MEDIA AND HERITAGE IN IRELAND

Representations of heritage in Irish newspapers and the praxis of determination

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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ABSTRACT

During the last decade of the 20th century, 'neo-liberal' ideas that had already permeated political thinking throughout much of the Western world achieved dominance in Ireland, with all mainstream political parties ascribing to a greater or lesser extent to a programme of tax cuts, privatization of pubic assets and services, deregulation of markets, devolvement of government responsibilities to 'experts' and the marketization and commercialization of sectors previously considered subject only to the requirements of the common good… education, health, defence – and heritage. Heritage – the built and natural environment considered as patrimony – was assigned an exchange value but was required to 'pay its own way'. However, from the mid-1990s, the country experienced an economic boom that was heavily dependant on an inflated property market, greatly increased residential and commercial development and heavy State expenditure on infrastructural projects. This climate ushered in a new official attitude of heritage expendability, one that needed to be communicated to a public only recently encouraged to think of heritage as a valuable commodity.

In a pluralist democracy such as Ireland, the right to freedom of expression should ideally empower journalists to provide in-depth, balanced coverage of issues that affect heritage, that incorporates all reasonable viewpoints and includes representatives of all concerned parties, identifies the major agents, apportions responsibility for key decisions, and provides sufficient analysis and overview to locate heritage issues in their social and ideological context. In fact, this study establishes, through analysis of relevant content in Irish newspapers, that a clear ideological misrepresentation of heritage dominates the print-media discourse; and further establishes, through a survey of journalistic practices and attitudes, that structural and practical constraints and determinants within newspaper organizations allow power centres in society to manipulate the discourse to produce representations of heritage that are ideologically at odds both with the journalists themselves and the general public.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Late in 2006, an advertising hoarding appeared on the N7 at Clondalkin, on the main road for traffic approaching Dublin from the south of Ireland. It read, in letters four feet high: 'A green field is a blank canvas…an opportunity for you to create something extraordinary'. This road, the busiest in the country, had daily traffic volumes of 57,000 vehicles in 2004[1]. Including bus and coach passengers, as many as 100,000 people per day might have seen this hoarding until it began to degrade – or was vandalized – in about March 2007. Yet the legend, containing as it did the by-no-means uncontroversial claim that all green fields (note: the text does not specify 'This green field…') are, first of all, blank and, second, ripe for development, gave rise to no comment in the mainstream media and elicited a single response[2] from an internet 'blogger' that, in turn, drew a single comment. The slogan could easily have served, with the addition of the terms 'brown field' and 'old building' after 'green field', as a manifesto for the development industry; and its apparent acceptance, or invisibility, suggests that the inevitability and desirability of development, irrespective of the nature or effects of that development, had, in late 'Celtic Tiger'[3] Ireland, become a *doxa*, an uncontested orthodoxy (Bordieu 1977), a given. A green field that would once have been universally

[1] http://www.transport.ie/viewitem.asp?id=5584&lang=ENG&loc=1801

[2] http://distorte.com/article/162/im-in-sales

[3] 'Celtic Tiger', derived from the earlier use of 'Asian Tiger' to refer to booming Eastern economies, became a common designation for Ireland when it enjoyed unprecedented prosperity during the late 1990s and early to mid-2000s

recognized as a site of production and, at a later stage, widely seen as a site of consumption, as part of a commodified leisure landscape, was now viewed as a cipher, a blank, something useful notably in its capacity for ‘development’.

The anecdote of the hoarding is offered merely as an example of a body of such evidence tending to suggest that, indeed, a ‘development doxa’ had come into existence. Since the 1960s, a series of controversies in which development came into direct conflict with heritage attained high media profile, and these controversies seemed to increase in both frequency and intensity throughout that four-decade period from the mid-1960s to the mid-2000s. Noteworthy examples include the occupation of Georgian buildings, particularly in Dublin 2, in the 1960s and ’70s by students and others attempting to prevent their demolition; the long-running controversy over Viking remains and the construction of new civic offices at Wood Quay, also in Dublin; and then, in rapid succession in the 1990s and 2000s, controversies over development plans at Mullaghmore in The Burren and at the Cliffs of Moher, Carrickmines Castle, Trim Castle, the Glen of the Downs, Dún Laoghaire and Greystones harbours and the Hill of Tara, among many others that attained national media attention.

Of course, such media coverage can be read in a number of ways, some of them almost diametrically opposed. The apparent rise in the intensity and frequency of such controversies could, for example, indicate a greater awareness of and concern for heritage among the public or within the news organisations that mediated them. On the other hand, they could equally suggest a rise in the level of developmental activity and a greater willingness on the part of developers, both private and public, to embark on controversial projects and/or a greater confidence that those projects would succeed despite any controversy. The first scenario would suggest an increasing tendency to question the value of development, at least as it related to heritage, while the second scenario would suggest the very opposite. This raises important issues not merely of how often such campaigns to conserve heritage are successful, or to what extent they are successful, but of the very nature of these media controversies. Is the proposed development itself represented as controversial or is it merely the opposition to the proposed development that is represented as controversial? Is the value of the development ever fundamentally questioned or just the special details of situation, scale and design? Is heritage represented as possessing an inherent value or simply as a

commodity that may have an economic value greater or less than that of the development that threatens it?

If, indeed, such a doxa exists, if there is an ideological developmental imperative, if the fundamental value of development – all development – is taken for granted to the detriment of key aspects of heritage, the questions arise: how did it come into existence; and why? For the importance of the 'national heritage' as a crucial component, firstly, in the construction of a national identity from the middle of the 19th century onwards and, secondly, in the legitimation of the Irish State in the decades after Independence, is extensively established through research and well attested in the literature. How, and why, did we arrive at a point at which
then-Minister for Justice Michael McDowell could declare in the Dáil in November 2005 that he would not be deterred from building a new prison by 'any old guff about fairy forts' (*Dáil Éireann deb.* Vol. 610, col. 1564, November 23, 2005); and
then-Taoiseach Bertie Ahern could dismiss conservationist concerns as 'swans, snails and people hanging out of trees' (*Dáil Éireann deb.* Vol. 572, col. 493, October 14, 2003), and proclaim, apropos the M3 and Tara, that he wished he had the power of the mayor of Shanghai, who 'when he decides he wants to do a highway and, if he wants to by-pass an area, he just goes straight up and over' (O'Toole, 2007)?

Definitions and delimitations

The Oxford *Dictionary of Geography* defines heritage as:

> Inherited circumstances or benefits. This may be an element of the natural landscape; a heritage coast is a stretch of unaltered coastline which is outstandingly attractive and is protected from development (for map, see area of outstanding natural beauty).
>
> Increasingly, the term is also applied to those elements of the human landscape which represent the past. In recent years there has been a marked increase in the number of "themed" museums in the UK, such as the Jorvik Viking Centre, York. These, together with symbolic landscapes, are expressions of a flourishing heritage industry "in which the past is treated as a commodity to be bought and

> sold as part of the contemporary tourist industry, with the conscious manipulation of history designed to create something which people will consider…spending money on" (Hubbard and Lilley, *Geography* 85). The resulting heritage tourism has become one of the most profitable parts of the tourist industry (Waitt and McGurk, *Australian Geographer* 88). Walsh (1992) has argued that "heritage, in many of its forms, is responsible for the destruction of a sense of place", but Hubbard and Lilley (*Geography* 85) see the heritage industry "as involving conflicts between the different senses of place, with the distinctive character of a town…having resulted from different groups seeking to impose their values on the townscape".'

The Oxford *Dictionary of Archaeology* defines heritage as:

> A widely used term that has come to stand in a very general way for everything that is inherited, including structures, objects, images, ideas, sentiments, and practices. Not all of this need be very old, although some of it is. Distinctions are sometimes made between the cultural heritage and the natural heritage. All heritage, however, is constructed in the sense that people or communities have selectively assembled, defined, and validated those things that they wish to consider components of the heritage. Scale is often important here and the appropriation of a heritage is often linked to the creation of global, national, or local identity. Once defined, in whatever way, the material that is taken as being the heritage is often commodified and exploited for educational, economic, or political gain, or simply as diverting entertainment.

Ahmad (2006) argues that the scope of 'heritage' has inexorably broadened since the Venice Charter[4] in 1964, a fact reflected in the proliferation of some 40 international conventions on heritage. These conventions were later reinterpreted and redefined in quite different ways at regional and national level and 'the finer terminology of heritage has not been streamlined or standardized and thus no uniformity exists between countries' (Ahmad, Y 2006, p8).

[4] The 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments (the first was in Athens in 1931) met in Venice in 1964 and adopted the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments

No definition of heritage exists in Irish law but a series of Acts setting out the responsibilities and competencies of statutory bodies such as the National Monuments Service, the National Parks and Wildlife Service, the Heritage Council, An Taisce and Dúchas attempts to classify what is and isn't heritage. These legal classifications of heritage have expanded considerably over the years, and especially since the 1970s, in line with an expansion in the generally accepted understanding of what comprises heritage.

For the purposes of this study, 'heritage' is as broadly defined as 'the built and natural environment considered as patrimony', within the limits set out by the most recent of these classifications, that contained in Heritage Act 1995, by which was established a new State apparatus, including Dúchas and the Heritage Council, for the identification and preservation of the national heritage. Sections 5 and 6 of that Act state that,

> There shall stand established on the establishment day a body to be known as An Chomhairle Oidhreachta or, in the English language, The Heritage Council, to perform the functions conferred on it by this Act… The functions of the Council shall be to propose policies and priorities for the identification, protection, preservation and enhancement of the national heritage, including monuments, archaeological objects, heritage objects, architectural heritage, flora, fauna, wildlife habitats, landscapes, seascapes, wrecks, geology, heritage gardens and parks and inland waterways.

This delimitation divides heritage into three broad areas: built heritage (including prehistoric and historic buildings and artefacts and modern public or monumental architecture); landscape and seascape heritage; and wildlife heritage and biodiversity. In practice, these were found to be workably discrete, entailing few borderline quandaries with the possible exceptions of contemporary buildings and modern buildings of recent vintage. The former were deemed to fall within the scope of the study when consciously public or monumental, and represented as such. Modern buildings of recent vintage were deemed to fall within the scope of the study when they were represented as having some particular historic or architectural significance. In practice, this led to a temporal

cut-off point somewhere around the end of the 1950s, though, for instance in aditorial[5] texts promoting this or that property for sale, a 1950s property might be represented as either modern (in the sense of 'up-to-date, possessing all conveniences, requiring no remedial work') or 'period' or, perhaps, 'art deco', signifying a heritage cachet. In this case, the latter was deemed to fall within the scope of the study while the former was not.

It will be noticed that one potentially large but highly amorphous area of heritage does not fall within the compass of the Heritage Act 1995, and that is 'intangible' or 'cultural' heritage – a category that might include anything from literary tradition to folklore and from popular music and dance to customary social practices. It was considered that establishing objective categories for determining what did or did not constitute 'intangible heritage', or for determining what the public at large and journalists in particular understood by the term, was a task beyond the aims and the time frame of a study of this type and that the inclusion of 'intangible heritage' would introduce an unwarranted element of subjectivity; and, furthermore, that restricting the study to built heritage, landscape heritage and biodiversity would yield a sufficiently large body of unproblematic newspaper texts to furnish it with a solid empirical basis. Conforming to the delimitations and definitions contained in the 1995 Act also allowed the drawing of broad comparisons between journalists' attitudes to heritage and the attitudes of the general public as tested by Heritage Council surveys.

Note, however, that an association with 'intangible heritage' frequently creates tangible heritage objects, buildings or monuments. A literary concept is intangible but a signed first edition of *Ulysses* is a heritage object; the Irish language is intangible but the house in which Dr Douglas Hyde was born is a heritage building.

Although this definition and these delimitations, when applied to the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers, yielded a large number of texts with a very diverse range of subject matters that might sometimes appear too broad to cohere under a single unified rubric, it is worth noting here that successive attitudinal studies carried out by Lansdowne Research for the Heritage Council, in 1999, 2004, 2005 and 2007, found that the

[5] 'Aditorial', also referred to as 'advertorial', is a text that is essentially an advertisement (for property, clothes, consumer goods etc) but written in the style and form of a news story

classification laid out in the 1995 Act and adopted by this study conforms very closely with the Irish public's idea of what is and is not heritage, as volunteered by respondents to the surveys.

Certainly, even the narrowest definition of heritage could have no difficulty incorporating the sort of story epitomised by a number of high-profile heritage controversies that rumbled on throughout the lifetime of this study. These included the decision to build a motorway close to the internationally important archaeological complex at Tara in Co. Meath; the continuing row over how best to conserve or exploit remaining stocks of wild fish, particularly Atlantic salmon; the polemic over the proliferation of 'once-off' houses and their collective impact on the landscape; the opposition of Irish farm bodies to the EU Nitrates Directive, designed in part to protect biodiversity; and the purported role of migratory wild fowl in the spread and transmission of avian flu. These headline cases alone are the subject of several hundred texts in the corpus of texts analysed; and it is accurate to say that stories similar to these headline cases – other infrastructural projects with heritage implications, other archaeological and/or historical monuments threatened by development, other planning applications objected to on heritage grounds, threats to (or from) other wild species – make up the bulk of texts in the corpus.

Aims

For all the reasons cited in this dissertation – including its strong symbolic content, its relationship to cultural ideas that have undergone and are undergoing re-evaluation in the context of a neo-liberal world-view and of Ireland's 'more modern, more prosperous' economy, its freedom from party and sexual politics, the lack of research into representations of heritage in the news media, either in Ireland or abroad, and above all, the professed positive attitude to heritage of the general public, established by research, that runs so strongly counter to the message being transmitted by Irish newspapers – the heritage discourse is ideally susceptible to a study of how the Irish media facilitate, willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly, the construction of the cultural and ideological hegemony.

Furthermore, recent changes in Irish society are reciprocated by changes within the Irish newspaper industry itself. The industry itself has become more globalized both because of the acquisition of some Irish titles by multinational media conglomerates and because of the penetration of the Irish newspaper market by foreign competitors. The liberalization of broadcasting in the past two decades, with the issuing of commercial licences and the opening of the Irish market to multinational television channels via cable and satellite, has introduced new commercial pressures for newspapers, too.

Media discourses are comprised of texts, and texts have a number of key elements: the author, the medium, the genre, the context, the message itself and the receiver(s). This research does not concern itself with the reception of the message, an area that could only be properly researched via a large-scale survey of readers beyond the resources of this study. Rather, it is concerned with the content of the message as transmitted and mediated, and with the construction of that message and the role played by the medium, and its structural and practical constraints, in the construction of that message. A question often asked, less often answered, consequent on discourse analysis work is: why did the journalists write what they wrote? This research analyses the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers to determine *how* heritage is mediated; and then surveys Irish newspaper journalists to establish *why* heritage is represented as it is.

Since the research is in two parts – content analysis followed by a survey of journalistic attitudes and practices, and how the former affect and effect the latter – I have sought, in the content analysis, particularly those quantities and qualities that might, hypothetically, be expected to be especially sensitive to factors of journalistic culture and routine and organizational and technical constraints. I have also sought quantities and qualities – such as homogeneity, redundancy, omission and exclusion – that, I will argue, tend to neutralise the power of the receiver to contest meaning.

I trust that working journalists, not least those who have generously assisted me in the course of my research, will find these results both constructive and fair. They practise their profession by delivering media services to the public and are keenly aware of the realities of the marketplace in which they must compete and of the various contradictory sentiments of citizens on issues relating to heritage.

The Heritage Council has a particular interest in ensuring that the media fairly report on heritage issues, and that heritage policies are not framed or perceived merely in the contexts of conflict and consumption. When the author was awarded the first Freda Rountree doctoral scholarship by the Heritage Council to support this research, that council's chief executive, Mr Michael Starrett, stated that the study 'is particularly relevant to us in today's climate of increasing public debate on heritage issues'. The late Freda Rountree, who died in 2000, was the first chairperson of the Heritage Council, and was very strongly convinced that community involvement is at the heart of much of what her organisation tries to achieve. She herself was deeply involved with local community activities in her own area of Co. Offaly. The media provide – or should provide – such communities with crucial means of airing and understanding heritage issues at both local and national level and this study will help those who read it to understand that process.

However, it may fairly be said also, that the results of the current research are applicable not only, or even especially, to the heritage discourse – rather, it is hoped that the findings will help to illuminate also how other Irish media discourses may be constructed.

2. READING HERITAGE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The communication of heritage – in education, in museology, in the mass media – is a complex issue because heritage is itself a language: a set of symbols with a range of connotations and denotations. Yet, notwithstanding the importance attached to heritage by many societies, there appears to have been relatively little research published that directly addresses heritage in the context of media practice, either here or abroad. Politicians may boast of allocating increased funding for aspects of heritage, frequently in the context of its commodity value for tourism and trade, but academics have yet to unpick many of the complex strands of heritage coverage in newspapers or the electronic media. Extensive searches were conducted by the author to locate books and articles that might be directly relevant to the objectives of this study, and reference to those that have been useful in any way will be found below.

Heritage, like myth in the work of Levi-Strauss (1969), is a language that transcends articulate expression: a language for expressing the intelligible – in this case, ideas such as nationhood, identity and community – by means of the tangible. It is, in the terminology of Barthes (1972b), a second-stage language or meta-language, part of a semiological chain: what was a sign in the first system (image + concept; signifier + signified) becomes a signifier in the second. At the level of myth, the totality of texts about heritage – the heritage discourse – sends a powerful message about 'Irishness' and 'Irish' society. Not only is heritage of profound cultural and societal significance but communication of heritage is sensitive to cultural change, and to strategies for effecting cultural change and naturalising cultural change.

Writers such as Gramsci, Bauman and Althusser have illustrated how society and culture constitute a reciprocal system: change in one both reflects and effects change in the other. Hamilton (1997), for example, showed how the post-war humanist representational paradigm in French photography both contributed to and was partly defined by dominant ideas of 'Frenchness'. This holds true for all scales from micro to macro, so that changes *within* capitalism must be reflected in cultural changes; nor can changes be effected within capitalism – such as the change from the 'dual economy'

social democratic model of public ownership of essential services and State control and regulation of the private sector to the neo-liberal model of globalization, deregulation, marketization and commodification – without simultaneous corresponding change in the dominant culture. Meanings regulate and govern our conduct and practices; they are therefore what those who wish to govern seek to conduct and shape (Thompson 1997). Whoever wishes to change social structures or power relations must bring about a change in culture; and this requires ideological work.

'Gramsci criticises the assumption that culture in the form of ideas is *only* [my italics - SB] a "superstructure" that changes with shifts in the social structure and the economic institutions. From a Gramscian standpoint, cultural forms can support social structure by patterning the perceptions of experience. Such forms cannot be dismissed as "false consciousness"; they are hegemonic: controlling because they are givens and unnoticed. They are the very terms and standards by which experience is interpreted and judged.' (Gusfield 1989, p40).

Further: 'The development of capitalism… has brought about a replacement of domination by hegemony (as Gramsci foresaw). The stability of capitalism acquired a cultural foundation. This means that the ideals of a good life, accepted ends of action, wants perceived as a reflection of needs, cognitive schemata that organize world perception and, above all, the way in which the borderline between the "realistic" and the "utopian" has been drawn, sustain and perpetuate the totality of capitalist relations with little or no interference by the political state. It also means that whatever change may take place within the realm of the state, the capitalist type of human relations is unlikely to give way unless driven away by new culture.' (Bauman 1976, in Gusfield 1989, p41)

Althusser (1977) extended Gramsci by introducing the EPI/C model to refine Marx's 'infrastructure-superstructure'; the 'upper levels' are not merely economic but also political and ideological/cultural, deriving from the infrastructure and acting reciprocally back upon it. He insisted that ideology has a material existence in 'apparatuses', that is in practices which are represented. The modern State is a plurality of apparatuses, including not just economic but ideological apparatuses. Althusser listed the mass media among his Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) – and not merely those

directly owned by the State, for the 'private' nature of private media is itself determined by the State.

Mass communications and culture also constitute a reciprocal system, for the mass media are socially structured and constitute a key component in mediating power relations between social groups and economic institutions; and are, at the same time, one of the primary channels for the dissemination, perpetuation and transformation of culture. The ruling class (in Althusser's Marxist terminology) must dominate ISAs such as the media, but must not appear to do so.

Poststructuralists and postmarxists such as Foucault (1980, 1990), Derrida (1993), Gorz (1982), Baudrillard (1998, 2005) and Laclau and Mouffe (2001) have critiqued, complicated or extended Gramsci's and Althusser's (and Marx's) ideas on hegemony – most significantly by questioning the validity of concepts such as ruling and working classes and the class struggle itself and, instead, substituting ideas of difference, marginalized social groups, subcultures, power relations, new social movements such as the ecological, feminist and gay movements, and an extended definition of the political and social establishment that might include, for example, the trade-union movement and socialist political parties. Nevertheless, all accept the central concept of culture serving the interests of social elites and underpinning existing social structures and practices and power relations. Furthermore, all recognized the role of the mass media in constructing the cultural hegemony.[6] Thornton (1995) goes so far as to argue that all forms of culture, whether mainstream or subcultural, are mediated by journalists.

Here, then, is the importance of the heritage discourse as conducted in the mass media. Since heritage itself represents such key cultural ideas as 'nationhood', 'identity',

[6] Objections to the idea or force of cultural hegemony based on readers'/receivers' power to challenge and construct meaning I intend to park for the time being, and to deal with fully in Chapter 3 in the course of justifying my methods. Likewise, I intend to park a discussion of Zizek's (2001) assertion that as individuals, we are all complicit in hegemony, believing that the results of the research will provide a strong refutation of Zizek's position, at least in this particular case.

'continuity with the past' and 'community'[7], the representation of heritage in turn becomes strategically important territory for those who would seek to effect change in cultural attitudes to 'nationhood', 'identity' and 'community', or to effect a discontinuity with the past, for political, social or economic reasons; and changes in cultural and ideological attitudes, in the dominant world-view, are certain to be reflected in representations of heritage which, in turn, shape our attitudes to heritage, producing material effects. As Gibbons (1996, p8) puts it: 'Cultural representations do not simply come after the event, reflecting experience or embellishing it with aesthetic form, but significantly alter and shape the ways we make sense of our lives.' Whoever would change the present must first change the past – or, at least, perceptions of the past. As Bakhtin says: 'It is impossible to change the factual, thing-like side of the past, but the meaningful, expressive, speaking side can be changed, for it is unfinalized and does not coincide with itself (it is free)' (in Morson *et al.* 1990, p230).

In the Irish context, concern for heritage is not the province, either in the positive or in the negative sense, of any political party (though the Green Party [3.8% electoral support in the 2002 general election; 4.7% in 2007] claims a particular interest in and concern for the environment, which overlaps with some aspects of heritage). For various reasons, heritage (in the sense in which we understand it today) was not appropriated by the political right in Ireland, as it was, at least initially, in several other countries, notably in the United Kingdom (McCrone *et al.* 1995) and the USA. In the United Kingdom, particularly in England, concern for heritage was initially seen as the preserve of the right, partly because the rise of commodified heritage from 1979 onwards coincided with the commencement of a long period in power, 1979 to 1995, of the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher and, later, John Major and chimed (or was made to chime) with the former's 'return to Victorian values' and the latter's 'back to basics' programmes. English heritage – the great houses and royal palaces, chancery buildings, war memorials such as Biggin Hill, industrial monuments, canals and railways – evoked or was made to evoke values such as 'enterprise', 'work ethic', 'adventure' and 'military might' and to symbolize continuity of order, stability, power and progress. Much of Ireland's built heritage, in contrast, was a heritage of

[7] The Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government's statement of strategy for 2005-'7, for instance, says: 'Ireland is endowed with a rich heritage. That heritage is inextricably linked with our sense of identity and affirms our historic, cultural and natural inheritance.'

discontinuity, revolution, insurrection and resistance, equally accessible to left and right. In the words of Gibbons (1996, p5), Britain is:

> '…a nation unscathed by invasion which prides itself on the continuity of its political institutions, and in which even such revolutions as took place managed to lead to social stability. Faced with a cultural conformity based on notions of a homogeneous, uninterrupted past, it is not surprising that the left in the heartlands of the major European powers has often distanced itself from nationalism, and even from any expression of cultural specificity. Yet while tradition may appear orderly and reassuring from the privileged vantage point of the imperial centre, that is not how it presents itself to countries [such as Ireland] on the other side of the imperial divide.'

From the researcher's point of view, this means that the heritage discourse can be studied relatively free from the complicating factors of party politics, sexual politics or class-based ideologies. Indeed, since the 1980s, heritage has been identified by successive administrations – governments in which five parties of left and right, and a number of political independents, participated – as a key element in tourism and rural development so, to that extent at least, all the main political parties are 'pro-heritage'. That is not to imply that heritage itself is 'an empty sign', devoid of political or ideological content.

