

T2249

M0054046NC

NC 0018029 7



National College of Art & Design
Faculty of Fine Art, Department of Painting

Teilifis na Gaeilge : Súil Eile ?

by
Siobhan Rea

Submitted to the Faculty of History of Art and Design and
Complementary Studies in Candidacy for the Degree of Fine Art and the
History of Art
1999

Acknowledgements

Thanks for their help and encouragement to Juli , Micheal and Nuala Rea, to Kathryn Doherty, Carlos Beitia, Carlos Ramirez and Audrey Ni Fhearghail. Thanks also to my tutor, Gerry Walker.





Plate 1 : TnaG's logo

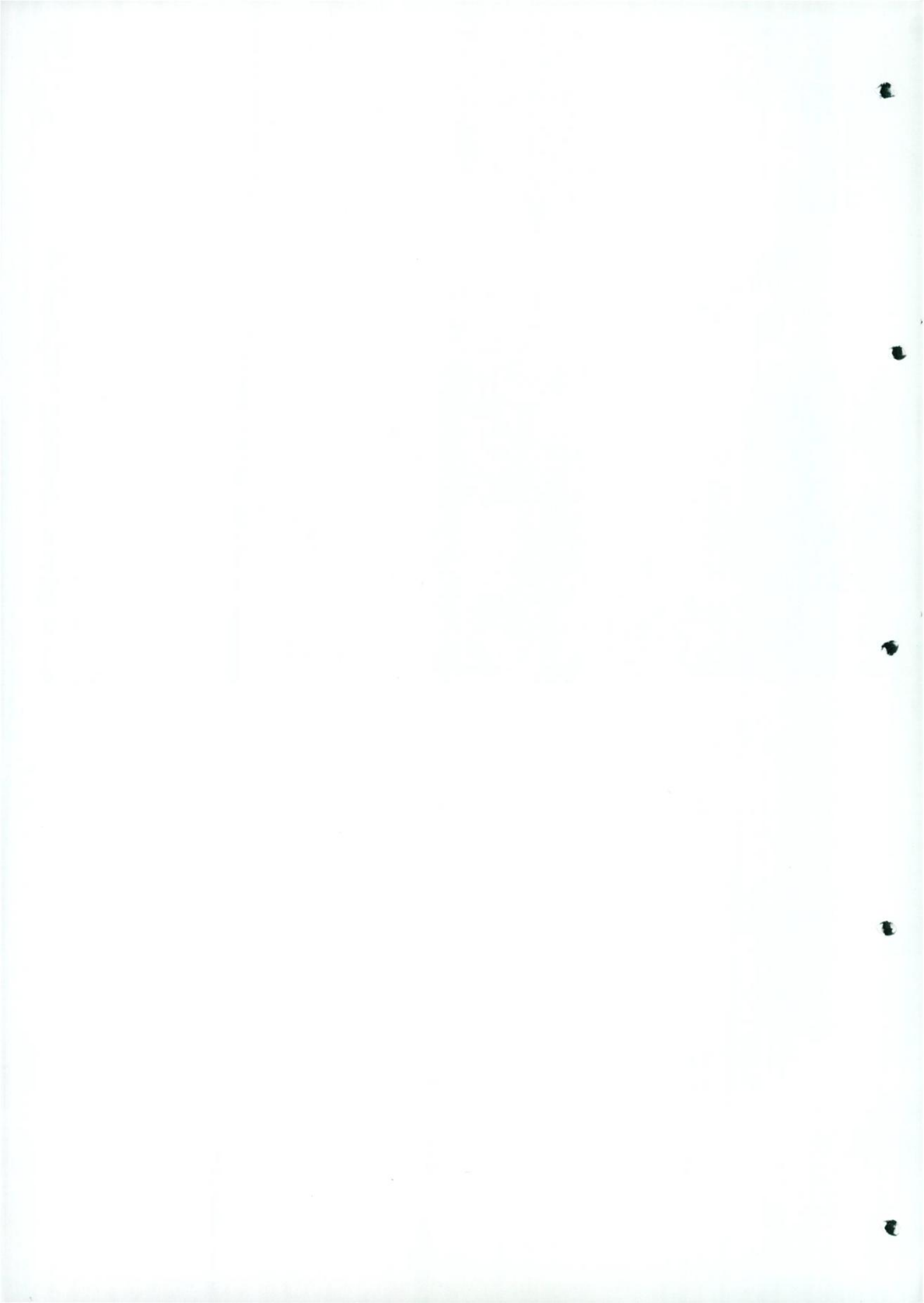


Table of contents

LIST OF PLATES	5
INTRODUCTION.....	7
CHAPTER 1	15
THE IDEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF TNAG	15
NATIONAL IDENTITY	16
<i>Irish identity</i>	17
<i>Identity and Culture</i>	19
<i>Changes in perception of Irish identity</i>	23
<i>Implication of the mass media in these changes</i>	23
<i>Dynamism of myths of national identity</i>	24
THE IRISH LANGUAGE	24
<i>The decline of the Irish language</i>	27
<i>The Irish language - a symbol of difference</i>	28
THE WEST OF IRELAND	29
CHAPTER 2	34
THE POTENCY OF TELEVISION	34
THE PHYSICAL LOCATION OF TNAG.....	34
<i>The Gaeltacht</i>	35
TELEVISION-A CAUSE OF THE DECLINE OF THE GAELTACHT	36
<i>Influx of outside cultural influences</i>	36
<i>Television undermines space</i>	37
<i>The bardic function of television</i>	38
<i>The homogenising tendencies of television</i>	39
TELEVISION - IMPERATIVE TO THE SURVIVAL OF IRISH	40
<i>The Bardic function on TnaG</i>	41
<i>Television-an oral medium</i>	43
<i>TnaG gives the Irish language a visual identity</i>	44
CHAPTER 3.....	47
‘SÚIL EILE’	47
‘ROS NA RUN’ -SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF THE GAELTACHT.....	49
<i>Technical Constraints</i>	50
<i>Language Constraints</i>	52
<i>TnaG’s visual identity</i>	54
<i>Subtitles</i>	55
<i>Folklore and the past</i>	56
<i>Socio-centrality</i>	57
<i>Style above substance</i>	58
CONCLUSION	62
INTERVIEWS	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	65
ARTICLES.....	66

List of Plates

Plate 1 : TnaG's logo

Plate 2 : President Mary Robinson opening TnaG on October 31st, 1996

Plate 3 : “ *The man who discovered the sky was blue* ”

Plate 4 : “ *The place where the lemons are red* ”

Plate 5 : Ornamentation on the front of the Central Hotel , Listowel

Plate 6 : Frederic Burton frontispiece for “ *The Spirit Of The Nation* “, 1845

Plate 7 : Base of monument to John Keegan Casey at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin

Plate 8 : Hoarding sized poster for Irish Language Week, c.1904

Plate 9 : TnaG logo incorporating advertising campaign motif

Plate 10 : *The Potato Digger*, Paul Henry

Plate 11 : *The Race Of The Gael*, Sean Keating

Plate 12 : Cuala Press logo

Plate 13 : Headquarters of TnaG, Baile na hAbhann

Plate 14 : Map demarcating Gaeltacht areas

Plate 15 : Dun Emer Press logo

Plate 16 : Character from *Ros na Run*

Plate 17 : Composite of video footage of weather outside TnaG, shown before weather forecast

Plate 18 : The current affairs programme, *Cead Ceadaoin*

Plate 19 : *Ros na Run* 's logo

Plate 20 : Character from *Ros na Run*

Plate 21 : Characters from *Ros na Run*

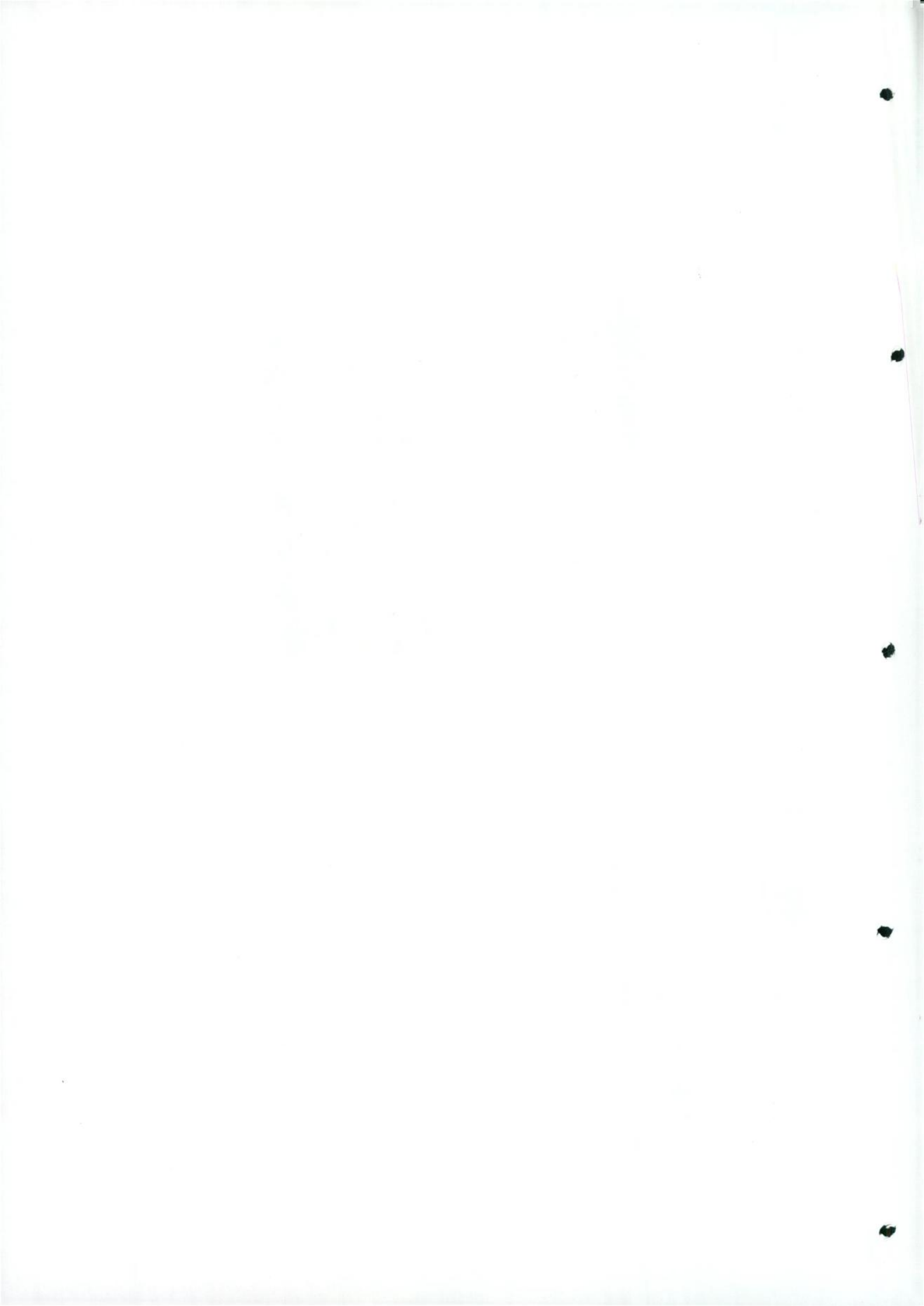
Plate 22 : Radio station, *Ros na Run*

Plate 23 : Cafe, *Ros na Run*

Plate 24 : Hours broadcast, 31/10/96 to 31/12/97



Plate 2 : President Mary Robinson opening TnaG on October 31st , 1996



Introduction

Teilifis na Gaeilge came on air on its own channel on October 31st, 1996, the pagan festival of Samhain. The choice of date for this launch and the range of imagery utilised in its opening schedule asserted the new station's intention to represent a diverse mix of traditional and contemporary Irish cultural forms. References were made on its first night's schedule were to a pagan past, a youthful present, and a technological future through Hallowe'en bonfires, an address by President Robinson and computer screens in the newsroom. The implication was that, by its uniqueness as an Irish language television service and its situation within a unique community, TnaG could offer an exemplary cultural product to television audiences, rich with state-of-the-art technology and previously unexploited human resources.

Close to the end of its second year on air, Teilifis na Gaeilge, launched a publicity campaign. The ads, according to assistant director Padraig O'Ciardha, constitute TnaG's mission statement. Their theme is 'difference', and the examples chosen to indicate what makes Irish people different included the existence of red lemonade "guzzled by the bucketload by hyperactive kids and abused as a mixer by inebriated grown-ups", and the unique ability of an Irishman to wonder why the sky is blue; ("He thought differently, he was different, because he was Irish"). (See plates 3 & 4).

the man who discovered the sky is blue

The sky has long fascinated people from every culture. Some were concerned with its deific qualities, others still with the fact that it might fall on their heads. It took an Irishman, however, to wonder why it's the colour it is. Enter John Tyndall of Leighlinbridge in Carlow. In 1859 he described the 'Tyndall' effect which reasoned that light was split into different frequencies (and consequently colours) by dust particles in the air.

He thought differently, he was different, because he was Irish. We have a way of considering our place in the world that no other culture on the planet has. We also have a television station unlike any other - TnaG. A station that is dedicated to Irish and Irishness, that looks at things in a different way and that is, above all, like ourselves, uniquely Irish.

 **TnaG. Because we're different.**

Website-[http:// www.tnag.ie](http://www.tnag.ie)

Plate 3: "The man who discovered the sky was blue"



the place where the lemons are red

Lemonade. Natural. Refreshing.
Invigorating. Sweet yet sour.
Consumed with relish the world over
by small children, discerning adults
and kindly American grandparents.

Red lemonade. Fizzy. Red. Irish.
Guzzled by the bucketload by
hyperactive kids and abused as a mixer
by inebriated grown-ups. Try asking for
red lemonade anywhere else on the
planet and you'll be given short shrift.

Red lemonade only exists because
as a nation we're different.

We have tastes unlike any other
culture on earth. **Which is why we
also have a television station
unlike any other - TnaG.**

A station dedicated to Irish and
Irishness, that looks at things in a
different way and that is above all,
like ourselves, uniquely Irish.



TnaG. Because we're different.

Website-[http:// www.tnag.ie](http://www.tnag.ie)

Plate 4: "The place where the lemons are red"



In the English language versions of this campaign, no emphasis was placed on the fact that the station is broadcast through the medium of Irish. As a campaign for a new station in the process of constructing an identity for itself it is interesting that the station's primary differentiating characteristic was only obliquely referred to. The campaign describes the station merely as "dedicated to Irish and Irishness". It sought uniqueness elsewhere: in the singularity of taste for red lemonade; in the ways of questioning things like the colour of the sky; in the ways of classifying things which leads to the wren being categorised as the king of birds. There is an intriguing reticence about mentioning the Irish language in this campaign, and there is no clear link between being an Irish speaker and, say, drinking red lemonade, to substantiate the claim "We're Different". The construction of an identity is the objective of many marketing campaigns because they recognise that a psychological need for identity motivates people to consume in search of it¹. TnaG recognises that the Irish language is so far from having a positive identity that they have to sugar-coat it.

