina Clip]

Because culture is central to identity, the decision to adopt Irish cultural norms in order to integrate may, over time, influence national identification.

Likewise, successful integration after adopting cultural norms also offers immigrants a sense of belonging to the native culture and that, too, will impact national identification.

### **[Inclusion and Exclusion]**

Alternatively, rejection of local cultural norms or the failure to adapt to the Irish culture may result in othering and exclusion, which could, in turn, reinforce an immigrant identity.

After struggling to make Irish friendships in primary school, Anna found connection and belonging with other international students in secondary school. Perhaps her experience of difference and otherness from her Irish peers at a young age resulted in her stronger feelings of membership to the non-Irish national group she encountered later on.

[Anna Clip]

### **[Culture and Identity]**

Unlike Anna and Alex, both Ken and Arina immigrated on their own and perhaps felt more compelled to adopt the Irish cultural norms necessary to integration. For Arina, however, her effort to integrate came at the expense of her Russian identity.

Ken fears that the same will happen if he does not actively perform his Indian culture while in Ireland. He says:

“In India it was very easy follow Indian traditions because everything can be seen all around you so you didn’t really have to try to be Indian. But here in Ireland I have to *try* to be Indian. I have a fear that I might lose my Indian culture and traditions if I stop following that [...] so I make an effort to do what I can. And, in that way, I think I’ve become *more* Indian *after* I left India.”

While culture may be taken for granted as a functional tool for belonging after immigration, it is also central to identity and to the self.

In sacrificing the Russian aspect of her identity, Arina struggles to feel deeper connections despite high levels of integration into Irish life.

[Arina Clip]

As a psychotherapist specializing in immigration, Alex has worked in both Ireland and Poland, exploring the impact of immigration on identity and mental health.

[Alex Clip]

### **[Reconciling Multiple Identities]**

After 15 years of neglecting her Russian identity for the sake Irish integration, Arina is now attempting to incorporate her Russian self into her Irish life

[Arina Clip]

The sense of living in two realities or two worlds after migration is a common feature of the immigrant experience.

[Alex Clip]

### **[Conclusion]**

After leaving one life behind to start another, immigrants often find themselves caught between the two cultures and identities. Ultimately, they must reconcile and make room for the two worlds that make them whole.

[Arina Clip]