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National College of Art and Design

Fine Art Printmaking

THE MEDIA , THE MASSES

AND BARDICISM

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C O N T E N T S .

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INTRODUCTION

"Both the media and their audiences are integral parts of society. The surrounding socio-cultural context provides controls and constraints not only on the nature of media messages but also on the nature of their effects on audiences."

This quote is taken from Melvin L. De Fleur and Sandra Ball-Rockeach's book "Theories of Mass Communication". It is this idea, among others, that concerns me in my thesis. I am looking at the interaction of the media and "the masses" through bardicism. In my first chapter I give an introduction to the media organisations in this country and how they function for, and in relation to, both "the people" and other powerful organisations and individuals. The idea of the media as bard and how it functions in this role are discussed in Chapter Two. In this chapter I will also explore myths in the media, which are central to the bardic idea. Chapter Three is concerned with the media in relation to the nation's moral viewpoint. I will look at how the media reflect these morals while at the same time challenging them as a means to modernisation. The Fourth chapter includes information which tells us what kind of material is on offer on television and subsequently what type of material we are choosing to watch on our national television stations. I also look at Ireland's need for localised media.

Throughout my thesis I hope to show that "the media" and "the masses" are not independent of one another but are continuously linked by the culture and society to which they both belong.

AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE MEDIA
AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

(CHAPTER 1)

"I am privileged in being the first to address you on our new service Telefis Eireann. I hope the service will provide for you all sources of recreation and pleasure but also information, instruction and knowledge.....

Now it is you, the people, who will ultimately determine what the programmes in Telefis Eireann are to be. If you insist on having presented to you the good, the true and the beautiful you will get this and I for one will find it hard to be convinced that good taste can not be cultivated. I find it hard to believe for example that a person who views the grandeurs of the heavens, or the wonders of this marvelous mysterious world in which the good God has placed us will not find more pleasure in that than in viewing for example some squalid domestic brawl or a street quarrel.....I have great hopes in this new service. I am confident that those who are in charge will do everything in their power to make it useful for the nation, that they will bear in mind that we are an old nation and that we have our own distinctive characteristics and that it is desirable that these be preserved. I am sure that they will do their part and as I have said it is for the public now to do theirs." (Eamon De Valera's address on the opening of Telefis Eireann, 31st December 1961.)

The hopes that De Valera expresses at the beginning of his speech for the new service are the very basic functions we understand our media to have; to entertain, to inform, to educate. This is how we expect our media to function. However, these understood functions can really only be looked at as expectations of the media by society. This is because these functions are difficult to define and can imply different things. For example, does the information function mean that the media try to

inform people, that people are informed and learn from the media or is it saying that the media is supposed to inform people?

On an individual basis once the media has established communication it is capable of providing any one or more of these functions. Media use can often supply all mentioned functions simultaneously. However, this does not guarantee quality of these functions. The media is capable of providing information, however there is no guarantee of its accuracy, it is certainly capable of entertaining although many would argue poor quality entertainment, it has the ability to educate, however it is difficult to assess its success in this area.

With the spread of media, particularly television, and the consequential spread of media studies other important functions of the media have been noted, such as personal identity, integration and social interaction. The idea that the media is used on a personal level by the masses to satisfy certain psychological needs was developed into the Uses and Gratification Theory, as outlined by Fiske and Hartley.¹ This looks at five specific needs to be fulfilled by the mass media, as stated by Katz, (1973). They are: the need to acquire information, knowledge and understanding, the need to experience aesthetic and emotional experiences, the need for self-confidence, status, reassurance, integration and stability, the need for closer integration with family, friends and others and the need for escapism.

The needs and gratification theory and other related dependency theories outline some of the most important ways in which the media now function. The expectations we have of the media to inform, to educate and to entertain are provided when we use the media to fulfill certain needs. The media uses entertainment as a means for personal satisfaction and basic communication. Any information gathered during this

entertainment is often consequential and any knowledge obtained is a result of the information acquired.

Media organisations do not necessarily control their output but also act on behalf of other powerful organisations such as political parties, religious groups, government authorities etc. Therefore, it can be difficult to distinguish the functions of the media from those of other socially influential groups.

People's political opinions and attitudes are, to an extent, formed by information, advice and perceptions of life coming from many different sources and presented in many different ways, several of which are not considered by many as conventionally political. It is for this reason that Basil Chubb refers to the communication network as "the nerves of Government." ²

So important are the mass media considered, that their ownership and standards are regarded as vital to public well-being and it is therefore considered necessary for Government to control these ⁿchannels of information.

Since its beginning R.T.E. has had a formal relationship with the Irish Government. The Government does not exercise direct control but has the legal power to stop the broadcasters transmitting either specific programmes or any specified class of material.³ In 1966 the then Taoiseach Sean Lemass stated, "R.T.E. was set up by legislation as an instrument of public policy and as such is responsible to the Government.....The Government reject the view that R.T.E. should be, either generally or in regard to its current affairs and news programmes, completely independent of Government supervision." ⁴

This statement came about as the result of the then Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Charles Haughey, who objected to R.T.E. news' use of

a statement of his with that of the leader of the Irish Farmers Association during a dispute over Government subsidies to farmers. Mr. Haughey felt that his statement should carry more weight than that of the Farmers' leader. Mr. Lemass' statement was probably not intended to cover petty interference.

Without denying the importance of the mass media's functions for politics, the media, including the press, radio and television, are by no means the only suppliers of political information and ideas. Basic social influences such as family, education, class status and religious views cannot be underestimated. However, at its "worst" media allows for reinforcement of specific political and religious ideas and attitudes.

Unlike R.T.E. the Irish press is a free press, meaning that editors have the freedom to print news, comment and opinions that may not be agreeable to the Government without danger of penalties, legal or other. Legal limitations do exist but do not usually operate to restrict the publication of political news or current political comment.

An Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, who once owned the Longford Times, said of newspapers, "A free Press goes hand in hand with freedom of opinion and freedom of expression and I wouldn't have it any other way.", (Sunday Press, February 9th 1992).

By the end of the 1970's all the Irish newspaper groups were in private hands. The Independent Group, (which now consists of the Irish Independent, Evening Herald, Sunday Independent and Sunday World), had its roots in bourgeois Catholic papers which gave independent support to the Pro-Treaty Cumann na nGaedheal/Fine Gael cause. The Irish Times was formerly the unofficial organ of the Unionist and Protestant minority, which long ago became a politically independent, liberal, middle-class paper. The Irish Press Group, (Irish Press, Evening Press, Sunday Press,

Cork Examiner, at present), was always associated with the De Valera family and the Fianna Fail Party.

Although the political restrictions on the press are not as evident as with broadcasting, the editors and journalists of papers are not without political opinions and moral ideals. To quote Basil Chubb again, "In a broad and general way, their pattern is governed by the dominant ideology of the community and the translation of that ideology into laws and public policy governing the media falls inevitably to the government of the day." ⁵

Another area where the media carry out very specific functions is Advertising. Because the success of advertising depends, to a large extent, on the number of people exposed to it and because the advertiser pays for space in the media in relation to the size of the audience, the overriding aim of the media owner has become to secure for his advertisers a guaranteed mass-audience. When audience numbers become so important the tendency for the media to play-safe is always present. According to Frank Whitehead the media does this by, "sticking to tried and tested formulas which appeal to the lowest common factor in every one of us: in general in fact by concentrating on those forms of entertainment or items of news which promise the maximum immediate titillation in return for the minimum effort." ⁶

Although this mass appeal of certain material obviously exists, the genuine popularity and personal satisfaction of the audience is not necessarily present. Material which caters for the tastes and needs of everyone may not necessarily be extremely enjoyable or satisfying for anyone. Particularly in a country like Ireland where readership of newspapers and magazines and audiences for television and radio are basically

low it is essential for the media to maximize their audience numbers in order to remain commercially viable.

The political implications of advertising are also evident. For example, a newspaper carrying the views of the majority is leaving itself in a position where its readership will be higher than a newspaper or magazine which appeals to a minority, therefore advertising space will earn more money and the newspaper subsequently is financially secure. In this way political views, ideas and myths can be reinforced and thus radical or alternative views of society have less chance of being printed.

Advertising space on television can also have an effect on programming. R.T.E., even if it was their wish to, could not financially afford to provide material regularly which would appeal only to a minority or was expected to have a very small audience. It is easier in a country such as Great Britain for stations like C.4. to cater for minority groups as, although they are a minority they still make up a significant number.

The influence of commercial advertising is not likely to affect the treatment of matters, political or others, but rather we can see its effects on the structure of media industries and on the variety of material available. However, on occasion, advertising can have a direct affect on the political content of the media. An example of this in relation to Ireland and Great Britain was the appearance of the independent commercial T.V. station U.T.V. in 1959. Despite its Unionist ownership and BBC's general approach of ignoring the existence of the Catholic community, U.T.V. could not afford to alienate such a large proportion of the public. In its early years it moved ahead of

the BBC, giving Republican views some play in the news programmes it began to produce after 1961. The liberalisation of commercial T.V. pushed the BBC in the same direction.⁷

So although we use our media to satisfy certain individual needs it is also used very effectively by socially influential groups to satisfy their needs. For the Government and religious groups, the media can supply political power, means of control, reinforcement and limitation of certain ideas. Politicians find the media particularly useful when they are forced to explain or justify their behaviour and beliefs to the people.