This thesis will explore the ways in which TnaG attempts to construct an identity for the Irish language and for Irish speakers in difficult circumstances, which the reticence of its advertising campaign hint at. In chapter 1 I wish to describe the ideological environment without which TnaG would not have been launched. I will point to ways in which this environment evolved, generating potent myths, in order to painstakingly build a national identity. The Irish language has been central to this construction and the reasons for this will be discussed. It will also be necessary to focus on the west of Ireland, in itself a potent icon, with which the Irish language is

¹Another example of this strategy is exemplified by the advertisement in which an Irishman in the U.S. cooks a fry of Galtee food products at 3 o'clock in the morning, because 'it's breakfast time back home'.

identified. TnaG, located at Baile na hAbhann in Connemara will be shown to be located physically and linguistically at the heart of a potent discourse of identity.

Chapter 2 identifies the medium of television as culpable in the decline of the Irish language and of its identity, for reasons inherent in the medium itself, as well as its content. These include its ability to undermine our experience of space, and consequently one of the biggest efforts of the state to stem the decline of Irish, i.e., the setting up of the Gaeltacht. Although television has had a profoundly negative impact on the Irish language, however, I will argue that it is also now necessary to its survival. A description of the potency of television is given to explain both sides of this paradox, which also results from the bardic function of television. Irish is no stranger to oral bardic traditions, and the similarity between these and its new medium will also be mentioned, in order to point out the capacity of TnaG to reinforce pre-literate characteristics of the language.

Finally, through an exploration of the content of TnaG I will highlight some of the ways in which it deals with the difficulties which have been discussed in the previous chapters, while it strives to construct a positive yet credible identity for the Irish language. Such circumstances powerfully shape the identity being articulated. The consequent tension between the components of the identity which match its claim to be a new way of looking at the world, and those which undermine it, will be outlined in Chapter 3. It will be argued that the soap opera *Ros na Run*, in many ways TnaG's flagship programme, provides some of the best examples of this tension- the homogeneity of its genre as soap opera set against the frequent ingenuity and originality of its scriptwriters. Additional examples are given through an analysis of other aspects of the station's programming.



Plate 5: Ornamentation on the front of the Central Hotel, Listowel





Plate 6: Frederic Burton frontispiece for "The Spirit Of The Nation", 1845

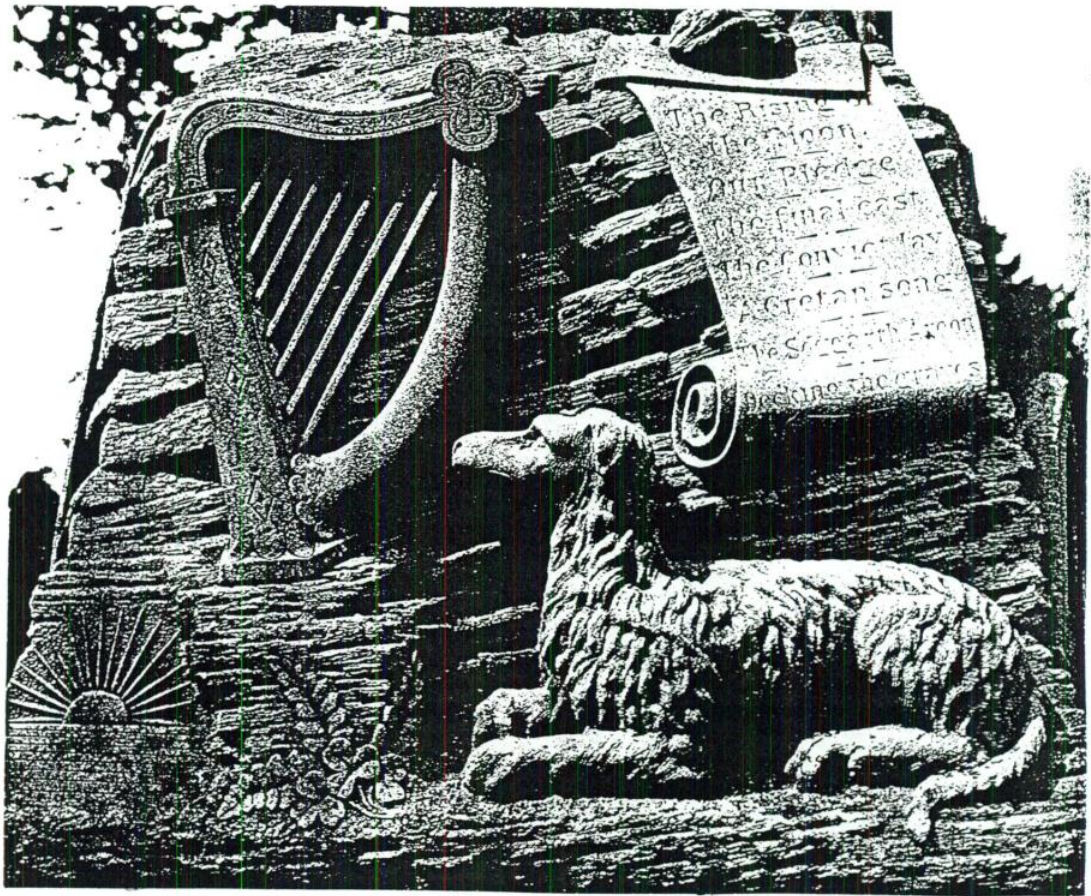


Plate 7: Base of monument to John Keegan Casey at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin

Plate 8: Hoarding sized poster for Irish Language Week, c.1904



Chapter 1

The Ideological Environment Of TnaG

“Red lemonade only exists because as a nation we’re different. We have tastes unlike any other culture on earth” (Because We’re Different advertising campaign)

The “Because We’re Different” campaign attempts to encompass the Irish as a coherent race, with as a consequence distinctive thought processes, which require expression through watching TnaG. This illustrates a clear consciousness of the relationship between identity and representation. Representing the Irish as a discrete social group with a legacy of great achievements is a similar strategy to that employed by various interest groups since nationalist consciousness first developed in this country. An example is the logo which denotes the name of the television station (see plates 1 & 9). Through the use of a version of the Celtic letter « t » it connotes Ireland’s Celtic inheritance, and, through the rays of light emanating from behind it, dynamism, pervasiveness and energy, conventionally signifying the encompassing of all of Ireland. On still reproductions a shadow is cast from the left, which could be read as a reference to the west as a source of light. Very similar devices have been employed since the earliest manifestations of the Celtic Revival, for example, by Frederic Burton in his frontispiece for *The Spirit Of The Nation* in 1845, the ornamentation on the entrance of the Central Hotel, Listowel and on a poster for Irish Language Week c. 1904. (See plates 5,6,7 & 8). All of these also employ the sun as a symbol of national regeneration. The persistence of such types of illustration demonstrates how our need for a national identity, or even group identity (Hall, p. 227, 1994), is repeatedly relied upon to rally support for a variety of special



interests such as political independence, national pride and, as also in this case, to rally support for Irish.

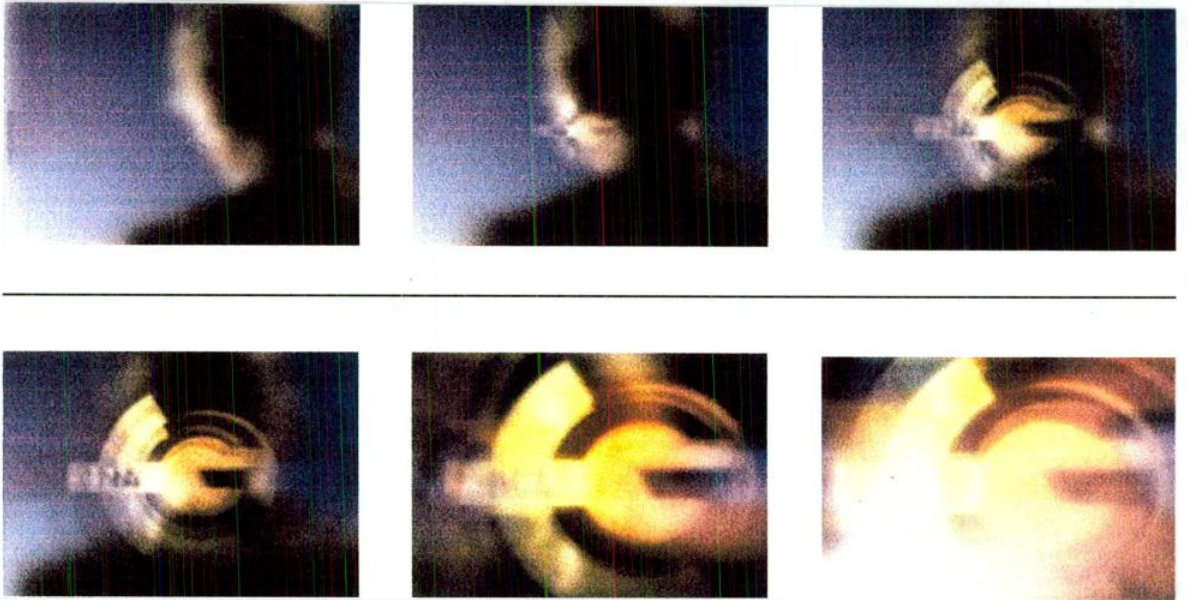


Plate 9 : TnaG's logo, incorporating devices from the advertising campaign

National Identity

National identity is a search for order and coherence in the world which derives from a strong social and psychological need to appear unified as a group (cited in Kenny, p.70, 1984). It is defined through language and literature, mythology and folklore, history and theology, economics and politics, and established by conventions of behaviour, language dress and architecture. Jorge Luis Borges has described the sense of national identity as “an act of faith” (Borges, p.419, 1998), recognising that it is a social construct, formed and re-formed by groups and individuals, rather than pre-existing them. In this sense it requires consensus and active participation in a constant reassertion through ritual, ceremonies and other cultural forms. In other words it is:



"the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence." (Fanon, p.154, 1973).

Irish identity

This national exertion can be observed in an analysis of Irish identity, which is a relatively recent construct. Even the Celts, who we tend to consider the fundamental origin of Irishness, evade conclusive identification. As Celtic scholar Miranda J. Green points out :

"we are secure with Romans because they identified themselves as such: Civis Romanus sum ("I am a Roman citizen"). We cannot tell whether a comparable Celtic consciousness ever existed" (Green, 1995, p.3).

The material evidence and contemporary written accounts describe 'the Celts' as groups of people with common ideological and artistic preferences, as well as shared technological skills, but not one stable, unified race². Nevertheless the existence of a Celtic past, and particularly of a Celtic language, was seized by nationalists as a rejuvenating, uncontentious and unifying set of proofs. The word Celtic remains a trope for Irish. The Celts are continually cited as¹"undisputed inhabitants of this island for more than 1,000 years"(letter to the editor of the Irish Times, 6/1/99)³ as justification of a purported racial purity which in turn can be summoned in defence of a range of ideologies.

The myth of a coherent Irish race was and continues to be one which is constructed consistently over time. The idea of a nation was first mobilised to justify

² Ruth and Vincent Megaw point out that "'Race' is a concept no longer very acceptable to scholars ; the genetic and cultural mingling of Celtic peoples with those among whom they settled makes it an imprecise notion at best...there is little close geographical correspondence with regions recorded as 'Celtic' by Classical sources or with those which archaeologically have produced Celtic objects or art" and linguistic evidence. (Megaw, p.9, 1989)



and amplify demands for political independence, and to bolster individual self-confidence in the seventeenth century. At that time the main social groups living in Ireland, including the Gaelic Catholic peasantry, the Anglo-Irish Anglican landowning class, the Ulster Presbyterian working class and the English aristocracy (cited in Lyons, 1984, p.3-26) all chafed to varying degrees under the dominance of Westminster. The representation of Irishness articulated by and for the Catholic peasantry is the one with which we are most familiar now, (Catholic, rural, poor, partly Irish speaking, familial, dispersed through emigration, with consequent links with the U.S. and Australia). In addition to being most closely associated with a Celtic inheritance and, crucially, with a Celtic language, it also most clearly united characteristics perceived to be opposite to English ones. This gave a coherence to the rejection of the status quo which a hybrid of the four groups could not have achieved, even if any of the groups could have stomached being united with the others.

At the official opening of 2RN, Ireland's first broadcasting service, Dr. Douglas Hyde succinctly expressed what Irishness would be, if the decision makers had anything to do with it:

"A nation cannot be made by Act of Parliament. A nation is made from inside itself; it is made first of all by its language, if it has one; by its music, songs, games and customs...so, while not forgetting what is best in what other countries have to offer us, we desire to especially emphasise what we have derived from our Gaelic ancestors- from one of the oldest civilisations in Europe"(Gibbons, p.71, 1996).

Eamonn DeValera repeated these sentiments years later when, at the opening of Teilifis Eireann on the 31st of September, 1961, he said hopefully:

³ In this case to demand tighter control of emigration

"The persistent policy pursued over radio and television, apart from imparting knowledge can build up the character of the whole people inducing sturdiness and vigour and confidence...we are an old nation and ... we have our own distinctive characteristics and...it is desirable that these be preserved."

What had been the vocabulary of resistance became, post-independence, the vocabulary of officialdom in the hands of statesmen such as Hyde and DeValera. At times emphasising a conveniently Brit-free and thereby uncontentious ancestry filled the near-sighted vision of decision makers to completely blot out the best of what other countries had to offer, including markets for Irish produce. Nevertheless it allowed a coherent sense of national identity to develop, necessary to bolster the shaky structures of the state emerging from decolonisation.

Identity and Culture

A symbiotic relationship exists between identity and culture. The paintings of Achill Island by Paul Henry, for example, and of heroic western peasants by Sean Keating, came to represent the new Ireland in the popular imagination, equating Irishness with rural, industry-free landscapes and a frugal peasant stoicism (see illustrations). Such cultural forms are necessary, according to Deleuze and Guattari, to remind people of 'a collective national consciousness' which is 'often inactive in external life and always in the process of breakdown' Kiberd, p.125, 1996). Our best chance of grasping at an essence of the nation is to search in the various manifestations of its culture. As well as the paintings of Henry and Keating, and the plays of the Literary Revival, other cultural forms such as sport and music provide a link with the people's shared past. They were employed by the founders of the State to energise the construction of identity. National and religious festivals, traditional music and Gaelic games were also endorsed to generate positive identifications with

the State. Often the forms themselves were newly constructed, and often the mass media provided ideal platforms for their construction. Both the “tradition” of participation in organised national Gaelic sports and the ritual of the ceili were innovations which their broadcasting on 2RN made phenomenally successful. Seamus Clandillon, the first director of 2RN is credited with devising the format of the ceili, in which various Irish dancing steps are amalgamated, as a means of incorporating traditional music into the radio schedule. Both DeValera and Hyde hoped that television could function as other cultural forms had done to foster a particular sense of national identity. However even DeValera knew in his heart that television would not conform to traditional categories of representation. In his address at the opening of RTE, he observed, somewhat apocalyptically, that “*Never before was there in the hands of men an instrument so powerful to influence the thoughts and actions of the multitude*”. The following decades proved that he was right.