Before the 1980s, heritage was widely seen as a crucial component of national identity and this view was propagated via a range of structures, practices and media (Boyce 1982). Before independence, these ideas were transmitted via nationalist newspapers such as *The Nation*, the *United Irishman*, *The Irish People* and *An Claidheamh Soluis*, as well as through cultural institutions such as the Gaelic League, the National Theatre and the Gaelic Athletic Association and political movements such as Young Ireland, the Fenians and Sinn Féin. After independence, the apparatus of State was used to the same end and ideas of a uniquely Irish heritage could be communicated through the educational system (Garvin 2004, Inglis 2008) and museology (Monaghan 2000, Hooper-Greenhill 1994, Boswell and Evans (eds) 1999)[8]; through public rites and

[8] National museums were under the aegis of the Department of Education from 1924 until the mid-1970s

rituals, such as the revival of the Tailteann Games (Connerton 1989, Cronin & O'Connor 1993); and through State iconography (Ellenius 1998) – as evidenced by the choice of a Celtic cross, a representation of hurling and designs featuring the Annals of the Four Masters, St Patrick and the coats of arms of the four provinces for the first postage stamps of the Free State; native fauna such as the salmon, the woodcock and the Irish hare[9] for the first coinage set; and the river gods of Ireland, from Gandon's Dublin architecture, for the first notes. Other channels included film (McLoone 2000), radio (Horgan 2001, Gibbons 1988) and, later, television (Pettitt 2000); public and monumental architecture (Whelan 2003, Huyssen 2003); tourism practices and promotion (Cronin & O'Connor 1993, Sheerin 1998); the legislation and structures instituted to conserve heritage (Walsh 1992); and through the rhetoric of public figures, as mediated by the communications media.

The area of museology provides a good example of the new State distinguishing between 'national' heritage and some aspects of heritage belonging to the colonial era. Many of the institutions of conservation and learned societies – the Natural History Museum (O'Riordan 1983), the Royal Dublin Society (Meenan and Clarke 1981), the Museum of Irish Industry and the Museum of Economic Geology (Monaghan 2000) and the Royal Irish Academy (Ó Raifeartaigh 1985) – had their origins in the colonial period and their geological, zoological, ethnographic and botanical collections related as much to the British Empire as to Ireland. One of the first acts of the nascent State was to commandeer space from the newly renamed National Museum of Ireland in Kildare Street for the adjacent Dáil and Seanad and so begin 'a long-running war of attrition on museum space in the Leinster House area' (Monaghan 2000, p405), resulting in several of the collections being closed to public view. A differentiation between 'Gaelic' heritage and the heritage of the colonial era continued to exist in public policy and practice into the 1970s and was most famously enunciated by the then Minister for Defence, Kevin Boland, when in 1957, as two Georgian houses in Kildare Place were being demolished to make way for a wall bounding Government Buildings, he declared that the houses stood for everything he hated (*Seanad Éireann deb.*, vol.188, no.15, February 21, 2008, Senator David Norris) and later, as Minister for Local Government,

[9] It should be noted that the salmon, the hare and the woodcock were all included as examples of wild fauna with an *economic* importance, to complement the hen, sow, wolfhound, bull and horse chosen for the other coins – an early example of the commodification of heritage! (Cleeve 1972)

described the members of the newly formed Irish Georgian Society as 'belted earls' (*Dáil Éireann deb*., vol.245, col.166, March 11, 1970).

There is a consensus in the literature that Irish heritage entered a new phase in the last quarter of the 20th century, a phase that might uncontroversially be called the 'commodification'[10] phase, in line with international trends – though there are differences as to dating, causes and effects. The tendency, especially among the postmodernists, is to see the rapid commodification and localization of Irish heritage that undoubtedly took place in the 1990s as merely a reflection of global and globalizing trends, a consequence of bottom-up, Lyotardian junk aesthetic and image consumerism, in which a consumerist aura automatically attaches to anything with the halo of relic. But this is a 'little narrative' view that takes no account of the ideological implications and pays scant attention to the vectors by which this fundamental attitudinal transformation travelled or was consciously imported; that is, assuming it was imported at all. Some writers, viewing recent Irish history as lensed through the brief isolationist period of 'The Economic War' and 'The Emergency', are fascinated with the Globalization Index study published yearly by consultants AT Kearney, which identified Ireland as the 'most globalized' country in the world according to a range of indicators in 2001 and 2002 – which they take to mean 'most open to outside influence'. According to this model, the globalization of Ireland is a bottom-up process, with global culture being imported by 'cultural entrepreneurs' and being resisted by 'cultural guardians' (Inglis 2008). But Inglis sees the typical cultural entrepreneur as immigrant or tourist and the typical interaction as personal – the Irish tourist returns from Italy with a taste for cappuccino; the African immigrant opens a stall selling yams and millet – and does not explore the full range of potential inter-relationships between guardians and entrepreneurs, nor the full range of channels by which these interactions might be mediated. For instance, in the case of commodified heritage, the cultural entrepreneur might be selling foreign heritage in the Irish marketplace (a city break to Barcelona, say), Irish heritage abroad (a city break to Dublin) or Irish heritage in the Irish marketplace (a day trip to The Burren or a visit to the Céide Fields). In all these cases, the cultural entrepreneur is also, to some extent, cultural guardian. Moreover, these

[10] Or 'commoditization', but I prefer the former coinage with its connotations of 'modernization' and 'modification' and will use 'commodification' throughout.

cultural entrepreneurs are most likely to advertise their wares in the print or online media and online, and to exploit representations of their wares in the likes of television travel shows and newspaper or magazine travel features, guide books and literary travelogues. It is highly likely that a multiple of the people who actually travel to Barcelona or The Burren each year read about travelling to Barcelona or The Burren several times a year in these media: heritage is most often experienced/consumed vicariously through the media.

One problem with the Globalization Index is that it is of such recent vintage as to make comparison difficult. The contrary view offered by, among others, Foster (2007) and Fagan (2003) is that Ireland, with its long experience of mass migration, its membership of the British Empire and tradition of overseas service with that empire, its majority membership of the equally global Roman Catholic Church and participation in missionary work overseas, has been among the most globalized nations since at least the 19th century. The mere fact of globalization is less important than what is being globalized, how and why.

We have already seen that Ahmad dated the broadening of the concept of heritage from a conservation viewpoint to the Venice Conference in 1964. It may be that the task and cost of conserving a much broader range of heritage – the idea that heritage must be capable of 'paying for itself' – together constituted an impetus towards commodification. However, it is reasonable to hypothesize that there were strong ideological forces at play, too, in the commodification of heritage. The new paradigm of heritage as a convertible commodity to be consumed, embracing such diverse elements as landscape, traditional culture, industrial architecture and so on, is dated by McCrone *et al.* (1995) to the late 1970s, particularly to the celebration of French Heritage Year in 1979, citing Culture Minister JP Lecat's broadening of the scope of 'heritage':

> The notion of heritage has been expanded. The national heritage is no longer merely a matter of cold stones or of exhibits under glass in museum cabinets. It now includes the village wash-house, the little country church, local songs and forms of speech, crafts and skills.

This would make the new concept of heritage precisely coeval with the rise of the neo-liberal, free-market economic paradigm, with its imperatives of privatization, consumerism, decentralization, deregulation, competition, cost-efficiency and the marketization of sectors previously considered provinces of State – education, for example, health, defence and heritage itself. Bordieu (1998, 2001) defines neo-liberalism as a programme for destroying any and all collective structures, from society itself down to the family, that might impede the pure and perfect market – resulting in individualization and localization, indeed atomization. According to these ideologies, 'heritage' is no longer to be considered as possessing intrinsic value and no longer subject to common ownership, common concern and common enjoyment but is henceforth to be subject to local ownership and exploitation, and global consumption. Gillmor (1994), Drea (1994), McManus (1997), Kneafsey (1998) and Sheerin (1998) argue persuasively that the major impetus for the commodification of heritage in Ireland came with the partly EU-funded National Development Plans of the late 1980s-early '90s and, specifically, with the two Bord Fáilte Heritage Tourism conferences in 1990 and '91, when heritage tourism was placed at the centre of successive governments' strategies for 'regional' ('regional', that is, within the Irish context, *i.e.*, 'local') and rural development and Brussels provided both the legal and policy framework and the money, via the Structural and Cohesion Funds. Hickie *et al.* (1999) and Crowley (2006) argue that EU agricultural policies, such as the Rural Environmental Protection Scheme and 'set-aside', provided a further structural impetus to the idea of what Cloke (1993) identifies as a commodified leisure landscape. Buttimer *et al.* (2000) track the contribution of education, particularly adult education, to the new paradigm of heritage-as-suitable-only-for-economic-exploitation. Essentially, Community Employment Schemes and certificate courses (in conservation, tour guiding and interpretation) created a market demand for higher courses, eventually leading to the foundation of degree and postgraduate diploma courses in heritage management, which, in turn, created a body of professional conservators and heritage managers whose employment requirements needed to be satisfied.

As to the effects of the new paradigm of heritage-as-commodity, it might reasonably be assumed that a) broadening the scope of 'heritage' to include buildings and landscapes not previously seen as especially worth conserving and b) assigning these objects a material commodity value would safeguard Irish heritage into the foreseeable future –

that the market would, indeed, make heritage sacrosanct. But by the mid-1990s, many sociologists and culturalists – for example, Duffy (1994) and McManus (1997) – were already arguing that tourism itself was in some cases inimical to heritage, not least because the market made no distinction between the 'real' and the merely 'authentic': tourists seemed just as happy to visit a 'replica' famine ship or crannóg or even (initially, at least) 'Celtworld' as a 'real' castle or stately home. If it was considered more efficient, as it was in the case of the *Dunbrody* in New Ross, Co. Wexford, to build a replica famine ship than to restore a real 19th-century dockside warehouse, then the warehouse must be abandoned to its fate. Moreover, it was during this period and due to the same impetuses that heritage became localized, as communities competed for funding and markets for 'their' local heritage-tourism product (Feehan 1994). This 'heritage-as-commodity' paradigm contained within it potential for conflicts of costs and efficiencies, conflicts between communities and between the local and the global and, because the initial impetus came from rural development initiatives, conflicts between the urban and the rural.

Within a short time span – certainly by the late 1990s – it was becoming apparent that far from being safeguarded by its newly conferred commodity value and economic importance, heritage was becoming embroiled in a series of conflicts with private or public development, against a backdrop of exposés of corruption in the planning process. In 1995, the Government enacted the legislative framework to protect all of this 'new' heritage – the Heritage Act 1995, which set up Dúchas to administer State-owed heritage sites and the Heritage Council to raise heritage awareness. But almost before the ink was dry, the country was entering a period of intense economic growth and building activity, accompanied almost immediately by dire warnings of a shortage of 'development' land and complaints about 'restrictive and bureaucratic' planning practices (Bacik 2004). Dúchas was soon subsumed into the Department of the Environment and by 2006, the Government had enacted the Planning and Development Strategic Infrastructure Act, allowing 'major' infrastructural projects, both public and private, to by-pass the normal planning process. In the new economic climate, heritage appears not only less valuable than before but downright inconvenient and, moreover, a powerful challenge to the development doxa. Not only does the concept of conserving heritage jar with Ireland's new-found view of itself as a 'modern, go-getting' economy but virtually all of our major built-heritage sites stand as monumental refutations of the

idea of human development as natural, continuous, linear and irreversible. Newgrange, the Céide Fields, Tara, Viking Waterford, Trim Castle and the Custom House, for example, are all metaphors for sophisticated civilisations technologically advanced and powerful in their day and now laid low, to wit the astronomers of Newgrange, Neolithic agriculturalists, Gaelic Ireland, Viking urban trading culture, the Norman empire and the British empire. The 82-page chapter on heritage in McDonald *et al.* (2005) catalogues dozens of controversial clashes between heritage and development occurring within the space of five or six years from the late 1990s to the middle 2000s. It provides abundant evidence that the heritage discourse had entered a new phase and that the heritage-as-commodity paradigm has been replaced, or is in the process of being replaced, with a new paradigm in which heritage is seen as superabundant, expendable and subservient to the needs of economic growth and development – and that is the starting point for this dissertation.

Before proceeding to the body of the research, however, it is worth noting that though McDonald discusses a number of structural and practical determinants of the new 'development' paradigm in the heritage discourse, he does not mention at all the role the news media may have played/be playing in the legitimation of these structures and practices and the construction of this new paradigm – an omission made all the more surprising by the fact that McDonald is himself a respected journalist and environmental editor. It is symptomatic of neglect in the literature of the role of the news media in constructing the heritage discourse. Perhaps for the reasons discussed above – that is, that heritage itself may be considered a meta-language, a set of objects and places already replete with layers of meaning – research into representations of heritage has concentrated almost wholly on media and discourses of the metaphoric order (film, fiction, television drama, museology and interpretation), to the neglect of research into media and discourses of the metonymic order, such as the news media. Acknowledging that the mass-communications media constitute just some of the channels via which ideas on heritage are communicated, it seems to me that the pace at which these various channels operate, as well as their potential reach over a given timeframe, are crucial. We have identified two distinct (though certainly overlapping) paradigms in the heritage discourse and hypothesized a third. The first – heritage as intrinsically valuable and as a crucial component of national identity – lasted for more than a century, from the 1840s to the 1970s. On this timeframe, it is perfectly plausible to consider the heritage

discourse as being constructed by a whole range of slow-acting channels, such as education, or short-reach channels, such as personal interactions, museology or indigenous film or literature; and it is futile even to think of a hierarchy of channels over such a long timeframe. The second paradigm, however – heritage-as-commodity – achieved dominance within a very much shorter timeframe, perhaps a decade, before, it is hypothesized, it was replaced by a new dominant paradigm within half a decade. It is reasonable to propose that the shorter the timeframe involved, the more significant must be the role of fast-acting and long-reaching channels such as legislation and public policy, that is to say structures and practices, and the news media that legitimate or contest those structures and practices. As regards the methodology adopted in this study, the extent to which I am indebted in that respect to authors such as Hall and Fairclough – especially the latter – is acknowledged and described in the following chapter.

3. ASKING QUESTIONS OF THE MEDIA: A METHODOLOGY

Theoretical framework

Since the 'cultural turn' in sociology, and particularly since Hall's seminal 1973 article, 'Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse', the power of audiences to negotiate meaning and to resist and subvert the ideological content of media texts has been celebrated at the expense of the role of structural determinism. For two decades, structures and practices tended to be de-emphasized in critical discourse analysis, in favour of an emphasis on reception – some might say overemphasis – that it is hard to believe Hall himself intended (*e.g.* Hall 1997).

Bi- or tripartite models of meaning-making – encode-decode, send-message-receive, production-text-reception – became standard, with equal valence allotted to each part. But in effect, to award parity to reception is to award precedence: whatever message is sent, whatever meaning is inscribed during production, is contested and subverted by the receiver. 'Active reception' imposes a veto on any potential effect of any text.

In recent years, media researchers (McNair, Deacon *et al.*, Fairclough, Haynes *et al.*) have sought ways to integrate the cultural and structural approaches and to restore to discourse analysis the importance of the message itself and the determining power of ideology (Fairclough 2003), journalistic culture and organizational routines (McNair 1994), economic factors and market pressures (Hamilton 2004) and source strategies (Manning 2001) at the production stage in the process of meaning-making. However, these efforts founder on reception, as long as parity for reception is insisted upon in a bipartite or tripartite model of meaning-making.

This raises questions of whether the meaning-making process is the same for all texts, all media and all genres; and whether all parts in a tripartite model of meaning-making can be assumed to be equivalent for all texts. Specifically in terms of newspaper discourse, four questions are raised: 1, Why parity of valence for reception? 2, Are news texts the same as all other texts? 3, Is a three-part model sufficient? 4, Do readers actually, as well as potentially, subvert the meaning of news texts?

1. Awarding parity to reception dismisses the role of ideology, ignores inequalities of power in the meaning-making process; fails to account for economic factors or the agenda-setting power of news sources; ignores the ability of news media to impose interpretative frameworks; and ignores the essential asymmetry or one-wayness of some media as opposed to others (newspapers are monologic, as opposed to dialogic); and the existence of essentially monosemic genres, that is, capable of bearing only one possible meaning. It ignores, too, the fact that stages in the process of meaning-making are historically located events and are not synchronous.

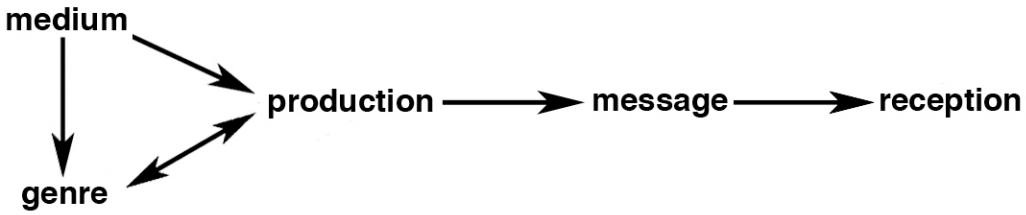
2. Active-audience research has found that audiences deal very differently with factual texts than with fiction, and very differently with news texts than they do with, say, soap operas (Corner 1991). Fictional genres, including soap opera, appear to be dialogic in some way that news genres are not; not in the sense that there is a two-way channel for negotiation but in the sense that the genre itself incorporates some space for the negotiation of meaning – a range of possible subject positions, a range of characters with whom to identify, and a range of potential interpretations from which the receiver can choose to some extent. 'News reporting is governed by a range of mechanistic narrative conventions that are intended to generate a denotive transparency to inhibit potential readings' (Deacon *et al.* 1999) and 'news is a peculiarly "closed" form of actuality coverage. Its polysemic potential is circumscribed. There is none of the interpretative room to manoeuvre that is an essential facet… of other genres' (*Ibid*).

3. Any model of the newspaper audience's role in the production of meaning needs to take account of genre and of the medium itself. It should also account for the fact that stages in the process of meaning-making are historically located events and are not synchronous. Active reception cannot precede the production of the message or the message itself; but some meaning is inscribed by medial and generic factors prior to production and can't be contested, by producers any more than by receivers. A great deal more meaning is inscribed at the production stage in ways that readers can contest only to a limited extent. 'Medium' precedes both 'genre' and 'production'. 'Genre' certainly precedes 'message' because the message is partly, but not exclusively, determined by generic considerations. However, genre cannot be accommodated wholly within the 'production' part of a tripartite model, because genre is determined partly by the medium itself and partly by production. 'Genre' and 'production' are reflexive and

reciprocal. When we look at structural determinants of news content, we can identify other aspects of news production that are determined by the medium itself. To give a simple concrete example, the newspaper medium can accommodate words and still pictures but not moving pictures or sounds, and this medial constraint becomes a generic imperative: newspapers *can* incorporate pictures so they *must* incorporate pictures (just as television must incorporate moving pictures and radio must maximize the potential of its aural possibilities, with sound effects, background music and so on). Pictures become an essential part of the news genre. Then, at the production stage, the choice of pictures is determined by what is technically possible and what is available.

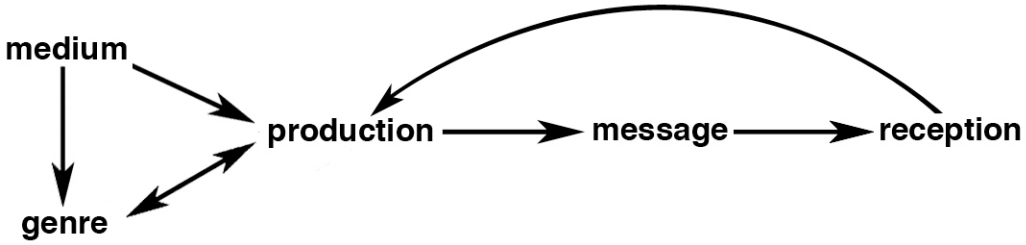
The new model should allow those determinants that are paradigmatic, that is to say, a question of choice, to be disentangled from those that are not. It must find a place for genre that reflects the dialogic relationship between genre and production and the monologic relationship between medium and genre; and the precession of production by medium and partial precession of production by genre thus:

Figure 1: meaning-making stage 1



Further, the model should mark the directional and chronological valves in the system and show the limits of active reception imposed by the one-wayness of the medium and of news genres, and by chronology, as in Figure 2 overleaf.

Figure 2: meaning-making stage 2



4. It can further be said about reception of news texts that evaluation is not the same as interpretation (Corner *et al.*, 1990); that pleasure-taking or gratification is not the same as interpretation; resistance does not lead to renegotiation (ibid); that different evaluations and pleasures, and even different interpretations, do not subvert the text and do not undermine the inscribed message – the essential power of authors to frame audience reception is not challenged and audiences engage in only marginal interpretation (Kitzinger, 1993; Corner *et al.*, 1990; Miller, 1994). Research finds a striking consonance in interpretation that suggests the text can inhere meaning by defining the parameters of interpretation (Corner 1999). 'Active' cannot be equated with 'powerful' and the extent to which audiences genuinely exert power over the text is limited (Ang 1995).

Furthermore, even if a text is subverted or renegotiated by one reader, that does not affect the text-as-sent nor the text-as-received by any other reader. Geertz (1973), one of the leading proponents of the constructivist view that privileges agency, choice and negotiation over structures, processes and ideology, has nevertheless insisted that meaning is public, a 'traffic' in significant symbols. It follows that private contestations of public meaning have limited significance. It follows, too, that such evidence as exists of the contestation of meaning by receivers of news texts could arise from the focus-group methodology employed by most such studies, and the distorting power of the group dynamic. Reading news texts is not normally a public activity; and I suggest readers are much more likely to contest meaning when specifically instructed to think about the meaning of what they have just read, particularly in a group context.

Instead of insisting on parity for reception in a three-part model, it will be more useful to view reception as merely one of a number of contestations or negotiations of meaning that take place, *after* some aspects of meaning have already been inscribed by generic, medial and production factors.

Development of a more sophisticated model for the negotiation of meaning in a newspaper discourse might start with the basic map in Figure 3 below, showing the major negotiations of meaning: between journalist and management structures and routines; between journalist and sources; between journalist and other media; and between journalist and audience. Not shown are the internal and internalized

negotiations within the journalist – with journalistic culture and routine (as opposed to organizational culture and routine), ethics and personal ideology, for instance.

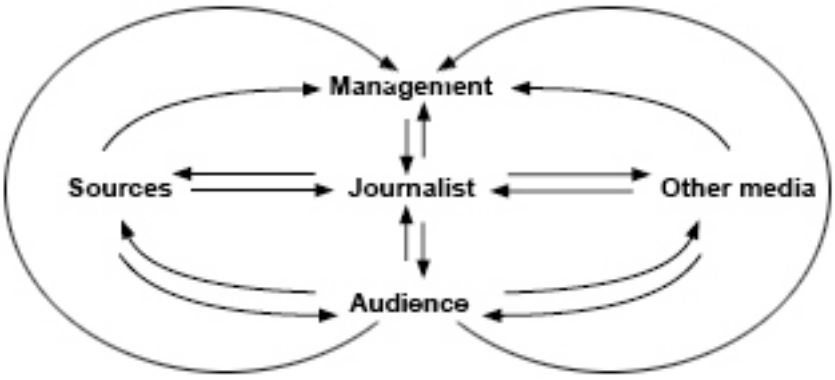
Figure 3: meaning-making stage 3a

Each of these contestations of meaning is either a) essentially monologic (one-way); or b) one contestant is privileged in terms of influence and power; or both. The contestation of meaning between journalist and management, for example, takes place on the basis of an unequal relationship of power, while the contestation of meaning with other media takes place based on an unequal numerical relationship. In terms of negotiations with sources, unequal power relations may again be part of the equation but so may be an 'inequality of professional imperatives' – the journalist being bound by considerations of accuracy and objectivity to produce an accurate (if not necessarily full) account of what the source has said, while the source may not be constrained by any such considerations of objectivity or accuracy. The source may be generally bound to state an accurate case insofar as it goes but is certainly not bound to make his opponent's case. Figure 4, overleaf, shows the basic model in Figure 3 amended to take account of these asymmetrical negotiations.

Figure 4: meaning-making stage 3b

However, Figure 4 does not encompass the totality of negotiations before or during the production process. It takes account of the individual journalist's relationship with other media but not the fact that other media may, for example, share his audiences nor that his editors and managers are professionally interested in the content of other media, particularly competing media. Business sources have relationships of marketing and consumption with the newspaper's audience, may have business relationships with the corporate newspaper (consuming advertising space or supplying goods and services) and may have social or personal relationships with members of the newspaper's management – and any or all of these relationships may produce meaning. Sources may also represent local or national governmental or State bodies that have regulatory or provider/client relationships with both the corporate newspaper and the newspaper's audience; individual politicians or public servants may have social or personal relationships with journalists or newspaper managers. Again, all these relationships may influence meaning. Figure 5 below represents the basic expanded scheme. Note that the journalist's output of meaning is, to some extent, the subject of negotiations to which the journalist is not a party.