Such was the case with Senator Sean Doherty's phone tapping charges against then Taoiseach Charles Haughey, (Jan. '92). Mr. Haughey was forced to use the media, ("which in his own view meets at dead of every night to plot his demise"),⁸ to convince the people that his former Justice Minister was part of a campaign to bring down the Government and replace him as Taoiseach.

For those using the media for commercial reasons it becomes a means of financial gain and status for the product, company or individual involved. De Valera was confident that those in charge would do everything in their power to make the service useful for the nation, however it is often that they do everything in their power to make the media more useful for themselves.

When looking at the strong political and commercial elements which influence our media material it was idealistic of DeValera to leave it up to the Irish people to determine the programming of R.T.E. However, through the spread of media we have seen the appearance of mass society and with it we have public opinion, which plays an important part in the

Angry Taoiseach says tapping claim is 'a lie'

● FROM PAGE ONE

"Why should I resign because of something somebody else did?" he asked.

As the PDs gathered for their meeting there were indications that they would demand Mr Haughey's resignation as the price of their staying in Government.

However as the dramatic events unfolded, party members and spokesmen maintained a steely silence over whether they would actually pull the plug.

Mr Haughey said he did not accept that Mr Doherty's statements had done enormous damage to the Fianna Fail party or to himself. He was putting the

record straight here, he added.

He had always maintained that the government did not discuss phone tapping and did not authorise it at the time.

Earlier he said: "Are the Irish people more entitled to believe me, who consistently told the truth on the matter, or someone who was inconsistent and, in his own words, untruthful?"

Pressed about his plans, the Taoiseach denied he had set a time-frame for standing down and said he would go "when I decide."

"I have received a mandate from the party to decide when it is best for me."

The Taoiseach said that Senator Doherty was now substituting for what was a "premeditated blanket of lies, an entirely new version of events."

He told the 55-minute press conference that Mr Doherty's revelations of last night had come as a bombshell to him.

Mr Doherty tendered his resignation as Cathaoirleach of the Seanad today and headed home to Roscommon.

When the Seanad resumed at 2.30 p.m. after the Christmas recess, Mr Doherty's resignation was read out by the clerk of the Seanad in his absence.

*Charles Haughey 'using the media
p. 9*

relationship between the "masses" and the media.

In his book "Propaganda" Jacques Ellul outlines three characteristics of public opinion.⁹ Firstly, it can shape itself only in a society in which institutionalised channels of information give the people the facts, (whether accurate or not), on which they will take a position. Therefore, although the information reaching the people is indirect, without it there would be no opinion at all. Nowadays, opinion depends to a large extent on such intermediate channels of information. The second characteristic listed by Ellul is that public opinion cannot express itself directly - only through certain channels. For example, a public opinion will express itself during elections, through political parties, associations, in the newspapers etc. The third characteristic is that public opinion is formed by a very large group of people with different morals, different backgrounds and social positions and sometimes different languages and cultures. In theory they should not be able to form a public opinion, but they do. What this public has in common is that they are exposed to similar media material and similar messages are communicated to them all through the media.

"Television functions as a social ritual, overriding individual distinctions in which our culture engages in order to communicate with its collective self."¹⁰

Public opinion cannot form itself entirely unless mass media of communication exists - without the mass media there can be no modern propaganda.

However, the mass media must be subject to central control on one hand while at the same time be diversified with regard to their products.

Without this centralisation none of the media has enough power to hold the individual constantly and through all channels. What is needed is "a concentration of a few hands in a large number of media", (Ellul).¹¹

However, centralisation of control is not enough. The individual must be willing to expose him/herself to the media. For example, people will buy a newspaper which reflects their own opinions and morals and by doing so expose themselves to propaganda they wish to receive. However, the medium's influence still remains strong, as myths and the reader's views are reinforced. Although we expose ourselves to propaganda of our own choice it is, nonetheless, propaganda as it affirms certain values and rejects others. Jacques Ellul arrives at the conclusion, "A modern State, even if it be liberal, democratic and humanist, finds itself objectively and sociologically in a situation in which it must use propaganda as a means of governing. It cannot do otherwise."¹²

It is clear that the audience, i.e. the public, can not have effects on content directly but only as filtered through interpretations made by media organisations. Those involved in the media, such as editors and other newspeople, are inevitably subject to unofficial representations and appeals from Ministers and other politicians to exclude or give prominence to items. Ministers and politicians often have contacts with the press but these exist for mutual convenience and cannot be counted as political interference. However, as Rudolf Klein has argued, "Newspapers and politicians have an almost incestuous relationship: they tend to have closer ties with each other than the newspapers have with their readers and politicians have with their voters. The result is that they both tend to overestimate their influence on the country at large - when, in fact, their main influence is often on each other."¹³

Perhaps the same could be said of broadcasters and politicians in this country.

Stay off RTE -NUJ appeal to politicians

JOURNALISTS IN dispute at RTE are asking politicians and public figures to stay off the station's airwaves.

They want the politicians to impose their own ban on participation in all programmes but particularly in relation to Wednesday's Budget and the Fianna Fail leadership battle.

Union sources indicated today that management was endeavouring to bring out Budget programmes on Wednesday but had already been forced to change their plans because of support from politicians for the NUJ.

"We appreciate it is difficult for them to stay off the screens and we are very grateful to them for their support to date. We have had a lot of co-operation and understanding" said a union spokesperson.

RTE confirmed today that some public figures had already turned down invitations to appear on programmes because of the dispute.

by CHARLES MALLON

A spokesperson said: "RTE's point is that our action is totally legitimate. The industrial relations process had been exhausted and this came through Labour Court recommendation. It has happened that invitations have been turned down and we regret very much that any public figure should do so."

Today the NUJ said that one of the programme editors who had worked at the station for the past week was now following the Union instruction.

RTE Newsroom Father of the Chapel Bob Powell was contacted today from London by programme editor Donal Byrne and given the news.

A spokesperson said Mr Byrne told them he had considered the position and was now following the union instruction to stay out. They wholeheartedly welcomed his decision.

An example of the relationship between the media and politicians (pg. 11)

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9. Ellul, Jacques, 1973.

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11. See note 9, page 103.

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13. See note 2, page 76.

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T H E B A R D I C I D E A

(CHAPTER 2)

The idea of the media, and specifically television, performing a bardic function was employed by Fiske and Hartley in "Reading Television".

The word bard was used to stress certain qualities common to the media messages and the more traditional bardic functions. In order to encompass the notion of our culture communicating with its collective self it required that Fiske and Hartley "concentrate on the messages and their language as much as on the institutions that produce them and on the audience response as much as on the communicators intentions." ¹

Just as the traditional bard rendered the central concerns of his day into verse our media performs in the same way, using a less formal language system.

Although Fiske and Hartley discuss bardicism specifically in relation to television, the ideas they express can be applied to other mass media in use.

The media performs a bardic function in many different ways. Firstly it is a mediator of language. Using its own specific language the media communicates to the members of society a reassuring version of themselves and their community.

However, the overlapping of different communities, cultures and generations by the media may also lead to an overlapping of "languages" used by these different groups. An image that will reassure one community, or members of a community, may not reassure others. If there is a difference of politics, morals or religion between two sectors of society who are being exposed to the same material, one or both sides may at some stage feel let down by the view they see of "themselves".

For example, those who hold liberal views towards individual freedom of choice and speech will enjoy material which includes these elements,

such as Channel Four's "Without Walls". Whereas those who lean towards more traditional, conservative ideals would see much of this material as demoralising to society and consequently be unhappy with this view of society.

Therefore, the structure of messages are often organised in accordance with the needs of the culture and not necessarily with the needs of the message. This is often the case when the message is one which involves a moral stand, such as sex, marriage, abortion, divorce, Northern Ireland etc.

We saw this happening after the Late Late "Madam Sin" show, (Nov. 6th, 1982). One of the guests, a British journalist, admitted having two abortions and defended it as an alternative that women had the right to choose. When Gay Byrne indicated later that evening that they intended doing a show on the proposed Abortion Referendum there was outrage from many Irish traditionalists. The controversy that followed became one on the issue of the right to free speech in the media. The show also featured Cynthia Payne, a well known British Brothel keeper, and much of the criticisms that followed the show placed emphasis on the nationality of the guests.

In mid December Mr. Fred Donovan, Chairman of the Broadcasting Authority, banned the Late Late from doing its planned show on abortion. The reason for this was the Authority's own reluctance to broadcast a show of this nature, along with the increasing pressure from the general public and anti-abortion lobbyists. "Naturally, pro-amendment forces preferred not to have the issue discussed in a forum which had functioned in the liberal interest over 20 years".²

The feeling of such groups and many anti-abortion members of the public was that the issue of abortion should only be discussed in the

media if it was shown to be sinful and if such an act was condemned. Obviously the feeling from many sides; the Broadcasting Authorities, the Catholic Church, the anti-abortion lobbyists and members of the public, was that the needs of the culture in relation to such a message were more important than the needs of the message itself. In other words, the media would be willing to sacrifice important elements of the message, (which would be considered pro-abortion), in order to protect the needs of the culture's Catholic majority.