Plate 10: *The Potato Digger*, Paul Henry



Plate 11: *The Race of the Gael*, Sean Keating



Changes in perception of Irish identity

The amalgamation of strenuous efforts to articulate an ideologically appropriate (appropriate to whom is another matter) and unambivalent articulation of Irish identity brought the state to the 80s, at which point rumblings of dissent and discontent had begun to emerge. Many of the most potent pre-independence rallying cries became, in the hands of the government and the education system, dead motifs. A rural, anti-materialist, Catholic, Celtic facade was being surmounted by the economic and social realities, inherent in Ireland's implication in the broader economic framework of the EU (and indeed within a British way of doing things, via its administrative structure) and western capitalism as a whole. A few events in Irish social life became benchmarks in the turning away from accepted notions of Irishness. Noel Browne's Mother and Child scheme, the Kerry babies scandal, the Eamonn Casey affair all produced a revulsion against the sexual puritanism which Church and State indulged and encouraged (Kearney, p.207, 1998).

Implication of the mass media in these changes

Our knowledge about these events was of course gained primarily through the mass media, which was already ideologically a vehicle of equivalent power to either Church or State. The mass media in their various distinct ways also contributed to change, and to a desire for change. Metonyms such as grottos, town square neo classical statues, monuments to dead patriots, short hand for the consensus on Irish identity, were rapidly replaced by media images, Hollywood icons, brass JFK money boxes, rock music. The cultural environment changed apace; Levis replaced frocks, and theology wrestled and failed in the battle for Irish allegiances, with capitalism,

which harnessed the new technologies to devastating advantage. From Ryan's Daughter on the Church was on shifting ground. Dumping its influence became as powerful a need as dumping that of Britain. Representations of the Northern Ireland conflict in the international media communicated in terms of a simple opposition between Protestant and Catholic contributed to an increased removal of identification with Catholicism.

Dynamism of myths of national identity

The undermining or loss of national symbols, such as the Church or, most recently, the punt in favour of the Euro, motivate a determination to acquire new ones. *Teilifis na Gaeilge* is potentially such a symbol. It has been set up at a time in which these alterations have become part of the consensus, at a time in which the dynamism of even the most enduring myths can be observed. Myths are always evolving, preserving their shape but changing their contents. The involvement of the mass media in their alteration is also evident. In this way conventional Irish myths can end up by being the opposite to what they were in the beginning. What remains the same, however, is a strong need for symbols which at once differentiate us, and unite us as a group.

The Irish Language

The Irish language is such a symbol. It is continually cited (as by Douglas Hyde, quoted above) as part of the bedrock of Irish identity. It is a register of the social changes and historical events which shaped Irish society, and a key component and recorder of the accumulation of Irish experience over centuries. Old Norse words are included in the language which reflect Viking invasions, such as 'Ulster', 'Leinster', 'Munster', 'bad', 'stiuir', 'margadh', 'pinginn', 'scilling' (cited in Kiberd),

as are slightly altered English words like ‘acra’, ‘reachtaire’ and ‘teilifis’, reflecting more recent influences⁴. Consequently Irish resonates with an inheritance distinct from that contained in the English language. It has a purely historical value as the most ancient of Celtic languages⁵, and provides a rich repertoire of cultural references unavailable to non Irish speakers.

A consciousness of the Irish language and a pride in speaking it have been registered in literature from early Christian times.

“The awareness of language is particularly keen: Irish is constructed from the best elements of language available at the Tower of Babel, and, according to an eleventh-century scholar, is “the speech which is melodious and sweet in the mouth” (Foster, p.356, 1988)

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the language had become was part of an economic discourse, “a badge of poverty and of social inferiority”(Lyons, p.9, 1982) to be cast aside. Recently the poet Michael Hartnett called English “the perfect language to sell pigs in” (TnaG, 11 /2/ 99) but in the 19th century, Daniel O’Connell identified this rôle for English without disdain. A nationalist and a native speaker himself, he nevertheless encouraged Irish speakers to learn English because he could see no route out of poverty, particularly endemic in western areas without it. “I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its passing”, he said (Lyons, p.9,1982).

In such difficult circumstances, it was with great difficulty that it was mobilised as part of nationalist discourse, although nationalists such as Standish O’Grady, Lady Gregory and Padraig Pearse were quick to recognise that it was potentially a strong component in the creation of a separate Irish identity. As a

⁴ These translate as ‘Ulster’, ‘Leinster’, ‘Munster’, ‘boat’, ‘oar’, ‘market’, ‘penny’, ‘shilling’, ‘acre’, ‘alcohol’, ‘rector’ and ‘television’.

⁵ The migration patterns of Celts can be tracked by the evolution of their alphabet to include the letter ‘p’ ; other Celtic languages use this letter where the older Irish did not.

symbol of difference the language assumed a particular importance as a tool of resistance to British rule (just as its suppression was a tool of cultural domination of British rule). Just as native speakers had assimilated the harsh lesson that Irish was synonymous with poverty, its status was elevated to that of national, cultural and political icon, coinciding with the increased demand for cultural forms oppositional to the ubiquitous English ones by political and cultural activists with nationalist aspirations. Pearse in particular used Irish as a political tool, publishing through *An Claidheamh Solais* poetry and prose with nationalist undertones. When he and his fellow revolutionaries instigated the Easter Rising, their Proclamation was printed in both English and Irish, and because the Rising was the first effort of this breakaway group of Sinn Fein to win national attention, nationalism heretofore tended to associate itself with the Irish language. Mairtin O'Cadhain, one of the Irish languages' finest writers was imprisoned for four years in the Curragh prison for Republican activity in the new State, set up Irish language movements there, and republican prisoners emerged from the prison fluent (*Fód An Domhain*, TnaG).

Occasionally in the north Irish resurfaces as a political tool. Even there, however, it has more of the appearance of a 'glamorous conspiratorial act' (Kiberd, p.616, 1996) than of a daily means of communication. On the day of the count at the Northern Ireland Assembly elections in 1998, Gerry Adams, for example, spoke in Irish on UTV, but only to say 'Taimid sásta leis ár voting', even though the word 'votail' was on his own election badge. In the Republic of Ireland the question of its continued existence is one which politicians unanimously and tacitly agree to shelve. Both of these examples betray the weakness of the Irish language and ambivalent attitudes towards it.

The decline of the Irish language

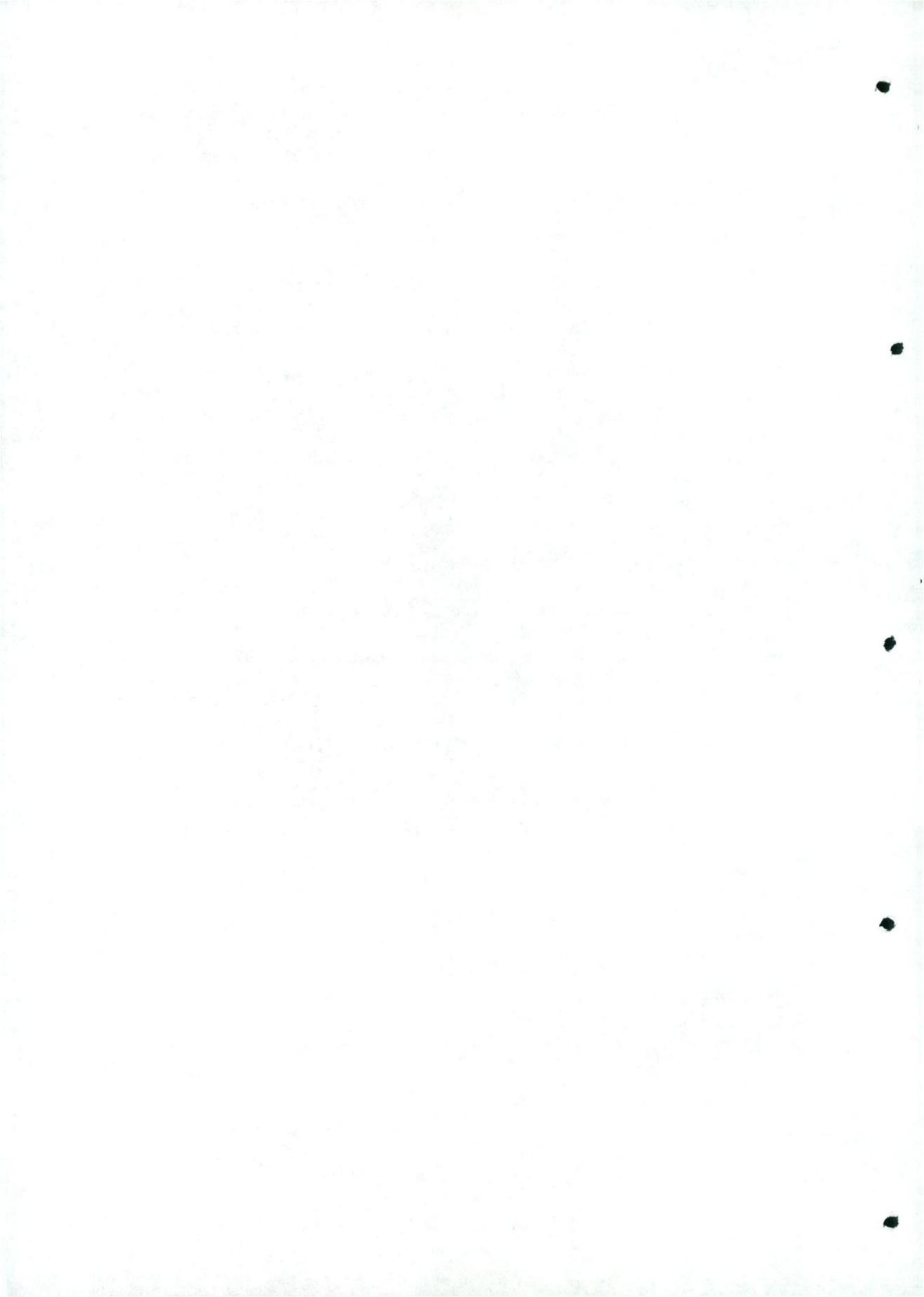
Deprived of a political impetus, the decline of Irish has reached crisis proportions, prompting Reg Hindley to publish an analysis of the state of the Irish language entitled 'The Death Of The Irish Language'. Native speakers are dwindling in number (50,000 at most, fewer than Scottish Gaelic, far fewer than Welsh (500,000 native speakers)).⁶ Hindley cites poverty and deprivation as the first causes of the language's decline, of which almost all other contributory factors are a direct consequence. The emigration of native speakers, continuous over a century in response to the lack of indigenous wealth in traumatic and painful associations, particularly for older generations, who experienced the humiliation of possessing an inadequate standard of English when compelled to leave Ireland in search of work. Tourism increased the spread of alien cultural influences in Gaeltacht areas long before television, and encouraged the acceleration of use of the English language. Though various political and ideological movements worked hard to stem this decline, such as the Gaelic League, which pre-independence had impressive success nationwide, the creation of the state deprived the language of its impetus. No longer necessary politically as a justification of demands for separate statehood, Irish became sidelined. Hindley points to the better circumstances of Welsh to demonstrate the influence of politics. In Wales there is no political identity as a nation state so the impulse to use the language as a key to identification is stronger. He also argues that the gradual erosion of Ireland's insularity, accelerated, as elsewhere, by the development of new channels of communication and by the flood of commodities into the Gaeltacht shattered a society of stable expectations. People

⁶ 43% of the population told the 1996 census takers that they could speak Irish. (The highest percentage of people claiming to speak Irish live in Galway (54.2%) and the lowest in Dublin city (35.1%).) Nevertheless two thirds of these were recorded as never speaking Irish or speaking it less frequently than twice weekly. In the 20-24 year age group 87% never speak Irish or speak it less frequently than twice weekly. (source : The Irish Times)

began to travel more frequently to urban centres in pursuit of such commodities, and even within Gaeltacht areas, towns and villages tend to conduct business through the medium of English. In addition he observes that family space is wider than linguistic space; while families travel to other parts of Ireland, in practice the speaking of the Irish language tends to cease once out of the Gaeltacht area. The strongest concentrations of Irish speakers occur in predominantly rural based economies, which rely on local urban centres rather than other Gaeltacht areas. Finally, Irish is not a working language (though an official language) of the European Community, although it is arguable whether this tepid recognition of Irish is a cause of decline or a consequence (Hindley, p.163-212).

The Irish language - a symbol of difference

Irish, however, continues to be perceived as an element of a separate Irish identity, because it remains a symbol of difference. The existence of the Irish language constitutes one of the widespread accepted (including by the scholars and academics) cultural facts that differentiate Ireland from other countries. Only from such differences can an identity be constructed, because an identity is always constructed in relation to something else. An understanding of oneself and one's position in the world derive from comparisons with what we are not, and where we are not, therefore part of our need for identity is an interest in being differentiated, which applies to individuals as well as to nations. The Irish language serves as a differentiating personal characteristic as well as a national one. It travels with the speaker, as other identifying characteristics, such as landscape, cannot, and is an effective tool of inclusion, as well as of exclusion, generating a sense of continuity and of a shared history. For a woman in Carna to know the names of every local field gives her privileged access to the knowledge of her locality. For any Irish



speaker, in any Irish location similar access is available through the accumulation of knowledge about that specific location, for example, in knowing that a relatively meaningless English translation such as Glenahulla, derives from Gleann na hUlladh, the glen of the mass rock, which has far greater resonance. If the words are lost, the conditions which they express are also altered, allowing the mass rock in this example to be physically as well as linguistically altered, without comment. It is the locus of the power to name oneself and one's condition in a specifically Irish way ; Declan Kiberd refers to 'the exhilaration with which the first persons in Ireland...named their own place, and in that sense, shaped it'(Kiberd, p.119, 1996)

The West Of Ireland

Since the beginning of the Celtic Revival there has been a convergence of aspirations for 'Irishness' along perceptions of the Irish language and the west of Ireland. The image of the west of Ireland continues to have potency as an icon, although some of the characteristics ascribed to it change Both the early nineteenth century and late twentieth century stages of Irish cultural and language movements have been characterised by a collision of aspirations for Irishness with the physical vocabulary of the western seaboard. Nuala C. Johnson has proposed that this region was 'invented', « primarily by an intellegentsia, as a spatial metaphor for Irish nationhood »(Johnson, p.180). Rural, windswept and bleak, it is a physical reminder that Ireland is an island, with all the resonance which this word possesses. There is a strong emotional attachment to this spiritual heartland which the growing incoherence of contemporary society only serves to reinforce. Ironically, it was the advent of contemporary forms of transport which elevated the West to the status of idyll. By the end of the nineteenth century, the seasonal influx of language enthusiasts to sites exalted for their authenticity, their Celticity and their spiritual

purity had begun, similar to attempted escapes from Industrialism by the Pre Raphaelites or the Impressionists. From Yeats and Padraic Pearse to the Waterboys and Macnas thousands have headed west. The west of Ireland continues to be perceived as the part of Ireland least contaminated by outside influences, the last bastion of the sacred, truly Irish identity, the soul of Ireland, beyond material considerations, beyond time, “a reservoir of folklore as well as of language”(Johnson, p.174). It was the closest, post independence, to the exclusively Gaelic Catholic model aspired to by the state.