Figure 5: meaning-making stage 4

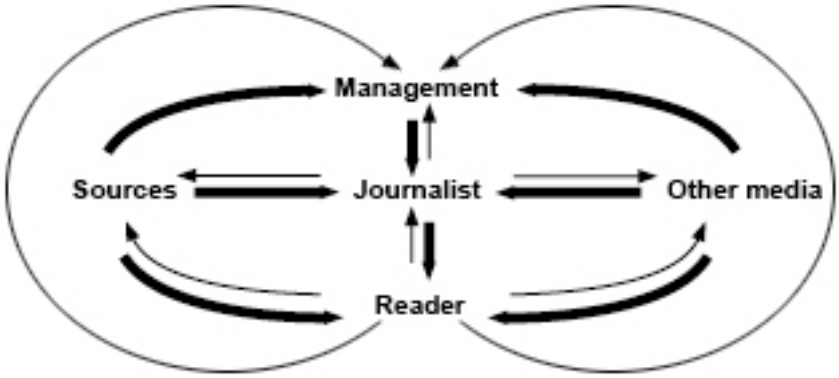


Moreover, some or all of these relationships, too, are either monologic or unequal or both. Business, political, regulatory, social and personal relationships between sources

and newspaper management are monologic insofar as they relate to the output of the newspaper. So, of course, is the relationship between newspaper management and other media. Whatever influence readers have on the content of the transmitted message is a function of their collective role as a market (more accurately in many cases, an imagined market of ideal readers) – which is also the level at which social change can be effected, resisted or endorsed (Figure 6); while any ability to subvert the meaning of the transmitted message is largely a function of the reader acting in isolation (Figure 7).

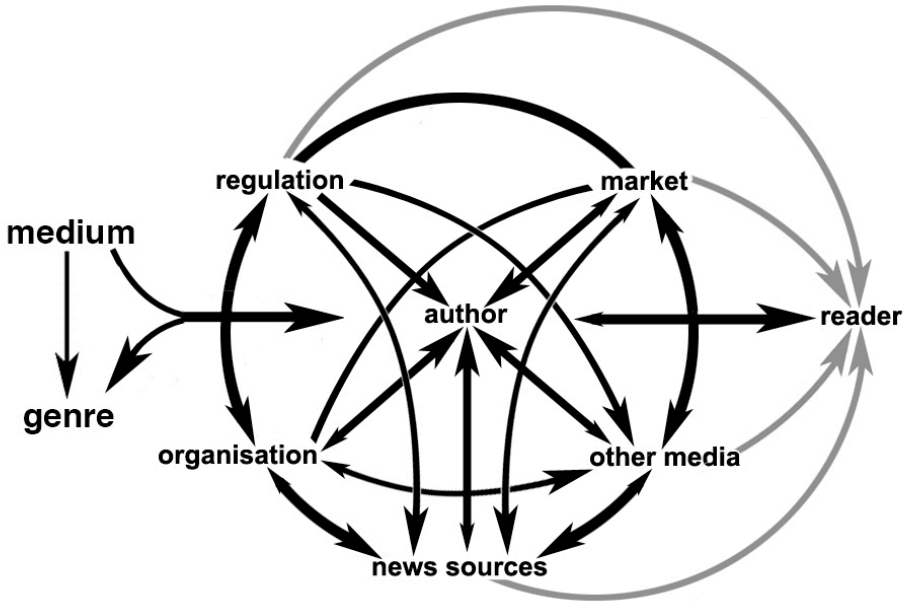
Figure 6: meaning-making stage 5a

Figure 7: meaning-making stage 5b



Therefore, the molecule of meaning, in simplified form, might look something like Figure 8 overleaf.

Figure 8: meaning-making stage 6



Even this model does not include all of the possible negotiations at production level, nor all of the possible interrelations between negotiators. However, it does show how some meaning is inscribed by medial and generic factors prior to production; and it does reduce the role of the receiver to a more realistic level as one among many negotiators of meaning.

According to this model, in which some meaning is inscribed even before production, and more meaning is inscribed during contestations or negotiations to which the journalist is not party, it will be seen that the journalist need not be ideologically motivated in order to produce texts that contain ideological meaning and perform ideological work – and that the journalist need not necessarily be aware of such ideological content. It is capable of accommodating economic determinants, regulatory determinants and source strategies. Furthermore, in marking the influence of other media directly on the journalist and indirectly via sources, management and markets, it helps to account for the discrepancy between active-audience theory, on one hand, and the results of 30 years' work in the agenda-setting and attribute agenda-setting tradition (McCombs *et al.*, Yu, Kiousis) on the other. The latter work has consistently shown that whatever achieves salience in the media also achieves salience in the minds of the reading public, and that newspapers are capable of telling us not only what to think about but also how to think about it.

According to this model adopted above, issues of redundancy and homogeneity in the discourse, of the range of possible interpretations on offer, generic considerations and considerations of proximity, and issues of exclusion, occlusion and omission become paramount. It is not argued here that the social world is textually constructed but neither can it be reasonably argued that texts are without social causal effect. I hold with Fairclough that texts have social, political, cognitive, moral and material consequences. We can assert some regularity of cause and effect; and if we stop short of textual determinism, we can at least argue for textual relativity – that different texts produce different effects, for example, and that different orders of discourse produce different orders of effect. The mass effect of a large number of similarly framed texts with similar attributes will have predictable effects on the mass of receivers. For instance, a discourse that at all times identifies and names both the agents of social actions and causes of social effects must produce different effects from those produced by a discourse that constantly represents social effects as being the product of natural processes and represents social actions as being without agency.

This dissertation is underpinned by a number of theoretical assumptions that flow from the model explained above. These assumption, or theories, are: that audiences can negotiate meaning only from the range of interpretations offered; that reception is only one of a number of processes during which meaning is negotiated, and many contestations of meaning take place prior to and during the production process; that, in determining the range of meanings offered, negotiators do not negotiate from positions of equal strength and influence; that texts need not be ideologically motivated in order to perform ideological work; that audiences are less likely to resist messages that are covertly or even unintentionally ideological; and that journalists themselves are influenced by the media discourse.

In this context, following Hall (1997), I propose that analysis of the newspaper heritage discourse should include analysis of:

1. Statements about heritage – and the homogeneity of such statements and the frequency and force with which they are repeated
2. The determinants that govern what is ‘sayable’ or ‘thinkable’ about heritage – as well as what is not sayable and thinkable

3. How these statements acquire authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth' – whether statements made about heritage are internally warranted by evidence, by the authority of claims-makers or by assumption
4. 'Subjects' who in some way personify the discourse – and subjects who are occluded or excluded from the discourse. I define occluded subjects as subjects whose agency is not identified, to the advantage of the subject; and excluded subjects as subjects whose interaction is not recognized, to the disadvantage of the subject.
5. The practices within institutions for dealing with heritage; the practices within newspapers for mediating heritage; and the practices for negotiating meaning and transferring salience from the former to the latter

Hall (1997) further argues the importance of acknowledging that a different discourse or episteme will arise at a later historical moment, supplanting the existing one (and that different epistemes existed at earlier historical moments).

My main reference point within the existing literature is to the work of Fairclough (2003) in operationalizing and extending the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly that of Halliday (1978, 1994), for discourse analysis. SFL is 'profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts' (Fairclough 2003, p5). Fairclough's most recent work has been particularly orientated towards textual manifestations of the social transformations of what he terms 'new capitalism'. Another advantage of SFL is that it can be applied at different levels of abstraction, from the most concrete and quantitative corpus analysis to the most abstract and qualitative discursive approach. Since this research attempts to fix both the nature and the extent of the newspaper discourse on heritage, it takes an intermediate approach, analysing a large number of texts at an intermediate level of abstraction and Fairclough's methods are well suited to this task. The research also takes account of elements of Appraisal Theory, another extension of SFL, developed by Iedema *et al.* (1994), Christie and Martin (1997), Martin (2000), White (1998, 2000 and 2002).

However, since this research goes beyond asking: 'How is heritage represented in Irish newspapers?' and goes on to ask: 'Why is heritage represented in this way?' and to examine what aspects of newspaper structure and practice and medial constraints determine the discourse, the research also references Agenda-setting theory and method, in particular the work of McCombs (2003, 2005), Yu (2005) and Kiousis (2004), as well as Manning (2001) on sources and Hamilton (2004) on market influences.

The study is in two phases: the first phase is an analysis of some 1,200 heritage-related newspaper texts and the second phase is a follow-up survey of journalists that is intended to shed further light on trends and tendencies revealed in the content analysis. The first phase of the study involved analysis of the content of the three Irish daily broadsheet newspapers, *The Irish Times*, the *Irish Examiner* and the *Irish Independent*, for material relating to heritage. The content-analysis phase was designed to collect a body of texts sufficiently large to provide the study with a firm quantitative, empirical basis yet small enough to permit a careful qualitative reading of each text. The aim, in Fairclough's words, is to 'transcend the division between work inspired by social theory that does not analyse texts; and work that focuses on the language of texts but tends not to engage with social theoretical issues' (Fairclough 2003, p2-3).

All three newspapers appear six times per week, from Monday to Saturday inclusive. The texts were collected in four samples: three in discrete 14-day periods in October 2004, October 2005 and April 2005; and one at nine-day intervals in January, February, March and April 2006. The first sample covered a period of two weeks from Monday, October 4, 2004, to Saturday, October 16, 2004, inclusive. The second sample covered the period from Monday, April 4, to Saturday, April 16, 2005, inclusive. The third sample covered the period from Monday, October 3, 2005, to Saturday, October 15, 2005, inclusive. The fourth sample was collected between Janaury and April 2006 on the following dates: Tuesday, January 10; Thursday, January 19; Saturday, January 28; Monday, February 6; Wednesday, February 15; Friday, February 24; Tuesday, March 7; Thursday, March 16; Saturday, March 25; Monday, April 3; Wednesday, April 12, and Friday, April 21. In this way, 48 issues of each newspaper or 144 issues in all were assembled, covering a 19-month period from October 2004 to April 2006. The first three samples were collected in discrete, two-week blocks so that ongoing but short-lived controversies could be tracked over a number of days, enabling the immediate

responses to breaking stories of other interested parties to be monitored and allowing for a nuanced appreciation of how the coverage of particular stories unfolded. The fourth sample was collected over the longer period January to April as an extra measure, allowing for continuing stories and responses to be monitored over a more protracted four-month period. Taken together, the four samples offer three 'snapshots' and one longer 'clip' (albeit of lower resolution) of controversies that unfolded or continued over the 19 months of the analysis.

Any useful analysis of a discourse, especially one such as this, taking a representational approach, must concern itself with how meanings are negotiated. In the context of newspaper representations, this means studying how meanings are negotiated *within* the newspapers (for example, between journalists and managers, between sections of the newspapers with different values and market orientations, such as the business section and the arts section, and between specialist journalists with conflicting or overlapping areas of interest, such as the business correspondent and the environmental correspondent), *between* the newspapers and between claims-makers on all sides of the discourse in their dealings with journalists and with the newspapers, via the letters pages and through source strategies and publicity campaigns.

For the same reason, the analysis is not confined to the 'hard news' pages of the newspapers but refers to all sections of the newspapers, including the magazine and features sections, the sport section and even the specialized property and business supplements. All editorial content in a newspaper benefits to some extent from the authority and trustworthiness accorded to news and even the more-blatant 'aditorials' ('aditorial' is a portmanteau for 'editorial' and 'advertisement', an alternative form being 'advertorial') are legitimated by the newspaper's flag, which derives its authority and trustworthiness from its hard-news coverage. These 'aditorials' are also conferred with 'generic verisimilitude' (Neale 1981) by the couching of the stories in news genre and the presentation of the stories in the same typographical style as news stories: it can be seen at a glance that these articles promoting the sale of houses are not, according to the norms of our culture, 'real news' yet, troublingly, they appear to requite all the *generic* conditions for news. One aspect of new capitalism is an immense proliferation of promotional genres, which constitutes a part of the colonization of new areas of social life by markets: towns and cities, for instance, now need to promote themselves

individually to attract tourists and investment, a task formerly performed by centralized state agencies but now devolved to individual towns and cities under neo-liberal trends towards privatisation, competition, decentralisation and devolvement of responsibility (Wernick 1991). Furthermore, all texts in a newspaper contribute to the overall connoted and denoted message being transmitted; indeed, 'soft' news stories, 'wackies' (very short offbeat pieces), humorous pieces and lifestyle features may carry more subtle signifcations than 'straight' news stories. As argued above, different representations of heritage in differently orientated sections of the newspapers and contained within different newspaper genres all contribute to the production of the negotiated 'meaning' of heritage being transmitted.

The study, therefore, includes every editorial text (that is, any text, including written texts and images, produced by journalists) in any section of the newspapers, containing any reference to heritage. As stated earlier, 'heritage' is as delimited in the Heritage Act 1995 and falls into three broad areas: built heritage (including prehistoric and historic buildings and artefacts and modern public or monumental architecture); landscape and seascape heritage; and wildlife heritage and biodiversity. In addition, the study analyses texts with clear heritage implications in which the heritage aspect was marginalized or omitted.

The first phase: content analysis – quantity & rationale

For each text, I logged the following quantities:

1. Day and date: To reveal whether, for any reason, heritage texts were more likely to appear on particular days of the week and whether, consequently, the nature of the discourse varied from day to day or was in any way dependent on the day of the week.

2. Newspaper title: Whether there were significant differences in the representation of heritage between the titles; and to determine the extent of redundancy and homogeneity in the newspaper heritage discourse.

3. Section of newspaper: News, magazine, supplement *etc.* – to see whether there were differences of genre between sections, whether genres from one section invaded others, whether there was mixing of genres within sections and within texts and whether there were generic implications for the way in which heritage was represented.

4. By-line: To determine whether or not heritage stories were being written by a small number of more or less specialized journalists. For the purposes of this phase, the research is concerned with *assigned* authorship. I do not intend, now or later, to concern myself with structuralist or poststructuralist objections to emphasizing agency, except within the narrow confines of newspaper organization. Agents have their own causal powers that are not reducible to the causal powers of social structures and practices (Fairclough 2003, Archer 1995, 2000). Every newspaper text is both the product of a process and of a number of agents. I have treated headlines separately. I will further address a number of issues relating to collective production, including journalistic autonomy, comparative power and temporally located aspects of production, at the survey phase of the study.

5. Designation (correspondent, editor *etc.*): To determine whether journalistic speciality affected representations of heritage and whether there was a discrete heritage beat.

6. Illustration: The number, size and content of illustrations and their relationship to the texts; the importance of the availability of illustration as a determinant of scale and location and/or publication; the sources of illustrations; the population of pictures.

7. Length of text/overall display: To determine the overall space devoted to heritage issues and the ratio of text to pictures and other display items within that space; and to analyse what aspects of the story helped to determine the amount of space allocated to it. 'Other display items' above refers to headlines and subsidiary headlines; standfirsts (a separate introductory paragraph, often in larger or bolder type than the main text); photocaptions; photo-by-lines (a by-line accompanied by or incorporating a photograph of the author); pullquotes (a quote reproduced from the main text and set in larger type to form a graphic element); breakers and crossheads (smaller headlines or quotes designed to give visual relief to long passages of text); drop capitals (extra-large capital letters scattered through the text to provide visual relief); and other graphic elements such as logos and maps.

References below to the length of stories are given in inches rather than metric measurement. As someone who has worked as a journalist for many years, I have found that colleagues continue to think in inches for such purposes.

8. Genre (hard, soft, opinion *etc.*): In order to determine where heritage stories reside and what weight and significance are given to heritage discourse and whether there are generic implications for the way in which heritage is represented, the texts are categorized according to the following scheme of recognized news genres:

- 'hard news' – ostensibly objective, third-person narrative report confined to facts and relevant third-party testimony and opinion;
- 'soft news' – narrative report containing news but also overtly first-person impressions and subjective judgements;
- 'wacky' – short news report of 'outlandish' or 'offbeat' occurrence, usually foreign;
- 'opinion' – overtly first-person opinion of signed columnist or, in the case of editorials ('leaders') overtly opinionated unsigned column understood to represent the views of the publication personified;

- ‘feature’ – longer articles tending to include a mixture of obejctive fact and the subjective opinions/impressions of the author and/or interviewee(s);
- ‘information’ – usually short piece, often adjunct to a feature, containing condensed information, eg: a ‘how to get there’ panel accompanying a travel feature, containing flight details and prices; or a stand-alone notice of a forthcoming event;
- ‘aditorial’ – also referred to as ‘advertorial’: a text that is essentially an advertisement (for property, clothes, consumer goods *etc.*) but written in the style and form of a news story;
- ‘letter’ – a letter to the editor; and
- ‘extended photocaption’ – where a photograph is not accompanied by a news story, but, instead, by an extended caption combining the functions of a caption and a news story, identifying the people or objects in the photograph and explaining the context.

9. Coding (positive, negative): Each text was coded ‘positive towards heritage’ (‘positive’) or ‘negative towards heritage’ (‘negative’)’, that is to say each text was coded as representing heritage in a more positive than negative, or more negative than positive, light. In most cases, this means a particular example or aspect of heritage in a particular context – for example, the newly discovered archaeology at Tara being portrayed as less valuable or less necessary than the planned M3 motorway – rather than heritage in general, though some extreme representations of heritage are negative towards heritage in general. Throughout this discussion, then, the terms ‘negative’ and ‘negative towards heritage’ generally mean ‘negative towards a particular object or aspect of heritage’. It can be reasonably assumed that an accumulation of texts that are more negative than positive towards this or that heritage object or aspect of heritage are collectively transmitting a message that is more negative than positive towards heritage as a whole, and *vice versa*. However, the limits of any such system of coding are recognized. For example, given that many of the texts are framed in a context of conflict, the question has to be asked whether a story can be said to represent heritage in a positive light even where the text comes down on the side of heritage. I have coded texts as negative wherever heritage is represented as *giving rise to conflict* yet it seems to me that the cumulative effect of representing heritage as constantly involved in

conflict, even as the innocent victim, can hardly fail to be negative. Furthermore, though a majority of texts in the feature and review pages and in the supplements have been coded 'positive', there is this proviso: that they fall within the consumption news paradigm, that is they represent heritage as worthwhile, predominantly or only to the extent that it possesses a convertible market value, rather than any intrinsic value. As I have already argued, this representation of heritage as possessing only commodity value promotes the idea that heritage must justify its existence on economic grounds (it must 'pay its own way'); and necessarily entails the idea that if heritage is in conflict with something more economically valuable, then the heritage object must make way.

Each text was coded 'positive' or 'negative' using a coding matrix comprising the following criteria:

Negative towards heritage

- Is there an assumption/implication or definitive statement that 'development' is of its very nature beneficial?
- Is loss of heritage represented as an opportunity?
- Is a development or development in general represented as being more valuable or more necessary than the heritage with which it is in conflict?
- Is heritage represented as giving rise to conflict?
- Is heritage represented as causing delay?
- Is heritage represented as overly expensive?
- Are a majority of sources within the text negative towards heritage?
- Are the sources awarded 'authority' footing (Quantity 10 below) negative towards heritage?
- Are heritage protagonists represented as eccentric and abnormal, or selfish, and/or are development protagonists represented as right-thinking, admirable, practical and philanthropic?
- In balanced, straightforward conflict stories, does the headline make a definitive choice in favour of development (*e.g.* a story dealing with a planning appeal in which the heritage protagonists are successful leaves the choice of headlines: 'Castle saved' or 'Development rejected')
- Is the importance of a development explained and contextualized but that of the heritage object not?

- Does a preferred development reading have discursive ascendancy? Is a development source the primary definer?

Positive towards heritage

- Is there an assumption/implication or definitive statement that 'heritage' is of its very nature beneficial?
- Is loss of heritage represented as a calamity or threat?
- Is a heritage object or heritage in general represented as being more valuable or more necessary than the development with which it is in conflict?
- Is heritage represented as the innocent or passive victim of conflict?
- Is heritage represented as instructive, *i.e.* as embodying tradition or cultural memory?
- Are a majority of sources within the text positive towards heritage?
- Are the sources awarded 'authority' footing (Quantity 10 below) positive towards heritage?
- Are heritage protagonists represented as reasonable and altruistic and/or are development protagonists represented as greedy, mercenary or corrupt?
- In balanced, straightforward conflict stories, does the headline make a definitive choice in favour of heritage?
- Is the importance of the heritage object explained and contextualized but that of the development not?
- Does a preferred heritage reading have discursive ascendancy? Is a heritage source the primary definer?

10. Sources quoted/cited, source type and footing: Who are the claims-makers in heritage discourse? For example, how frequently are heritage bodies, either statutory or NGO, cited or quoted as sources in heritage texts?

- Texts are categorized as single source or multiple source, single perspective or multiple perspective. Did source 'balancing' apply equally to sources on both sides of the conflict?
- The number and category of each source is recorded. Sources are identified as primary, secondary, tertiary definers as applicable. Primary sources are defined on the basis of prominence and position, space accorded and concordance with

the headline/intro (in other words, with the primary thesis of the text). A second or subsequent confirmatory source, reinforcing the primary thesis of the text is classified as a primary source. Secondary sources are defined as providing a secondary but subordinate perspective. Tertiary sources are defined as providing a third but subordinate perspective. For example, in the text '16 homes for Eaton Brae House site' (*The Irish Times*, 06/10/2005), a report on a decision by An Bord Pleanála in relation to a planning permission for a protected historic structure, the developers and the planning authority are in agreement and, since their perspective is given the most space and prominence, both are defined as primary sources. Two altruistically motivated objectors who objected on the grounds of the detrimental impact on the protected structure itself, and are given less space and prominence, are defined as secondary sources. A privately motivated neighbour who objected on the grounds of the impact on the value of her house/enjoyment of her property and who wanted the permission varied rather than set aside, was given even less space and prominence and is defined as a tertiary source.

- Sources are categorized as government or Opposition political; suprastate (UN, EU), state agencies and statutory bodies; local government; academic; lobby groups, non-governmental (NGO) and voluntary groups; community; and private citizen.
- Texts are analyzed for source footing: how is the authority of each source established within the text? Which sources are represented as 'arbiters' and which as 'advocates' (Deacon and Golding, 1994: 171–4)? For example, is a source introduced as an 'authority' or 'expert' or as a 'campaigner' or 'protestor'?

11. Subject matter: The heritage issues and aspects of heritage that constitute the discourse. Do different types of heritage object attract different representations?

12. Bracketing/occlusion/omission: To identify texts in which an implicit or explicit heritage aspect was omitted; or dealt with in such a desultory fashion as to be tantamount to omission; or 'bracketed' – parked or set aside to avoid controversy. To identify 'occluded' and 'excluded' subjects (as defined above, Page 40). In order for a heritage aspect to be logged as omitted or bracketed, it had to fulfil two conditions: a)

the heritage aspect had to be significant and b) there had to be a substantive trigger. 'Significant' means that the heritage object, landscape or habitat omitted or bracketed must have at least community importance; for example, the demolition or major remodelling of a single Victorian house might reasonably be deemed not to constitute, in itself, a significant event in heritage terms but would be deemed significant if it was a listed or protected building, if there was some particular historic or arcitectural importance attached to it, or if, say, it was the last or near-last example in a wider locality, or if, say, it was in the middle of a terrace of houses that, collectively, are of community-wide importance. 'Substantive trigger' means implicit or explicit evidence of a significant heritage aspect, either within the text itself (internal trigger), or within the body of texts dealing with that particular story (intertextual trigger), or already established within the continuing discourse relating to that specific subject or theme (discourse trigger).

The texts 'Retail units show good yield for investors' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004) and 'Begin a new life in the Old Quarter' (*Irish Examiner*, 16/04/2005) are examples of the internal trigger. The substantive trigger in this case was the name of the development for which investors were being solicited, the Old Quarter, as well as passing references within the texts to Ballincollig Barracks. These hinted that the development of a large mixed commercial and residential project might involve the demolition of Ballincollig Barracks, an extensive (90 acres) and historically important establishment with its origins in the 18th century – and such proved to be the case, though the texts made no explicit reference to the controversial demolition nor the legal dispute over the sale of the site in 2003. The stories headlined 'City centre fire' (*Irish* Examiner, 15/10/2004), 'Belfast assesses fire damage' (*The Irish* Times, 15/10/2004) and 'Christmas stock destroyed in mystery city centre blaze' (*Irish Independent*, 15/10/2004) constitute a good example of an intertextual trigger. The *Irish Examiner* story concentrated on the heritage implications of the destruction through fire of an architecturally and historically important city-centre block in Belfast, but also mentioned the economic and financial impilications; the *Irish Independent* majored on the economic and financial consequences, but gave as much space, though less prominence, to the heritage implications as the *Examiner*; while *The Irish Times* marginalized the heritage aspect, devoting a single sentence to it. In this case, *The Irish Times* text was logged as an omission text. The Tara-M3 discourse will serve as a good example (albeit hypothetical)

of a discourse trigger. By the time the content analysis commenced in 2004, the controversy over the internationally important archaeological remains at Tara had already established itself as the predominant news frame in the discourse relating to the construction of the M3 motorway. Any text on the subject of the M3 that failed to mention the heritage controversy could be considered an omission text, at least until a new news frame established predominance. In the event, of 33 M3-related stories in the corpus of texts, not one omitted the heritage controversy; and before going on to example cases of the exclusion and occlusion of subjects, this seems an opportune moment to stress that logging omissions, bracketing and occlusions is not a normative exercise. It is not contended that, for instance, every text related to the M3 ought to reference Tara, or that every text concerning the Belfast fire ought to mention the heritage aspect; rather, the contention is that counting the M3 texts that omit to mention Tara is at least as valid an exercise as counting those that do not, and that inquiring why an M3 text failed to mention Tara is as valid an exercise as attempting to establish why another M3 text made prominent reference to the archaeological complex.