As well as the media's bardic role to express to the audience its own preconceived ideas about their culture and reality, it must also highlight any practical inadequacies within a culture. Such inadequacies may have arisen through changed conditions in the world or from pressure within the culture for change in favour of a new ideological stance.

Such was the case with the fall of public support and eventual resignation of Taoiseach Charles Haughey, (Feb. 1992), which came as a result of continuous political and financial scandals which were highlighted by the media.

Unfortunately much less information about public attitudes, values and demands passes upwards to political leaders compared to the amount of information available to the public about government policies. To some extent people can make known a public opinion during elections and Referendums or through newspapers, radio and television shows such as The Late Late Show and Questions and Answers.

With the emergence of Albert Reynolds as the new Taoiseach, (Feb. '92), the media are already making his policies known, from condoms to Northern Ireland. Much of the media coverage has been undertaken by

newspapers, Independent Radio and other printed journals as R.T.E.'s radio and television production was minimal due to an ongoing strike. Many papers have featured specials on Albert Reynolds, the "man". Emphasis has been put on Mr. Reynolds as a family man with traditional values. This means of conveying a message, where certain features of the subject are emphasised, is used by the media to draw into its own central position both the audience with which it communicates and the subject to which it refers.

To illustrate this idea Fiske and Hartley use the term "claw back". "The bardic mediator constantly strives to claw back into a central focus the subject of its messages." ³ The use of claw back through media messages helps to satisfy the culture's need for a common centre.

So it is possible for the bardic mediator to justify and enhance the actions of the culture's individual representatives by using mythology of individuality to claw back certain individuals into a position of socio-centrality.

The use of myths is central to the bardic idea. Myths emerge as the assumptions about reality which, most of the time, a culture is content to leave unstated and unchallenged. This is often because the audience or receiver is unaware of their existence, while at the same time they are very successfully communicated.

Often, myths come in the form of prototypical stories which concentrate on the fundamental themes of human existence. They often involve archetypal characters and situations and express our basic curiosities, fears, desires, choices and means of resolution. Myths provide us with answers to basic human questions and provide us with stylised solutions to basic human decisions. Such is the case with fictitious drama and

The man with the iron fist

KERRY McCarthy assesses the known strengths of Albert Reynolds and ponders on his attitude to some of our social problems where he is still something of an unknown quantity.



HOME TO HELP DAD: Albert Reynolds Jnr arrives home from the US today.

Taking it all in his stride . . .



No abortion but he'll kick to touch on divorce

MAN OF DESTINY . . . Albert strolls through his Longford hometown.

KATHERINE Donnelly sets out the issues and gives a thumbnail sketch of Albert Reynolds's known views.



ABORTION: On this issue he is unequivocal. Hardly surprising for a Catholic, he is seen, as far as his own personal views are concerned, as being among the few who would not support it.

DIVORCE: He is keeping his options open here. Given his rural background and strong family ties, he was never going to lead a crusade for the right to remarry. But he is sympathetic to the thousands of people whose marriages have broken down.

He is also concerned about the future of families and partners left behind. He promises to try to find an honest answer.

CONDOMS: He wishes, the Government had nothing to do with deciding whether 16, 17 or 18-year-olds, married or single should use condoms. For him, it is a matter of private morality. "It cannot be legislated for," he said up to the Government to hold people's hands.

He won't speculate on the likely outcome of the current review of condom legislation but is likely to go for safe ground.

Ever the pragmatist, he saw it as offering the best hope of civilised relations between the two Governments at least. His Cabinet colleagues embraced it in 1983.

He believes there is no instant solution and he feels that disillusion may very well be found within the general integration of Europe.

JOBS: He acknowledges unemployment as the biggest single problem facing the country and fears its growth will damage the fabric of society. Every new approach must be explored, he says. However, he seeks the position of Taoiseach without offering new ideas.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST: He promises legislation requiring TDs to divulge financial details. The same rules should apply to appointees of State and semi-state boards.

Albert Reynolds the 'man' as well as the 'politician': (p.17)

Soaps which generally deal with human concerns at a very basic level. Myths help to link past and present through society's history and they serve to legitimise our institutions, codes and values

Helena Sheehan states in "Irish Television Drama" that "Myths are not fortuitous fictions, nor free floating fantasies. They are deeply rooted reflections of a society's geographical conditions, technical means of production, social division of labour, political structures of power, state of scientific knowledge et cetera." ⁴

Characters we experience, both fictional and factual, through the media have mythic connotations, eg. De Valera, Superman, J.R. Ewing, the Pope, Saddam Hussein, Indiana Jones etc. Many of these modern mythical characters manage to capture something in the collective psyche that reaches beyond their individual person.

For various mass movements old mythical images still play an important role in reinforcing new myths. Nationalist movements have testified to the fact that a nation's sense of itself and its future emerges, not only in its political response to the present, but in its mythical appropriation of the past.⁵

Myths can become more clear when different organisations have different messages to send through the media. In the mid 1970's Philip Elliott undertook a detailed study of how Northern Ireland was reported through the media, (radio, newspapers, television), in Britain and Northern Ireland.⁶

He found a heavy concentration on stories about violence and law enforcement, (especially in the British media), to the exclusion of reports about the political situation. They concentrated on the what rather than the why of violence to imply that the violence is senseless

and unnecessary. In their representation of the British army, (who were seen as playing a peace-keeping role), the media relied heavily on popular cultural myths.

"The well-trained and disciplined army unit of World War 2 fame, the 'our lads' myth, their boy scout image as they held the peace line between the irrational and warring Irish." ⁷

In the North the "Irish News", a paper which circulates mainly among Catholics, tended to play up Loyalist paramilitary violence while giving greater coverage to Catholic victims and to violence attributed to the Security Forces.

From the British media coverage we can see that the army's "force" against the terrorists is seen as legitimate, while the "violence" of the terrorists is not legitimate. According to Mary Kelly, "In order to ensure that the State's force continues to be seen as legitimate, considerable ideological and symbolic work needs to be done. It has been argued by some Sociologists that the media in democratic societies play a central role in orchestrating those images and symbols which contribute to legitimating State violence, and to delegitimizing the violence of protest against the State." ⁸

As a nation Ireland possesses its own contrasting myths, those of tradition and modernity. Despite the almost total non-existence of an Irish peasant culture it remains, as part of a more generalised myth of the West of Ireland, an important part of the public definition of what it means to be Irish - at least in the South.⁹

In contrast to this traditional myth we have the myth of urban, industrialised modern Ireland. The myth of Irish modernity, according

to Luke Gibbons, is at odds with the Irish experience of the late 1980's; "The chronic unemployment, the Granard tragedy, the Kerry babies controversy, the demoralisation in the aftermath of the abortion and divorce referenda, the dismantling of the welfare services, the re-appearance of full-scale emigration, the new censorship mentality and above all, the moving statues, constituted a return of the repressed for those intent on bringing Ireland into the modern world." ¹⁰

Gibbons also feels that it was urban based writers, intellectuals and political leaders who created romantic Ireland; and perpetrated the myth that the further west you go the more you come into contact with the real Ireland.

So we are left with two contrasting myths. The myth of traditional Ireland, which relies on modern media to Keep it going, and the idea of modernity, which holds the myth of traditional Ireland as a central concern.

On a national level we are constantly exposed to myths through the media in order to reassure ourselves. The media assures the audience that their status and identity as individuals are guaranteed by their culture by giving the individual a number of mythical characters, stories and places with which we can identify. When we, as an audience, identify with fictional characters or T.V. personalities the media helps to provide us with a "place" in culture within its dominant value system. Our media will also reassure the culture of its adequacy and efficiency in other parts of the world. The bardic mediator does this by confirming our ideologies and mythologies through active and practical use in the world. The media highlights qualities which are important to our society. For example, the number of Irish Missionaries working abroad, the individual

success stories of emigrants, or the sporting, musical and artistic achievements of the Irish. The media provides its own culture, society or community with a pat on the back to ensure the public's faith in its country.

In order that these mythologies and ideals are communicated to the mass audience it is important that the media employ a smooth means of communication. This is why the idea of bardicism and professional methods on television are important. Professionalism in television will ensure that the medium will "flow" and therefore "wash over the television watcher." ¹¹ This flow, which exists through the use of ideologies, mythologies and established methods of television making, "is designed to ensure the limitation of doubt or questioning on the part of the audience." ¹²

It is mainly through the use of a narrative format that television exercises a hold on how we view our own society and other world cultures. The use of a narrative structure helps to make television a successful bard. Narrative is generally associated with T.V. drama, where it can be seen most clearly, and takes the format of a story which is usually resolved. However, the elements which are used to enhance and provide T.V. drama with the format it needs for interesting and gratifying viewing are employed in almost all television production, including news and documentaries.

Central to the idea of bardicism and the narrative structure used in T.V. is the constant need for individualisation of people. The more people who can readily and easily identify with an "individual" on the screen, the more successful the information being passed through that individual will be.