Dolmens cairns, stone walls, omnipresent on the western landscape, register this vague past, but generally conform to a middle class idealisation of a place (as is the case with Elizabeth Corbet Yeats’ pressmark for the Cuala Press (see plate 12), which locals tended to think of as the end of the world. As Forster pointed out, referring to attitudes at the turn of the century,

“The barefoot children, turf fires and unrelieved diet of the west were romantically approved by the Gaelicist intelligentsia (who felt accordingly let down by the Connacht people’s propensity to emigrate” (Foster, P449, 1988).



Plate 12: Cuala Press logo



Nevertheless, the tendency to equate physical space with a psychological condition is a deeply rooted one, and persists in our time, subscribed to, for example by Padraig Breathnach of the theatre group, Macnas:

“We’re always more close to falling off the cliff, so it creates an insecurity, it lacks stability...it allows you to be more imaginative in the art you make, when you’re a non-rigid, non-conformist structure, and this is a non-rigid climate here” (Fox, 1995)

This perception of the west as a place on the edge, a place where heaven and earth meet, even when expressed so dubiously, is nonetheless highly evocative. People tend to travel to edges in search of spirituality and sanctuary, and to resent any processes which might include these edges in the everyday world from which they seek temporary escape. Exile and purification, exile and return are among the most powerful myths or symbolic images on Earth. In the surrealist world view physical spaces were prioritised according to the degree of irrational, magical and instinctive activity contained in them, and on their map “England does not exist, but Ireland, which they saw as a place of myth, Celtic twilight, and heroic revolution, is huge” (Hughes, p231, 1995). Representations of the setting sun, ubiquitous on TnaG and a metonym which signifies the west and all its attendant myths, is another example of employment of this symbol.

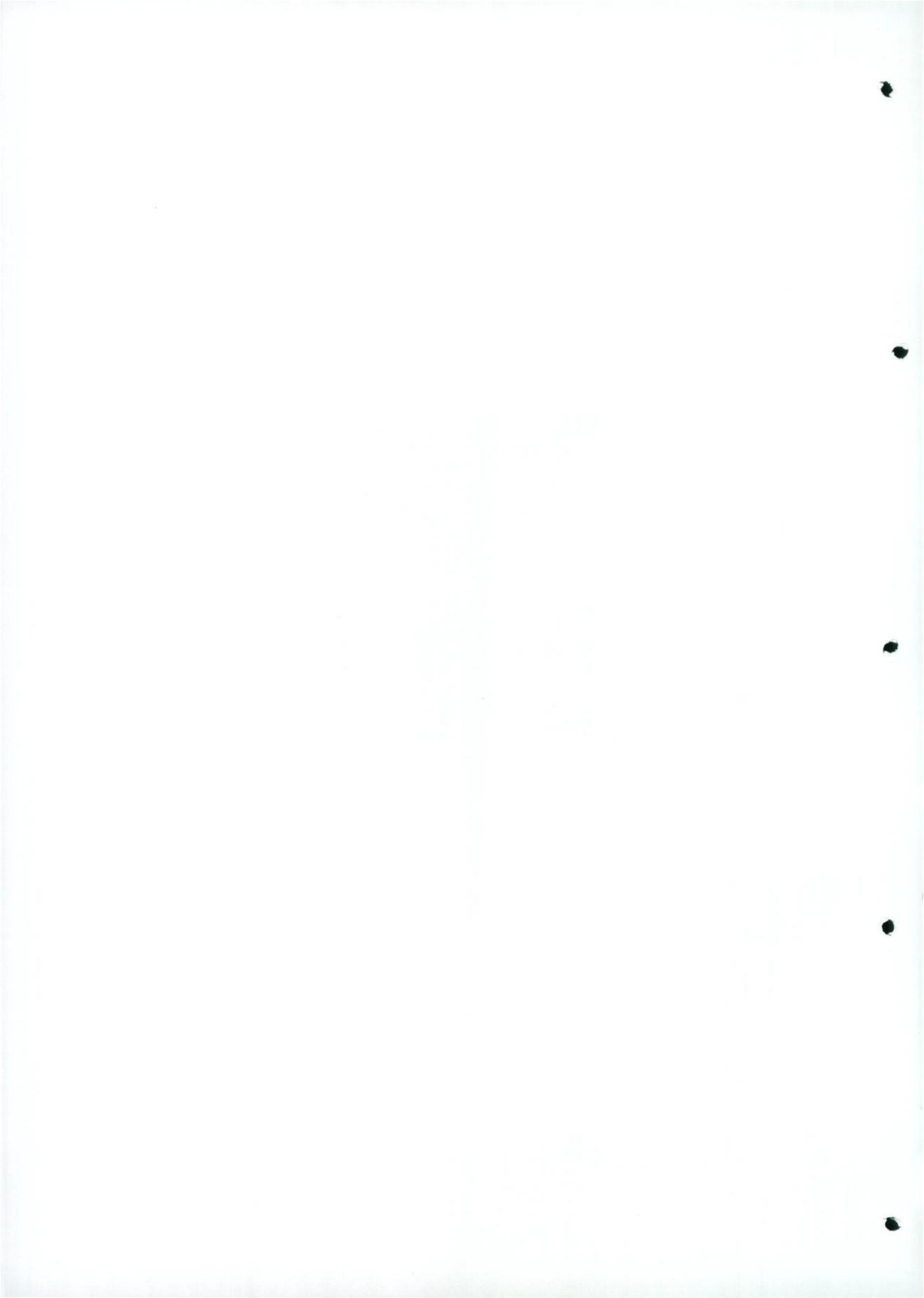
Regarded therefore at the beginning of the century as a model for Gaelic Catholic Ireland and now, with Catholicism somewhat discredited, as a model for Gaelic, secular, individualistic Ireland, the West continues to have extravagant expectations heaped upon it. In a documentary on TnaG about the director John Huston’s relationship with Conamara, his daughter Angelica described how possessive he was about Ireland, “as though he invented the scenery himself”

(“Huston, An tEireannach”, TnaG). Huston was not the only one to do so; the west becomes more and more of a construct as time passes.

TnaG came about within an ideological environment which has been under construction for two hundred years, and is an inevitable part of the evolution of the west/ Irish model of Irishness. For political, social or psychological reasons, the maintaining of a sense of national identity remains an important adjunct to a sense of personal and group identity. Located in the west and broadcast through Irish, the new station is expected to reproduce the a system of signs which previously gave coherence and meaning to the way in which we consider our place in the world, to paraphrase TnaG’s advertising campaign. The following chapters will explore to what extent this is possible, and, where possible, accomplished.



Plate 13: Headquarters of TnaG, Baile na hAbhann



Chapter 2

The Potency of Television

'We also have a television station unlike any other-TnaG' (TnaG's advertising campaign)

The physical location of TnaG

The headquarters of TnaG at Baile na hAbhann in Connemara are a physical symbol of the station's location within the ideological heartland described in Chapter 1. The image of TnaG is expressed succinctly in the design of the building (architect Scott Tallon Walker) in that it combines modern clean lines with a respect for its location. Described by Frank MacDonald as 'a confident, forward looking expression of modern Ireland), it has also received the approval of the Royal Architectural Society, who awarded it a prize in 1996. The principle design problem, according to Eoin O'Morain, one of the architects, was 'to give expression to the highly technological needs of the building while respecting the sensitivity of its location' (Irish Times, 20/2/97). Some of these problems were overcome by using local materials such as pink granite and by laying them in the tradition of a dry stone wall, providing a facade of local references to an interior space which had to first satisfy acoustic and other technological requirements..

TnaG has other problems in relation to the compatibility of technology and place, however, which are more difficult to resolve. The most immediate of these is that new technologies of mass communication, particularly television, undermine discrete spatial categories, and this has had a major impact on the Gaeltacht, where TnaG is located.

The Gaeltacht

The strongest physical manifestation of the efforts to keep the language alive was the setting up of the Gaeltacht. The Gaeltacht was first demarcated spatially in 1926, when the government designated any area with a percentage population of native speakers in excess of 80% as Gaeltacht, which ultimately cohered on the western extremities of four western counties; Kerry, Galway, Mayo and Donegal, as well as in pockets of Waterford and Meath (see Plate 14). It was to be the source from which the Irish language might be nourished and rejuvenated. The official naming of these regions, and the economic rewards advanced purely to reward speakers of the Irish language, were in themselves symptomatic of the very serious decline of , and of the State's ambivalent attitude to, the language. Effectively, a kind of linguistic bantustan was created. In few other states have regional boundaries been set up purely on the basis of language, where the defined regions share with their neighbours tradition, folklore, history, government and society, and where the one feature chosen to differentiate them, language, is claimed as the first language of the entire state.

Geographical fragmentation quickly proved to be not just an inefficient method of buttressing in the language, but that with the influence of new technologies, particularly new methods of communication, geography is no longer an adequate divider. Definitions based on spatial categories no longer obtain. As O'Ciosain points out, the Gaeltacht "is not a place, or not only a place, it is the people, the community of Irish speakers" (Johnson, p.179). Physical boundaries no longer have the capacity to include or exclude groups, whether culturally or socially or linguistically, because of the increased sophistication of mass communication systems. Railway and road networks functioned as a catalyst for the increased tourism and consequent anglicisation (as well as idealisation) of western Gaeltacht areas.

Television-a cause of the decline of the Gaeltacht

Influx of outside cultural influences

Because of the Irish languages tendency to survive best in areas relatively insulated from outside influences, the impact felt by the arrival of television in Ireland in the sixties was predictable. Television swamped Gaeltacht with outside cultural influences to a degree not achieved by earlier technologies. A diversity of cultural influences flooded Irish-speaking areas through the medium of television with greater efficiency and appeal than previous messengers:

“The dominance of Anglo-American English-language television in Gaeltacht homes is unquestionable, including the homes of keen Gaeilgeoiri...Most teachers rank this with returned emigrants as the worst blow to Irish in recent years, but the television is in every home all day”(Hindley, p.183, 1990).

Such daily influence militated against all the efforts of language enthusiasts to imbue the language with corollary appeal, such as privileged access to an ancient ancestry, and participation in a unique society. Access to the English speaking world, with its superior human and physical resources, was much more seductive and frequently a passport out of poverty. The alliance of the language of television with the English language offered an unbeatable range and quality of human and technical resources in the dominant language. English was prioritised by television, and advanced as possibly the most important global language. Already accepted in the Gaeltacht as the language of commerce and industry English became additionally the language of the mass media, thereby accentuating the necessity and the desire to acquire fluency in it.

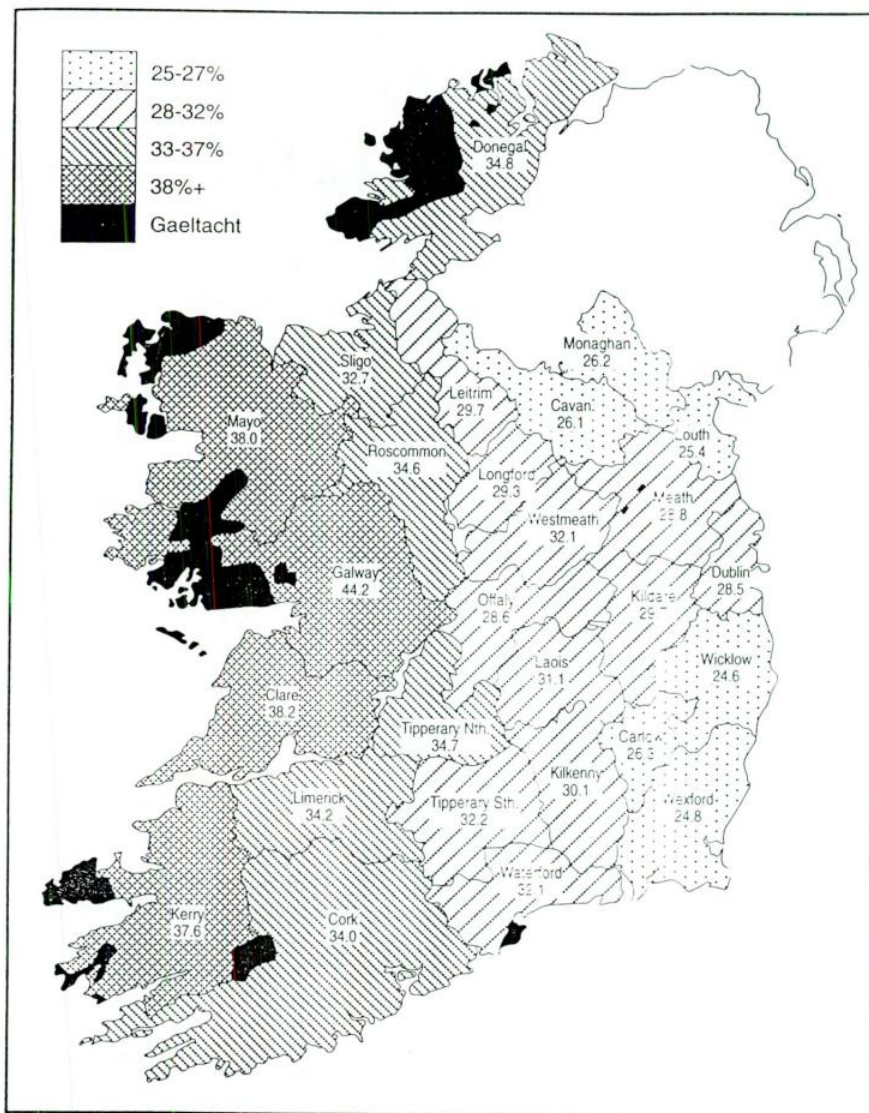


Plate 14 : Percentage of Irish speakers in 1981 and location of the Gaeltachts

Television undermines space

The content of television is diffused throughout the state, regardless of physical terrain, and even the most remote regions are drawn within its sphere of influence. The old dependency on and confinement to a physical locale, already reduced by increasingly sophisticated road air and rail networks, have also been diluted by the

immediacy and frequency of representations of place via television in domestic environments. Viewers, whether in Carraroe or London can position themselves within the world of apartment dwellers in New York or backpackers in Tibet through television, simultaneously sharing common cultural experiences and creating strong identifications with the mythologies of places outside their own locale. Physical location is thus challenged by television as a reference point; it mediates our experience of reality and moulds it in a way previously the preserve of landscape. An understanding of and reliance on place available to Thomas Hardy's 19th century readers, for example, enabled him to describe the human condition in the language of landscape- Tess in *Tess Of The d'Urbervilles* lost her sense of identity when she began travelling without constant reference to her own place (cited in Barrell, p.347, 1982). The west of Ireland in a similar way was crucial to a sense of identity to those who lived there, as expressed, for example by Mairtin O Cadhain. On a documentary on TnaG he described his family's life by reconstructing through language every stone of the now ruined home of his people and of the surrounding fields. While Padraig Breathnach of Macnas (see chapter 1) still attempts to equate psychological and physical space he does so in a landscape which has been emptied of ordinary lived experience and replaced with culture industries (such as Robert O'Gorman's film studios, souvenir factories and even TnaG itself.) The connection with place grows increasingly tenuous because of television and boundaries increasingly occur only on the limits of communication technologies and their use.