Occlusion – that is to say, the omission of the subject to the subject's advantage – will be seen to be closely related to the concept of reification and the phenomena of nominalization and naturalization discussed at greater length on Page 137. It is hypothesised that, typically, the occluded subject will be the principal or principals of private companies behind controversial or potentially controversial developments; or, in the case of civil infrastuctural projects, the politician or politicians responsible for the decision to build the project. In the former case, the omission of the subject is often the prelude to – and, of course, a prerequisite for – the occlusion of agency altogether, with development being represented as an inevitable or even natural phenomenon; but even the simple occlusion of the subject in itself allows for the representation of a development as an economic benefit to all rather than primarily to the person who stands to reap the bulk of the reward. In the latter case, the occlusion of the politician or politicians responsible for the decision to build the project disguises the political and ideological motivation behind it – for example, the National Roads Authority (NRA) is frequently represented as the prime mover in road projects, even though the agency is merely charged with implementing government policy. It will be seen that exclusion – that is to say, the omission of the subject to the subject's disadvantage – is closely related to the concept of bracketing. Typically, it is hypothesised, excluded subjects will

be those voicing oppositional or controversial views that run counter to the 'commonsense' or market view.

Further examples of all of the above will be given in Section 12 of Chapter 4 (Page 111), where the bracketing/occlusion/omission results are analysed.

13. Area (built, landscape, biodiversity): To determine whether these aspects of heritage are represented differently – specifically whether there is a difference between the representation of built heritage, on the one hand, and environmental heritage, with its overlap with the established news paradigm of 'the environment', on the other.

14. Page number: Useful indicator, in conjunction with considerations of length, illustration and overall display, of the weight and significance awarded to heritage texts.

15. News paradigm: This value categorizes the texts on the basis of a taxonomy of ideological choice rather than, as in 'framing', on the basis of interpretative frameworks that are each capable of accommodating several contradictory and even opposite ideological world-views. I use the term 'paradigm' in a way analogous to its linguistic application, *i.e.* the texts collectively form a syntagmatic continuum along the X or horizontal axis and I have grouped the texts into Y or vertical axes, 'news paradigms', on the basis of the ideological or representational choices made within each text, as evidenced by the claims and assumptions it makes about heritage. The term 'news paradigm' may be thought of as similar (within the narrow context of the newspaper discourse) to Foucault's 'discursive formation' as defined by Cousins and Hussain (1984): when discursive events 'refer to the same object, share the same style and… support a strategy… a common institutional or political drift and pattern', they are said to belong to the same discursive formation. In this case, all the discursive events are texts, all refer to the same object (heritage) and all share the same style (newspaper genres), so they may be grouped into discursive formations on the basis of their 'institutional or political drift and pattern' as evidenced by the claims and assumptions they make. Again, it may be helpful to think of Hamilton's term 'representational paradigm' (1997), which he applies to groups of texts that display 'a common agenda of central themes which expressed a "world-view"'. Thus, for example, if a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is intrinsically valuable, it

belongs in what I have labelled the 'heritage' paradigm, as do all texts making similar claims or assumptions that share the same ideological world-view. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is valuable largely or wholly to the extent that it can be exchanged or consumed, it belongs in what I have labelled the 'consumption' paradigm. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is the victim of conflict or generates conflict – for instance, all of the avian flu-related stories in the corpus of texts make the claim that heritage, in the shape of wildlife, is in conflict with human health – it belongs in what I have labelled the 'conflict' paradigm. Each news paradigm comprises a set of claims, assumptions and implications, categorized by one 'master-claim'. The master paradigms that might be expected to be present in the discourse are listed below, along with some potential sub-claims.

Master-claims/assumptions of heritage news paradigms:

Conflict = Heritage is at the centre of conflict

Sub-claims =

- Heritage generates conflict
- Development generates conflict
- Heritage conflict is inevitable
- Heritage is the concern of 'others', unreasonable people not like 'us' – cranks, foreigners, ivory-tower academics *etc.*
- Heritage is self-conflicting

Consumption = Heritage has a commodity value and is good to the extent that it can be consumed

Sub-claims =

- Heritage is good elsewhere but not here
- Heritage is good here but not elsewhere
- Heritage is good when endorsed by/associated with Celebrity N

- The destruction of heritage is good/inevitable when required by something more valuable
- Heritage is the concern only of locals
- Heritage is the concern only of outsiders
- Heritage must pay its way/justify its existence in economic terms
- Heritage adds cachet and value to other commodities
- The cachet and value added by heritage to other commodities can survive the destruction of the heritage

Compromise = Heritage and development can co-exist with minimum impact on each other

Sub-claims =

- Development can co-exist with minimum impact on the most important heritage sites
- Some level of heritage loss is inevitable
- 'Key' heritage should be preserved

Development = Development is intrinsically good, regardless of impact or outcome

Sub-claims =

- Development is a natural process, continuous, progressive and inevitable
- Every act of construction, destruction or demolition is a development
- Heritage must make way for development (sacrifice)
- Loss of heritage is an opportunity for development
- Heritage represents old-fashioned, 'pre-Tiger' Ireland and is outmoded, obsolete and/or anachronous
- Old heritage must be overwritten. Celtic Tiger Ireland needs a new heritage reflecting cultural change (palimpsest)
- There is an overabundance of heritage

Sustainability = Development has negative impacts but society can develop its way out of the negative impacts

Heritage = Heritage is intrinsically good

Sub-claims =

- Development must always be conditional on the preservation of heritage
- Heritage is an integral component of cultural identity

Environment = Environment is intrinsically good even when it has negative impacts on heritage (*e.g.* wind farms)

Cost = Heritage is good but too expensive to preserve/maintain

Crime = Heritage is the victim of crime

Sub-claims =

- Heritage gives rise to crime

For a discussion of the news paradigms actually present and claims actually made, see Chapter 4, Page 120 *et sec*. Further examples of claims made can be found on Pages 187-191.

Because the content analysis reveals that the fault line of the ideological conflict lies overwhelmingly between the ideology of conservation and the ideology of development, two opposite and inverse continua are employed, the 'heritage' and 'development' continua. The hypothetical extremes are expressed by the master-claims 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable and must be conserved at all costs' and 'Heritage is worthless and obstructive and must be destroyed' (heritage continuum); and 'Development is intrinsically beneficial in every case, regardless of impact' and

‘Development is intrinsically destructive in every case, regardless of benefit’ (development continuum).

As stated above, each news paradigm comprises a set of claims, assumptions and implications, categorized by one ‘master-claim’. While each individual news paradigm is therefore categorical and mutually exclusive, any text may contain two or more such master-claims or modified versions thereof, siting that particular text between two news paradigms on the X axis. The essential difference between this paradigmatic approach and ‘framing’ is that any two texts making ideologically opposite claims will go to opposite ends of the continuum, even if they are sited within the same interpretative framework. When all the texts are analyzed for claims about heritage, and all the texts are logged onto the continua, the precise ideological locus of the discourse will stand revealed.

16. Headlines: The text as interpreted or reinterpreted by ‘gatekeepers’. Though reasonable balance may be achieved within the body of a text, pressure of space – and an unwillingness to appear indecisive or equivocal in what is the main ‘seller’ of a text – often dictates that the headline makes a definitive choice. The headline is also the single most reliable indicator as to why the editors selected this story for inclusion in the first place. I analysed the headlines for verb use, passive/active voice, presence or absence of animate actants/reactants *etc*.

17. Evans’s test: Harold Evans, newspaper practitioner and theorist, divides news stories into two broad categories that he terms ‘action stories’ and ‘statement/opinion stories’ or ‘say stories’ (Evans 1972). He does so according to whether a story is predicated on some actual event or on what someone has said has happened or is happening or will happen. ‘Such a formulation does provide at least a useful starting point for a systematic taxonomy of news reporting text types’ (White 1998, p172). For those stories predicated on actual events, I have categorized the ‘event’ stories as ‘unexpected’, ‘scheduled’, ‘predicted’, ‘managed’ and ‘managed response’ in an attempt to analyse how far the heritage discourse is influenced by the communications strategies of various claims-makers .

18. Geography: Texts are classified by region and county, where applicable, and/or by urban and rural – towards analysing to what extent the journalistic convention of propinquity, and ostensible market imperatives, determine the conduct of the heritage discourse.

19. Claims and warrants, preferred reading/discursive ascendancy: The evidential basis *within texts* for claims made in or by those texts. Whether such claims are internally warranted or supported by a) assumption, b) authority or c) intertextually, that is to say, on the basis of the frequency of the claim's repetition in previous texts. Has a preferred reading been inscribed? Does one of two or more possible readings have discursive ascendancy?

The second phase: survey of journalists

The second phase of the study comprised a survey of practitioners by means of questionaire. The population of the survey was universal; that is to say all journalists who had contributed a significant number of texts (four or more) in the content analysis, 56 journalists in all, were invited to participate in the survey. These journalists contributed 477 texts between them and worked for or contributed to all three newspapers in very similar proportions to the number of texts contributed by each newspaper to the content analysis: *The Irish Times* (480 texts [41%], 30 journalists [44%]), the *Irish Independent* (308 texts [25%], 13 journalists [20%]), and the *Irish Examiner* (402 texts [34%], 24 journalists [33%]). Some journalists wrote for more than one newspaper. The journalists to whom the survey was sent covered every category represented in the content analysis – staff and freelance, general news reporters, regional correspondents and special-beat correspondents including marine, agriculture, environment, politics, agribusiness, development, property, science, travel and forestry, feature writers, opinion columnists and special-interest contributors on topics such as angling, wildlife and meteorology, as well as a number of department heads and editors.

As with all such surveys, a balance had to be struck between producing a questionaire that would yield the maximum amount of information and producing one that would be so long and complex as to deter voluntary participation. I was unable to find a ready-made or previously tested instrument designed to answer precisely the questions raised by this study's theoretical approach and by the results of the content analysis, so an

instrument had to be devised specifically. I opted for a 21-question survey comprising long and short questions and taking about 30 minutes to complete – as much time as I felt I could reasonably ask busy professionals to devote to the questionaire with any prospect of a large enough response to give the survey statistical weight. It was felt that somewhere about a 33% response rate – about 18-20 journalists – would achieve such weight. The questionaire is included at Appendix B.

The survey was collected online, using one of the many commercial survey-collecting services available, www.surveymonkey.com. The software used by this particular site meant that some basic data analysis could be performed online, but that the individual responses could be preserved intact and downloaded for verification purposes and for more detailed analysis and cross-correlation.

Question 1 sought basic details – name, publication, staff or freelance, job title, beat and email address.

Questions 2, 3 and 4 tested personal ideology and personal attitudes to heritage, in order to compare their professed personal ideologies and attitudes with those expressed in their actual journalistic output. Respondents were asked to categorize their personal political philosophies (Q.2) as conservative, liberal, Christian democrat (centre-right), social democrat (centre-left), left wing, centrist, pragmatist, none or 'other'. Next (Q.3), they were asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the 23 most often repeated claims about heritage revealed in the content analysis. In Q.4, they were asked to choose a preferred outcome to the continuing controversy over Tara and the M3 from a list of options.

Question 5 was designed to test the hypothesis that the level of homogeneity and redundancy in the heritage discourse revealed by the content analysis is at least partly due to the work practices of journalists. Using the Tara controversy as an archetype, respondents were asked where they had largely derived their knowledge of the story and given a range of options – school or college, books and journals, the internet, other media or some other source.

Questions 6 and 7 were related to journalists' education and training. Q.6 sought to explore whether respondents had gained the bulk of their professional expertise in an academic milieu, through formal vocational training or, by osmosis, from colleagues, superiors and/or experience. Q.7 enquired what subjects the respondents had studied formally at third or fourth level, to explore whether the choice of subject had any bearing on attitudes to heritage; might, for example, someone who had studied history have a more benign attitude to heritage than someone who had studied business or economics, and would this be reflected in their output?

Questions 8 and 9 sought to establish whether various publications had a style book in active use, and to explore the extent to which respondents were aware of their particular publication's style policies.

Questions 10 to 14 related to journalists' relationships with and attitudes to sources, and to their view of their publication's attitude to sources. In Q.10 and Q.11, respondents were asked what sources they would have recourse to in order to research the heritage and development aspects of a proposed development with implications for heritage. In Q.12, respondents were asked to what extent their publications insisted (if at all) on a second, corroborative source and/or a second, counterbalancing source. Q.13 asked whether and, if so, how often, second sources were not sought a) due to time pressure and b) for fear of 'killing' a story. Q.14 asked respondents to rank a range of source types in order of perceived authoritativeness.

Questions 15 to 18 explored the relative input of journalists and editorial executives in determining what stories were chosen and how those stories were mediated. To what extent were story ideas self-generated or assigned (Q.15)? Who decided on the main thrust or angle of the story (Q.16)? How often, if ever, was the thrust or angle of a story significantly changed during the production process, either by the editing of the text itself or by the addition of other elements such as headlines, photographs and captions (Q.17 and Q.18)?

Question 19 asked respondents how important they thought was the availability of a suitable photograph in determining the inclusion or treatment of a story.

Question 20 asked respondents to rate the relative importance awarded to certain news values by their publications in selecting stories.

Finally, Question 21 asked respondents what changes in their publication's coverage of heritage affairs might flow from the hypothetical appointment of a heritage editor or correspondent. Respondents were provided with a range of potential outcomes and a space in which to add their own suggestions.

Taken together, the content analysis and survey of journalists are designed to illuminate the five areas of investigation stipulated by Hall, as adapted and adopted above (Page 39-40).

1. Statements about heritage – and the homogeneity of such statements, and the frequency and force with which they are repeated. This will be achieved by logging the subject matter of each text; and by analyzing the claims made about heritage within each text and cross-comparing the two quantities; and by probing journalists' reliance on other media.
2. The determinants that govern what is 'sayable' or 'thinkable' about heritage – as well as what is not sayable and thinkable. Investigations in this area will attempt to establish why certain claims about heritage are frequently repeated while others are marginalised by: analysing sources and source types; checking frequently repeated claims against journalists' personal ideology and professional culture; testing subject matter and claims and warrants against different newspaper genres and sections; and by investigating what types of journalist write most frequently about heritage-related subject matter.
3. How these statements acquire authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth'. This will be achieved by analyzing claims and warrants to see whether statements made about heritage are internally warranted by evidence, by the authority of claims-makers or by assumption; and by analyzing sources to determine whether they are awarded 'arbiter' or 'advocate' footing and by categorizing sources as primary, secondary and tertiary definers. Investigations at the survey stage will reveal journalistic attitudes to trustworthiness and authority of different sources and source types.

4. ‘Subjects’ who in some way personify the discourse – and subjects who are occluded or excluded from the discourse. This will be achieved by analyzing sources by type and according to the institutions they represent, and by analyzing stories, headlines and illustrations for the presence or absence of actants and reactants. Further investigations at the survey stage will reveal journalists’ preferred sources and source types and shed light on why certain sources and source types are preferred and others largely ignored.
5. The practices within institutions for dealing with heritage; the practices within newspapers for mediating heritage; and the practices for negotiating meaning and transferring salience from the former to the latter. Investigations in this area will include determining: who within each newspaper organization is in overall control of the heritage discourse, if anyone, and who is most influential; who determines what stories the journalists cover; whether texts are significantly changed during the production process; how important source strategies, such as the provision of illustration, are in determining the inclusion/prominence of a particular story; what strategies are in place within newspaper organizations to defend against manipulation by sources; and what effect market pressures have on the discourse, in terms both of the influence of advertisers and of the geographical spread of core readerships.

Given the model of meaning-making proposed above (Page 38), as well as the theories founded upon it and outlined on Page 39 (that audiences can negotiate meaning only from the range of interpretations offered; that reception is only one of a number of processes during which meaning is negotiated, and many contestations of meaning take place prior to and during the production process; that, in determining the range of meanings offered, negotiators do not negotiate from positions of equal strength and influence; that texts need not be ideologically motivated in order to perform ideological work; that audiences are less likely to resist messages that are covertly or even unintentionally ideological; and that journalists themselves are influenced by the media discourse), particular emphasis has been placed on revealing: redundancy and homogeneity in the discourse; the extent to which journalists are influenced by other media; the frequency with which similar claims are made about heritage; tendencies towards reification, commodification and the disguise of agency; issues of exclusion, occlusion and omission; generic and medial constraints and determinants;

considerations of cultural and geographic proximity; organizational determinants; and source profile.

The ultimate goal is to lay bare the level of misrepresentation of heritage in the discourse; to reveal the structural and practical causes of such misrepresentation; and, finally, given that a methodology has been devised with the intention of identifying the ideological locus of the discourse, by assigning the claims made about heritage to their respective representational paradigms, to reveal the social power relations that underlie the misrepresentation of heritage in the Irish newspaper discourse.

4. ANALYSIS OF IRISH DAILY BROADSHEETS

There was a very large number of texts relating to heritage – 215 in the first sample, one single text short of an exact average of 18 per day; 282, six short of 24 per day, in the second; 352 in the third, four more than 29 per day; and 341 in the fourth, five more than 28 per day; giving a combined total of 1190 texts, 10 single texts short of an exact average of 25 texts per day.

1. Day and date

The texts appeared as follows:

Table 1: Distribution of texts by weekday

Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Sample 1:	26 (12%)	41 (19%)	27 (13%)	36 (17%)	44 (20%)	41 (19%)
Sample 2:	39 (14%)	30 (11%)	41 (15%)	78 (28%)	48 (17%)	46 (16%)
Sample 3:	35 (10%)	38 (11%)	54 (15%)	65 (18%)	58 (17%)	104 (30%)
Sample 4:	57 (16%)	42 (12%)	59 (17%)	89 (26%)	27 (8%)	77 (22%)
Cumulative:	**157** (13%)	**151** (13%)	**181** (15%)	**268** (23%)	**177** (15%)	**268** (22%)

On Fridays, 49 of the stories appeared in the *Irish Independent*'s property supplement. On the Saturdays, 189 of the stories appeared in weekend magazines or review sections, including 85 in the *Irish Examiner*'s property supplement. On the Thursdays, 19 of the stories appeared in the *Irish Examiner*'s Commercial Property section and 104 appeared in *The Irish Times*'s property supplement.

The heritage message varies from day to day in terms of genre and style as well as content, with a preponderance of 'consumption' texts on the days on which property supplements or lifestyle magazines are published. The average number of texts appearing in the 'news' sections of the publications is relatively stable compared with the number of non-news texts, which fluctuate significantly, due in particular to the publication of property and farming supplements in the *Irish Examiner* each Thursday, property supplements in *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* each Friday and weekend lifestyle supplements in all three newspapers each Saturday. From Mondays to Wednesdays, the heritage discourse breaks 262 (55%) to 217 (45%) in favour of 'news' stories, the majority falling within the 'conflict' and 'development' news paradigms.

From Thursdays to Saturdays, the ratio is more than reversed – 219 news stories (31%), 711 non-news stories (69%)s, the majority falling within the 'consumption' paradigm.

The implication, therefore, is that a reader buying the same title each day and reading it through from cover to cover will, therefore, be sent a message that strongly urges the consumption of heritage and tends to represent heritage as something valuable insofar as it is capable of being consumed. A reader reading only the 'news' sections will, on the other hand, be sent a message that predominantly represents heritage as being embroiled in conflict or giving rise to conflict or as an impediment to development. It will be seen that heritage texts in the 'conflict' and 'development' paradigms tend to be negative towards heritage; and that texts in the 'consumption' paradigm tend to transmit a qualified positivity towards heritage. For readers who buy one title on certain days of the week only or who buy different titles on different days of the week, there is the potential for widely different overall messages to be transmitted, ranging from strongly positive to strongly negative.

2. Newspapers by title

The titles under review are all Irish broadsheet newspapers published six days a week. The *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* are both headquartered in Dublin, with a number of regional and, in the case of *The Irish Times*, foreign correspondents. The *Irish Examiner* is based in Cork but with a substantial staff in Dublin. In terms of market, the *Irish Examiner* started life as a regional newspaper with its readership defined by geography rather than socio-economic class. It retains regional characteristics but since it extended its readership base to encompass the Mid West and parts of the South East, and since it extended its coverage to encompass national and international news, it is best categorized as a mid-market newspaper. The *Irish Independent*, too, is a mid-market newspaper that also publishes a tabloid or 'compact' version, containing the same news in edited form. On a number of occasions during the study period, it referred to itself in promotional material as a 'quality' newspaper. Up to the mid-1980s, *The Irish Times* referred to itself as 'the paper of record' but, under the editorship of Conor Brady (1986-2002), it began to refer to itself as 'the paper of reference' as it sought, and achieved, significant circulation growth. The newspaper continues to court the top end of the market and continues to attract more ABC1 and more business-executive readers (source: Audit Bureau of Circulation) than either the

Irish Independent or the *Irish Examiner*. Nevertheless, this market alone is not sufficiently large to sustain a daily newspaper and *The Irish Times* relies on a slice of the middle market for its continued financial health. In fact, the newspaper is something of a hybrid, arguably more like *The Times* than the *Telegraph* or the *Guardian*.

In terms of this study, *The Irish Times* carried more heritage texts, across all sections and generic divisions, than either of the other two titles. However, in terms of the way heritage was represented, there was no discernible difference between the titles.

Table 2: breakdown by title

	Hard news	Other genres	Total
Irish Examiner	151 (38%)	251 (62%)	402
Irish Independent	144 (47%)	164 (53%)	308
Irish Times	218 (45%)	262 (55%)	480
	513 (43%)	677 (57%)	**1190**

3. Section of newspaper

Table 3: section of newspaper, by sample and title

	News sections	Other sections
Sample 1	114 (53%)	101 (47%)
Sample 2	112 (40%)	170 (60%)
Sample 3	115 (33%)	237 (67%)
Sample 4	140 (41%)	201(59%)
Irish Examiner	135 (34%)	267 (66%)
Irish Independent	142 (46%)	166 (54%)
Irish Times	204 (42%)	276 (58%)
Total	**481 (40%)**	**709(60%)**

Some 481 stories, 40%, appeared on pages designated as 'news' pages, including 'News', 'World News & Analysis', 'Home News', 'World News', 'European News', 'Weekend News Features', 'Motors [*sic*] News' and 'Regional News'.

The remaining 709 texts (60%) appear in a variety of sections and supplements, including the letters pages, business, property, investment, farming, science, church notes, the Bulletin Page, technology, 'Opinion & Analysis', lifestyle, travel, 'Outdoors', 'Forestry', 'Planning & Development', 'Money & Jobs', 'Fine Art and Antiques', 'Time Out', 'The Arts', 'Country Living', 'Travel Desk' and the various weekend magazines and reviews.

The breakdown by title is as follows: *Irish Examiner*: news 135 (34%), all other 267 (66%); *Irish Independent*: news 142 (46%), all other 166 (54%); *The Irish Times*: news 204 (42%), all other 276 (58%).

Heritage texts appear throughout each of the publications under consideration. As already pointed out in the discussion on days of the week, the number of 'news' section texts was remarkably consistent, both from day to day and from sample to sample. Non-news texts fluctuated sharply both within and between the samples, meaning, in effect, that the dictates of the advertising market had a powerful impact both on the number of heritage-related texts and the way heritage was represented.

4. By-lines

Sample 1: authorship was attributed by by-line to 96 different journalists, with only six journalists contributing four stories or more; 62 stories were unattributed. The most prolific author was Gordon Deegan (8), a freelance who managed to place most of his individual stories in two or more of the publications under review. Another freelance, Anne Lucey, signed four stories.

Sample 2: authorship was attributed to 103 different journalists, plus two news agencies, with 11 journalists contributing four stories or more; 89 stories were unattributed. The most prolific author was again Gordon Deegan (10), a freelance who managed to place many of his stories in two or more of the publications under review. The next most prolific authors were Paul Cullen (*IT*) and Fiona Tyrell (*IT*) with seven each, and Sylvia Thompson (*IT*) and Anne Lucey, the freelance, with six each.

Sample 3: authorship was attributed to 129 different journalists and news agencies, with 13 journalists contributing four stories or more; 127 stories were unattributed. The most prolific authors were the *Irish Examiner*'s property editor, Tommy Barker, and *The Irish Times*'s heritage/environmental notice-board compiler, Sylvia Thompson, with nine contributions each. The next three most prolific authors were Donal Buckley (*II*, property) with seven, Frank McDonald (*IT*, environment editor) and Anne Lucey, the freelance, with six each.