I.T.N. first broke with the tradition of announcer-read news and re-

placed it with the "individual" presenter. This made the newsreader both more entertaining and authoritative. The establishment of a personality system came to R.T.E. in the late 1960's with the current affairs programme "7 Days" and continued on R.T.E. programmes such as The Political Programme, Report, Next Stop, P.M., Today Tonight and Questions and Answers. The presenters of such programmes, such as John O'Donoghue, Brian Farrell, John Bowman and Olivia O'Leary, established credibility by identifying themselves with "you, the viewer". The use of pronouns help, such as "we" - both the presenter and the viewer, and "them" - those who behave contrary to accepted values.

T.V. journalists, producers, presenters and scriptwriters are in an important position as bards of our time. T.V. personalities such as Gay Byrne, Gerry Ryan, Pat Kenny, Bibi Baskin and Olivia O'Leary consistently have the power each week to employ a preferred reading of a topic. They use their own particular codes and values to produce and establish their own preferred encoding of a topic. This leaves these media personnel in a position, to some extent, to make known and also to dictate to the audience the morals of the nation.

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THE MEDIA AND
OUR MORALS

(CHAPTER 3)

Through the bardic idea it can be seen how important language is to the media institutions, i.e. television stations, newspapers and other printed journals. The audience receive and translate the media into a language that they are socially familiar with, a language whose vocabulary has been in turn influenced by the media. So it can be difficult to see who is responsible for what, where cultures values stem from, where medias values stem from. Of course, those who are responsible for the running of media institutions and those who are influential within the network of media are not immune to cultural influences of some sort.

"The people who are responsible for what we call 'production' of output mediate the messages but they do not originate them. They draw topics, treatments, agendas, events, personnel, images of the audience, definitions of the situation from the wider socio-cultural and political system and so they cannot constitute a closed system." ¹

One of the strongest cultural influences in this country is the Catholic Church. Undoubtedly they still reflect the moral viewpoint of a majority of Catholics in this country. It can also be said that the majority of politicians and media personnel are also Catholics and, even if they are not committed, they are serving a nation for which Catholicism is still the predominant religion.

According to Tom Inglis in his book, "Moral Monopoly", "What maintains the power of the church is its ability to get members of political parties, national organisations, professional associations and other power alliances to ally themselves first and foremost with the church, especially when there is a clash of interests." ²

When an issue arises where the Catholic Church feels that the nation needs to be guided through a decision they will make public their views. As well as doing this from the altar the Church will use the media, particularly newspapers. Such was the case for the Abortion Referendum of '83 and the Divorce Referendum of '86.

Although the Catholic Church maintained that the ultimate decision was with the people they appealed to each individual to make a reflective, prayerful, conscientious decision. At the time of the Divorce Referendum the official spokesman for the hierarchy, Bishop Cassidy of Clonfert, stated that "We're not telling them, (the people), how to vote on this matter - conscience is the final arbiter." ³

The church obviously saw newspapers as filling a gap for those they could not reach from the pulpit. As a Kerry priest, (whose name is not stated), put it in relation to the Abortion Referendum "Country people need to have quite a lot of things explained to them. They are too busy and do not have time to read the newspapers carefully." ⁴

Politicians moral stance played a large part during both referenda. The majority of Fianna Fail felt that the referenda were not party political issues but moral issues which belong to the sphere of religion and should be decided by each legislators and voters conscience. Although Fine Gael was officially in favour of removing the ban on divorce, as with the Abortion Referendum members became divided on the issue. Both the church and political parties used various media to channel this information to the public and by doing so they challenged the moral conscience of the public.

According to Tom Inglis, ("Moral Monopoly"), "When political issues are left to individual moral consciences most Irish legislators and voters still make decisions in accordance with the advice given by the Catholic

Church which was largely responsible for forming their consciences. The only power bloc which has consistently challenged the moral monopoly of the church in recent years and provided an alternative perspective on issues dealing with social life, the family and sex, has been the media." 5

The Catholic Church's control of moral practice is being slowly eroded by the development of mass communications. Discussions on sexuality and sexual morality, which have a major influence on the formation of the modern individual's personality, have been removed from the confines of the confessional and brought to the forefront of public debate. On a national level one of the most notable arenas for this type of information has been the Late Late Show. The Show's continuous use of such material has led to a series of controversies over the last 25 years. The Catholic Church, (with the support of members of the public and lay-Catholic organisations), once again found the need to express their disgust at such material.

On the Late Late Show, (Feb. 12th '66), during a quiz a married woman was asked the colour of her honeymoon nightgown to which she replied she had probably worn none at all. This harmless incident led to the publication of the Bishop's Sermon in the Irish Times, (on Mon. Feb. 14th '66), which among other things said, "I know you will all agree with me when I describe it as most objectionable. I am referring to certain morally - or rather immorally - suggestive parts of the Show, which were completely unworthy of Irish television, unworthy of Irish producers, unworthy of Irish audiences for whom the programme was destined, unworthy of a public service which is being maintained by public monies contributed in taxes by Irish people."

Of course both the Late Late Show and the Irish press are to a certain extent open to comment from the general public. Indeed many views of members of the public have been expressed over the years through such channels.

Such was the case when Brian Travaskis, a student playwright, expressed his opinions on various different issues during a Late Late Show in March 1966. Among his criticisms of the Church and State he described the Galway Cathedral, (which cost £1 million), as a monstrosity and referred to the Bishop of Galway as a moron. Although a majority were critical of such views being broadcast many swayed in favour of freedom of speech.⁶

Such incidents have not been confined to the 60's. Up to the present day the media have been highlighting issues which portray the strong social and moral divide in this country.

Ireland is a society of contrasts and is defined by those contrasts. There are contrasts between the North and South, between rich and poor and between the rate of change and development in different sectors of Irish society. "TWO NATIONS" proclaimed the Irish Independent following the Abortion Referendum of '83. Other bardic mediators have pointed in this direction also. As Mary Holland commented in relation to the moving statues, (Irish Times Aug. 21st '85), "The crowds at Ballinspittle are a salutary reminder of how divided our society has become in its aspirations, and as such should be a matter of considerable interest to politicians, secular and clerical."⁷

Such divides in beliefs and moral attitudes will show up in the media whether intentional or not. The media can help the individual to see their point of view in relation to the rest of society. When the media highlight a social issue without taking a moral stance it allows the receiver to identify with one opinion or the other. This approach

THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE

READERS' FORUM

Church, media and politicians called to account

SIR - In order to give the full facts in the abortion debate I would ask you to send one of your female reporters, who is pro-abortion to visit an abortion clinic in England. Let her witness an abortion, preferably of a fairly mature foetus, and then write an article on her experience.

Also would you do a survey of your readers who are pro-abortion to find out exactly how many know how an abortion is performed.

Charly Mostell,
Ballyellis,
Mallow,
Co Cork.

SIR - Compassion is neither pro- or anti-abortion. We all share the sad feelings of the pregnant teenage rape victim and her family.

A new life has been created and that fact is not altered by it presently being an unwanted life.

A person's right to travel should not be unreasonably infringed but this is a separate issue likely to be resolved, without the introduction of abortion clinics here. It is a myth to believe that restricted abortion will remain restricted for very long, as witnessed in other countries. Why is it that following failed policies of other countries is seen as "progress", when such countries have higher numbers of unwanted pregnancies, unstable marriages and AIDS victims, than here.

Whilst we are far from being a model country, do we have to have repeat referenda indefinitely or, as I suspect, is it just till such time as we plain people of Ireland "progress" to the "right" answers?

Walter Prendergast,
21 Bettyglen,
Dublin 5.

SIR - The issue before the State now, in the appalling case of the 14 year old girl prevented from going to England for abortion, is not about abortion. That was decided in 1983 when the Irish people voted overwhelmingly against the provision of abortion in Ireland, and I fully accept that.

The issue now is whether the State should have the right to deny freedom of travel to people who wish to avail of a service, or provide a service, which is legal in the country of destination, but illegal in this country.

Senator Tom Raftery,
Seanad Eircann,
Dublin 2.

SIR - The compassion felt towards

the pregnant 14-year-old girl and her family is not confined to abortionists but extends to those who regard the vindication of the right to life contained in the Constitution as a light to the nations.

When the hysteria has died away there may also be a shared feeling for unborn children at least to a greater extent than there is now. More people may realise that they have room in their hearts for the fullness of compassion. The supply is not rationed. "It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven."

Noreen Kennan (Mrs),
153 Meadow Grove,
Dundrum Heights,
Dublin 16.

SIR - The thought of a 14-year-old pregnant rape victim convinces me that man seeks to control woman by any means he can, be it legal or religious.

The courts and Catholic Church seem reluctant to question their outdated stance on the subject of abortion even when coupled with rape and child sexual abuse.

Of course the Catholic Church and courts are predominantly run by men. I wonder how many of these who hear 'confessions' and administer the sacraments are themselves guilty of the rape and sexual abuse of women and children when they doff their wigs and sashes.

I wish that the Catholic Church would come out from behind their cloud of incense and question their own morality rather than dictating other people's morality from the pulpit. And what better way to do it than to confront constant daily issues such as rape, divorce, women's rights and child sexual abuse? Maybe then innocent children will be protected from the hands of their fatherly abusers and grow up in a world where degradation of women is merely a nightmare of the past.