The bardic function of television

Within these new extended boundaries spaces become more mythological than physical. John Fiske and John Hartley have described this process through their claims for the existence of a bardic rôle for television. They identified this rôle in

television's way of reinforcing dominant value systems. In its capacity to mediate these values and re-present them they saw a marked similarity to older bardic traditions. One way in which they are similar is that their voice is not that of an individual specialist or 'author' (as literate societies have tended to promote), but that of mediator to the shared pro-occupations and values of the society in which they are located. In old Irish folklore, for example, the themes of exile and return reoccurred frequently through stories such as '*Tir na nOg*', '*The Children of Lir*' and '*The Tain*', which were able to symbolically address such complex and universal concerns. Equally television distills and re-presents society's interests in a pervasive way, not through the voices of specialists but through a medium where their influence, because latent rather than manifest⁷ is more potent.

For these reasons the Gaeltacht as a discrete physical entity has been greatly undermined by television.⁸As a force against the physical integrity of the space in which it was thought the Irish language might be contained and, more to the point, the English language kept out, as a disseminator of a more numerous cultural collection than anything a small population could hope to emulate, television has therefore had profoundly negative consequences for Irish.

The homogenising tendencies of television

The homogenising tendencies of television further negate arguments in favour of minority languages such as Irish. Television implicates the Irish language community in the lives of the global community. It offers plentiful-and frequently overwhelming-opportunities to assimilate the systems of other cultures, which are

⁷ In chapter 3 the distinction Fiske and Hartley make between latent and manifest content is elaborated upon.

⁸ There have been many contemporary attempts to bolster the language, including the setting up of Udaras Na Gaeltachta, the state's educational policy of imposing compulsory Irish at primary and secondary level grants to Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas⁸, the setting up of Gaelscoileanna in the Gaeltacht.

impelled into the homogenising world of television and into comparisons with each other. Marshall McLuhan described television as a “cool participant medium” (McLuhan, p.311, 1964). By this he means that television demands involvement in the process of representation because its images are incomplete, unlike film, for example, in which meanings are more fixed, less open to a range of interpretations. Part of the reason for this is that television images have poor definition in comparison to either film or photographs, which McLuhan consequently describes as hot media. The printed word, by his definition, is a particularly hot medium because it « extends one single sense in ‘high definition »(McLuhan, p.22, 1964), thereby filling in with data and, therefore denying, a greater amount of opportunities for alternative readings. As a cool medium television gave Gaeltacht inhabitants the opportunity to actively participate in previously alien cultures within their own homes. The Gaeltacht corral became ineffective.

Television - imperative to the survival of Irish

The potency of television, which so damaged the language, now also make it imperative to the survival of the Irish language. Its centrality in our experience of, and understanding of contemporary society accord it the potential, when it is harnessed to the language movement to arrest the languages decline. In fact, without an alliance with television, many would argue that there is no future for Irish.

Few cultural forms can now survive without the complicity of television- consequently most western cultural forms- from the “highest” to the “lowest”, are available through tv. The majority even experience traditional Irish culture through tv. Sharon Shannon, for example, did not win unprecedented popular interest for trad. music by playing sessions in Winckles in Kinvarra, but by being selected for a tribute programme on The Late Late. Not having a platform on such an important

social phenomenon amounts to allowing other political interests and groups to exclude the Irish language, and arguments in defence of its survival, completely. The language cannot have claims to contemporary relevance made for it without the forum of a medium. Audrey Ni Fhearghail, an actress on Ros na Run, acts in Irish because she loves the medium. She feels that the station both validates Irish and the work being done for years by actors in the language, who find an alternative forum for their work on TnaG, which in addition is more accessible than theatre.

The Bardic function on TnaG

As Farrell Corcoran, chairperson of the RTE Authority observes :

'To deprive the Irish-speaking community of what is available to the majority language users-the means of public debate and entertainment in their own language-is to deny its very existence, since television is the most powerful medium for producing people's sense of who they are and who others are across many dimensions of every day life'. (Irish Times, 24/11/98)

Producing people's sense of who they are and who others are is part of the bardic function of television, which through TnaG may have a positive effect on the Irish language and the Irish speaking community. As 'a mediator of language' (Fiske & Hartley, p.86) television may bridge the apparently irreconcilable opposites of traditional, pre-literate modes of representation and contemporary, homogenising media. One important way in which this mediator functions is to confirm the importance of the Irish language, to reassure Irish speakers of their place in Irish society and to justify them by placing them centrally in Irish society. The bardic capacity for myth-making and myth-altering may also be crucial to Irish, by reworking the myth of Irish as a traditional and obsolete method of communication



Plate 15: The Dun Emer Press logo

Plate 16: Character from *Ros na Run*



as the myth of a language which can express a thriving and vibrant community. As Hindley observes :

“ Illusions did more than material calculations to create an independent Ireland : but in this present matter the struggle for the language is not with the distant British but internal to the Irish people themselves, who live with the day to day reality of an English speaking country and enjoy the ideals and illusions only on grand occasions when symbols and tokens of nationhood are appropriately displayed, the more grandly because of their unfamiliarity and irrelevance in everyday life. ” (Hindley, p.178, 1990)

Television has the capacity to create new myths, and in addition it “constantly tests the myths against reality and thus shows when their explanatory power has decreased and the need for change becomes more pressing”(Fiske, Hartley, p43, 1978) TnaG has already begun to illustrate the dynamism of myths. It’s representations of women are significantly different to the vision of new Ireland personified by Cathleen Ni Houlichain or in the Dun Emer Press logo by Cuchulainn’s wife, Emer, for example. Renowned for her ‘beauty, her wit and her skill in needlework and the domestic arts’, wearing a white gown and located in the western landscape, Emer used to be a model of the virtuous Irish woman. On TnaG she is more likely to be represented as a libertarian, dark, with brilliant orange hair, wearing devore velvet and situated in a radio station (see plates 15 & 16). Such an image carries a range of cultural meanings, referring to bohemianism, sensuality, unconventionality, youth and feminism, rather than purity and domesticity. A radically different icon of the west is thus created.

To a certain extent the differentiating fact on which to build an identity does not need to be real ; it can be imaginary (e.g.the myth of a thriving Irish-speaking community). What is important is that those claims to be different are considered to

have legitimacy by the 'insiders', and eventually by the 'outsiders', thus usually implying that the groups claim has been recognised by the wider world and succeeded. The very existence of an Irish language television station in the Gaeltacht, which is available to all the people of Ireland confers legitimacy. Although there have been programmes broadcast in Irish previously on RTE, TnaG, by virtue of its being a separate station becomes a physical symbol of the Irish language. Its physical separateness, and its location in the Gaeltacht, opposite to Dublin, the centre of bureaucratic, economic and political activity, confers on TnaG a symbolism which justifies and exalts the language and its speakers.

Television-an oral medium

Because television is an oral rather than a literate medium, it has potential to regenerate the Irish language which was not possessed by media available to earlier campaigners. The medium will influence the language, its identity and the identity of Irish speakers in a way very different to, say, the publications of the Gaelic League or the radio broadcasts of Douglas Hyde. Written Irish has had the effect, while necessary to the recording of the language and to learners of the language, of exposing its highly complex structure. This is largely due to its grammatical gendering. As Malachy O'Rourke argues :

'Instead of learning one noun with two forms, singular and plural, the learner has to master a myriad of forms, in some cases as many as eight. He ends up not knowing what is the basic form of the word. It's almost a recipe for illiteracy.' (Irish Times, September 26, 1998)

Television may be more empathetic to a pre-literacy language such as Irish by giving it a forum where it can develop orally rather than via the printed word. Again to quote Malachy O'Rourke,

'practically none of the native speakers at the end of the nineteenth century was capable of writing the language. This had two unfortunate consequences : the written standards were set by those who were themselves learners, and the inherent quality of the spoken language itself was deteriorating' (Irish Times, September 26, 1998)

TnaG provides an opportunity to learn Irish orally. Its confident expression on TnaG may generate a confidence in speaking it in the wider world (although the need to standardise identified by O'Rourke won't go away.). Although it undermines physicality, it can also be a linguistic link between the geographically separate Gaeltacht regions and all Irish speakers.

TnaG gives the Irish language a visual identity

TnaG also offers the best opportunity the Irish language has had so far to have a visual identity, which has been recognised as a key element to language survival since the foundation of the State. 'A basic element of the language policy was the need to confront the citizens with the visual presence of the language' (Kennedy, p. 139, 1994) . Up to now this has been provided through the display of street names in Irish (the Irish Placenames Commission was founded for this purpose in 1946) state titles, such as an Taoiseach, and RTE's schedule of Irish language programmes. Previously the Irish language had also had its own distinctive typeface, the Clo Gaelach (specific Irish type), but this had to be jettisoned in favour of legibility. Now a visual representation of the Irish language can be experienced even in homes where no Irish speakers reside.

Politically, the need for coherence and for continued loyalty to particular concerns is far too strong to be allowed to disintegrate by television's homogenising tendencies. As early in television's history as Charles De Gaulle, leaders have been

mobilising a commitment to identity *through* television (Smith, p.42, 1998). As Ireland's participation in EMU become a practical reality, TnaG becomes an opportunity to foster a sense of difference which becomes more difficult in an increasingly homogenous society.

Before mass communication the Gaeltacht's insularity and poverty preserved intact ways of life which changed very little over generations. Because of this an ancient language was able to survive and develop to express the lives of its speakers. Television has altered the landscape and the language dramatically. TnaG was given part of the responsibility of reviving Irish when all the conditions within which its survival was possible have changed. Characteristics of television as a medium, such as its ability to transmit almost unlimited cultural influences and its tendency to draw its audiences into a socio-central position, place minority groups further on the periphery. However its own centrality to contemporary society and to society's ways of thinking and seeing mean that Irish needs it. It can affirm the importance of the language and its speakers. Broadcast through Irish it is ' a television station unlike any other' as its publicity claims. To what extent it is unlike any other in terms of content will be discussed in Chapter 3.

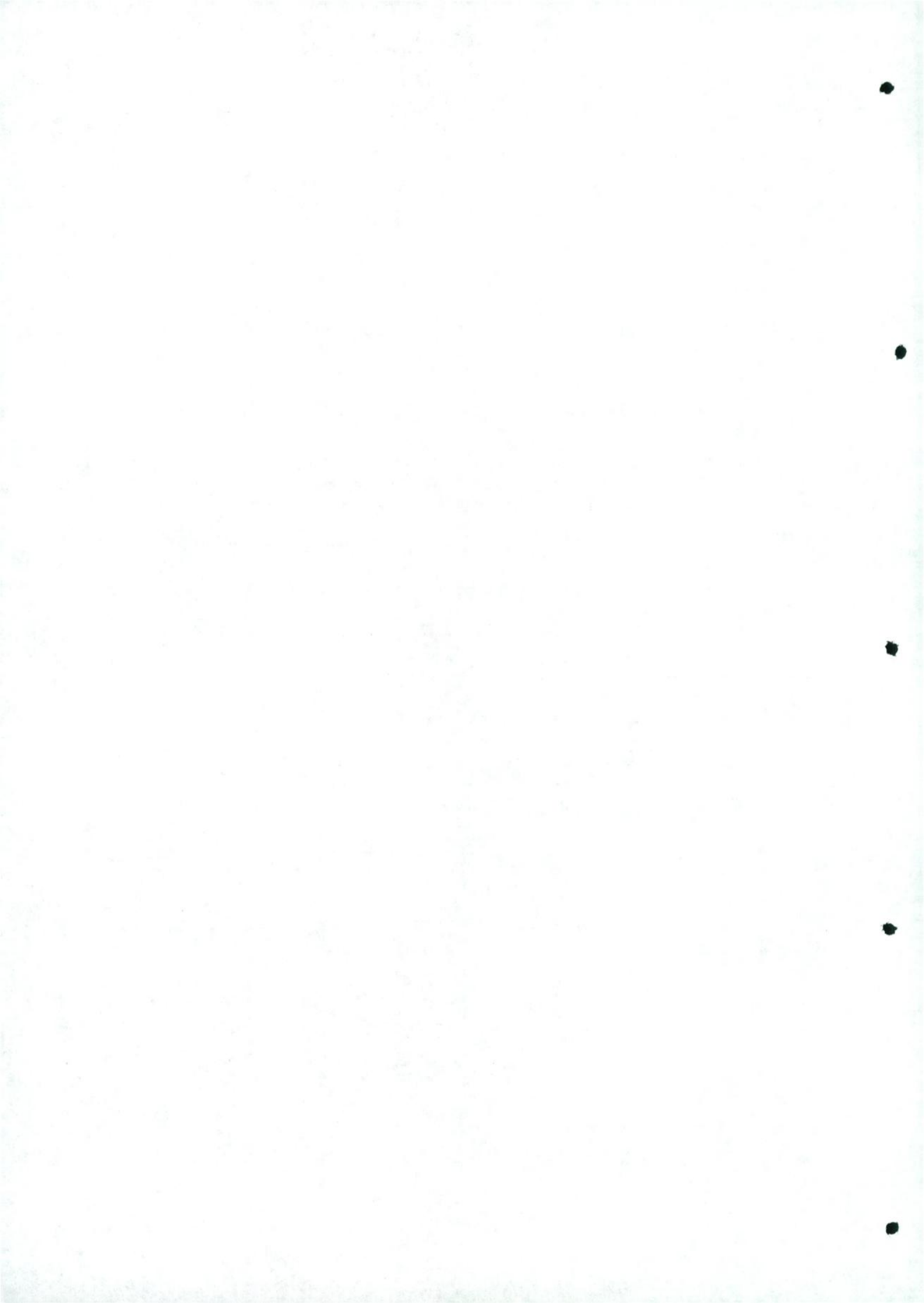
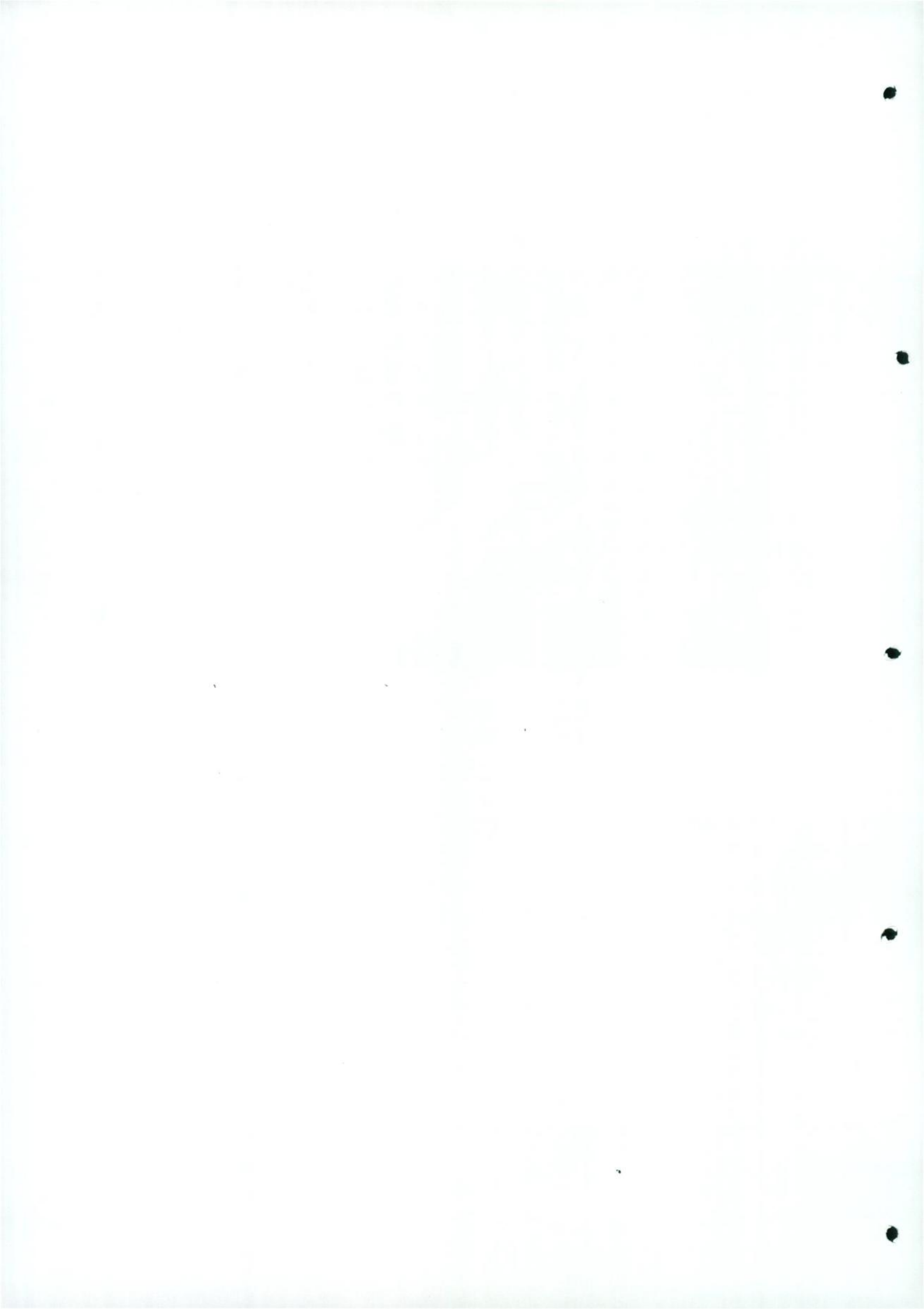