Sample 4: authorship was attributed to 123 different journalists and news agencies, with 13 journalists contributing four stories or more; 125 stories were unattributed. The most prolific authors were the *Irish Examiner*'s property editor, Tommy Barker, and the same paper's business writer, Ray Ryan, with eight contributions each. The next most prolific authors were the freelances Gordon Deegan and Anne Lucey with seven texts each.

Cumulative: 284 journalists, eight news agencies and four guest columnists signed 788 texts. There were 402 unsigned texts. There were 164 unique contributions. Fifty-seven authors contributed four stories or more, accounting for 493 (63% of signed texts) stories between them. Table 4 overleaf shows the 57 most prolific contributors in descending order. One of these, John Von Radowitz, is employed by a foreign news agency and works exclusively outside of Ireland and is therefore not included in the survey of working journalists. Where journalists contributed the same number of texts, they have been awarded joint placings

Table 4: multiple contributors

Contributor	Section	Designation	IT	II	IE	Total
1. Gordon Deegan	news	freelance	5	7	18	30
2. Tommy Barker	property	none	0	0	27	27
3. Anne Lucey	news	freelance	14	5	4	23
4. Sylvia Thompson	'About Us'	'Horizons'	19	0	0	19
5. Frank McDonald	news	environment editor	18	0	0	18
6. Lorna Siggins	news	marine/western corr	14	0	0	14
7. Treacy Hogan	news	environment corr	0	13	0	13
8. Paul Cullen	news	none	12	0	0	12
9. Des O'Sullivan	property	antiques/fine art	0	0	11	11
9. Edel Morgan	property	planning & development	11	0	0	11
9. Seán MacConnell	news	agriculture corr	11	0	0	11
12. Donal Hickey	news/'Outdoors'	none	0	0	10	10
12. Laurie O'Flynn	property	none	0	0	10	10
12. Michael Viney	'About Us'	'Another Life'	10	0	0	10
12. Ray Ryan	business	agribusiness corr	0	0	10	10
16. Jack Fagan	property	none	9	0	0	9
16. Mary Leland	property(IE)/arts(IT)	none	2	0	7	9
18. Donal Buckley	property	none	0	8	0	8
18. Tim O'Brien	news	regional development corr	8	0	0	8
18. Fiona Tyrell	planning/property	none	8	0	0	8
21. Damien Enright	outdoors	none	0	0	7	7
21. Dick Warner	outdoors	none	0	0	7	7
21. Fiona Gartland	news	none	7	0	0	7
21. Jimmy Woulfe	news	Midwest corr	0	0	7	7
21. Joe Barry	farming/property	forestry corr	0	4	3	7
21. Kate McMorrow	property	none	7	0	0	7
21. Peter Gleeson	news	freelance	2	2	3	7
21. Richard Collins	outdoors	none	0	0	7	7
21. Liam Reid	news	political reporter (1)	7	0	0	7
30. Eivlín Roden	property	none	6	0	0	6
30. Barry Roche	news	southern correspondent	6	0	0	6
30. Bernice Harrison	property	none	6	0	0	6
30. Aideen Sheehan	news	agriculture/food corr	0	6	0	6
30. Ian Baird	fine arts	none	0	6	0	6
30. Rose Doyle	property	none	6	0	0	6
36. Brendan McWilliams	bulletin page	'Weather Eye'	5	0	0	5
36. Cliodhna O'Donoghue	property	property editor	0	5	0	5
36. Paul Melia	news	none	0	5	0	5
36. Ralph Riegel	news	none	0	5	0	5
36. Eoin English	news/business	none	0	0	5	5
36. Marc O'Sullivan	arts	none	0	0	5	5
36. Rose Martin	property	none	0	0	5	5
36. Stephen Cadogan	farming	none	0	0	5	5
36. Derek Evans	'Time Out'	angling	5	0	0	5
36. Emma Cullinan	property	none	5	0	0	5
36. Orna Mulcahy	property	none	5	0	0	5
36. John Von Radowitz	news	none	0	0	5	5
48. Dick Ahlstrom	science	science editor	4	0	0	4
48. Joe Humphreys	news	none	4	0	0	4
48. Karl Hanlon	news	none	4	0	0	4
48. Mary Carolan	news	none	4	0	0	4
48. Olivia Kelly	news	none	4	0	0	4
48. Charlie Weston	news/business	none	0	4	0	4
48. Harry McGee	news	political editor	0	0	4	4
48. Neans McSweeney	news	SE correspondent	0	0	4	4
48. Paul O'Brien	news	political editor	0	0	4	4
48. Ray Managh	news	none	0	2	2	4

The *Irish Independent* has fewer writers specialising in heritage-related texts than the other two publications, with just one environmental correspondent, one property writer and one freelance contributing seven stories or more, whereas *The Irish Times* has 14 writers contributing seven stories or more and the *Irish Examiner* has 10. This is

explained to a large extent by two main factors: 1) the *Irish Independent* does not have a weekly 'nature' page equivalent to the *Irish Examiner*'s 'Outdoors' or *The Irish Times*'s 'About Us'; and 2) most aditorial texts in the *Irish Independent*'s property sections are unsigned. Splitting the table into news and non-news sections (Tables 5 and 6 below) sheds light on the relationship between multiple contributions and 'beat'.

Table 5: multiple contributors – news sections

Contributor	Section	Designation	IT	II	IE	Total
Gordon Deegan	news	freelance	5	7	18	30
Anne Lucey	news	freelance	14	5	4	23
Frank McDonald	news	environmental editor	18	0	0	18
Lorna Siggins	news	marine/western corr	14	0	0	14
Treacy Hogan	news	environment corr	0	13	0	13
Paul Cullen	news	None	12	0	0	12
Seán MacConnell	news	agriculture corr	11	0	0	11
Tim O'Brien	news	regional development corr	8	0	0	8
Fiona Gartland	news	none	7	0	0	7
Jimmy Woulfe	news	Midwest corr	0	0	7	7
Liam Reid	news	political reporter (1)	7	0	0	7
Peter Gleeson	news	freelance	2	2	3	7

Table 6: multiple contributors – non-news sections

Contributor	Section	Designation	IT	II	IE	Total
Tommy Barker	property	none	0	0	27	27
Sylvia Thompson	'About Us'	'Horizons'	19	0	0	19
Des O'Sullivan	property	antiques/fine art	0	0	11	11
Edel Morgan	property	planning & development	11	0	0	11
Laurie O'Flynn	property	none	0	0	10	10
Michael Viney	'About Us'	'Another Life'	10	0	0	10
Ray Ryan	Business	agribusiness corr	0	0	9	9
Mary Leland	property(IE)/arts(IT)	none	2	0	7	9
Donal Buckley	property	none	0	8	0	8
Damien Enright	'Outdoors'	none	0	0	7	7
Dick Warner	'Outdoors'	none	0	0	7	7
Eivlín Roden	property	none	7	0	0	7
Joe Barry	farming/property	forestry corr	0	4	3	7
Kate McMorrow	property	none	7	0	0	7

In the news sections, nine of the 12 most prolific contributors were specialized correspondents and three were freelance writers contributing to more than one newspaper. Only two non-specialist writers contributed seven stories or more, *The Irish Times*'s Paul Cullen and Fiona Gartland. Paul Cullen's contributions covered a range of subject matters and his sources included Government and Opposition politicians, local government politicians, academics and heritage bodies including the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the Heritage Council. Six of Fiona Gartland's seven stories were on planning controversies for which her sources were local government politicians and officials and residents/community groups. The data suggest that the designation of a specialist heritage correspondent or editor would result in increased coverage of heritage events and issues.

5. Designation

Sample 1: In 168 (78%) cases, the author was not designated with any title, including three of which the author was Jimmy Woulfe, the *Irish Examiner*'s Limerick-based Regional Correspondent; two of which the author was Aideen Sheehan, the *Irish Independent*'s Agriculture Correspondent; and one in which the author was Brendan Keenan, the *Irish Independent*'s Business Editor. In the latter case, space was certainly not a factor in the decision not to accredit, since the story occupied three-quarters of a broadsheet page and included, among other pictures, one of the author in angling gear.

Of the authors with designations, five stories were written by area correspondents. No story was written by a designated 'Heritage' correspondent. The newspapers' Environment Correspondents so designated contributed only one story, by *The Irish Times*'s Frank McDonald. The *Irish Independent*'s Environment Correspondent, Treacy Hogan, also signed one story in Sample 1 but without designation – presumably because of the shortness, three inches, of the story in question. There were stories by Forestry Correspondents (4), Religious Affairs Correspondents (2), Agricultural Correspondents (2), a Science Editor (2), an Industrial Correspondent, a Marine Correspondent, a Markets Correspondent, and a Property Editor. Nineteen stories appeared in regular columns, broken down as follows: About Us (nature) (6), Outdoors (nature) (4), Planning & Development (3), Weather Eye (meteorological) (2), Throwing Shapes (architectural) (2) Science Today (1) and Methodist Notes (1).

Sample 2: In 238 (84%) cases, the author was not designated with any title including four of which the author was Tim O'Brien, *The Irish Times*'s Regional Development Correspondent; one of which the author was Treacy Hogan, the *Irish Independent*'s Environment Correspondent; and one of which the author was Cliodhna O'Donoghue, *The Irish Times*'s Property Editor. Interestingly, of the three stories signed by Cliodhna O'Donoghue, the two that appeared in the property section carried a 'Property Editor' designation while the one that appeared in the news section did not. Three other stories signed by Treacy Hogan carried no designation but appeared on the same day and on the same page as another story that did – the single designation being quite reasonably deemed sufficient, presumably, to identify the author of all four texts as the Environment Correspondent. In Tim O'Brien's case, the Regional Development

Correspondent designation was awarded for the text last in chronological order so that it might seem reasonable to surmise that the author acquired a new job description during the course of the study – but the author contributed one further heritage-themed text a year later and was not given the Regional Development correspondent designation. There were stories by Forestry Correspondents (3), Environmental Correspondents and Editors (10), Agricultural Correspondents (1), Political Editors and Correspondents (including a Dáil Correspondent) (4), Property Editors and Correspondents (4) a Marine Correspondent and a number of regional correspondents. Thirty-one stories appeared in regular columns, broken down as follows: About Us (nature) (11), Planning & Development (7), Outdoors (nature) (6), Fine Art & Antiques (2), Money & Jobs (2), Irishman's/woman's Diary (2), motoring (1) and angling (1).

Sample 3: In 303 (86%) cases, the author was not designated with any title including one of which the author was Seán MacConnell, *The Irish Times*'s Agricultural Correspondent; one of which the author was Treacy Hogan, the *Irish Independent*'s Environment Correspondent; and one of which the author was Dick Ahlstrom, *The Irish Times*'s Science Editor. In Ahlstrom's case, he did not receive any designation when his contributions appeared in the publication's irregularly appearing *Science Today* page (two texts over the course of the entire study) but did receive the Science Editor designation whenever he wrote or contributed to a text in the news section (two texts over the course of the entire study) – precisely the opposite treatment to that used for Property Editor Cliodhna O'Donoghue (four stories, with designation, in the property sections, one story in the news section, without designation). Though the total number of texts signed by the two in the study comprises too small a sample to draw definitive conclusions, this pattern might suggest that *The Irish Times* editors saw the Science Editor designation as adding authority to a news story and the Property Editor designation as detracting authority. There were stories by Environmental Correspondents and Editors (7), Agricultural Correspondents (2), Political Editors/Correspondents (5), Property Editors/Correspondents (2) Marine Correspondents (3), Motoring Correspondents/Editors (2), Art Critics (2), a Science Editor, a Fashion Editor and a number of regional correspondents. Sixty-one stories appeared in regular columns, broken down as follows: About Us (nature) (16), Planning & Development (8), Outdoors (nature) (8), Fine Art & Antiques (20), Money & Jobs (3), Motoring (2), Science Today (2) and Weather Eye (2). The sharp rise in 'Fine Arts

& Antiques' texts is due to the *Irish Independent* and *Irish Examiner* both introducing FA&A columns to match that already running in *The Irish Times*.

Sample 4: In 281 (82%) cases, the author was not designated with any title including one of which the author was Tim O'Brien, *The Irish Times*'s Regional Development Correspondent; one of which the author was Treacy Hogan, the *Irish Independent*'s Environment Correspondent; one of which the author was Lorna Siggins, *The Irish Times*'s Marine/Western Correspondent; one of which the author was Seán MacConnell, *The Irish Times*'s Agriculture Correspondent; and one of which the author was Ray Ryan, the *Irish Examiner*'s Agribusiness Correspondent. Another of Ray Ryan's by-lines – the first in chronological order in the sample – gave him the designation Agricultural, rather than Agribusiness Correspondent. There were stories by Environmental Correspondents/Editors (5), Agricultural/Agribusiness Correspondents (14), Political Editors/Correspondents/Reporters (8), Property Editors/Correspondents (3) Fine Arts/Antiques (2), a Food Correspondent, a Foreign Affairs Correspondent and a number of regional correspondents. Forty stories appeared in regular columns, broken down as follows: About Us (nature) (5), Planning & Development (6), Outdoors (nature) (6), Fine Art & Antiques (16), Weather Eye (1), Architecture (3) and Angling (3).

Overall, in 996 of 1190 texts (84%), the author was not designated with any title. None of the newspapers has (or advertises) a designated heritage correspondent, a situation that goes further to the points made above under 'authorship' Unlike Environment, Heritage is not a formally recognized specialist news beat of its own. Heritage texts must compete for space in the general news pages and on the same terms as other general news stories, bringing into play the same news values (conflict, drama, celebrity, freshness, scale, cultural and geographic propinquity *etc.*) applied to the selection of stories on, say, police news, fires and accidents, factory closures and so on. Of 23 news stories written by environment correspondents/editors so designated, 13 (56%) were coded 'positive' to heritage. This compares with 186 (39%) of all news stories (481); and two (15%) of 13 news stories signed by agriculture/agribusiness correspondents so designated.

6. Illustrations

Sample 1: 124 of 215 stories (58%) were unaccompanied by any illustration; 91 texts (43%) were accompanied by one illustration or more. As might well be expected, heritage-related texts appearing in the news sections of the publications were significantly less likely to be illustrated (82 of 114 'news' texts were not illustrated; 73%) than texts appearing in the magazine, feature, review, property *etc*. sections (42 of 101 not illustrated; 42%).

In the news sections, the 32 illustrated texts (477.25") were of average length 15", while the 82 non-illustrated texts were of average length 7.5" and the combined average was 9.75" – tending to suggest that the availability and aesthetic/news appeal of a picture dictated the significance awarded to a text (top-of-page or centre-of-page position, large overall display *etc.*) rather than the significance of a text determining whether or not a picture would be used. All but five of the photographs were either a) non-contemporaneous archive pictures, from the newspapers' own files or from the files of a commercial agency; b) photographs or computer-generated images (CGIs) of an actual or proposed building, supplied by the developer or estate agent; c) photographs posed by the newspaper or by publicists (Minister Martin Cullen in a vintage car; a female model in 19th-century dress at a press conference arranged by the Shelbourne Hotel); or d) photographs of 'still targets' such as buildings. Of the five contemporaneous photographs of newsworthy happenings, two were of a fire in a heritage building in Belfast and three were of scheduled events – a Stuart Townsend-led protest at Tara, protestors at a Wicklow County Council meeting and President McAleese at a gallery opening. Forty-two per cent of the illustrated 'news' stories appeared on early right-hand pages (13 of 32), compared with the global figure of 30%.

Sample 2: 133 of 282 stories (47%) were unaccompanied by any illustration; 149 texts (53%) were accompanied by one illustration or more. As in sample 1, heritage-related texts appearing in the news sections of the publications were significantly less likely to be illustrated (69 of 112 'news' texts were not illustrated; 62%) than texts appearing in the magazine, feature, review, property *etc*. sections (64 of 170 not illustrated; 38%).

In the new sections, the 43 illustrated texts (479") were of average length 11", compared with the average 8.3" of the 69 unillustrated stories (574.75"), again tending to suggest

that the availability and attractiveness/aesthetic appeal of a picture dictated the significance awarded to a text. All of the photographs except three were archive pictures, supplied pictures, or posed pictures. The exceptions included two photographs of a stand-off between Travellers and a landowner that lasted for several days; and one of the scheduled removal of a statue. Thirty-three percent of the illustrated 'news' stories appeared on early right-hand pages (14 of 43, including one on Page 1), compared with the global figure of 29%.

Sample 3: 150 of 352 stories (42%) were unaccompanied by any illustration; 202 texts (58%) were accompanied by one illustration or more. As in previous samples, heritage-related texts appearing in the news sections of the publications were significantly less likely to be illustrated (70 of 115 'news' texts were not illustrated; 61%) than texts appearing in the magazine, feature, review, property *etc*. sections (80 of 237 not illustrated; 34%).

In the news sections, the 45 illustrated texts (503.75") were of average length 11.2", compared with the average 7.9" of the 70 unillustrated stories (553.25"), again tending to suggest that the availability and attractiveness/aesthetic appeal of a picture dictated the significance awarded to a text. All of the photographs except four were archive pictures, supplied pictures, or posed pictures. The exceptions included a photograph of a half-demolished cottage taken after a council ordered its restoration; a picture of a diseased oak tree in Co. Kerry; a picture of an animation studio in Bristol in the aftermath of a fire; a picture of chemical-suited workers among wild birds (avian flu), and one of the scheduled removal of a statue. Fifty-one percent of the illustrated 'news' stories appeared on early right-hand pages (23 of 45, including two on Page 1), compared with the global figure of 45%.

Sample 4: 165 of 341 stories (48%) were unaccompanied by any illustration; 176 texts (58%) were accompanied by one illustration or more. As in previous samples, heritage-related texts appearing in the news sections of the publications were significantly less likely to be illustrated (96 of 140 'news' texts were not illustrated; 68%) than texts appearing in the magazine, feature, review, property *etc*. sections (69 of 201 not illustrated; 34%).

In the news sections, the 44 illustrated texts (476.5") were of average length 10.8", compared with the average 8.1" of the 96 unillustrated stories (779.25"), again tending to suggest that the availability and attractiveness/aesthetic appeal of a picture dictated the significance awarded to a text. All of the photographs except four were archive pictures, supplied pictures, or posed pictures. The exceptions included photographs of a gorse fire in Kerry; workers in chemical suits spraying a horse and cart in Romania (avian flu); a forest fire in Sligo; and work in progress at Eyre Square, Galway. Of the illustrated 'news' stories, 41% appeared on early right-hand pages (18 of 44, including one on Page 1), compared with the global figure of 33%.

Cumulative: 572 of 1190 stories (48%) were unaccompanied by any illustration; 618 texts (48%) were accompanied by one illustration or more. Heritage-related texts appearing in the news sections of the publications were significantly less likely to be illustrated (317 of 481 'news' texts were not illustrated; 66%) than texts appearing in the magazine, feature, review, property *etc.* sections (255 of 709 not illustrated; 36%).

In the news sections, 214 of 239 illustrations were photographs and 25 were maps, CGIs or drawings (usually artists' or architects' impressions) or composites thereof. The 164 illustrated texts (1932.25") were of average length 11.75", compared with the average 8" of the 317 unillustrated stories (2525.5") and the combined average of 9.25" (481; 4457.75"). Of the illustrated 'news' stories, 41% appeared on early right-hand pages (68 of 164), compared with the global figure of 35%.

Table 7: population, reason for inclusion and source of illustrations appearing in the 'news' sections

Population	Reason	Source
Group of hill-walkers and farmer	drama, conflict	scheduled
Benedictine monk in monk suit – four pictures*	exotic	posed
Map	explication	in-house
Medieval skeleton	exotic	supplied
Infographic	information	in-house
Minister Willie O'Dea, politician	import	archive
Generic coastal scene	decorative	archive
Developer Jim Hickey	culture-hero, exemplar	posed
Deer	decorative	archive
Minister Dick Roche (2)	import	archive
Cllr Nicky Kelly and protestors	import, drama, conflict	scheduled
Minister Martin Cullen in vintage car – three pics	import, scale, exotic	posed
Cliffs of Moher (2)	icon, decoration	archive
Berlin Wall	icon	archive
Stuart Townsend	celebrity Hollywood actor	scheduled
Frank McCourt	celebrity author	archive

continued overleaf…

Table 7 continued

Population	Reason	Source
Fionn Mac Cumhail	culture-hero businessman	posed
Unnamed model in C19 waitress uniform	decorative, exotic	posed
Dermot Desmond	celebrity culture-hero	archive
President McAleese and signer	celebrity	scheduled
Japanese film crew hunting lake monsters	exotic	posed
Fireman and historic building – two pictures	dramatic	real-time news
Former Kerry Group CEO Denis Brosnan	authority figure	archive
Dublin Port Great South Wall damaged	drama	still target
St Stephen's Green pub	illustrative	still target
Ian Powell, hotelier	culture-hero	posed
Golf Club, site of planning controversy	decorative	still target
Clarence Hotel	celebrity-owned hotel	still target
Bono	entertainment celebrity	archive
The Edge	entertainment celebrity	archive
Graphic of planned Clarence development	celebrity hotel	from architect
Ashe Street, Tralee showing heritage buildings	decorative	still target
Traveller stand-off landowner Basil Phelan (2)	drama, conflict	real-time news
Clarence Hotel, architect's front elevation	celebrity-owned hotel	from architect
Aerial photo of seal-sanctuary island for sale (2)	exotic, decorative	from auctioneer
Graphic map of seal-sanctuary island for sale	exotic, decorative	from auctioneer
Pat The Cope Gallagher on trawler	government minister	posed
Female model in period dress to launch new stamp	exotic, decorative	posed
Generic housing estate	decorative (!)	archive
O'Connell St statues – Daniel O'Connell, Big Jim *etc.*	heritage celebrities	still target
Aerial shot of historical demesne	scale, decorative	from developer
Artist's impression of apeman archaeological find	exotic	agency
Pic and map how Cork docks will look	scale	from developer
Patrick Kavanagh	literary celebrity	archive
Kilmuckridge with residents and academics	decorative	posed
Lemurs, monkeys, gibbons	exotic	archive
Jim Morrissey, NUIG seaweed centre	exotic (money from seaweed)	posed
Mona Lisa	icon, celebrity artwork	agency
Belfast Hotel heritage building	aditorial	supplied
Blackrock Castle, Cork, restoration	scale, decorative	archive
Artist's impression how Bewley's will look	decorative	supplied
Buchenwald ex-prisoners in uniform	historical icon	agency
Aquaculture on Cape Clear (abalone)	exotic	posed
Paps of Anu	scenic (and vaguely prurient!)	archive
Bears in Yellowstone	exotic – no news angle	agency
Pat The Cope Gallagher on trawler	import	posed
Wicklow	scenic, decorative	archive
Map of Royal Canal, Boyne Valley	Information	from EIS?
Statue of Jesus in Waterford	dramatic	scheduled
CGI of Dun Laoghaire development (2)	aditorial, falsification	supplied
John Dillon, IFA president	import, authority	archive
Titanic watch with inscription, sepia Titanic	historical icon	from auctioneer
Daniel O'Connell statue restoration	heritage celebrity	scheduled
Barna housing development	information	posed
Thornton Hall prison protest	conflict, drama	scheduled
Thornton Hall prison site	information	still target
Statue	decorative	still target
Map of salmon river	explication	in-house
Windmill tower	decorative	still target
Louis Marcus, film-maker	illustrative	posed
Archive film still, Cork street scene	exotic	supplied
Cottages, set to be demolished for new road	illustrative	still target
Dead crocodile and snake (2)	conflict, drama	agency
People's Park, Limerick (earmarked for development)	illustrative	still target
David Sweetman, archaeologist, litigant (2)	illustrative	real-time news
Dolores O'Riordan	entertainment celebrity	agency
Alicante coast where O'Riordan plans apartment scheme	illustrative	archive
Sybille Dietl, planning appellant (developer)	illustrative	real-time news
Windsurfer	decorative	generic
Relatives of George Pim Malcolmson	illustrative	scheduled
Dead oak tree in Kerry	illustrative	still target
Half-demolished cottage	illustrative	still target
Wallace & Gromit (2)	celebrity animation characters	archive
Aftermath of fire at animation studio	illustrative	agency