John Halpin,
67 Gracepark Tce,
Drumcondra,
Dublin 9.

SIR We, the undersigned journalists, lawyers, writers, artists and academics wish to express our shock, anger and distress at the decision to issue an injunction against a 14-year-old girl and her parents under the Pro-Life Constitutional Amendment.

Kate Shanahan, Lucille Redmond, Francis Stuart, Helen Rock, Seamus Deane, Aidan Dunne, Brid Dukes, Alice Maher, Eamon O'Doherty, Cecily Brennan, Theo Dorgan, Aisling Doyle, John Joe O'Reilly, Eilean

Ní Chuilleannain, Bryan O'Donoghue, Johnny Gogan, Mary Carr, Liam Mackey, Susan Russell, Colm Keena, Tim Ryan, Louise Hermana, Mairead Quigley, Mairead Carey, Barbera Bradby, Marian Fitzgibbons, Anna Heussaff, Ronit Lentin.

Kate Shanahan,
184 Rathmines Road,
Dublin.

SIR - The death penalty *does not exist* for the perpetrator of rape, then, why should we condemn the baby in this manner? That he is in his mother's womb or how he was conceived is not his fault.

Margaret Murphy,
5 Douglas Hill Lawn,
Well Road,
Cork.

SIR - The court protected the unborn child; here is how the Amendment's equal demand that the mother be protected may also be realised.

The only sure compensation ever offered to rape victims is the US Senate's 1991 Bill whereby the sex industry would pay. Now the big people in porn in Dublin could easily afford a £1m fine.

And £50,000 would be a suitable sum to give to the 14-year-old at the centre of this case.

John P Clerkin,
Chair,
Children's Protection Society,
35 Wellington Road,
Dublin 6WR.

SIR - It would appear to me that people have lost sight of the real and important issue in this tragic case. The reality is that this schoolgirl has a separate human being living within her. The fact that she was raped, however tragic and dehumanising, does not and should not mask the inherent right to life of her unborn child. Some people blind themselves to the fact that abortion is different from all other operations - it is the only one which of its nature is a criminal act. Its essence is the taking of the life of a third party, the unborn child.

It is entirely proper that the state should regulate or prohibit it.

It is an unfortunately predictable consequence of this rape that the girl and her family are disturbed by fear and extraneous pressures. However, the facilitating of a further violent act would compound rather than ease or eliminate the hurt and shame being felt by the girl and her family now and in the future.

Abortion is wrong, it is a grave sin and a crime against the innocent. Its prohibition is absolute, not relative. No circumstances, however serious, can justify it. If we hold to the principle of justice we must adhere to it not only in the easy soluble problems but also when they are difficult and heartbreaking. The end does not justify that means; or in other words that one may do evil that good may ensue. One must act on principle, not on expediency. People, including politicians, who subscribe to the erroneous notion that the schoolgirl has a right to choose to terminate her pregnancy or travel abroad to obtain the services of an abortion forget that there is no right way of doing an wrongful act. It is impracticable. It is not, and never has been, a woman's right to kill her child born or unborn. To think otherwise is fallacious.

The most fundamental right from which all other rights derive, is the right of the innocent to life. This does not emanate from human government but from our creator, who is the ultimate origin of love, of life and of law.

Leo O'Hara,
12 The Rise,
Knocknacarra, Salthill,
Galway.

SIR - As women, we would like to express our deep personal concern for what we consider to be the double victimisation of a young girl, which amounts to political rape, compounding the trauma of physical rape.

The broader issues raised urgently need to be addressed in an open and mature debate, as opposed to the parody of democracy we are currently viewing.

- The right for all citizens to freely leave and re-enter the country (not just males).
- The right of the Attorney General to pursue and persecute pregnant people (females).
- The right of a human being (rape victim) to deal with personal distress in privacy.

For how much longer will women's bodies be the site of political and legal exploitation?

Deirdre Mortell, Rebecca Johnson, Orfhlaith Tuohy, Claire Coffey, Anne Davis-McPeake, Christine Clear, Bláithín Gallagher, Mairead Flynn, Helen Blake, Jacqueline Molloy, Karen Kiernan, Mary English.
Students, Master's Programme in Women's Studies, Trinity College, Dublin

*Some members of the public
expressing their views through the
media. p.28*

means that the individual will not feel alienated by society and at the same time will feel that the media is representing their point of view.

Such is the case of the Irish Independent's reporting of a 14 year old rape victim who was prevented by law from terminating her pregnancy in the United Kingdom. The article, after stating the "known facts" of the incident, was made up of statements from opposing sides. The paper quoted Ann O'Donnell, former director of the Rape Crisis Centre, who described the incident, among other things, as "a classic example of the appalling effect of the abortion Referendum." Her statement was followed by an opposing series of quotes from Patsy Buckley of S.P.U.C., (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child). Her statements centred around the feeling that "the right to life is paramount." ⁸

Due to the fact that the Independent did not express its own moral vies the information was made more accessable to all. The individual reader of such an article, regardless of his or her own viewpoint will feel represented by the media and hence by a part of society.

However, many felt that the media was over opinionated in relation to this case. This infuriated the anti-abortionists as they felt that the media, in particular the press, pushed pro-abortion feelings.

This fear of media messages was expressed by Father Michael Cleary on the Late Late Show, (Feb. 21st '92). Fr. Cleary "implied" that the case was a media conspiracy and had been planned deliberately as a test case to challenge the constitutional ban on abort-

ion. Fr. Cleary said, "Now honestly Gay, I have to say, if a case was made, was planned deliberately to test this amendment, this is it, it's a model and I honestly suspect a lot of organisation behind it."

The Church has remained reasonably quiet in relation to this case and indeed Fr. Cleary was only present on the Late Late to discuss a book on the Pope. Although the Church and anti-abortionists may feel that the media coverage is somewhat hysterical it is unlikely that they share Fr. Cleary's paranoia.

It can be difficult to see where the central media i.e. television and radio stand on moral issues. They are subject to control and the T.V. / radio presenter must "appear", as much as possible, to remain objective. Although audience participation is important sometimes when it is a question of morality and ultimately personal opinion, the media tries to ensure equal hearings from both sides, eg. Marian Finucane's "Liveline". This may seem fair but it does not allow the audience to assess the moral attitudes of society as a whole or to examine their own morals in relation to the rest of society.

This method of presenting material is not always used and often, on television and radio shows such as the Gay Byrne, Pat Kenny, Gerry Ryan, Late Late shows etc. a dominant view is expressed by those members of the public willing to or able to participate. However, many of the public contributors, along with topics and guests, are selected by media personnel who are, more often than not, middle-class Catholic males. This leaves the question of how much opportunity our media really gives the nation to communicate with itself.

Our peripheral media, newspapers and other printed journals are at more liberty to express moral opinions. Much of what Irish newspapers choose to print will depend on the commercial judgement and social and

political attitudes of those who control them. The reporting of issues through newspapers and magazines can be very subjective and, therefore, can be seen to influence or have an impact on the morals of its readers. However, some social scientists, while looking at the impact of mass media, claim "opinions and attitudes which are important to an individual's image of himself, or to his picture of society, cannot easily be changed by a fusillade of communications, however persuasive.....such opinions are often anchored in and shielded by a person's primary group affiliations." ⁸

This is probably true and when it comes to morality the primary group which led the people has been the Church. However, in many ways the media can be seen to have challenged the Church's position in society. Irish people now spend a lot more time listening to the radio, reading newspapers and watching television than they do engaging in religious rituals and other activities that sustained a commitment to Church, family and community.

According to Tom Inglis, "It was the media, and in particular television, that brought a constant advocacy for the individualist, consumerist, sexualised, urban lifestyle that broke the unquestioning "respect for the cloth." ⁹

So where does the media stand as a bard in relation to the moral viewpoint of the nation? As bard, one of the functions of the media is to reflect the views of "the people" and provide the nation with a reassuring version of itself. This can be difficult particularly when the moral views of people are different or divided. However, the media achieves this function by appearing objective and by presenting varying moral views of members of the public and representatives of other organisations, such as the Church and government. The media presenter / jour-

nalist etc. can also align themselves with the opinions of "experts" or "professionals". Such methods also allow the media as bard to highlight any inadequacies or changes within society.

Although the media are limited in what they can say they are often criticised for what some would consider demoralising views. If the media is seen by the Church and others as weakening the faith of people or pushing immoral views it can be seen to do so only as an agent of modernisation. In fact it is by challenging traditional views that the media is often at its most successful as bard. This is because when the media challenges the traditional moral views it forces the members of society to restate and / or justify their moral stance. The Late Late Show can be used as an example once again when, in 1985, a scheduled appearance on the show of two American lesbians, who had previously been nuns, caused a storm of protest. The feelings were so strong that they led to a 24 hour vigil of prayer which took place outside R.T.E. before the show took place.

Often, the only way in which members of the public, Church or political bodies can effectively "state their case" is through various media channels, (eg. newspaper articles / letters, radio / T.V. shows etc.). By doing so the members of society come closer to communicating with themselves and therefore help the media to achieve its function as bard.

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6. The Evening Press, April 2nd, 1966.
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7. For more information see
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WHAT ARE WE WATCHING?