Plate 17 : Composite of video footage of day's weather outside TnaG's headquarters



Chapter 3

‘Súil Eile’

On the outside of TnaG’s headquarters at Baile na hAbhann a camera points to the sky, all day recording the changing weather. Each evening, as an introduction to the weather forecast a speeded up composite of this visual information is broadcast, which shows us what the staff of TnaG see above them. This is a fine counterpoint to the preceding news, in which we see them. It is also an example of how TnaG’s unique perspective, and that of its audience are interdependent.

Again and again in TnaG’s promotional literature its claim to offer a ‘suil eile’ is stressed. ‘*Súil Eile*’, the slogan of the Irish language version of the advertising campaign, means literally ‘another eye’: an alternative way of seeing. It can also refer a sense of optimism and of promise, as ‘súil’ also means ‘hope’. “In sport TnaG delivers on the station motto”, it claims, “with its coverage, at both event and features output, of sport that is not otherwise available on other channels.” These include GAA County Finals, Schools Rugby, Show-jumping, swimming and Junior club soccer, as well as Spanish and Scottish Premier League football coverage. The assertion is repeated in relation to its newsroom output, which though sourced through RTE, is edited and presented from Baile na hAbhann. Cathal Goan, the station’s director, says

“Nuacht TnaG was established as a separate entity to utilise RTE’s expertise in newsgathering at a national and international level but also to develop a service with a different editorial emphasis which reflects TnaG’s ethos of ‘súil eile’”

The news staff attempt to provide an alternative perspective, including, for example, references to traditional feast days such as La le Bride in their presentation. They also provide a wider range of non- Dublin news than RTE.

Cead Céadaoin, presented by Alan Dukes and Maire Geoghegan Quinn demonstrates also TnaG's commitment to presenting an alternative analysis of current affairs, and also their ability to source specialists on a variety of topics who can speak Irish. (see Plate 18)



Plate 18: The current affairs programme, *Cead Ceadaoin*

Again the 'súil eile' motto is referred to in relation to *Culabula*, the daily wrap around show for the childrens programme presented by *Hiudai*, a cartoon character. Here it is justified by "offering younger viewers a chance to see programming from other European countries, such as 'Kuigear Kangaru' (France) and 'Benjamin' (Germany)"

The policy is also seen to be guiding other aspects of programming. A brief was distributed to art and multi-media third level course recently which looked for 'new and innovative programmes about the arts in Ireland. The brief was as follows :

'The television programmes will take an innovative look at both contemporary and traditional arts in Ireland, especially in the areas of the arts that are normally overlooked by television, e.g. mime, traditional step-dancing, choreography, street theatre, mumming, puppetry, the visual and plastic arts.



They should be an intimate and insider view of the making of art, an active engagement of art in process, (as opposed to a hands-off look at work that is already established or finished) and presented in a way that is accessible to the viewer, using the mass medium of television.'

All these examples demonstrate a real commitment to offering an alternative selection of representations to the people of Ireland, and thereby articulating a strong and progressive identity for Irish. However there are many serious constraints on the construction of identity on TnaG, from the point of view of programming, which I shall attempt to outline in this chapter.



Plate 19 : *Ros na Run*'s logo

'*Ros Na Run*'-scenes from the life of the Gaeltacht

'*Ros Na Run*', the station's nightly soap opera is in many ways TnaG's flagship programme. It is the largest single commission ever given in Ireland for an independent television production. Already familiar to some through its broadcasting on RTE in 1992/1993 as a six-episode pilot, it provided TnaG with an anchor to its schedule and functions, in terms of cultural references, as an introduction to the station, as for example Fair City is identified with Network Two and Brookside with Channel Four.



Public identification with it is crucial to its own success and to the stations success. Its subject matter is daily life in a Gaeltacht community on the western seaboard, as lived by representatives of a wide variety of age-groups. Related events have included conflict over property, the internal politics of the local radio station, attempts to maintain secrecy regarding past, (usually sexual) exploits, ensuing blackmail and difficulties within relationships. The stories evolve on a purpose-built set in Spiddal, Conamara, comprised of a local cafe, private sitting rooms, the offices of the local radio station, apartment rooms and a pub. The stories are simultaneous and so far rarely interconnected. They generally occur within families, which is typical of the genre; as Luke Gibbons points out, "the family (rather than, for example the individual) is the centre of dramatic action in the television serial"(Gibbons, p.11, 1990). Characters include journalists, media personnel, shop assistants, a cafe owner, waiters, students and teacher. The events, settings and character types all fall within the conventions of soap opera, particularly those forms of the genre which are broadcast at peak viewing time.

Technical Constraints

A fictional space in the real geographical region of Conamara, "*Ros Na Run*" is situated in one of the most loaded locations in Ireland (see chapter 1). However, although the soap-opera attempts to signify lyrical beauty through a slow motion sequence of the Connemara landscape at the beginning of each episode, few of the myths of the west are incorporated. Occasionally a story will occur on the strand, centred around boat building or fishing, but there are no panoramic shots of a transcendental seascape and generally action takes place on the set or in actual



houses in Spiddal.⁹ A recent episode of *Ros na Run* commenced with a shot of two characters looking out to sea, the older one describing the view to the younger one, as might be expected. However, the objective was not an exercise in aesthetic appreciation, but to extract from the younger man the highest possible price for the land on which they stood. The representation of families on "*Ros Na Run*" tend also to deviate from the 'Holy Family' type visual representation of Irish families i.e., mother, father and their children, prevalent since artists such as Sean Keating.

These omissions may be part of strategies which are revitalising and challenging to preconceptions about the Gaeltacht, but they are primarily the result of the very distinct limitations of the medium of television. Images on television have poor definition in comparison to those presented through cinema or photography, are contained within a relatively small surface area and transmitted at a fast pace. Programme makers tend to confine shots to close ups and mid-shots because of this. This has interesting ramifications for *TnaG*, because even if programme makers wish to, representing the landscape which is so closely associated with the Irish language, (e.g ., the Blasket islands of Peig Sayers, the Connemara of Mairtin O Cadhain) is difficult. Transcendental images of Leenane in a serene morning light as achieved by Paul Henry, for example, are not easy to represent on such a reduced scale, in a form not sympathetic to the required stillness and in a position level with the viewer or below, rather than at a lofty height on a gallery wall. Financial limitations particular to *TnaG* also seriously constrain the amount of time available for shooting, and therefore off-set filming, including, of course, the wide open spaces which are associated with the Gaeltacht. In addition there are difficulties within the genre of soap opera as a whole regarding moving from the local and the familiar. Attempts to

⁹ A rare example of correspondence with audience expectations is the setting of the old fisherman, Seamus' house ; the original scriptwriter, Antoin O Flaithearta, had wanted him to live in a thatched cottage of Paul Henry landscapes (interview with Charles McCarthy).



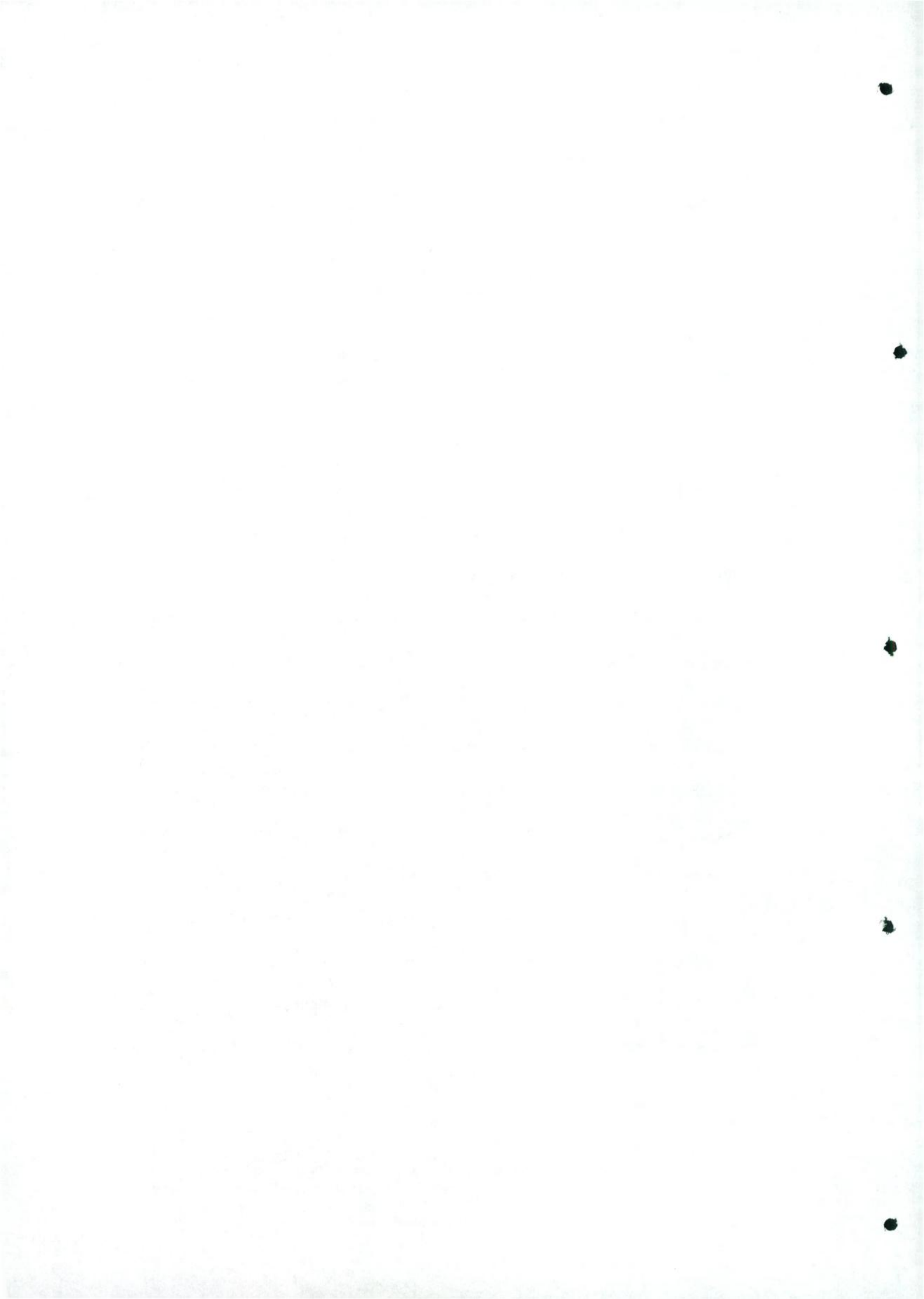
Plate 20

represent another aspect of western identity, that of America being the next parish, failed because the structure of soap opera, almost invariably an enclosed claustrophobic space, couldn't contain realistically a situation so far physically and culturally outside its own limitations. Consequently *Ros na Run*, as a form of soap, cannot contain some of the primary representations of the west of Ireland, particularly those inscribed on the landscape. Similar examples of technical restraints on representation, where exploitation of the iconography of the western landscape might be expected, occur on news and other factual accounts of the west of Ireland.

Language Constraints

The content of TnaG is also affected by the variation in the level of its audiences grasp of the language. A very simplified version of the language occurs on many of TnaG's programmes and frequently a very debased one. ('Ma dheanann se happy tu' was a line recently in the script of *Ros na Run*.¹⁰). More frequent examples of poor quality Irish are available on Pop TV, a popular music programme which is so similar in format to most English language versions of the genre that the standard of Irish is not really excusable, especially given the high standard of programmes for younger viewers, such as Art O'Ruairc and Hiudai. *Ros na Run*, on the other hand, manages the variation of standards of Irish of its actors well, and occasionally creatively; much of the plot's meaning occurs in the silences between phrases. Macdara O'Flatharta's character is a good example of this- he manages to represent evil incarnate through pauses between economical sentences, and without scarcely moving from behind the bar (see plate 20). Conversely, the soap is also a showcase

¹⁰ This is a literal translation from the English of 'If it makes you happy'. A more pure expression of this statement would have been 'ma cuireann se athas ort', which in English would literally mean 'If it puts happiness on you'. This version expresses a consciousness that emotions occur transiently, and are not are a an inherent condition, which the English implies.



for the beautiful, and arguably endangered Irish of older and native speakers. In this way it is representative of the range of standard of spoken Irish in Gaeltacht areas.