continued overleaf…

Table 7 continued

Population	Reason	Source
Wallace & Gromit film set	illustrative	archive
Comedian Pat Shortt (2)	entertainment celebrity	archive/agency
Exterior Pat Shortt's house, for sale (2)	illustrative	still target
Tommy Tiernan	entertainment celebrity	archive
Graham Norton	entertainment celebrity	archive
Brendan Grace	entertainment celebrity	archive
Schoolgirl on National Tree Day	decorative	posed
Dún Laoghaire protestors	drama, conflict	scheduled
Comparative hominid skulls	exotic	agency
Schoolchildren from *Give Up Your Aul' Sins* school	entertainment celebrity	posed
Cheetah	exotic	archive
Lemur	exotic	archive
Macaw	exotic	archive
Vintage Bugattis	decorative	supplied
Visitor Centre, Giants Causeway, artist's impression	illustrative	supplied
Holiday houses, Kilkee	illustrative	still target
Holiday houses, Tramore	illustrative	still target
Holiday houses, Courtown	illustrative	still target
Wind farm	decorative	generic
Map of Cork quayside development	illustrative	supplied
Tiede Herrema	illustrative	archive
Avian Flu Graphic (2)	information	agency
Domestic hen (2)	illustrative	archive
Infographic Avian Flu vectors (2)	information	agency
Model in period nurse's uniform	decorative	supplied
Schoolchildren and tree, National Tree Day	decorative	posed
Worker in chemical suit and hen	drama, conflict	real-time news
Newly discovered Beethoven manuscript	illustrative	supplied
Beethoven	historical celebrity	archive
President McAleese and Lartigue railway	celebrity	posed
Workers in chemical suit and wild birds	drama, conflict	real-time news
Philatelists looking at new An Post issue	illustrative	posed
Squirrel	decorative	archive
Pete Burns in gorilla-skin coat	entertainment celebrity	TV grab
Aerial picture Cork Showgrounds site	information	supplied
Belfast Arena	comparison	archive
Dún Laoghaire councillor Maria Corrigan	illustrative	posed
Six endangered Irish species	illustrative	archive
Alex Fleming, Clare county manager	illustrative	archive
Listed buildings in Galway	illustrative	still target
CGI of 'landmark' Red Cow bridge	decorative	supplied
Road closed because of service-charge row	illustrative	still target
Map of road and scheme above	information	in-house
Gorse fire in Kerry	drama	real-time news
Actors in period costume	decorative	posed
Rock of Cashel	illustrative	still target
Kilboy House plans graphic	information	in-house
Worker in chemical suit spraying horse and cart	drama, conflict	real-time news
Girl in period costume with Greenwich Observatory clock	decorative	supplied
Police at art museum	drama	archive
Curators with Madonna	drama	archive
Munch's The Scream	celebrity	archive
Farmers' market stallholder	illustrative	generic
Cattle in field	illustrative	archive
Church interior, where pew was stolen	illustrative	still target
Earl of Roden outside court	illustrative	real-time news
Thomas Coughlan, French polisher, outside court	illustrative	real-time news
Domestic turkey	illustrative	generic
Modern beaver to illustrate fossil find (2)	illustrative	archive
Forest fire in Sligo	drama	real-time news
Hill walkers	illustrative	generic
Church for sale – interior	illustrative	supplied
Church for sale – exterior	illustrative	supplied
Vincent Salafia, heritage campaigner (2)	illustrative	archive
Randy Leprechaun pub (colour-scheme controversy)	decorative	still target
Wave-power generator	illustrative	supplied
Wave-power generator infographic	information	supplied
Patrick Gallagher, developer, obit	illustrative	archive
Plaster cast of 'panther' paw print	illustrative	still target
Trevor Sargent	illustrative	archive

continued overleaf…

Table 7 continued

Population	Reason	Source
Environment Minister Dick Roche at Avoca River	illustrative	posed
PJ Mansfield,, developer	illustrative	archive
Rhododendrons	decorative	archive
Zebra mussels	illustrative	archive
Sika deer	illustrative	archive
Grey squirrel	illustrative	archive
Archive photographs 1960s-70s Ireland, Nell McCafferty	celebrity, exotic	supplied
Period costume ball (film scene)	decorative	supplied
Jane Austen	illustrative	archive
John O'Donoghue, Anne Hathaway, James McAvoy (2)	entertainment celebrity	posed
Shark and visitors at aquarium (2)	drama	posed
Aboard Titanic, showing deckchairs	exotic	archive
Deckchair for auction	illustrative	supplied
Cliffs of Moher	illustrative	archive
Pádraig Ó Conaire statue	illustrative	archive
Eyre Square workers	illustrative	real-time news
Eyre Square site	illustrative	real-time news

In 164 illustrated 'news' stories, there were 189 illustrations or composite blocks of illustrations. Of these, 16 photographs were live-action news photographs taken in real time. These included photographs of fires and firemen in Belfast, Kerry and Sligo and a number of litigants/witnesses/defendants leaving or entering courthouses. Of the remaining 171, 55 (31%) were identified as having been provided by one of the sources (most often an architect, estate agent or developer) or posed at a photo-opportunity created by one of the sources. A further nine photographs were of pre-scheduled events, such as protests and demonstrations, that, it must be assumed, the protestors/demonstrators notified the publications of in advance. The ability of sources to provide suitable illustrations or the opportunities for taking suitable photographs was a significant determinant.

In the property pages, there are several instances of the existence of an historically or architecturally important building or green space being disguised or 'disappeared' by the digital alteration of a real photograph to show how the site *will* look with the proposed development in place – a modern version of the 'artist's impression' or 'architect's elevation' which is significantly more naturalistic and naturalizing than previous technologies. In the second and subsequent samples, several such Computer Generated Images appeared in the news sections – the proposed development for the Dún Laoghaire baths site and the proposed Clarence Hotel development, for instance.

7. Length of text/overall display

I measured the length of each text, expressed in column inches, and the total display area awarded to each text, including pictures and other graphic elements, headlines, captions *etc.*, also expressed in column inches. Below are tabulated results for the four samples and the cumulative results, showing the ratio of display to text, categorized by genre. 'Consum paradigm' is an abbreviation of 'Consumption paradigm'.

Table 8: ratios of text to total display

Sample 1

	Texts	Total length	Average length	Total display	Display/text ratio
Irish Times					
Overall	82	1,180.5"	**14.5"**	2,497.75"	**2.1**
News:	45	510.5"	**11.3"**	932.75"	**1.8**
Non-news:	37	670"	**18.1"**	1,565"	**2.3**
Property:	5	34.5"	**6.9"**	237"	**6.8**
Irish Independent					
Overall	58	708"	**12.25"**	1,561.5"	**2.2**
News:	31	220"	**7"**	395.25"	**1.8**
Non-news:	27	488"	**18"**	1,166.25"	**2.4**
Property:	7	82"	**11.7"**	154"	**1.9**
Irish Examiner					
Overall	75	804"	**10.72"**	1,940.75"	**2.4**
News:	38	358.75"	**9.5"**	694"	**1.9**
Non-news:	37	445.25"	**12"**	1,246.75"	**2.8**
Property:	18	216.75"	**12"**	875.5"	**4**

Sample 2

Irish Times					
Overall	140	1,500"	**10.75"**	3,880.5"	**2.6**
News:	56	557.75"	**10"**	1,192.75"	**2.1**
Non-news:	84	942.25"	**11.25"**	2,687.75"	**2.8**
Property:	22	248.25"	**11.25"**	1,137.5"	**4.6**
Irish Independent					
Overall	81	1,143"	**14"**	2,950"	**2.6**
News:	37	328.5	**9"**	782.25"	**2.4**
Non-news:	44	814.5	**18.5"**	2,167.75"	**2.7**
Property:	18	228"	**12.75"**	759"	**3.3**
Irish Examiner					
Overall	61	778"	**12.75"**	2,159"	**2.8**
News:	19	169.5"	**9"**	355.5"	**2.1**
Non-news:	42	608.5"	**14.5"**	1,803.5"	**3**
Property:	16	197"	**12.3"**	897.5"	**4.6**

Sample 3

Irish Times					
Overall	140	1,424"	**10.25"**	3,676.75"	**2.6**
News:	47	416"	**8.85"**	924"	**2.2**
Non-news:	93	1007.75"	**10.8"**	2,752.75"	**2.7**
Property:	29	245.5"	**8.5"**	891"	**3.6**
Irish Independent					
Overall	96	1,100"	**11.5"**	3,108.5"	**2.8**
News:	32	253	**8"**	605.5"	**2.4**
Non-news:	64	847	**13.25"**	2,503"	**2.9**
Property:	26	265.25"	**10.25"**	745.5"	**2.8**

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	Texts	Total length	Average length	Total display	Display/text ratio
Irish Examiner					
Overall	116	1,354"	**11.75"**	3,232"	**2.3**
News:	36	388"	**10.75"**	826.5"	**2.1**
Non-news:	80	966.25"	**12"**	2,405.5"	**2.5**
Property:	31	303.5"	**9.75"**	1,051.25"	**3.5**

Sample 4

Irish Times					
Overall	118	1,130"	**9.5"**	2,833.5"	**2.5**
News:	56	515.75"	**9.25"**	1,108.25"	**2.1**
Non-news:	62	614"	**10"**	1,725.25"	**2.8**
Property:	30	203.25"	**6.75"**	848.25"	**4.1**
Irish Independent					
Overall	73	724.5"	**10"**	1,573.25"	**2.2**
News:	42	319.25	**7.5"**	668"	**2.1**
Non-news:	31	405	**13"**	905.25"	**2.2**
Property:	10	128"	**12.8"**	339.5"	**2.7**
Irish Examiner					
Overall	150	1,649"	**11"**	3,989"	**2.4**
News:	42	420.75"	**10"**	910.5"	**2.2**
Non-news:	108	1,228"	**11.4"**	3,078.5"	**2.5**
Property:	43	388.25"	**9"**	1,382.25"	**3.6**

Cumulative

All publications					
Overall:	1190	13,494.5”	**11.3"**	33,403"	**2.5**
News:	481	4,457.75”	“ **9.3"**	9,395"	**2.1**
Non-news:	709	9,036.75”	**12.7"**	24,007.75"	**2.7**
Property:	255	2,580”	**10.1"**	9,318"	**3.6**
Aditorial	274	2,803.25”	**10.2"**	10,025”	**3.6**
Hard news	512	4,609”	**9"**	9,005”	**1.9**
Heritage paradigm	159	2,116”	**13.3"**	4,878"	**2.3**
Develop paradigm	309	3,461"	**11.2"**	7,966"	**2.3**
Conflict paradigm	460	4,781.25"	**10.4"**	8,961"	**1.9**
Consum paradigm	478	6,127"	**12.8"**	18,605.5"	**3**
Irish Times					
Overall:	480	5,234"	**11"**	12,888.5"	**2.5**
News:	204	2,000"	**9.8"**	4,157.75"	**2.1**
Non-news:	276	3,234"	**11.7"**	8,730.75"	**2.7**
Property:	86	771.5"	**9"**	3,113.75"	**4**
Aditorial:	99	934.5"	**9.4"**	3,808.25	**4.1**
Hard news:	217	1,987.75”	**9.1"**	3,933	**2**
Heritage paradigm:	75	871”	**11.6"**	1,890"	**2.2**
Develop paradigm:	132	1,501.75”	**11.4"**	3,479.75"	**2.3**
Conflict paradigm:	195	2,059.5”	**10.6"**	3,810.25"	**1.9**
Consum paradigm	164	1,971”	**12"**	6,261"	**3.2**
Irish Independent					
Overall:	308	3,675.5”	**12"**	9,193.25"	**2.5**
News:	142	1,121”	**7.9"**	2,451"	**2.2**
Non-news:	166	2,554.75”	“ **15.4"**	6,742.25"	**2.6**
Property:	61	703"	**11.5"**	1,998"	**2.9**
Aditorial:	81	1,091"	**13.5"**	3,225.5"	**3**
Hard news:	144	1,156.25"	**8"**	2,213"	**1.9**
Heritage paradigm:	26	330.5"	**12.7"**	715"	**2.2**
Develop paradigm:	81	846"	**10.5"**	1,871.5"	**2.2**
Conflict paradigm:	126	1,221.5"	**9.7"**	2,281"	**1.9**
Consum paradigm:	134	2,038.5"	**15"**	5,988"	**3**
Irish Examiner					
Overall:	402	4,585.25"	**11.5"**	11,321"	**2.5**
News:	135	1,337"	**10"**	2,786.5"	**2.1**
Non-news:	267	3,248.25"	**12"**	8,534.5"	**2.7**
Property:	108	1,105.5"	**10.2"**	4,206.5"	**3.8**
Aditorial	94	778"	**8.3"**	2,991.5"	**3.9**
Hard news	151	1,465"	**9.7"**	2,859.5"	**1.9**
Heritage paradigm	58	850.5”	**14.6"**	2,147.25"	**2.5**
Develop paradigm	96	1,113”	**11.6"**	2,615"	**2.3**
Conflict paradigm	139	1,500.25"	**10.8"**	2,870"	**2**
Consum paradigm	180	2,117.75"	**11.8"**	6,356.75"	**3**

Allowing for the different layout styles of the publications, there are marked similarities here in the way in which all three newspapers handle texts of different genres. In all

three publications, heritage 'news' texts (that is to say, texts appearing in the sections designated 'news') are significantly shorter than the global average and, moreover, are given the least amount of overall display – roughly the same amount of space again, on average, being awarded to headlines, pictures, by-lines, captions, standfirsts, pullquotes and other items of 'furniture' as was awarded to the text; and this ratio is remarkably consistent across the publications – 2.1 column inches of overall display awarded to each column inch of news text (including the text) in *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Examiner* and 2.2 column inches in the *Irish Independent*. This ratio rises to 2.7 (*Irish Times* and *Irish Examiner*) and 2.6 (*Irish Independent*) in the case of non-news stories – not altogether unexpectedly, since the texts in question are of greater than average length and many of them are magazine-style features, profiles and travelogues. However, the greatest proportionate display is given, in all three publications, to texts appearing in the property sections, where texts are of below average length. The display-to-text ratio in the *Irish Independent* is 2.9, in *The Irish Times* 4 and in the *Irish Examiner* 3.8. The same holds true for comparisons between texts coded 'hard news' (1.9, 1.9 and 2 respectively) and those coded 'aditorial' (3, 4.1 and 3.9); and for texts in the development (2.2, 2.3, 2.3), heritage (2.2, 2.2, 2.5) and conflict paradigms (1.9, 1.9, 2), on the one hand, and the consumption paradigm (3, 3.2 and 3) on the other.

Clearly, the same criteria are not applied to the property sections as to the news section, or to aditorials as to hard-news stories, with regard to the allocation of space; and, just as clearly, the reasons are economic. While space is *conventionally* at a premium in the news pages, the property sections and supplements are seen as 'paying for themselves' because of the far higher proportion of advertising to text tolerated. As a result, the only limit on the amount of space awarded to a property aditorial is the necessity of keeping all the major advertisers happy. In layout terms, the property sections borrow from the genre of property advertising brochure, using the same range and number of exterior and interior photographs (in fact, often using the same photographs, provided by the estate agent, thus cutting the newspaper's costs). Yet, the aditorial texts are still couched in the inverted-pyramid genre of the news story. This is effectively news for sale to the highest bidder; the commodification of news itself *at the production end* (news has long been commodified at the *consumer* end).

In terms of paradigm, heritage-paradigm texts – the majority of which are nature-notes columns and information briefs – are marginally longer than the non-news average in the *Irish Examiner* and *The Irish Times*, slightly shorter in the *Irish Independent* (though just as long in absolute terms); but are given far less than the non-news average display in all three titles.

'Newsworthiness' is not the prime consideration in determining how much space and prominence any heritage story is awarded, 'news' texts being awarded the smallest overall display per column inch of text. The results are indicative of a considerable level of genre-borrowing, with non-news stories borrowing heavily from 'magazine' genre in terms of display and property texts borrowing heavily from 'advertising brochure' genre in terms of display.

8. Genre (hard, soft, opinion *etc.*)

Stories were coded in the study as 'hard news', 'soft news', 'opinion', 'information', 'feature', 'aditorial', 'letter', 'wacky' and 'extended photocaption' (see definitions on Page 45-6). Some 512 stories of 1190 were coded as 'hard news'; 416 of these were in the 'news' sections of the publications. The other 96 appeared in Business (15), Farming (14), Property (15), 'Planning & Development' (24), Technology (2), Architecture (2), 'Money & Jobs' (2), World Report (8), World (5), Sport (1), 'Fine Art & Antiques' (1), Sport (1) and Entertainment (1), in an Avian Flu special (3) and in catch-all miscellanies such as 'Time Out' and 'About Us'. At the other extreme of the genre chain, 275 stories were coded as 'aditorial', 210 appearing in the property sections of the newspapers. Three appeared in 'Wine', nine in 'Farming', three in 'Conferencing' specials, five in News, 28 in 'Fine Art & Antiques', four in a 'special report' on Clare, two in a 'National Development Plan Commercial report', two in 'Travel Desk', two in Business and one each in 'Cookery', 'Time Out', 'Home and Away', 'World Report', News Features, 'Closing Time', 'Interiors' and Motoring.

Of the five aditorial texts appearing in 'News' sections, two were authored by journalists whose work otherwise appears exclusively in the 'Property' sections: *The Irish Times*'s Markets Correspondent, Jane O'Sullivan, whose designation was carried on her by-line, and the *Irish Independent*'s Property Editor, Cliodhna O'Donoghue,

whose designation was dropped. The other three aditorial texts in the 'News' sections were unsigned. The other 402 texts fell into the following genres: soft 84 (30 in news sections); feature 112 (13 in news); information 42 (two in news); letter 93; journalist's response to a letter 1; opinion 35 (two in news); stand-alone photocaptions 18 (10 in news); wacky 15 (two in news) and reviews 1.

Table 9: breakdown by genre

	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Total
Hard news	127	116	114	155	512
Soft news	40	16	17	13	86
Opinion	5	9	13	8	35
Information	4	11	20	7	42
Feature	0	21	52	39	112
Aditorial	20	61	106	88	275
Letter	16	40	19	18	93
Wacky	2	5	2	6	15
Extended caption	1	3	8	6	18
Book review	0	0	1	0	1
Journalist's letter response	0	0	0	1	1
Total	**215**	**282**	**352**	**341**	**1190**

9. Coding (positive, negative)

Each text was coded 'positive towards heritage ('positive')' or 'negative towards heritage ('negative')', that is to say each text was coded as representing heritage in a more positive than negative, or more negative than positive, light. In most cases, this means a particular example or aspect of heritage in a particular context – for example, the newly discovered archaeology at Tara being portrayed as less valuable or less necessary than the planned M3 motorway – rather than heritage in general, though some extreme representations of heritage are negative towards heritage in general. Throughout this discussion, then, the terms 'negative' and 'negative towards heritage' generally mean 'negative towards a particular object or aspect of heritage'. It can be reasonably assumed that an accumulation of texts that are more negative than positive towards this or that heritage object or this or that aspect of heritage are collectively transmitting a message that is more negative than positive towards heritage as a whole, and *vice versa*. However, the limits of any such system of coding are recognized. For example, given that many of the texts are framed in a context of conflict, the question has to be asked whether a story can be said to represent heritage in a positive light even where the text comes down on the side of heritage. I have coded texts as negative wherever heritage is represented as *giving rise to conflict*. But the cumulative effect of representing heritage as constantly involved in conflict, even as the innocent victim, can

hardly fail to be negative. Is victimage positive? Furthermore, though a majority of texts in the feature and review pages and in the supplements have been coded 'positive', there is this proviso: that they fall within the consumption news paradigm, that is they represent heritage as worthwhile, predominantly or only to the extent that it possesses a convertible market value, rather than any intrinsic value.

Each text was coded 'positive' or 'negative' using a coding matrix comprising the following criteria:

Negative towards heritage

- Is there an assumption/implication or definitive statement that 'development' is of its very nature beneficial regardless of its impact on heritage?
- Is loss of heritage represented as an opportunity?
- Is a development or development in general represented as being more valuable or more necessary than the heritage with which it is in conflict?
- Is heritage represented as giving rise to conflict?
- Is heritage represented as causing delay?
- Is heritage represented as overly expensive?
- Are a majority of sources within the text negative towards heritage?
- Are the authoritative sources negative towards heritage?
- Are heritage protagonists represented as eccentric and abnormal and/or are development protagonists represented as right-thinking, admirable, practical and philanthropic?
- In balanced, straightforward conflict stories, does the headline make a definitive choice in favour of development (*e.g.* a story dealing with a planning appeal in which the heritage protagonists are successful leaves the choice of headlines: 'Castle saved' or 'Development rejected')

Positive towards heritage

- The antitheses of each of the above

Some 551 stories were coded 'negative to heritage', 293 of which (53%) were in the news sections; 62% of the 476 hard-news stories are 'negative'. Some 639 stories were coded 'positive' – 190 in news, 180 in property, 60 in letters, 57 in nature columns (About Us,

Outdoors), 44 in fine arts & antiques; six in 'Backpage' (the *Irish Examiner's* miscellany); three in business; 16 in Weekend/Weekend Review; four in 'Special Report' (on Co. Clare, Titanic); 16 in 'opinion', 'comment' or 'analysis'; four in food; three in planning & development; five in farming; three in 'Time Out'; three in science, 13 in travel, two in sport, four in architecture; three in 'Money & Jobs'; seven in advertisement features; four in 'World Report', two in Features, four in 'The Bulletin Page'; three in 'Time Out'; and one each in cookery, fashion, gardens, motors, notice board, wine, weddings, silage, 'The Market', Methodist notes and forestry.

Table 10: positivity/negativity by sample and section

News sections	Positive		Negative		Green = low Red =high
Sample 1	34	30%	81	70%	
Sample 2	41	37%	71	63%	
Sample 3	60	52%	55	48%	
Sample 4	55	39%	89	61%	
Total	190	39%	296	61%	

Non-news sections	Positive		Negative		Green = low Red =high
Sample 1	59	59%	41	41%	
Sample 2	123	72%	47	28%	
Sample 3	158	67%	79	33%	
Sample 4	108	58%	89	42%	
Total	448	64%	256	36%	

The 'positive' texts broke down by genre into 167 hard news, 77 features, 56 soft news, 202 aditorial, 60 letter, 40 information, 17 opinion, 16 photocaptions, two wacky, one journalist's response to a letter and one review. By paradigm: 152 conflict, 332 consumption, 189 heritage, 46 development, 31 sustainable development, 15 cost, 10 compromise, two crime. The 'negative' texts broke down into: 346 hard news, 36 features, 28 soft news, 73 aditorial, 33 letter, 18 opinion, 2 information, 13 wacky. By paradigm: 308 conflict, 146 consumption, 234 development, 51 cost, 15 heritage, 8 sustainable development, 5 compromise, 3 crime.

Table 11: positivity by paradigm, genre

Paradigm	Positive		Negative		Green = low Red =high
Conflict	152	33%	308	67%	
Consumption	332	70%	146	30%	
Development	46	16%	234	84%	
Heritage	189	99%	15	1%	
Compromise	10	66%	5	33%	
Sustainable Develop	31	75%	8	25%	
Cost	15	23%	51	77%	
Crime	2	40%	3	60%	
Hard news	167	32%	346	68%	
Soft news	56	67%	28	33%	
Feature	77	68%	36	32%	

(Table 11 continued overleaf…)

Table 11 continued

Genre		Positive		Negative	Green = low Red =high
Aditorial	202	73%	73	27%	
Letter	60	65%	33	35%	
Information	40	99%	2	1%	
Opinion	17	49%	18	51%	
Wacky	2	13%	13	87%	

A pattern emerges: texts in the 'conflict' news paradigm are twice as likely to be 'negative towards heritage' as 'positive'; texts in the 'consumption' news paradigm are more than twice as likely to be 'positive towards heritage'; and texts in the 'development' news paradigm are more than four times as likely to be 'negative towards heritage'. Looking at genre, we see that soft news stories and features, aditorial texts, letters and information pieces (these include travel features that are not aditorials for a particular company) are predominantly coded as 'positive'; opinion columns break pretty evenly; and wackies are overwhelmingly 'negative' – as are the crucial hard-news texts, with their claim to authority, import and journalistic objectivity. Typically then, a text that is 'negative towards heritage' appears in the news sections, probably on a right-hand page, falls into the 'conflict' or 'development' paradigms, is couched in the 'hard news' genre and in a style that is intended to be taken seriously; while a text that is 'positive towards heritage' typically appears towards the back of the publication or in a supplement, falls into the 'consumption paradigm' and is couched in a genre that is 'lower' than 'hard news' in the newspaper genre chain – such as letter, aditorial, soft news, or information feature – often in one of a number of 'lighter', more frivolous styles. Although there are marginally more 'positive' texts than 'negative' texts – 639 to 551 – the 'negative' texts are overwhelmingly given more weight and significance by all three newspapers.

10. Sources quoted/cited, source type and footing

In the context of this study, 'source' means the source of a quotation/information and not necessarily the originator of the story (though in some cases, they may be the same).