(CHAPTER 4)

Audience research is an important activity for television, radio and newspaper services if they want to remain competitive and financially secure. Research of this kind has certain drawbacks as information gathered is usually based on existing services and people's needs in relation to these services. Therefore it can neglect the potential needs and desires of the public. In particular television research presents problems.

In Ireland television research is carried out by TAM Ireland Ltd. The viewing information is derived by People Meters installed in a representative sample of 400 television homes. This means that the TAM ratings only measure what is switched on and cannot take into consideration factors such as the use of television as background noise, members of a family watching what others want, or simply that many people may be watching what they consider to be the best of a bad lot.¹ However, regardless of its fallbacks it still provides us with valuable information on what we are watching.

When looking at the sample TAM ratings from November 1991 and December '91 one of the most notable features is the popularity of home produced programming. R.T.E. has been dependent on imported programmes since the late 1960's in order to remain self financing. However, home produced programming has dominated the TAM ratings throughout this period.²

Perhaps this is because Ireland, although exposed to many elements of British and American media, withdraws into itself and can become very cautious of outside influences.³ As Michel Peillon says in "Contemporary Irish Society", "Ireland mistrusts and often censors influences from outside and retires behind a cultural identity that it finds more and more difficult to define."⁴

| <h1>TAM</h1> <h2>The Top Twenty ratings for the week ending December 1, 1991</h2> | | | | | |
|---|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| RTE 1 | Day | Viewers in thousands | Network 2 | Day | Viewers in thousands |
| 1 Glenroe | Sun | 1236 | 1 Coronation Street | Mon | 778 |
| 2 The Late Late Show | Fri | 1037 | 2 Coronation Street | Wed | 723 |
| 3 Winning Streak | Fri | 1002 | 3 Home and Away | Wed | 685 |
| 4 Where In The World | Sun | 933 | 4 Coronation Street | Fri | 675 |
| 5 Fair City | Tues | 907 | 5 Home and Away | Fri | 673 |
| 6 Head To Toe | Tues | 804 | 6 Home and Away | Tues | 670 |
| 7 Kenny Live | Sat | 800 | 7 Home and Away | Mon | 658 |
| 8 Fair City | Fri | 792 | 8 Home and Away | Thurs | 636 |
| 9 School Around the Corner | Sun | 788 | 9 Knots Landing | Thurs | 418 |
| 10 The Cosby Show | Sun | 696 | 10 Shakin' All Over | Thurs | 417 |
| 11 Faces and Places | Mon | 679 | 11 Blackboard Jungle | Wed | 415 |
| 12 Secrets | Sat | 676 | 12 Inspector Morse | Sun | 367 |
| 13 Check-Up | Tues | 671 | 13 Teenage Mutant Hero | Fri | 357 |
| 14 Know Your Sport | Mon | 633 | 14 The Golden Girls | Fri | 343 |
| 15 MacGyver | Thurs | 623 | 15 E.N.G. | Tues | 342 |
| 16 Changing Places | Wed | 596 | 16 May to December | Tues | 288 |
| 17 A Simply Delicious | Tues | 592 | 17 Thirty Something | Wed | 275 |
| 18 Baywatch | Sat | 577 | 18 Jo-Maxi | Fri | 274 |
| 19 Talkabout | Sat | 568 | 19 Fair City (Omnibus Edition) | Sun | 269 |
| 20 Today Tonight | Tues | 562 | 20 Jo-Maxi | Thurs | 257 |

| <h1>TAM</h1> <h2>The Top Twenty ratings for the week ending December 22, 1991</h2> | | | | | |
|--|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| RTE 1 | Day | Viewers in thousands | Network 2 | Day | Viewers in thousands |
| 1 Glenroe | Sun | 1121 | 1 Coronation Street | Mon | 723 |
| 2 The Late Late Show | Fri | 1111 | 2 Coronation Street | Fri | 704 |
| 3 Crocodile Dundee | Sun | 1111 | 3 Home and Away | Tues | 683 |
| 4 Winning Streak | Fri | 866 | 4 Coronation Street | Wed | 656 |
| 5 Where In The World | Sun | 809 | 5 Home and Away | Wed | 629 |
| 6 Kenny Live | Sat | 795 | 6 Home and Away | Mon | 603 |
| 7 Fair City | Tues | 788 | 7 Home and Away | Thurs | 590 |
| 8 Fair City | Fri | 766 | 8 Home and Away | Fri | 574 |
| 9 Head To Toe | Tues | 762 | 9 Some Kind of Wonderful | Mon | 433 |
| 10 Bibi | Wed | 749 | 10 Blackboard Jungle | Wed | 374 |
| 11 School Around the Corner | Sun | 714 | 11 Knots Landing | Thurs | 363 |
| 12 Know Your Sport | Mon | 629 | 12 Teenage Mutant Hero | Fri | 323 |
| 13 Secrets | Sat | 623 | 13 E.N.G. | Tues | 317 |
| 14 The Cosby Show | Sun | 616 | 14 Larry Gogan's Golden | Tues | 312 |
| 15 Baywatch | Sat | 614 | 15 The Golden Girls | Fri | 303 |
| 16 Darling Buds of May | Sun | 609 | 16 May to December | Tues | 302 |
| 17 MacGyver | Thurs | 585 | 17 Tiny Toons | Tues | 294 |
| 18 Dynasty | Sat | 532 | 18 Jo-Maxi | Tues | 294 |
| 19 Check-Up | Tues | 528 | 19 Jo-Maxi | Mon | 293 |
| 20 Major Dad | Fri | 522 | 20 Cheers | Wed | 292 |

The highest News rating in thousands: Sunday: 961
The average News rating in thousands: 713

Many of the programmes listed in the featured TAM ratings rely on the appeal of "the local". For example, programmes such as Glenroe, Fair City, School Around the Corner, Faces and Places and BiBi all rely heavily on elements of local people and local culture. Viewing such home produced material is one way in which the Irish can maintain an image of their own unique culture. This interest in "the local" and the community is reflected in some of our peripheral media, i.e. the network of independent local radio stations, (see Appendix 1), and the country's thriving local press, which consists mainly of weeklies. Both of these media concentrate on local news, local views and local advertisements. These media help the people to define their own concerns and ideas in relation to their immediate community.

Another obvious feature of the TAM ratings is the practical non-existence of documentary type material, with the exception of Check Up which features on both TAM ratings, (at no. 13 and no. 19), and Today Tonight which features at number 20, (week ending December 1st). This is hardly surprising when looking at the number of such programmes available on our national television station.

During a sample week, (4th - 10th of January), we can see that more than twice as much of R.T.E.'s programming was given over to drama, films, soaps and situation comedies than was given to news, documentaries, informational or educational programming. If we add on the amount of time given over to game shows, chat shows, music shows, stand-up comedy and sport we increase the ratio to about 4:1 on R.T.E. 1 and 5:1 on Network 2. Channel Four and U.T.V. both have a similar ratio of hours given over to entertainment, i.e. UTV - $4\frac{1}{2}$:1 and Channel Four - 4:1. However, both stations have considerably longer broadcasting hours,

Telly's local heroes!

WATCH out Gay Byrne — Sean Citizen from Dun Laoghaire might be about to offer you some serious competition.

Because the first programme in a new pilot series was screened last night on channel 10.

Access Community Network (ACN) in Dun Laoghaire is to get a half-hourly slot at 7pm for the next four Mondays — with a repeat on Thursdays — in a bid to establish community television in the Borough.

The new project has a magazine format. Last night's programme included two short pieces about Dun Laoghaire's heritage and a report on rock climbing in Dalkey quarry — and is the brainchild of ex-RTE project manager Tom Hayes.

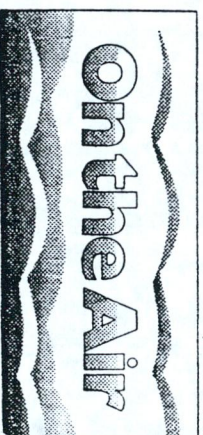
Says Tom: "I've always been interested in community TV, so when I took early retirement from RTE last April, I was able to dedicate myself entirely to the idea. I've been researching it for the past 12 months."

But he adds that although the subjects for the pilot series are community orientated, ACN can't be a proper community network until the community itself responds with ideas.

"We're hoping for a

★ THE CREW:

Tom Hayes
(centre back)
and the ACN
crew who are
bringing local
TV to the
Borough



by Sharon Black



good community response and that means local people contacting us to tell us what they like or dislike about the service and giving us ideas of their own," says Tom.

The next step will be to set up a group to liaise with the community. Tom hopes to be able to cover everything from Dun Laoghaire Corporation

down to the local soccer leagues.

At the moment ACN employs around 20 people. It's sponsored by Dun Laoghaire VEC and funded by FAS. "We've borrowed all our equipment from the video industry. People have been great — they've just handed over £10,000 cameras and said 'just have it

back by Friday!'"

Tom is confident the project will work: "Dun Laoghaire is just perfect for community TV — and if the political will is there, it can support it."

He adds: "Community TV is a normal fact of broadcasting in other countries — the US has had it since the '50s, and the UK has it also. We've

just never given the community that kind of democracy in Ireland.