The fact that Irish is spoken by a minority accord it an exclusivity as a code shared only by privileged participants, i.e., those with a degree of fluency in Irish. Irish language dramatists have frequently found that they had more freedom to articulate contentious issues through the medium of Irish than through English.¹¹ The scriptwriters *Ros na Run* exploit the language's exclusivity, sometimes audaciously, for example in a story in which the old and unsuspecting Coilin brings back 'herbal tobacco' from Ibiza, to the delight of his younger neighbours. While the dialogue clearly explains that the stuff which is making Coilin so chilled out is marijuana, the fact of it being a vice of the more respectable citizens of *Ros na Run* is elided in the English subtitles. In Irish the manager of the radio station says he smoked it occasionally-the subtitle for this reads "Other people did". Perhaps also because because of this codified quality of Irish, *Ros na Run*'s scriptwriters have felt able to represent suicide, domestic violence, affairs and gay relationships, the latter to a degree not risked by other Irish soaps (see plate 21).¹²



Plate 21 : Characters from TnaG

¹¹ Examples include 'An Triail', a play which dealt with the issues of pregnancy and suicide, and 'Bullai', which dealt with rape 'When asked if it were possible to go further in dealing with difficult issues in Irish than in English, Brian MacLochlainn, who directed...An Bullai...said on réflexion that perhaps it was.' (Sheehan, 1987, p.108)

¹² The relationship between Jack and Tom has been explored in detail on the soap, including shots of them embracing and kissing (the first such shots on an Irish television drama), as well as the attitudes of locals, via them, to issues such as AIDS.



TnaG's visual identity

For reasons also related to the weakness of the language, much of TnaG's schedule is predominantly visual; in fact, the highly visual character of TnaG strikes even the most casual observers. Sets and costumes on TnaG tend to be extremely colourful. There is a consciousness of colour itself expressed in the script, the more staid characters are frequently lampooned indirectly for the dullness of their dress. Sets on *Ros na Run* and other shows share this exuberance of colour providing a visually engaging environment which compensates for difficulties of comprehension. This is especially the case on chat shows where the level of Irish tends to be more difficult. While this may not be part of a deliberate policy, the prevalence of such colour would at least suggest a consciousness of its expressive and engaging qualities among the companies who produce programmes for TnaG.

Cartoons and sport programmes inherently possess the merit of being predominantly visual, and operating within internationally recognisable formats, which may in part explain why these genres occupy the lion's share of TnaG's Irish language broadcasting. Surely the main reason for the strong emphasis on TnaG on children's programmes, however, is that the future of the Irish language is dependent on its being spoken by children, *Hiudai*, *Cula Bula*, and *Art O'Ruairc*, for example, are considerably popular among schoolchildren, particularly in Gaelscoileanna, and are highly competent examples of the genre. TnaG has set up several links with schools; children are brought in to the set of *Ros na Run* and TnaG's studios. There are many devices for including children in the schedule, for example, "*Breithla na Miosa*". RTE commissions some childrens programmes for TnaG and some programmes are also acquired from Cannes. There are links with community art programmes in Galway and links also with Macnas. Interactive game programmes

meet children's love of computer games and provide entertaining opportunities for children to speak Irish and in very contemporary situations.

There is also a stress on aural content, for example programmes incorporating traditional and other kinds of music, which is also partly attributable to the weakness of the language. In addition programmes tend to be brief, reflecting audiences limited attention span where comprehension is problematised. (Documentaries on Mairtin O Cadhain and John Huston are exceptions, but these documentaries are also older, bought by TnaG from RTE)

Subtitles

Subtitles are employed on many Irish language programmes, and available for most on teletext, but as Irish audiences tend not to like subtitles their usefulness is limited. TnaG is also limited in the kinds of material it can buy in from other countries by the need to either dub them or subtitle them. Irish audiences, unused to viewing material which has been dubbed tend to respond negatively to it. This contrasts with the continent where people are used to multi-lingual environments. In Nordic countries programmes are dubbed for younger, but not for older audiences. Programmes are regularly dubbed in Germany, Spain and France, where language policies tend to be more isolationist. As Farrell Corcoran observes,

« A major challenge for TnaG is to overcome the deep-rooted dislike of subtitles in Ireland, which differentiates us from other North Europeans and limits our taste for televisual diversity. This would allow more people in the Anglophone majority here, even those who have no interest in learning Irish, to see why TnaG's programmes are critically acclaimed. » (Irish Times 24/11/98)



The language and technical constraints on TnaG demonstrate that it cannot be purely 'a new voice for the people of Ireland' as its marketing department claims. Its capacity to either reinforce or reject myths of the Gaeltacht or of Irishness is greatly influenced by them. However this is not to say that TnaG can't be a 'suil eile', just that it must function through the mediation of two languages : the ancient language of Irish and the contemporary language of television.

Folklore and the past

A further example of the tension between TnaG's agenda and its constraints is provided through its treatment of its cultural inheritance. Part of the cultural consensus on Gaeltacht areas is the assumption that there is a rich folkloric tradition there. TnaG refers to Gaeltacht folklore and other traditional Irish folklore, but usually with a consciousness of updating them. "*An Sceach Geal*" ("The Curse Of The Hawthorn"), for example, had a contemporary story of marital abuse incorporated. The Tradition of matchmaking has been cleverly exploited in a Blind Date type of programme, in which a parent , rather than the couple themselves choose the suitable partner. This can be entertaining, or cringe-inducing, depending on the wit and fluency of the parent and of the applicants for the affection of her offspring. Sets on TnaG tend to refer more frequently to the past, for example, on Geantraí, the set is constructed of dyed, irregular pieces of wood, which are reminiscent of past ramshackle interiors.

Generally speaking TnaG avoids being associated too strongly with the tradition of storytelling in the Gaeltacht, even on soaps such as Ros na Run, which is itself a form of storytelling. The literature produced in Irish, though at its best a powerful testimony to life in Irish speaking communities, also has ambiguous and somewhat negative associations for the wider public due to the force feeding of

« Peig » and « An tOileanach » to secondary school students who have no context in which to understand them. There have been instances on Ros na Run of exploiting the humour potential of the constant association, both within and without the Irish education system, of the west with « folk » and « folklore »¹³

Socio-centrality

Although in terms of commitment to tradition TnaG differs in many ways to that of earlier Celtic and language revivals, in one important respect it bears similarity to them. There is a middle class bias on many of TnaG's programmes, which compares with the middle class character of earlier attempts to promote the Irish language. According to Paul Moran of Media works (interviewed on Cead Cainte), TnaG's audience so far is predominantly third level educated, with children and two car households. This supports Hindley's observation that 'the identification of nation and language is greatest among professionals and intellectuals in anglicised urban Ireland' (Hindley, p.164, 1990).

TnaG cannot be accused deliberate partiality to middle class values, but it is a characteristic of the bardic function of television that it transmits a 'predominance of messages which propagate and re-present the dominant class ideology' (Fiske and Hartley, p.89, 1978). This is another instance of TnaG's meanings being confined by its medium. In order to see this tendency it is necessary, as Fiske and Hartley argue to read television in terms of its latent content as well as its manifest content (Fiske and Hartley, p.21). Such a reading reveals the socio-central character of television in general as well as TnaG in particular. Tna G doesn't represent the world within

¹³ On one episode a nice send-up of the assumption that older people in the Gaeltacht have storytelling in their genetic makeup occurred. Maggie in response to her granddaughter's request for a personal « sean sceal » for her school project, frantically searches for an appropriate tale in her limited collection of books. Having learned it by heart, she recites it into her granddaughters dictaphone. Subsequently the girl realises that the dictaphone has failed to record the story, and she asks Maggie to retell it. Of course the old woman has already forgotten it, and is caught- technology by default exposing the myth of the west.

which the Irish speaking community lives precisely; for example, doctors in University College hospital, Galway, do not speak to their patients in Irish as a matter of course, as could be inferred from watching some episodes of *Ros na Run*, Mary Black doesn't sing in small Irish pubs in Conamara, and the Gaeltacht community isn't predominantly young and hip, as music programmes such as *Geantraí* and *Sibín* (a show which uses the conventions of an Irish pub to generate realism) might suggest. As Gerbner points out, 'to be true to life' in fiction would falsify the deeper truth of cultural and social values served by symbolic functions' (p.23). These represent social values, not 'objective social reality'. The over representation of particular occupations on *TnaG* is illuminating in this respect, in relation to a consciousness of possessing a predominantly middle class audience. For example, there is a preponderance of culture and service related jobs represented on *Ros na Run*, but at the level of ownership or management. Again this refers to the increasingly constructed nature of the west, described earlier. The few unskilled occupations represented apply to young students, and there is only one farmer, whose devotion to money making schemes outside his farm only serve to confirm the bias. There are, again to quote Fiske, "only limited and often over-mediated references to the ideologies, beliefs, habits of thought and definitions of the situation which obtain in groups which are for one reason or another peripheral."(Fiske and Hartley, p.87, 1978), although some story lines on *Ros na Run*, previously referred to, are important exceptions.

Style above substance

Frequently on *TnaG* the preoccupation with representing the dominant class ideology manifests itself in a tendency to favour a well-heeled but self-consciously cultured style above a closer interrogation of the subject under discussion or the



theme being represented. On an episode of *Seo Bothair*, for example, the elements of a commentary on Irish culture, e.g. traditional music, an interview with a poet were present, but the traditional music sounded sanitised (it was a rendition of the *Bord na Mona* theme tune) and the conversation self referencing. The poet Gabriel Fitzmaurice celebrated the invariable presence of 3 or 4 people who can sing in any Irish pub at 10 o'clock at night, the implication being that the Irish are innately cultured, musical, literary. Other clichés rehearsed on this programme included “short story writing is a skill, poetry an impulse”, “there is a particular reverence for literature in Munster” and “abstraction doesn't fit poetry” (*Seo Bothair*, 20/6/98).



Plate 22 : Radio Station, *Ros na Run* Plate 23 : Cafe, *Ros na Run*

A *Cead Cainte* programme Wed. 17th June, 1998, assessing the performance of *Tna G* was equally lacking in substance and equally devoted to style, the camera focussing, for example, on pouring an exotic brew from a Bodum tea vessel, rather than on the analysis of the station by the Galway city couple being interviewed. The producers seemed more concerned to show that the Irish speaking community are beyond your average teapot than to evaluate this very significant topic. Great stress was also placed on the image of the couple themselves and their surroundings, which activated the myth of Galway. This myth was succinctly expressed recently by the Texan singer, Steve Earle :



‘Galway is my kind of town. Every restaurant has a cappucino machine, the streets are full of buskers, and all the dogs wear bandanas.’ (Steve Earle, Irish Times, Friday,)

On *Cead Cainte* this myth was validated by the realism of filming and by the extent to which it meets our expectations of Galway to be young, articulate and trendy. It also relates to our cultural values, the way we value efficiency, success, education and confidence. As such the primary effect of the programme was to locate TnaG firmly within an aspirational middle-class environment.

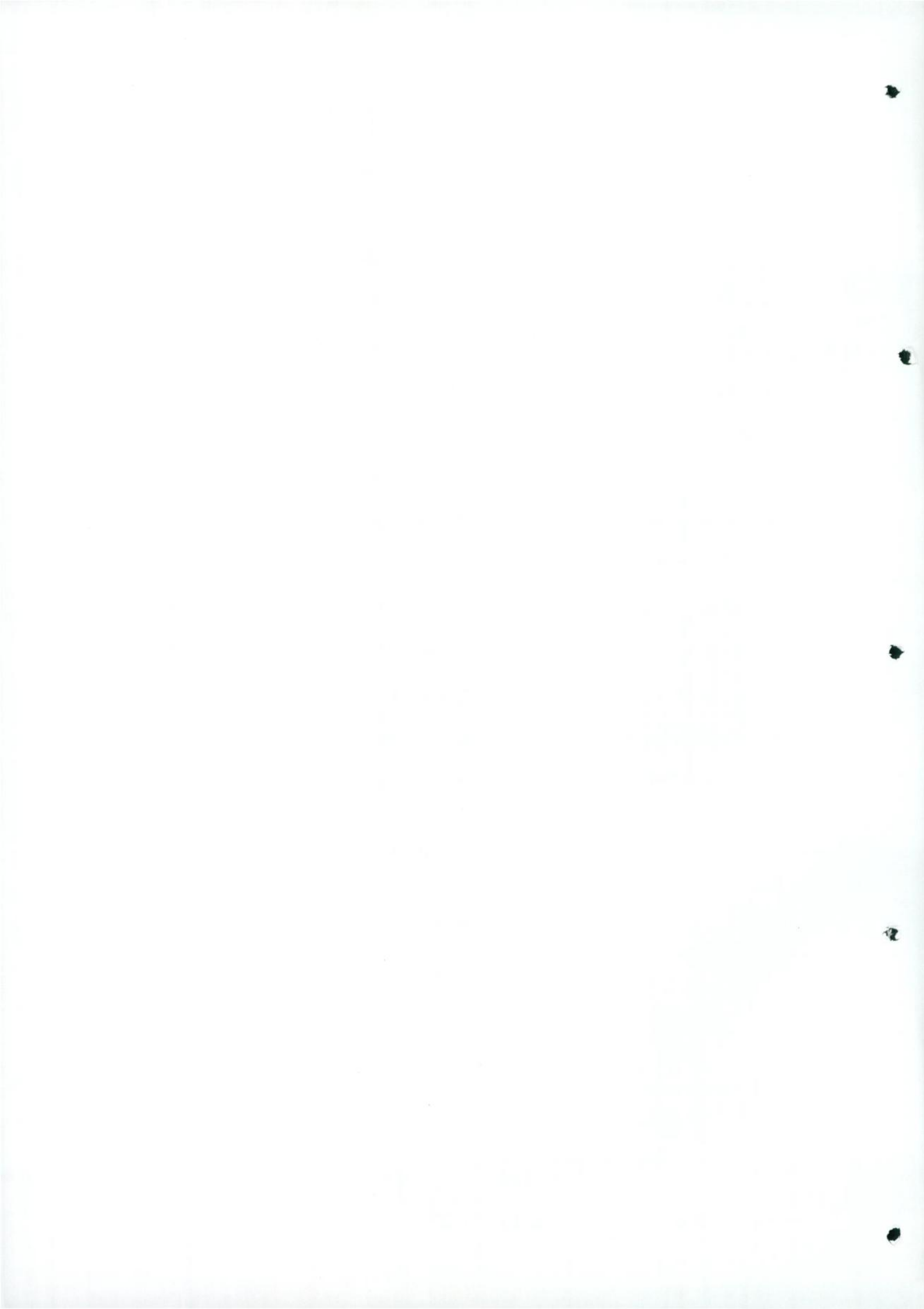
There is also a tendency on TnaG to reflect the identity of the cultural milieu which has settled in Spiddal because of the launching of the new television service. Several of the storylines in dramas and on Ros na Run are taken from the experiences of members of staff, and far fewer from the experiences of ordinary Irish speakers. The social world entering the discourse of such programmes seems to be primarily that of the media community living there, creating a trendy, young, urban ethos and articulating values not necessarily those of Irish speakers outside Spiddal. This town, the closest to Baile na hAbhann, and the location of sets for programmes such as

Iomlán uaireanta craolta Hours broadcast* 31/10/96 to 31/12/97

Clárscéideal Gaeilge Irish Language Schedule:		OTHER:	
News	151	Station Idents/Announcements/Promos	150
Current Affairs/Factual	196	Weather	43
Drama	481	Advertising/Sponsorship	177
Childrens	492		370
Entertainment/Music	447	QVC	355
Sport	522		
	2,291	Total Hours broadcast	4,038
Non Irish Language Schedule:		No. of Days	427
Dáil Question Time	210	Average hours broadcast per day	9.5
Euro News	396		
Programming in European Languages	416		
	1,022		

*Includes repeat broadcasts

Plate 24: Hours broadcast 31/10/96 to 31/12/97



Sibin and *Ros na Run*, is more a satellite of Galway city, and a middle class one at that, than the ideological centre of the Gaeltacht. Bodum teapots, marijuana, pink mini cars and sites at £30,000 a half acre are a world away from the potato based economy of the west of Ireland in the nineteenth century.