Sample 1: The most striking aspect of an analysis of sources was that the Irish Heritage Council was a source in only one story – and an indirect source, cited by a letter-writer, at that. Of a total of 306 sources in the 215 texts, 62 heritage sources (20%) were cited in 53 texts (24%). These included Government, State and statutory bodies charged with

protecting heritage (Department of the Environment, Sustainable Energy Ireland, An Taisce *etc.*), Opposition spokespersons, local government heritage officers, academics, voluntary conservation bodies (Conservation International, the National Heritage Conservation Group) and *ad hoc* lobby groups (Save Viking Waterford, Save Tara-Skryne). Eight of these stories, citing nine heritage sources, were letters to the editor. Of these 62 sources, 57 were categorized as primary definers, four as secondary definers and one as a tertiary definer. Thirty-three (33) sources were awarded 'arbiter' footing and 29 were given 'advocate' footing. Of the 'arbiter' sources, two were community groups (Kerry Red Deer Society [twice] and Offaly Historical and Archaeological Society) and three were NGOs (Vienna Architectural Biennale, the Royal Dublin Society and the Ulster Architectural Heritage Society). The other 23 'arbiter' sources were government, local government, state or academic sources.

Note that Government and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage, such as the Department of the Environment, the Office of Public Works, the National Roads Authority (three NRA archaeologists were cited seven times in six texts) and Sustainable Energy Ireland, have other responsibilities, some of which may create internal tensions or conflicts within the organization. The Department of the Environment, for example, has responsibilities in connection with planning and road infrastructure, both frequent sources of heritage conflict; and Sustainable Energy Ireland's activities in increasing the use of biomass (wood chip) and wind energy have significant implications for landscape heritage. In many instances, cited sources from these bodies did not take a pro-heritage stance. The results are tabulated in Table 12 overleaf.

Table 12: heritage sources – sample 1

Source type (subtype)	**Number of citations**	
Government	**6**	
Department/minister/former minister of the environment	6	(2 SS, 2 SP, 2 MP)
Local Government	**2**	
Kerry conservation officer	2	(2 SP)
State/semi-state/statutory	**17**	**(in 16 texts)**
An Taisce	1	(1MP)
Shannon Development heritage director	1	(1SS)
Northwestern Regional Fisheries Board	2	(2SS)
Sustainable Energy Ireland	2	(1 MP; 1SP)
Irish Heritage Council	1	(SP)
English Heritage	2	(2SS)
National Museum	1	(1SP)
NRA archaeologists (Mary Deevy 5, Geraldine Fitzpatrick 1, Ken Hanley 1)	7	(5SS, 1MP)
Lobby groups, NGOs	**11**	**(in 10 texts)**
Save Viking Waterford Action Group	1	(1 MP)
Save Tara-Skryne Valley Action Group)	1	(1 SP)
Ulster Architectural Heritage Society	3	(1SS, 2MP)
Conservation International	2	(2SP)
Architecture Biennale	1	(SS)
Royal Dublin Society	1	(SS)
Dublin Bay Watch	1	(MP)
Heritage academics	**21**	**(in 18 texts; 12 SS, 6 MS; 4SP, 2MP)**
Heritage Community Groups	**2**	
Kerry Red Deer Society	2	(2SP)
Offaly Historical and Architectural Society	1	(SS)
Heritage Opposition spokespersons (so cited)	**3**	**(in 2 texts)**
Joe Costello Lab (as member of National Heritage Conservation Group)	1	(SP)
Ciaran Cuffe Green (as member of NHCG)	1	(SP)
Paul Gogarty, Green	1	(SS)

(**Key:** SS = single source; SP = multiple sources, single perspective; MP = multiple perspective)

Thirty-two (32) of the stories citing heritage sources were hard news stories and eight were letters to the editor. Of the remainder, two were wackies, nine were soft news stories and one was a stand-alone photocaption.

Thirty-two (32) of the stories citing heritage sources were wholly or partly within the conflict news paradigm, 13 consumption, eight development, seven heritage, three sustainable development and three cost. Twenty-seven (27) were negative, 26 positive. In 32 hard news stories, 15 were positive, 17 negative.

Stories citing heritage sources totalled 517.25 column inches, for an average of 10" (global average for Sample 1, 12.5"). The total display was 1033.75" - ratio 2 (global text-to-display = ratio 2.3 for Sample 1). The 32 hard news stories totalled 249.25" for an average of 7.8" (global hard-news average = 9" for Sample 1). Total display was 458.5" - ratio 1.8 (global hard-news = ratio 1.76 for Sample 1).

Twenty-eight (28) journalists signed 32 of these stories, with no journalist signing more than two texts.

There were few individual 'serial' sources in the sample and few individual organisations were quoted more than once. Different sources representing the National Roads Authority (NRA) were cited in 11 texts, but six of these related to two stories carried in all three of the newspapers.

Forty-three (43) stories had no cited source, in 12 of which it was not possible definitively to identify a source from internal evidence. A further 25 stories cited no source but the source was clearly identifiable. Most of these latter stories were property aditorials in which the personal contact details of the selling agent were included in the text.

All together (including the heritage sources) some 306 sources are identified/ identifiable in 203 of the 215 texts, 12 texts having no identified/identifiable source. Of the 215 texts (including the 12 with no identified/identifiable source), 162 (75%) were single-source stories. A further 29 texts (13%) were multiple-source, single-perspective stories. Only 24 texts (11%) cited a second (or more) source speaking from a second (or more) perspective. In two of the latter cases, the second perspective comprised a single, last-paragraph refutation or 'no comment'.

For the 114 texts appearing in news sections, the corresponding figures are: single source 77 (70%), single perspective 21 (18%), multiple or bipolar perspective 16 (13%) (including the two single-paragraph rebuttals).

For the 107 texts coded 'hard' news and appearing in the news sections, the breakdown was: single source 67 (63%), single perspective 24 (22%), multiple or bipolar perspective 16 (15%) (including the two single-paragraph refutations).

Of the 16 'news' stories with multiple-perspective sources, seven (7) were reports on the proceedings of statutory meetings, planning appeals, court cases *etc.* which a) provide multiple sources as a matter of procedure and b) demand equal treatment as a condition of privilege (legal immunity from being sued for libel). In several cases, the

sources were documentary. That left just eight (8) texts in which there was a second perspective and these were five (5) pro-heritage with developer/taxpayer response and three (3) pro-development with response on behalf of heritage. How does this compare with the texts citing heritage sources?

Table 13: texts citing heritage sources – sample 1

	Texts	SS	MP/BP	SP	TOTAL SP	MP
Heritage sources (62)	53	30 (56%)	9 (17%)	14 (27%)	43 (83%)	9 (17%)
General (301)	215	151 (70%)	24 (11%)	40 (19%)	191 (89%)	24 (11%)

Single source = SS, single perspective = SP, multiple perspective = MP (bipolar = BP)

Stories citing heritage sources were far less likely to rely upon a single source; but almost as likely to be written from a single perspective. Does this mean journalists are less trustful of heritage sources and are seeking a second, confirmatory source?

The majority of sources on all sides of the discourse can be classified as 'elite' sources. Only 27 of 306 identified sources were private citizens or members of community groups. Several of the private citizens fell into the 'unnamed local' category, some were unnamed objectors to planning proceedings and the figure also includes six (6) letter writers. The results are tabulated in Table 14. In this and other tables in which a total is marked 'Not applicable' (N/A), totalling the number of texts does not yield a relevant figure since some texts cite more than one source type and thus appear repeatedly in the column.

Table 14: breakdown of source type in the 215 texts – sample 1

Sources	Citations	Stories
Private sector	66	58
Local government	58	36
Statutory	41	36
Academic	27	24
Government	23	21
Semi-state	13	13
Community	15	15
Private citizen	14	14
Farming	9	7
Lobby	9	9
Religious	7	6
Opposition	5	4
NGO	5	4
Industry umbrella	4	4
Celebrity	3	3
EU	1	1
UNICEF	1	1
	301	(N/A)

Sample 2:

As in the first sample, the most striking aspect of an analysis of sources was that the Irish Heritage Council was cited as a source in only one story. Of 396 sources, 64 sources (16%) representing heritage interests were cited in 58 stories (20%). These included Government, State, Semi-State and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage (Department of the Environment, National Salmon Commission, Sustainable Energy Ireland, An Taisce *etc.*), Opposition environmental spokespersons, local government heritage officers, heritage academics, voluntary conservation bodies (Irish Historic Properties Committee, Conservation International, the Irish Georgian Society, Industrial Heritage Society of Ireland, GM-free Ireland Network, Voice of the Irish Concern for the Environment, Friends of the National Collections of Ireland, Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works in Ireland) and *ad hoc* lobby groups (Save Our Seafront, Dún Laoghaire; Save Bewley's Café Campaign). Ten of these stories were letters to the editor. Green Party spokespersons were cited on behalf of heritage in a further three stories. Of these 64 sources, 56 were categorized as primary definers and eight as secondary definers. Thirty-five were given 'advocate' footing and 29 were given 'arbiter' footing. Of those given 'arbiter' footing, two were NGOs (Irish Landmark Trust, Irish Georgian Society, Friends of the Irish National Collections) and one was a community group (Beaumont Community Council), albeit that the group had commissioned a learned report. The other 25 were government, local government or academic sources.

As above, it should be noted that Government and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage, such as the Department of the Environment, the National Salmon Commission and Sustainable Energy Ireland, have other, often-conflicting responsibilities. On many issues, cited sources from these bodies did not take a pro-heritage stance. The results are tabulated in Table 15 overleaf.

Table 15: heritage sources – sample 2

Source type (subtype)	**Number of citations**	
Government	**12**	
Department/Ministers of the Environment	10	(6 SS, 2 BP, 1 MP)
Minister for Marine and Natural Resources	1	(SP)
Committee on Marine and Natural Resources	1	(SP)
Local Government	**3**	
Clare heritage officer	1	(BP)
Clare biodiversity officer	1	(SS)
Dublin city heritage officer	1	(SS)
State/semi-state/statutory	**14**	
An Taisce	5	(3 BP, 1MP)
National Salmon Commission	2	(2 SP)
National Parks & Wildlife Service	2	(2 BP)
Southwestern Regional Fisheries Board	1	(BP)
RTÉ	1	(BP)
Sustainable Energy Ireland	1	(SS)
Irish Heritage Council	1	(SP)
Death Valley National Park	1	(SP)
Lobby groups, NGOs	**16**	**(in 14 texts)**
North Atlantic Salmon Fund	2	(2 MS; 2 SP)
Woodland League	1	(SS, SP)
Irish Historic Properties Committee	1	(SS, SP)
Save Bewley's Café	1	(MS, BP)
Conservation International	1	(SS, BP)
Industrial Heritage Society of Ireland	1	(SS, SP)
Keep Ireland Open	2	(1 SS, 1 MS; 2 BP)
Friends of the National Collections of Ireland	1	(SS, SP)
Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works in Ireland	1	(SS, SP)
Save Our Seafront	1	(MS, BP)
GM-Free Ireland Network	1	(SS, BP)
Voice of the Irish Concern for the Environment	1	(MS, BP)
Irish Landmark Trust	1	(SS, BP)
Irish Georgian Society	1	(SS, SP)
Heritage academics	**12**	**(12 SS, 6 SP, 6 BPint)**
Heritage Community Groups	**2**	
Enniskerry Walking Society	1	(MS, BP)
Beaumont Community Council	1	(SS, SP)
Heritage Umbrella Groups	**2**	
Cork City of Culture	1	(SS, SP)
Irish Deer Alliance	1	(SS, BP)
Heritage Opposition spokespersons (so cited)	**2**	
Fergus O'Dowd FG	1	(MS, MP)
Ciarán Cuffe Green	1	(MS, MP)
Heritage professionals	**1**	
Peter Pearson Evans conservation consultant	1	(SS, BPint)

Twenty-seven (27) of these stories were hard news stories and 10 were letters to the editor. Of the remainder, seven were features, two were wackies, four were soft news stories, four were information pieces and four were opinion pieces.

Thirty-five (35) of these stories were wholly or partly within the conflict news paradigm, 14 were heritage, five consumption, 10 development, five cost, five compromise and one sustainable development.

Twenty-four (24) were negative, 34 positive. Of 27 hard news stories, 15 were positive, 12 negative.

Stories citing heritage sources totalled 769.75 column inches, for an average of 14" (global average for Sample 2: 12.1"). The total display was 1,521.5" - ratio 2 (global text-to-display ratio 2.6 for Sample 2). The 25 hard news stories totalled 267.5" for an average of 10.7" (average hard-news length for Sample 2: 9.4"). Total display was 551" - ratio 2 (global hard news for Sample 2: 2.2).

Twenty-eight journalists signed 38 of these stories, with Frank McDonald and Treacy Hogan signing four each – but all of these related to the rural housing guidelines coverage already referred to and, in every case, the sources were Department of the Environment and/or Opposition environment spokesmen. The four heritage information pieces (notices of forthcoming events) appeared under Sylvia Thompson's signature.

Thirty-four stories had no cited source, in 10 of which the source was clearly identifiable.

All together, some 396 sources are identified/identifiable in 265 texts. 208 texts were single-source stories (including 23 of the 39 texts with no cited source). A further 34 texts were multiple-source, single-perspective stories. Only 39 texts of 282 (13%) cited a second (or more) source speaking from a second (or more) perspective. In 63 texts, a second, bipolar perspective was assumed, implicit or intertextually present.

For texts appearing in news sections (104), the corresponding figures are: single source 56, single perspective 15, multiple perspective 32.

For the 94 texts coded 'hard' news and appearing in the news sections, the breakdown was: single source 52, single perspective 14, multiple perspective 28.

Of the 28 'news' stories with multiple-perspective sources, 20 were reports on the proceedings of statutory meetings, planning appeals, court cases *etc.* that a) provide multiple sources as a matter of procedure and b) demand equal treatment as 1) a condition of privilege and 2) a condition for the journalistic requirement of political balance. In several cases, the sources were documentary.

Three further texts were part of the large-scale coverage in response to the Government's new guidelines on rural housing, in which journalists had to hand a range of press release statements from interested groups such as Opposition politicians, the IFA, the Chambers of Commerce of Ireland and lobby groups. That left just five (5) texts in which the journalist had (possibly) actively sought a second perspective.

In terms of multiplicity of sources and perspectives, how do the general texts compare to those citing heritage texts?

Table 16: texts citing heritage sources – sample 2

	Texts	SS	BP/MP	SP	TOTAL SP	MP
Heritage sources (64)	58	35 (60%)	16 (28%)	7 (12%)	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
General (385)	282	209 (74%)	39 (14%)	34 (12%)	243 (86%)	39 (14%)

Single source = SS, single perspective = SP, multiple perspective = MP (bipolar = BP)

Again, stories citing heritage sources were much less likely to rely upon a single source; and, this time, less likely to be written from a single perspective. This may indicate that journalists are less trustful of heritage sources and are seeking a second, confirmatory/rebuttal source. The majority of sources on all sides of the discourse can be classified as 'elite' sources. Only 50 of 399 identified sources (12.5%) were private citizens or members of community groups – and 21 of these were letter writers. Several of the private citizens fell into the 'unnamed local' category.

Table 17: breakdown of source type in the 282 heritage stories – sample 2

Sources	Citations	Stories
Private sector	123	103
Local government	64	41
Private citizen	42	39
Statutory	27	24
Academic	27	24
Government	23	22
Opposition	18	11
Professionals	13	8
Semi-state	12	8
NGO	11	11
Lobby	10	9
Community	8	8
Other media	6	3
EU	4	3
Celebrity	3	2
Farming	3	3
Umbrella	3	3
Religious	2	2
	399	(N/A)

Sample 3:

As in previous samples, a striking aspect of an analysis of sources was that the Irish Heritage Council was cited as a source in only four stories. Of 503 sources, 80 sources (16%) representing heritage interests were cited in 62 stories (18%). These included Government, State, Semi-State and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage (Department of the Environment, National Salmon Commission, Sustainable Energy Ireland, An Taisce *etc.*), Opposition environmental spokespersons, local government heritage officers, heritage academics and institutions (National Gallery, Crawford Gallery, National Museum), voluntary conservation bodies (Lartigue Restoration Committee, Friends of St Colman's Cathedral, Irish Georgian Society) and *ad hoc* lobby groups (Bull Island Action Group, Save Our Seafront). Only one of these stories was a letter to the editor. Of these 80 sources, 69 were categorised as primary definers, eight as secondary definers and three as tertiary definers. Forty-one (43) were given 'advocate' footing and 37 were given 'arbiter' footing. Of those given 'arbiter' footing, eight were NGOs (Feasta, Birdwatch, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds [twice], World organisation for Animal Health [twice], Friends of the Irish Environment and the Eden Project) and one was a lobby group (the unnamed organizers of a sustainable living festival). The other 28 were UN, EU, government, local government or academic sources.

As above, it should be noted that Government and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage, such as the Department of the Environment, the National Salmon Commission and Sustainable Energy Ireland, have other, often-conflicting responsibilities. On many issues, cited sources from these bodies did not take a pro-heritage stance. The results are tabulated in Table 18 overleaf.

Table 18: heritage sources – sample 3

Source type (subtype)	**Number of citations**	
Total	**80**	**(in 62 texts: 35SS, 12 SP, 15 BP/MP)**
Government	**4**	
Department/Minister of the Environment	4	(2 SS, 2 BP)
Local Government	**1**	
Cuitat de les Arts i les Sciences	1	(1 SS)
State/semi-state/statutory	**31**	**(in 30 texts)**
An Taisce	8	(5 BP, 2SP, 1MP)
Dúchas	5	(5 BP)
National Parks & Wildlife Service	6	(6 SS)
Irish Heritage Council	4	(3SS, 1BP)
National Gallery	2	(2SS)
(NI) National Trust	1	(1SP)
NI Tourist Board	1	(1SP)
National Museum	1	(1SS)
Everglades National Park	1	(1SP)
Ireland West Tourism	1	(1MP)
Comhar	1	(1BP)
Lobby groups, NGOs	**25**	**(in 19 texts)**
Ringsend/Sandymount Environment Group	1	(1SP)
Irish Georgian Society	4	(4BP)
Cavan Leitrim Environmental Awareness Network	1	(1MP)
Sustainable.ie	1	(1SS)
Feasta	1	(1SS)
Save the Tara/Skryne Valley Group	1	(1SS)
Friends of St Colman's Cathedral	3	(3BP)
Birdwatch	2	(1SS, 1MP)
MADD (Midlands Against Dirty Developments)	1	(1SS)
Save Our Seafront	2	(1SP)
Captive Animals Protection Society	1	(1SS)
North Atlantic Salmon Fund	1	(1BP)
World organisation for Animal Health	2	(2SP)
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds	2	(2SP)
Friends of the Irish Environment	1	(1SS)
The Eden Project	1	(1SS)
Heritage academics	**12**	**(in 11 texts: 8SS, 1SP, 2BP)**
Heritage Community Groups	**3**	
Bull Island Action Group	1	(1SS)
Aghancon Concerned Residents	1	(1BP)
Lartigue Restoration Committee	1	(1SP)
Heritage Umbrella Groups	**3**	
Tree Council of Ireland	3	(2SS, 1SP)
Heritage professionals	**1**	
Peter Pearson Evans conservation consultant	1	(SS, BPint)

Thirty-one (31) of these stories were hard news stories, one was an aditorial and one was a letter to the editor. Of the remainder, 10 were features, four were soft news stories, 10 were information pieces, three were opinion pieces and two were stand-alone photocaptions.

Thirty-three (33) of these stories were wholly or partly within the conflict news paradigm, 34 were heritage, nine consumption, 10 development, three cost, one compromise and two sustainable development.

Twenty-six (26) were negative, 36 positive. Of 31 hard news stories, 11 were positive, 20 negative.

Of the 35 single-source (SS) texts citing a heritage source, nine (25%) were short notices of forthcoming events, against the global percentage for Sample 3 of 7%.

Stories citing heritage sources totalled 622.5 column inches, for an average of 10" (global average for Sample 3: 11"). The total display was 1,245" - ratio 2 (global text-to-display ratio 2.6 for Sample 3). The 31 hard news stories totalled 309.25" for an average of 10" (average hard-news length for Sample 3 = 9"). Total display was 526" - ratio 1.7 (global hard news for Sample 2 = 1.9).

Thirty-three (33) journalists signed 47 of these stories, with Ray Managh signing four, all to do with the libel action of former Dúchas archaeologist David Sweetman against Associated Newspapers. Sylvia Thompson signed seven short notices of forthcoming heritage events as part of her weekly column. No other author signed more than two texts.

Eight texts had no cited source; in all cases, the source was clearly identifiable.

All together, some 503 sources are identified/identifiable in 306 texts. 211 texts were single-source stories (including 57 of the 78 texts with no cited source). A further 80 texts were multiple-source, single-perspective stories. Only 61 texts of 352 (17%) cited a second (or more) source speaking from a second (or more) perspective. In 22 texts, a second, bipolar perspective was assumed, implicit or intertextually present.

For texts appearing in news sections (115), the corresponding figures are: single source 62, single perspective 28, multiple/bipolar perspective 25.

For the 86 texts coded ‘hard’ news and appearing in the news sections, the breakdown was: single source 46, single perspective 15, multiple perspective 25.

Of the 25 ‘news’ stories with multiple-perspective sources, 20 were reports on the proceedings of statutory meetings, planning appeals, court cases *etc.* that a) provide multiple sources as a matter of procedure and b) demand equal treatment as 1) a

condition of privilege and 2) a condition for the journalistic requirement of political balance. In several cases, the sources were documentary.

Three further texts were part of the coverage of the advance of avian flu (typically represented as being spread by wild birds to the detriment of human health and commerce but, in reality, spread by human commerce to the detriment of wild birds) in which journalists had to hand a range of press release statements from interested groups such as Governmental and non-governmental agencies at national and international level and a wealth of material from news and graphics agencies. That left just two (2) texts in which the journalist had (possibly) actively sought a second perspective.

In terms of multiplicity of sources and perspectives, how do the general texts compare to those citing heritage texts?

Table 19: texts citing heritage sources – sample 3

	Texts	SS	BP/MP	SP	TOTAL SP	MP
Heritage sources (80)	62	35 (56%)	15 (24%)	12 (20%)	42 (76%)	15 (24%)
No heritage source	290	176 (61%)	46 (16%)	68 (24%)	244 (84%)	46 (16%)
General (503)	352	211 (60%)	61 (17%)	80 (23%)	291 (83%)	61 (17%)

Single source = SS, single perspective = SP, multiple perspective = MP (bipolar = BP)

Again, stories citing heritage sources were less likely than other stories to rely upon a single source; and less likely to be written from a single perspective – though the gap has narrowed somewhat. The data still suggest that journalists are less trustful of heritage sources and are seeking a second, confirmatory/rebuttal source. Of only five single-source stories in which a journalist inserted a bipolar perspective without citing another source, four (80%) were stories in which the single source was a heritage source.

The majority of sources on all sides of the discourse can be classified as ‘elite’ sources. Only 53 of 505 identified sources (10.5%) were private citizens or members of community groups – and 15 of these were letter writers. Several of the private citizens fell into the ‘unnamed local’ category. The results are tabulated in Table 20 overleaf.

Table 20: breakdown of source type in the 352 heritage stories – sample 3

Sources	Citations	Stories
Private sector	184	142
Government	46	35
Private citizen	38	26
Local government	37	26
Statutory	36	33
Academic	29	27
Professionals	23	15
Semi-state	22	18
NGO	19	16
Lobby	16	15
Opposition	12	11
Community	12	10
UN	7	5
Celebrity	7	7
Religious	5	5
EU	5	4
Umbrella	3	3
Farming	2	2
Anonymous/unknown	2	2
	505	(N/A)

Sample 4:

As in previous samples, a striking aspect of an analysis of sources was that the Irish Heritage Council was cited as a source in only five stories. Of 512 sources, 52 sources (10%) representing heritage interests were cited in 41 stories (12%). These included Government, State, Semi-State and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage (Department of the Environment, the Marine Institute, Environmental Protection Agency, An Taisce *etc.*), Opposition environmental spokespersons, local government heritage officers, heritage academics and institutions (Hunt Museum, Greenwich Observatory), voluntary conservation bodies (Birdlife International, the Royal Horticultural Society Ireland) and community and lobby groups (Burren Action Group). Only one of these stories was a letter to the editor. Of these 52 sources, 49 were categorized as primary definers, and three as secondary definers. Twenty-five (25) were given 'advocate' footing and 27 were given 'arbiter' footing. Of those heritage sources given 'arbiter' footing, 11 were state bodies, nine were Government departments or ministers, five were academics, two were NGOs (Royal Horticultural Society of Ireland, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds) and one was a professional naturalist.

As above, it should be noted that Government and statutory bodies charged with the protection of heritage, such as the Department of the Environment, the National Salmon Commission and Sustainable Energy Ireland, have other, often-conflicting

responsibilities. On many issues, cited sources from these bodies did not take a pro-heritage stance. The results are in Table 21 below.