"Eventually, I'd love to see Dublin supporting a group of community TV networks on one channel. If this is a success, others will follow."

Channel 10 is, of course, The Children's Channel during the day.

'If this is
a success
others will
follow...'

The People desire for local media. p.37

(particularly UTV which is 24 hour), and during peak viewing a larger percentage of time would be given over to news and documentaries.

BBC 1 and BBC 2 fare better with their amount of entertainment, which is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than informational material on BBC 1 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater on BBC 2. Perhaps this is because, of all the stations shown, BBC 1 and BBC 2 are the only two that do not need to secure advertisers and therefore can afford to feature material of this nature.

The BBC also proved themselves to be more responsible when it came to supplying programmes about the media. Throughout the week, (4th-10th of January), I came across programmes such as "Behind the Headlines", (BBC 2), "What the Papers Say", (BBC 2) and a "Biteback Special - See for Yourself" which gave one hundred viewers the chance to ask any questions or air any concerns they have about the BBC. R.T.E. in the past featured "Right to Reply" but at present is not including any material which would help to promote in the people a greater understanding of "media messages".

The dominance of material such as T.V. drama, soaps, chat shows etc. and their consequential popularity means that most of our interpretations of both our own society and the cultural and social aspects of others come mostly from these sources. When we sit down to watch Glenroe, Dallas, Eastenders, Brookside etc. we make certain interpretations about the lives and social surroundings of the people we see. The question remains whether this is a suitable way to educate the "masses" about themselves and others.

| R.T.E. 1 | Game shows | | | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|-------|--|----------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens | Irish Language | |
| Sat. | 9h 45m | 1h 20m | 1h 30m | | | | | | | 30m | 13h |
| Sun. | 7h 20m | 45m | 2h 40m | 45m | | | | | | 30m | 12h 30m |
| Mon. | 4h 35m | 2h 40m | 2h | 5m | 30m | | | | | | 11h |
| Tues. | 5h 25m | 2h 5m | 1h 30m | 5m | 1h | 10m | | | | | 11h |
| Wed. | 3h 45m | 4h 5m | 2h 30m | 5m | 1h | | | | | | 11h |
| Thurs. | 4h 5m | 3h 50m | 2h 30m | 5m | 30m | | | | | | 11h |
| Fri. | 3h 30m | 1h 55m | 4h 35m | 5m | | | | | | | 11h |
| Total | 38h30m | 16h 40m | 17h 15m | 1h 10m | 3h | 10m | | | | 1h | 80h 30m |

| Net. 2 | Game shows | | | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|-------|--|----------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens | Irish Language | |
| Sat. | 2h 30m | 1h 10m | 3h | | | 5h | | | | | 12h |
| Sun. | 6h 5m | 1h 40m | 2h | | | | | | 1h 35m | | 13h 30m |
| Mon. | 1h 35m | 55m | | | | 1h | | | 3h 45m | 25m | 9h |
| Tues. | 3h | 35m | 1h 5m | | | | | | 4h | 35m | 9h |
| Wed. | 2h 30m | 40m | 1h | | | | | | 4h | 55m | 9h |
| Thurs. | 2h 35m | 1h 35m | 30m | | | | | | 4h | 25m | 9h |
| Fri. | 5h 55m | 15m | | | | | | | 4h 20m | 40m | 9h |
| Total | 24h 10m | 6h 50m | 7h 35m | | | 6h | | | 21h 40m | 3h | 70h 30m |

| U.T.V. | Game shows | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|---------|--|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens |
| Sat. | 4h 30m | 1h 15m | 8h 25m | | 30m | 5h 55m | | 45m | 2h 20m |
| Sun. | 7h 25m | 2h 5m | 6h 20m | 1h | 25m | 3h | 1h 30m | | 1h 20m |
| Mon. | 6h 30m | 3h 25m | 6h | | 30m | 1h 50m | | | 1h 10m |
| Tues. | 6h 50m | 4h | 5h 40mm | | | 1h 45m | | | 1h 45m |
| Wed. | 5h 20m | 5h 20m | 6h 50m | | | 2h 40m | | 30m | 1h 15m |
| Thurs. | 7h 10m | 5h 35m | 5h 45m | | 30m | 1h 55m | 30m | 30m | 1h 15m |
| Fri. | 6h 40m | 3h 45m | 8h 30m | 5m | | 2h 25m | | 30m | 1h 5m |
| Total | 44h 45m | 25h 15m | 47h 30m | | 1h 55m | 19h 30m | 2h | 2h | 10h 10m |
| | | | | | | | | | 167h |

| Ch.4 | Game shows | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|---------|--|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens |
| Sat. | 7h 5m | 30m | 1h | | | 9h 35m | | | |
| Sun. | 7h 20m | 1h 50m | 1h 15m | | 30m | 4h | 1h 15m | | |
| Mon. | 7h 55m | 3h 35m | 5h 55m | | 30m | 30m | | | |
| Tues. | 7h 5m | 4h 35m | 3h 55m | | | 30m | | | |
| Wed. | 9h 15m | 3h 50m | 5h 45m | | 40m | | 35m | | |
| Thurs. | 4h 55m | 5h 15m | 6h 20m | | | | 1h 15m | | |
| Fri. | 7h 40m | 3h 30m | 6h 40m | | 1h | | 30m | | |
| Total | 51h 15m | 23h 5m | 30h 50m | | 2h 40m | 14h 35m | 3h 35m | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 141h |

SAMPLE WEEK, (4th - 10th of January, 1992)

| B.B.C. 1 | Game shows | | | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|--------|--|----------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens | | | |
| | Sat. | 5h 30m | 30m | 50m | | | 6h 10m | | | 4h 35m | | 18h 30m |
| | Sun. | 4h 20m | 6h 30m | | | | 2h 10m | | | | | 16h |
| | Mon. | 4h 30m | 5h 55m | | | 10m | 35m | | 1h | 3h | | 18h 30m |
| | Tues. | 6h 5m | 4h 40m | 2h 5m | | 10m | | | | 2h 10m | | 18h 30m |
| | Wed. | 3h 55m | 4h 20m | 2h 30m | | 35m | | | 30m | 2h 50m | | 18h 30m |
| | Thurs. | 5h 15m | 2h 30m | 2h 30m | | 10m | | | | 1h | | 18h 30m |
| | Fri. | 6h 40m | 3h 20m | 3h 20m | | 35m | 25m | | | 2h 35m | | 18h 30m |
| | Total | 36h 15m | 33h 45m | 11h 15m | | 1h 40m | 9h 20m | | 1h 30m | 16h 10m | | 126h 30m |

| B.B.C.. 2 | Game shows | | | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|--------|--|----------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens | | |
| | Sat. | 4h 15m | 4h 15m | 45m | | 30m | 2h 30m | 1h 40m | | 17h | |
| | Sun. | 2h 30m | 1h 35m | 4h | | 1h | 1h 35m | | 5h 30m | 17h | |
| | Mon. | 3h 40m | 4h 35m | 30m | | 30m | 2h 40m | | 15m | 16h 30m | |
| | Tues. | 5h 30m | 4h 25m | | | 1h | 3h 55m | 20m | 30m | 16h 30m | |
| | Wed. | 4h 40m | 3h 20m | 55m | | 1h 10m | 2h 55m | | 1h 20m | 16h 30m | |
| | Thurs. | 5h | 3h 10m | 2h | | 35m | 3h 45m | 10m | 1h | 16h 30m | |
| | Fri. | 3h 50m | 3h 45m | | | 1h 15m | 1h 15m | 50m | 1h 15m | 16h 30m | |
| | Total | 29h 25m | 25h 5m | 8h 10m | | 6h | 21h 20m | 3h | 4h 35m | 6h 40m | |

SAMPLE WEEK, (4th - 10th of January, 1992)

| SKY | Game shows | | | | | | | | | | Total Hours of Broadcasting |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------|---|-------|--|----------------------|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|
| | Films Drama Soaps Sit. coms. | News Documentaries Informational Educational | Chat shows Music shows Stand-up comedy | Religion | Cookery Gardening Travel Fashion | Sport | Adult Animation & Arts progs. | Media about media | Childrens | | |
| Sat. | 9h 30m | 1h 30m | 1h | | | 2h | | | 4h 30m | 18h | |
| Sun. | 16h | | 1h | | | 1h | | 1h | 4h | 18h | |
| Mon. | 12h 15m | | 2h | | | | | | 4h 45m | 18h | |
| Tues. | 12h 15m | | 1h 30m | | | | | | 4h 45m | 18h | |
| Wed. | 13h | | 2h | | | | | | 4h 45m | 18h | |
| Thurs. | 12h 50m | | 1h 30m | | 30m | | | | 4h 45m | 18h | |
| Fri. | 12h 45m | | 1h | | | | | | 4h 45m | 18h | |
| Total | 88h 35m | 1h 30 | 9h | | 30m | 3h | | 1h | 32h 15m | 126h | |

SAMPLE WEEK, (4th - 10th of January, 1992).