An attention to style is also evident in TnaG's schedule, where, in the period 31/10/96 to 31/12/97, an equal amount of time was allocated to the promotion of the station as to news (see plate 24). This again raises the issue of the importance of creating illusions in relation to creating an identity, both for TnaG and the language. Perhaps the difficulty lies, not in the fact of paying attention to style, but in creating a credible style.

In conclusion, all these constraints greatly affect TnaG's ability to articulate a more faithful representation of the identity of Irish speakers, and cast doubt on its assertion that it is a new voice for the people of Ireland. Nevertheless they create the framework in which TnaG is obliged to operate. Sometimes programmes submit too readily to these constraints. Choking topics which are potentially interesting in the visual language of a young urban elite is a dreary rehash of the strategies of other television stations. However, difference can be expressed, and perhaps is best expressed, through the language and through subtle alterations of emphasis, as the examples outlined above within the script of *Ros na Run* show. Frequently cultural forms which operate within exceptionally strict parameters yield the most perfect representations (the form of the short story, for example, beloved of Irish writers), and TnaG may yet develop more ways of manipulating its constraints, given time, given money and given the unique ways of seeing claimed in its own publicity.

Conclusion

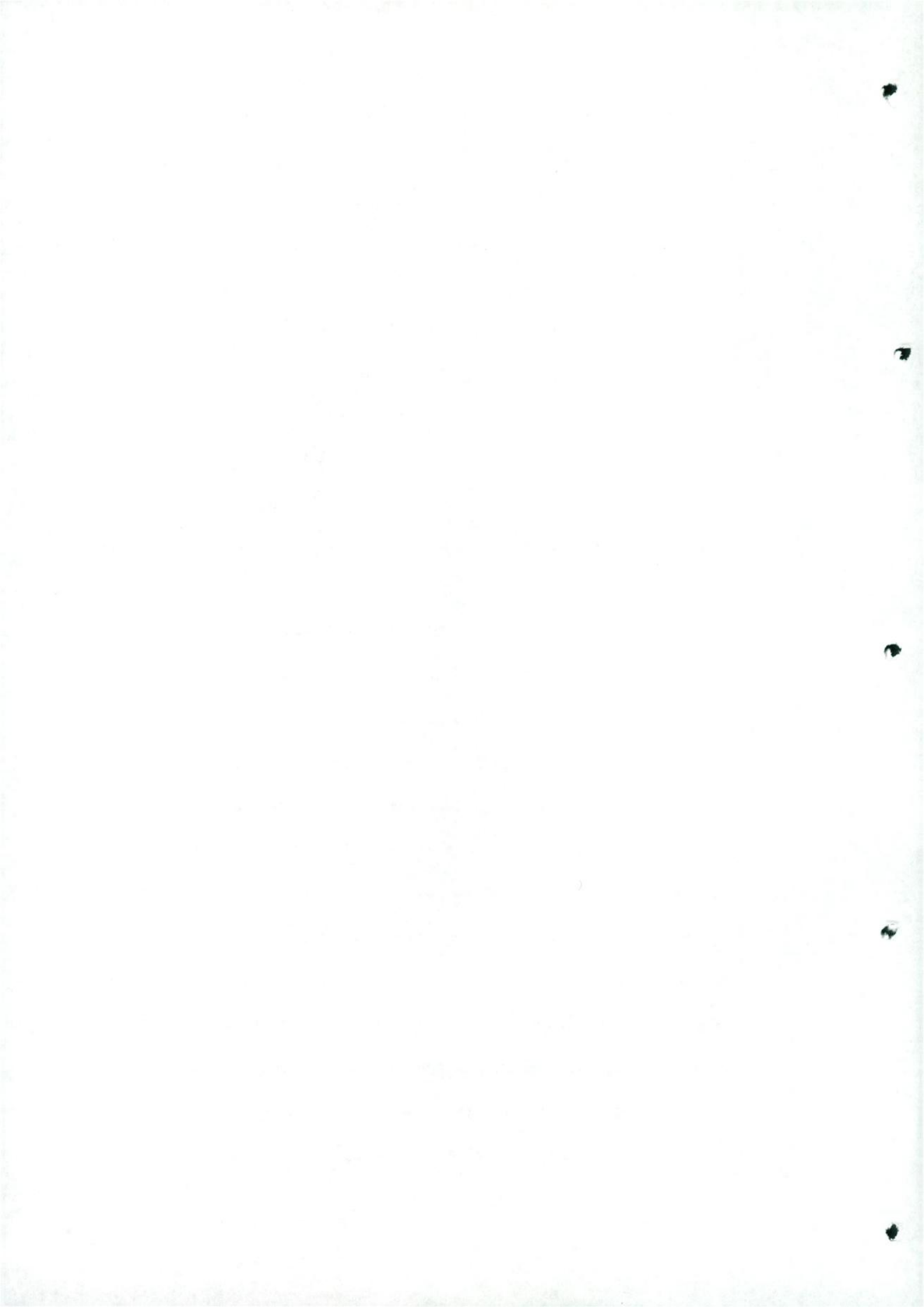
The evolution of national identity in this country shows that its component myths are historically specific. The Irish language has been an important component of Irish identity. Once part of a political discourse in the creation of a separate Irish state, Irish now exists primarily within a discourse of differentiation. TnaG functions as one of its mediators, and may alter most of the terms in which the language has been represented since it ceased to be primarily an un-self-conscious medium of communication. One way in which it can already be seen to do this is the way in which it exalts certain characteristics which correspond more closely to contemporary mythologies, above those which were claimed as truly Irish by the founders of the state. Celebration of rural life, respect for the Church, suspicion of English cultural forms are replaced by more pervasive values of the western world, such as emphasis on individualism and consumerism. These also influence the terms in which it articulates an identity for the Irish language. Although they are fundamentally different preoccupations to those of earlier Irish revivals, many of the parameters within which they are expressed remain the same. The west/Irish/Ireland triad continues to be mobilised even when almost all of the component myths have been altered. English language broadcasting had already contributed to this dynamism; TnaG continues it.

However the crucial distinction between TnaG and other Irish television stations is the fact that it is broadcast in Irish. At a time in which Irish has almost ceased to be the first means of communication of any but a small minority, its ability to 'express us' has been called into question. TnaG challenges this verdict by representing the language in resolutely contemporary terms, which its medium, television fortunately reinforces. It is a showcase for an exceptionally rich language

and in a medium particularly suited to it because of its oral and visual character, and its similarity to earlier bardic traditions. It gives Irish a revived range of opportunities, by compelling it into expressing current affairs, drama, childrens programmes and Spanish soccer, for example, to evolve so that it can appropriately express the lives of Irish speakers in the next century. It is also a symbol, however fictional, of a thriving Irish speaking community.

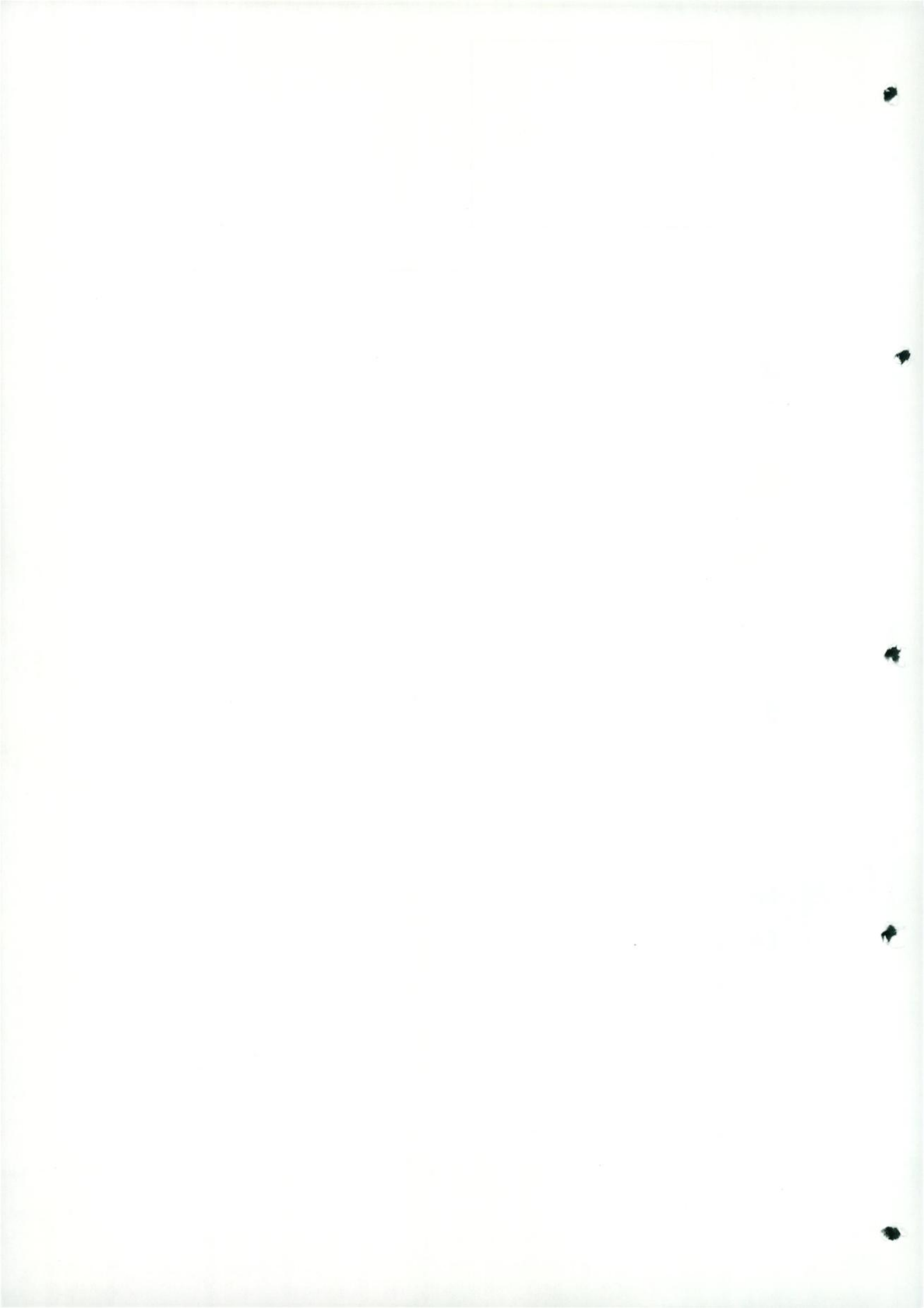
The Irish language may finally have a purely cultural significance, as the socio centrality of television swamps the region with values incompatible with its earlier peripheral condition. A rich cultural wealth has been created out of social deprivation and the west becomes more and more of a construct. The irony of the west being a reservoir, because Cromwell herded the Irish west, to poverty and exclusion, will probably grow more acute.

According to the artist Robert Ballagh, the idealisation of the Gaeltacht has been an inhibiting force to Irish art for decades (Sunday Times, 17/1/99). The representation of these regions with greater realism may curb this tendency and also counteract the restrictions placed on Gaeltacht inhabitants by being obliged to be peripheral. Being physically located opposite to the centre, TnaG could offer alternative versions of events to those of the dominant, Dublin based channels, thereby challenging Dublin perceptions and representations of Irish society, If this is possible, there may be even more examples of sub groups asserting themselves within the language and on television. This could be an opportunity to challenge the inherent conservatism of the medium of television which is not afforded through English. As Europe becomes more homogenous; outlets to express difference will become increasingly relevant. In such ways TnaG may yet fulfill its claim to be a new perspective and a new hope for both the Irish language and its speakers.



TnaG Briseamh an tUchtais





Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the following people :

Audrey Ni Fhearghail, actress on Ros na Run, 7/2/98, 8/10/98, Spiddal, Connemara.

Diarmuid De Faoite, actor on Ros na Run, 7/2/98, 8/10/98, Spiddal, Connemara.

Trevor O Clochartaigh, director on Ros na Run, 8/10/98, Galway City.

Charles McCarthy, director on Fair City, previously on Ros na Run, 27/2/98, Dublin.

Padraig O'Ciardha, marketing executive and assistant director, TnaG, 8/10/98, Baile na hAbhann, Connemara.

Aodh O'Coileain, news editor, TnaG, 8/10/98, Baile na hAbhann, Connemara.

Lis Ni Dhalaigh, editor of children's programming, TnaG, 8/10/98.

Bibliography

- Borges, Jorges Luis, Collected Fictions, The Penguin Press, 1998.
- Clancy, Patrick, Drudy, Sheelagh, Lynch, Kathleen, O'Dowd, Liam ; Ireland, A Sociological Profile, Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1986.
- Fanon, Franz, The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 1973.
- Fisher, Desmond, Broadcasting In Ireland, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978.
- Fiske, John and Hartley, John, Reading Television, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1978.
- Foster, R. F. ; Modern Ireland 1600- 1972, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1988.
- Fox, Jennifer, Community Art: An Insight into Macnas, 1995 NCAD.
- Gibbons, Luke ; Transformations In Irish Culture, Cork University Press, 1996.
- Green, Miranda J. (Editor); The Celtic World, Routledge, 1995.
- Hindley, Reg ; The Death Of The Irish Language, Routledge, 1990.
- Hughes, Robert, The Shock Of The New, 1995, *BBC Books*
- Kearney, Richard (Editor), Across The Frontiers ; Ireland In The 1990s, Wolfhound Press, 1988.
- Kelly, M., Rolston B., Broadcasting in Ireland ; Issues of National Identity and Censorship, 1995, Institute of Public Administration.
- Kiberd, Declan ; Inventing Ireland, The Literature Of The Modern Nation, Vintage, London, 1996.
- Lyons, F.S.L., Culture and Anarchy In Ireland, Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Megaw, Vincent and Ruth, Celtic Art, Routledge, 1989
- McLuhan, Marshall ; Understanding Media, Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, London, 1964
- Price, Glanville ; The Celtic Languages Today, in The Celtic World, 1995.
- Sheehan, Helena, Irish Television Drama, Radio Teilifis Eireann, 1987.

Articles

Barrell, J. ; Geographies of Hardy's Wessex, Journal of Historical Geography, No. 8, P.347- 361, 1982.

Hall, Stuart, The Question of Cultural Identity, The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory, Polity Press, London, 1994.

Kenny, Vincent, The Post-Colonial Personality, The Crane Bag , Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984.

Kiberd, Declan ; The Periphery and the Centre,, Ireland and Irish Cultural Studies, The South Atlantic Quarterly, Winter 1996, Vol. 95, No. 1, Duke University Press.

Kockel, Ullrich ; Landscape, Heritage and Identity : Case Studies in Irish Ethnography, Liverpool University Press, 1995.