LOCAL RADIO AREA POPULATION DATA

| Local Radio Area | Approx. Population |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Carlow/Kildare (South) | 80,000 |
| Cavan/Monaghan | 105,000 |
| Clare | 90,000 |
| Cork City | 280,000 |
| Cork City and County | 410,000 |
| Cork County (North) | 75,000 |
| Donegal (North) | 100,000 |
| Dublin City and County | 1,000,000 |
| Galway City and County | 180,000 |
| Kerry | 125,000 |
| Kilkenny City and County | 75,000 |
| Laois/Offaly/Westmeath | 180,000 |
| Limerick City and County | 165,000 |
| Louth/Meath (North) | 150,000 |
| Mayo | 115,000 |
| Roscommon/Longford/Leitrim (South) | 100,000 |
| Sligo/Leitrim (North)/Donegal (South) | 95,000 |
| Tipperary (North) | 50,000 |
| Tipperary (South-East) | 50,000 |
| Tipperary (South-West) | 30,000 |
| Waterford City and County | 95,000 |
| Wexford | 105,000 |
| Wicklow (North) | 50,000 |
| Wicklow (South) | 50,000 |

TRADE NAMES OF STATIONS

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|
| 1 | Dublin Rock 104 | Capital Radio Productions Limited |
| 2 | CKR | Carlow/Kildare Radio Limited |
| 3 | Clare FM | Clare Community Radio Limited |
| 4 | 96FM/County Sound | Radio Cork Limited |
| 5 | 98 FM | Radio 2000 Limited |
| 6 | Highland Radio | Donegal Highland Radio |
| 7 | Horizon Radio | North Wicklow Community Broadcasting Co-Operative Society Limited |
| 8 | MWR FM | County Mayo Radio Limited |
| 9 | Northern Sound | Cavan/Monaghan Community Broadcasting Services Limited |
| 10 | Radio 3 | Midland Community Radio Services Limited |
| 11 | Radio Kilkenny | Kilkenny Community Communications Co-Operative Society Limited |
| 12 | Radio Kerry | Kerry Community Radio Limited |
| 13 | Radio Limerick 95 FM | Radio Limerick One Limited |
| 14 | LM/FM | Independent Broadcasting Corporation Limited |
| 15 | Galway Bay FM | Western Community Broadcasting Services Limited |
| 16 | Shannonside FM | Shannonside Radio Limited |
| 17 | South East Radio | Corrmuda Limited |
| 18 | Tipp FM | County Tipperary Radio Limited |
| 19 | Tipperary Mid West Radio | Tipperary Mid West Radio Co-Operative Society Limited |
| 20 | East Coast Radio | East Coast Radio Limited |
| 21 | WLR FM | South East Broadcasting Company Limited |
| 22 | NWR | North West Radio Limited |

APPENDIX 2.

ALL ADULTS

JOINT NATIONAL READERSHIP RESEARCH 1990/1991

TABLE 1: READERSHIP (AVERAGE ISSUE) : MORNING & EVENING NEWSPAPERS

| | | COMMUNITY TYPE | |
|-------------------|------|-------------------------|---------------|
| | | ----- | |
| | | CO. OTHER | |
| | | URBAN BOROS URBAN RURAL | |
| TOTAL | | | |
| SAMPLE | 5090 | 2975 | 2095 880 2115 |
| UNIVERSE EST. | 2583 | 1499 | 1026 473 1084 |
| ANY MORNING | 1342 | 798 | 537 260 545 |
| ----- | 52% | 53% | 52% 55% 50% |
| IRISH INDEPENDENT | 595 | 319 | 202 117 276 |
| | 23% | 21% | 20% 25% 25% |
| IRISH PRESS | 249 | 117 | 56 51 132 |
| | 10% | 8% | 6% 11% 12% |
| IRISH TIMES | 282 | 241 | 195 46 41 |
| | 11% | 16% | 19% 10% 4% |
| THE STAR | 226 | 163 | 102 62 62 |
| | 9% | 11% | 10% 13% 6% |
| CORK EXAMINER | 246 | 129 | 88 41 117 |
| | 10% | 9% | 9% 9% 11% |
| ANY EVENING | 735 | 621 | 528 93 115 |
| ----- | 28% | 41% | 51% 20% 11% |
| EVENING PRESS | 281 | 214 | 169 45 67 |
| | 11% | 14% | 16% 10% 6% |
| EVENING HERALD | 402 | 360 | 320 40 41 |
| | 16% | 24% | 31% 8% 4% |
| CORK EVENING ECHO | 113 | 95 | 82 13 17 |
| | 4% | 6% | 8% 3% 2% |
| ANY DAILY | 1717 | 1130 | 829 301 586 |
| ----- | 66% | 75% | 81% 64% 54% |

ALL ADULTS

JOINT NATIONAL READERSHIP RESEARCH 1990/1991

TABLE 2: READERSHIP (AVERAGE ISSUE) : SUNDAY & WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

| | | COMMUNITY TYPE | |
|--------------------|------|----------------|---------------|
| | | ----- | |
| | | CO. OTHER | |
| | | URBAN BOROS | URBAN RURAL |
| | | ----- | |
| TOTAL | | | |
| SAMPLE | 5090 | 2975 | 2095 880 2115 |
| UNIVERSE EST. | 2583 | 1499 | 1026 473 1084 |
| ANY SUNDAY | 1933 | 1086 | 718 359 847 |
| ----- | 75% | 72% | 70% 78% 78% |
| SUNDAY PRESS | 717 | 324 | 190 135 393 |
| | 28% | 22% | 18% 28% 36% |
| SUNDAY INDEPENDENT | 832 | 492 | 330 162 340 |
| | 32% | 33% | 32% 34% 31% |
| SUNDAY WORLD | 946 | 490 | 300 190 457 |
| | 37% | 33% | 29% 40% 42% |
| SUNDAY TRIBUNE | 342 | 248 | 187 61 94 |
| | 13% | 17% | 18% 13% 9% |
| WEEKLY | | | |
| ----- | | | |
| I. FARMERS JOURNAL | 268 | 31 | 15 16 237 |
| | 10% | 2% | 1% 3% 22% |

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER FOUR - WHAT ARE WE WATCHING?

1. Gunter and Svennerigs quote surveys showing from 50% to 64% of the audience who claim they usually watch T.V. while doing something else.

Edited by Willis, Janet and Wollen, Tana, 1990.

"The Neglected Audience", page 7.

British Film Institute, London.

2. Edited by Bartlett, Thomas, Curtin, Chris, O'Dwyer, Riana, and O'Tuathaigh, Gearoid, 1989.

"Irish Studies, a General Introduction", page 231.

Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1989.

3. Michel Peillon, 1982.

"Contemporary Irish Society: An Introduction", page 2.

Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1982.

4. As above.

BARDICISM AND OUR
DEPENDENCY
ON THE MEDIA
(CONCLUSION)

Through Bardicism we can see how the media functions in many different ways. On a personal level it provides our culture and its members with a common centre. The media claws back information and individuals into a socio-central position through myths and ideals. This idea of centrality is important as it helps the bardic mediator carry out one of its most important functions, that of reassurance. The media reassures the culture of its adequacy and efficiency in the world and reassures the individual of his / her status and identity as an individual. By the passing of information through the media in a controlled and formal manner the audience is supplied with a sense of security and membership within society. The bardic mediator achieves this sense of membership and elimination of ambiguity by its use of individual characters, T.V. personalities and narrative format.

Such is the case with T.V. soaps and drama as central importance is always given to one or several families in a domestic situation. Individuality of characters is essential and political, economic, religious or other social issues are not specifically stated but, "are shifted onto a different plane where they are rerouted through an intricate network of emotional or personal entanglements".¹ Therefore in soaps and T.V. drama, the only way of tackling the social is through the personal.

However, the media, while helping to satisfy certain psychological needs, can have the additional opposite effect of promoting these needs. This happens when the individual feels unimportant and insignificant in comparison to the "stars" on T.V. Therefore they become more aware of the greater need for involvement and participation which they will naturally try to find again in the provided media. In this way the viewer can become more dependent on watching television stars and learning about their fictitious or "real" lives.

Audience members are dependent on the media to satisfy their information goals into the need to understand the social world and the need to act meaningfully and effectively in that world. The greater the need, and therefore the greater the dependency, the greater the likelihood that the information supplied will alter various forms of audience feelings and behaviour. As societies develop more complex and more intense interdependencies with the media, and as media technology improves, the media supplies more and more unique "information-delivery services" for the audience.

The media is the main source for the public's conceptions of national and world events. Therefore it is easy to understand a dependency on the media for information and the resolution of ambiguity. According to De Fleur and Ball-Rockeach, "When people become heavily dependent upon the mass media for the information they need to resolve ambiguity, the defining or structuring effect of mass-mediated information is considerable." ²

The idea of the media as an independent force shaping and changing society is simplistic. The media are shaped by events in society as a whole and are very influenced by society's ideas and morals, by developments within the media system and by other institutions of society. In other words, we can see how, in many ways, society has influences upon its media and media personnel. However, with bardic methods, such as myths and claw back, and by controlling information delivery and information presentation, the media can play a large role in limiting the range of interpretations that audiences are able to make.

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"Irish Television Drama", page 25.

Radio Telefis Eireann, Dublin.

2. De Fleur, Melvin L. and Ball Rockeach, Sandra, 1982.

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