Table 21: heritage sources – sample 4

Source type (subtype)	**Number of citations**	
Total	**52**	**(in 41 texts: 20 SS, 12 SP, 9 BP/MP)**
Government	**11**	
Minister for the Environment	5	(4 BP, 1SS)
NI Minister for the Environment	1	(1BP)
Department/Minister Natural Resources	5	(4 SS, 1 BP)
State/semi-state/statutory	**23**	**(in 16 texts)**
An Taisce	5	(2 BP, 1SP, 1SS)
National Parks & Wildlife Service	1	(1 SP)
Irish Heritage Council	8	(in 5 texts: 1SS, 2SP, 2MP/BP)
National Museum	1	(1SP)
Greenwich Observatory	1	(1SS)
Martine Institute	3	(2SP)
Sustainable Energy Ireland	2	(2SP)
Environmental Protection Agency	2	(2SP)
Lobby groups, NGOs	**7**	**(in 7 texts)**
Unnamed environment group	1	(1BP)
Worldwide Fund for Nature	1	(1SP) 2 (2SP)
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds	1	(1SS)
Royal Horticultural Society	1	(1SS)
Birdlife International	1	(1SS)
Coastwatch	1	(1SP)
West Wales Wildlife Trust	1	(1SP)
Heritage academics	**9**	**(in 8 texts: 7SS, 1SP)**
Heritage Community Groups	**1**	
Burren Action Group	1	(1MP)
Heritage professionals	**1**	
Gordon D'Arcy, nature author	1	(1SS)

Twenty-seven (27) of the stories citing heritage sources were hard news stories and one was a letter to the editor. Of the remainder, seven were features, three were information pieces, one was an opinion piece, one was a wacky and one was a stand-alone photocaption.

Twenty-one (21) of the stories citing heritage sources were wholly or partly within the conflict news paradigm, 18 were heritage, 10 consumption, five development, four cost, two compromise and four sustainable development.

Twelve (12) were negative, 29 positive. Of 27 hard news stories, 16 were positive, 11 negative.

Stories citing heritage sources totalled 456 column inches, for an average of 11" (global average for Sample 4: 10.25"). The total display was 1,083.25" - ratio 2.3 (global text-to-display ratio 2.4 for Sample 4). The 27 hard news stories totalled 248.5" for an

average of 9.25" (average hard-news length for Sample 4 = 8.75"). Total display was 499.25" - ratio 2 (global hard news for Sample 4 = 1.9).

Twenty-eight (27) journalists and one news agency signed 35 of these stories, with freelance Anne Lucey signing three and Ray Ryan (*II*), Lorna Siggins (*IT*), Sylvia Thompson (*IT*), Gordon Deegan (freelance) and Treacy Hogan (*II*) signing two each. No other author signed more than two texts.

Two texts had no cited source; in both cases, the source was clearly identifiable.

All together, some 512 sources are identified/identifiable in 311 texts. Some 202 texts were single-source stories (including 42 of the 74 texts with no cited source). A further 68 texts were multiple-source, single-perspective stories. Only 71 texts of 341 (21%) cited a second (or more) source speaking from a second (or more) perspective. In 49 texts, a second, bipolar perspective was assumed, implicit or intertextually present.

For texts appearing in news sections (140), the corresponding figures are: single source 66, single perspective 36, multiple/bipolar perspective 38.

For the 125 texts coded ‘hard’ news and appearing in the news sections, the breakdown was: single source 56, single perspective 32, multiple perspective 37.

Of the 37 ‘news’ stories with multiple-perspective sources, 27 were reports on the proceedings of statutory meetings, planning appeals, court cases *etc.* that a) provide multiple sources as a matter of procedure and b) demand equal treatment as 1) a condition of privilege and 2) a condition for the journalistic requirement of political balance. In several cases, the sources were documentary. That left perhaps 10 texts in which the journalist had (possibly) actively sought a second perspective.

In terms of multiplicity of sources and perspectives, how do the general texts compare to those citing heritage texts? See Table 22 overleaf.

Table 22: texts citing heritage sources – sample 4

	Texts	SS	BP/MP	SP	TOTAL SP	MP
Heritage sources (52)	41	20 (50%)	9 (22%)	12 (30%)	32 (80%)	9 (22%)
No heritage source	300	182 (61%)	59 (19%)	59 (19%)	241 (81%)	59 (19%)
General (512)	341	202 (60%)	68 (20%)	71 (20%)	273 (80%)	68 (20%)

Single source = SS, single perspective = SP, multiple perspective = MP (bipolar = BP)

Again, stories citing heritage sources were far less likely than other stories to rely upon a single source, even though the numbers of single perspective stories were virtually identical. The data strongly suggest that journalists are less trustful of heritage sources and are seeking a second, confirmatory/rebuttal source. The majority of sources on all sides of the discourse can be classified as 'elite' sources. Only 47 of 512 identified sources (9%) were private citizens or members of community groups – and 11 of these were letter writers. Several of the private citizens fell into the 'unnamed local' category. See Table 23 below.

Table 23: breakdown of source type in the 341 heritage stories – sample 4

Sources	Citations	Stories
Private sector	152	121
Statutory	68	56
Government	68	50
Local government	67	44
Academic	33	29
Private citizen	30	27
Farming	15	11
Community	15	15
Professionals	13	13
Opposition	10	9
NGO	9	8
Semi-state	5	4
Lobby	5	5
Celebrity	4	3
Umbrella	4	4
Religious	3	3
EU	3	3
UN	3	2
Media	3	3
Anonymous/unknown	2	2
	512	(N/A)

Samples 1 to 4 cumulative results:

A breakdown of sources across Samples 1-4 will be given below in Table 25 (Page 106). It may be noted here that the Heritage Council was cited as a source in only 11 of 1190 texts. Of 1717 sources, 264 sources (15%) representing heritage interests were cited in 216 stories (18%).

In terms of genre, 119 of the 216 stories citing heritage sources were hard news stories and 20 were letters to the editor, two were aditorials, 24 features, five were offbeat NIBs (wackies), 16 were soft news stories, 18 information, eight opinion, and four were stand-alone photocaptions.

In terms of paradigm, 121 of these stories were wholly or partly within the conflict news paradigm, 73 heritage, 37 consumption, 33 development, 10 sustainable development, 16 cost and 14 compromise (304 claims). On the continuum: 120 (heritage end, 39.5%) – 135 (centre, 44.4%) – 49 (development end, 16%). By comparison, the 453 texts citing private-business sources fell within the following paradigms: conflict 104, heritage 20, consumption 296, development 141, sustainable development 13, cost 18, compromise five (5). On the continuum: 329 (heritage end, 55%) – 109 (centre, 18%) - 159 (development end, 27%).

By further comparison, the entire body of 1190 texts, including those that cited no source, broke down by paradigm as follows: conflict 466, heritage 204, consumption 484, development 280, sustainable development 39, cost 66, compromise 15. On the continuum: 688 (heritage end, 44%) – 481 (centre, 31%) – 385 (development end, 25%).

Citing of heritage sources shifted the continuum towards the centre and away from the heritage end.

Coding: 89 (42%) were negative, 125 (58%) positive. In 119 hard news stories, 57 (48%) were positive, 62 negative (52%). The comparative global figures are: negative 551 (46%), positive 639 (54%); hard news stories (513): negative 346 (67%), positive 167 (33%). In all texts, citing of heritage stories had a minimal effect on positivity. In hard-news texts, however, citing of heritage sources had a significant effect on positivity.

The 216 stories citing heritage sources totalled 2365.5 column inches, for an average of 11" (global average 11.3"). The total display was 4883.5" – ratio 2 (global text-to-display ratio 2.5). The 117 hard news stories totalled 1074.5" for an average of 9.2" (global hard-news average 9"). Total display was 1,009.5" - ratio 2 (global hard news

ratio 1.95). Throughout the study, stories citing heritage sources have been drawing closer to the global averages for length and display ratio, perhaps suggesting an improved perception of heritage sources in terms of significance (though not, as we shall show, in terms of credibility) on the part of journalists.

All together, 118 journalists signed 142 of these stories, with Sylvia Thompson (*The Irish Times*; 13 stories), Anne Lucey (freelance; 10), Frank McDonald (*The Irish Times*; 8), Gordon Deegan (freelance; 7), Treacy Hogan (*Irish Independent*; 5),Ray Managh (freelance; 4) and Lorna Siggins (*The Irish Times;* 4) the journalists most often citing heritage sources. All Sylvia Thompson's stories were brief notices of forthcoming heritage events. *The Irish Times* was the newspaper most inclined to cite heritage sources, with 107 texts out of 216 (50%). The *Irish Examiner* ran 60 texts (28%) citing heritage sources and the *Irish Independent* published 47 texts (22%).

Two-hundred-and-one (201) stories had no cited source, in 61 of which the source was not definitively identifiable from internal evidence.

All together, some 1717 sources are identified/identifiable in 1085 texts. Some 783 texts were single-source stories. A further 211 texts were multiple-source, single-perspective stories. Only 195 texts of 1190 (16%) cited a second (or more) source speaking from a second (or more) perspective. In 225 single-source or single-perspective texts, a second, bipolar perspective was assumed, implicit or intertextually present or inserted by a journalist without reference to another source.

For texts appearing in news sections (476), the corresponding figures are: single source 264 (55.5%), multiple source but single perspective 101 (21%), multiple/bipolar perspective 111 (23.5%). For the 412 texts coded 'hard' news and appearing in the news sections, the breakdown was: single source 221 (54%), multiple source but single perspective 85 (20%), multiple/bipolar perspective 106 (26%).

Of the 106 'hard news/news section' stories with multiple-perspective sources, 74 were reports on the proceedings of statutory meetings, planning appeals, court cases *etc.* a) provide multiple sources as a matter of procedure and b) demand equal treatment as 1) a

condition of privilege and 2) a condition for the journalistic requirement of political balance. In several cases, the sources were documentary.

A number of texts were part of the large-scale coverage in response to the Government's new guidelines on rural housing, or the equally large-scale coverage of the spread into Europe of avian flu, in both of which cases journalists had to hand a range of press-release statements from interested groups such as Opposition politicians, the IFA, the Chambers of Commerce of Ireland and lobby groups. There were fewer than 30 texts (7% of hard news stories in the news sections) in which the journalist had (possibly) actively sought a second perspective.

In terms of multiplicity of sources and perspectives, how do the general texts compare to those citing heritage texts?

Table 24: texts citing heritage sources – cumulative

	Texts	SS	MP/BP	MSSP	TOTAL SP	MP
Heritage sources (257)	213	119 (56%)	49 (23%)	45 (21%)	164 (77%)	49 (23%)
No heritage source	977	656 (67%)	143 (14%)	180 (18%)	834 (85%)	143 (14%)
General (1717)	1190	773 (65%)	192 (16%)	225 (19%)	998 (83%)	192 (16%)

Single source = SS, multiple source = MS, single perspective = SP, multiple perspective = MP (bipolar = BP)

Texts citing heritage sources were somewhat less likely to be written from a single perspective (77% of heritage-sourced texts, 85% of texts with no heritage source, 83% of all texts) but significantly less likely to rely on a single source (56% of heritage-sourced texts, 67% of texts with no heritage source, 65% of all texts). This trend has been consistent across the four samples and strongly suggests that journalists are less trustful of heritage sources and are seeking a second, confirmatory/rebuttal source – or that journalists expect their readers to regard heritage sources as less authoritative or credible than other sources. Texts citing heritage sources form only 18% of all texts but account for 26% of texts citing multiple sources.

The majority of sources on all sides of the discourse can be classified as 'elite' sources. Only 171 of 1717 identified sources (10%) were private citizens or members of community groups – and 93 of these were letter writers. Several of the private citizens fell into the 'unnamed local' category; others were unnamed parties (that is, unnamed in the texts) to planning or court proceedings.

Table 25: source breakdown – cumulative

Sources	Citations	Stories	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	arbiter	advocate
Private sector	525	424	489 (93%)	33 (0.6%)	3	407 (78%)	118 (22%)
Local Government	226	149	170 (75%)	49 (22%)	7	122 (54%)	104 (46%)
Statutory	172	149	153 (87%)	18 (10%)	1	125 (73%)	47 (27%)
Government	160	128	136 (85%)	23 (14%)	1	116 (73%)	44 (27%)
Private citizen	121	105	96 (79%)	22 (18%)	3	13 (11%)	108 (89%)
Academic	113	104	105 (94%)	7 (0.6%)	1	76 (67%)	37 (33%)
Semi-state	52	44	44 (85%)	6 (12%)	2	31 (60%)	21 (40%)
Professionals	51	36	47 (92%)	4 (0.8%)	0	27 (53%)	24 (47%)
Community	51	48	46 (90%)	4 (0.8%)	1	15 (30%)	36 (70%)
NGO	46	41	37 (80%)	8 (18%)	1	19 (41%)	27 (59%)
Opposition	45	35	29 (65%)	16 (36%)	0	6 (13%)	39 (87%)
Lobby	38	35	29 (76%)	7 (18%)	2	3 (8%)	35 (92%)
Farming	30	22	26 (87%)	4 (13%)	0	4 (13%)	26 (87%)
Celebrity	19	16	14 (74%)	5 (26%)	0	8 (42%)	11 (58%)
Religious	16	15	15 (94%)	1 (0.6%)	0	9 (56%)	7 (44%)
Umbrella	15	14	14 (93%)	1 (0.7%)	0	8 (53%)	7 (47%)
EU	13	10	9 (70%)	4 (31%)	0	10 (77%)	3 (23%)
UN	12	9	10 (83%)	2 (18%)	0	10 (83%)	2 (17%)
Media	9	6	9 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0	5 (56%)	4 (44%)
Anonymous/unknown	3	3	2 (66%)	1 (33%)	0	1 (33%)	2 (66%)
	1717	(N/A)	1480 (86%)	215 (13%)	22 (1%)	1015 (59%)	702 (41%)

In keeping with the high percentage of single-source and single-perspective texts and the journalists' apparent reluctance to seek second and third sources, it will be seen from Table 25 above that the great majority of sources, some 86%, are classed as primary definers. Source types with a significantly higher number of primary definers, compared with the global percentage of 86%, included private sector corporate sources (93% primary definers), academics (94%), religious (94%), professionals (92%), community groups (90%)s and other media (100%, albeit of a very small sample). Source types with a significantly lower percentage of primary definers, compared with the global percentage, included Opposition sources (65%), local government (75%), private citizens (79%), celebrities (74%), EU sources (70% – these tended to be pitted against Irish farming sources) and lobby groups (76%). The breakdown of sources awarded arbiter footing and those awarded advocate footing was close to 60-40 arbiter-advocate overall but varied widely, as might be expected, from type to type. Among groups of sources with the highest percentage of arbiters were: UN sources (83%), private sector (78%), EU (77%), statutory (73%) and Government (73%). Among source types most likely to be represented as advocates were: lobby groups (90%), private citizens (89%), Opposition sources (87%), farming sources (87%) and community groups (70%).

Breaking down the heritage sources the same way (Table 26 overleaf) we see that heritage sources are somewhat less likely (12%) than the global percentage (14%) to be

classed as secondary and tertiary definers. This is in line with the finding that journalists were less likely to muster a heritage source to contradict or balance a non-heritage source than the other way round. Source types with a significantly higher number of primary definers, compared with the global percentage of 88%, included academics (98%), Government (91%), and statutory bodies (90%). Source types with a significantly lower percentage of primary definers, compared with the global percentage, included lobby groups (73%), semi-State companies (76%) and community groups (80%). Overall, heritage sources were somewhat less likely to be awarded arbiter footing (52%) than the global breakdown (59%). Among groups of sources with the highest percentage of arbiters were: Government sources (73%), local government (71%) and academics (63%). Among source types most likely to be represented as advocates were: Opposition politicians (100%, albeit of a very small sample), lobby groups (96%), semi-state bodies (59%) and NGOs (57%).

Table 26: heritage source breakdown – cumulative

H Sources	citations	stories	primary	secondary	tertiary	arbiter	advocate
Statutory	69	58	62 (90%)	7 (10%)	1	38 (55%)	31 (45%)
Academic	56	49	55 (98%)	1 (2%)	0	35 (63%)	21 (37%)
NGO	37	33	32 (86%)	4 (11%)	1	16 (43%)	21 (57%)
Government	33	31	30 (91%)	3 (14%)	0	24 (73%)	9 (27%)
Lobby	22	20	16 (73%)	5 (23%)	1	1 (4%)	21 (96%)
Semi-state	17	16	13 (76%)	2 (11%)	2	7 (41%)	10 (59%)
Community	10	10	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	0	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
Local government	7	7	6 (86%)	1 (14%)	0	5 (71%)	2 (29%)
Umbrella	5	5	5 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
Opposition	3	2	3 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0	0 (0.0%)	3 (100%)
Private sector	2	1	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
Professionals	2	2	2 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
UN	1	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (100%)	0	0 (0.0%)	1 (100%)
	264	(N/A)	233 (88%)	27 (10%)	5 (2%)	137 (52%)	127 (48%)

11. Subject

Sample 1: The subject matter is diverse. Among recurring themes are: impact of new roads on archaeological heritage 22; impact of telecoms masts on landscape 5; impact of wind-farms on landscape 8; impact of other infrastructure 4; impact of forestry on biodiversity and landscape 14; planning policy in relation to impact of one-off houses on the landscape 25; individual large-scale commercial or residential building projects 22.

122 texts were concerned with the built heritage; 119 with landscape heritage; and 56 with biodiversity. 52 texts were concerned with built and landscape heritage; 35 texts were concerned with landscape and biodiversity; and 17 with all three categories.

Sample 2: Again, the subject matter is diverse. Among recurring themes are: impact of new roads on archaeological heritage 15; dwindling salmon stocks 13; impact of wind-farms on landscape 2; impact of forestry on biodiversity and landscape 6; planning policy in relation to impact of one-off houses on the landscape 22.

180 texts were concerned with the built heritage; 113 with landscape heritage; and 70 with biodiversity. 45 texts were concerned with built and landscape heritage; 35 texts were concerned with landscape and biodiversity; and 10 with all three categories.

Sample 3: Again, the subject matter is diverse. Among recurring themes are: Avian Flu 12; fish stocks 25 of which salmon stocks 15; large-scale developments on heritage sites 30; planning appeals and controversies 10, Carrickmines 6 (5 reports of a defamation case relating to the Carrickmines controversy).

238 texts were concerned with the built heritage; 94 with landscape heritage; and 89 with biodiversity. 46 texts were concerned with built and landscape heritage; 20 texts were concerned with landscape and biodiversity; and five with all three categories.

Sample 4: Again, the subject matter is diverse. Among recurring themes are: avian flu 17; fish stocks 20 of which salmon 8; the M3 and Tara 11; the EU nitrates directive 9; large-scale developments on heritage sites 25; planning appeals and controversies 7.

195 texts were concerned with the built heritage; 133 with landscape heritage; and 135 with biodiversity. 60 texts were concerned with built and landscape heritage; 62 texts were concerned with landscape and biodiversity; and 18 with all three categories.

Cumulative: The 1190 texts in the four samples deal with 952 unique subject matters. Broadly grouped, the main subject areas are (some texts deal with more than one subject area): heritage properties for sale 144; planning issues and controversies 93 (including eight on once-off housing); fish stocks 78, including 41 specific to salmon; individual large-scale residential or commercial building projects/developments 166; roads 66, including 33 specific to the M3 at Tara; forests and forestry 28; other infrastructure 25; antiques, antiquarian, memorabilia 45; sustainable energy 25 (wind 16, wave 3, wood 3,

bio-fuel 2); archaeology, archaeological discoveries 27; travel and tourism 143 (106 inward, 37 outward); forestry 40; farming 43 (of which 11 nitrates directive, 6 REPS); wildlife 47; Avian Flu 29; art, exhibitions, museums 82; architecture, monuments, statuary 28; conservation, sustainability 43; global warming, climate change 7; waste, pollution 11.

Some 736 texts were concerned with the built heritage; 459 with landscape heritage; and 350 with biodiversity; 204 texts were concerned with built and landscape heritage; 152 texts were concerned with landscape and biodiversity; 54 with built heritage and biodiversity; and 50 with all three categories.

A surprising aspect of the analysis of subject matter is the paucity of texts related to the impact of agriculture on heritage, with the exception of the specific area of forestry – given the importance of agriculture to the Irish economy, the fact that, historically, agriculture has been responsible for the greatest loss of heritage in all three areas, of built heritage, landscape heritage and biodiversity and given the topicality of major issues – the nitrates directive, changes to the Common Agricultural Policy, decoupling, cessation of beet growing in large parts of the country *etc.* – that are all certain to have impacts on landscape and biodiversity at the least:

> Factors directly or indirectly linked to agriculture that have led to habitat loss and habitat change in Ireland include: arterial and field drainage; commonage division; land reclamation including the removal of small-scale farmland habitats such as trees, hedges, dry-stone walls, remnant woodlands and scrub; substitution of silage-making for hay-making; abandonment of small-scale rotational cropping; increasing sheep numbers and overgrazing of marginal grasslands and heaths; increasing use of fertilizers, increasing stocking densities and increased nutrient inputs through supplementary feeding; and increasing use of pesticide. The origins of some of these factors, particularly drainage practices, can be traced back to the last century (Ryan, 1986), but most changes would appear to be associated with the entry of Ireland into the EU and the various farm support schemes and special aid schemes that have been subsequently available (Heritage Council 1999, p74).

A survey conducted in south Co. Meath in 1995 found that of 13 archaeological monuments completely or substantially destroyed in the area since 1969, nine had been lost due to the effects of agriculture, one had been destroyed by commercial gravel extraction and the reasons for the destruction of the remaining three sites were unknown (O'Sullivan *et al.* 1998).

Across all four samples, a total of just 43 texts (3.6%) relate to agriculture, 17 of them dealing with two specific subject areas, the nitrates directive and REPS (the Rural Environmental Protection Scheme, under which farmers are encouraged to preserve and maintain old farm buildings and hedgerows and protect habitats by leaving sterile margins around fields). Agriculture and forestry together contribute 71 texts (6%). This contrasts with 257 texts concerned with development (166 private projects, 66 road-building projects and 25 other infrastructural projects) and 93 texts concerned with planning issues and controversies.

This is all the more puzzling since the urban/rural breakdown of location-specific texts within Ireland is: urban 443 (54%), rural 328 (40%), mixed urban/rural 43 (6%). So there is a significant number of rural texts yet hardly any concerned with agricultural-heritage issues. Anecdotally, newspapers seem to have downgraded agriculture from a general interest topic to a niche topic, largely confined to specialist farming sections. It seems reasonable to speculate that this is partly as a result of agriculture becoming technologized and acquiring a jargon not easily understood by non-farmers, partly because far fewer people are now engaged in agriculture (Between 1991 and 1999 the number of persons engaged in agriculture declined by almost 43000 or 14%) and partly because of a perceived reduction in the importance of agriculture to the economy as a whole. During the 2001 foot-and-mouth outbreak in Ireland, the Government, perhaps for the first time since the foundation of the State, seemed keen to allay fears by minimising the importance of agricultural output as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product. Tracking the amount, prominence and placing of agricultural news in Irish newspapers over the years might make an interesting research project, but I am not aware that any such research has been carried out.

12. Bracketing/occlusion/omission

In all samples, there were a number of texts in which an implicit or explicit heritage aspect was omitted; or dealt with in such a desultory fashion as to be tantamount to omission; or 'bracketed' – parked or set aside to avoid controversy. All these texts will be referred to as 'bracketing' texts.

This and other quantities have been cross-correlated with the quantity I have termed 'news paradigms', discussed above at Page 52. By way of reminder, the 'news paradigm' value categorizes the texts based on a taxonomy of ideological choice. I have grouped the texts into 'news paradigms' on the basis of the ideological or representational choices made within each text, as evidenced by the claims and assumptions it makes about heritage. Thus, for example, if a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is intrinsically valuable, it belongs in what I have labelled the 'heritage' paradigm, as do all texts making similar claims or assumptions that share the same ideological world-view. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is valuable largely or wholly to the extent that it can be exchanged or consumed, it belongs in what I have labelled the 'consumption' paradigm. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is the victim of conflict or generates conflict – for instance, all of the avian flu-related stories in the corpus of texts make the claim that heritage, in the shape of wildlife, is in conflict with human health – it belongs in what I have labelled the 'conflict' paradigm.

Sample 1**:** There were 71 texts in which an implicit or explicit heritage aspect was bracketed, of which 58 or 82% cited a single source in each case and a further eight (11%) represented a single perspective.

The news paradigms of bracketing texts were: 24 consumption, 44 development, 17 conflict, one (1) heritage. What is being bracketed in virtually all cases is the heritage or conservation viewpoint; and in a significant number of cases, the element of conflict or potential conflict. In other words, these were stories in which the journalist chose to set aside the element of conflict by not seeking a second-perspective source. But in no case did the author pose the question 'Does the development hold any implications for

heritage?' or 'What steps will be taken to ensure minimum impact to A or the preservation of B?' thus ruling out the opportunity for a discourse of sustainability, compromise or reconciliation.

Sample 2: There were 41 bracketing texts, of which 31 or 76% cited a single source in each case and a further seven (17%) represented a single perspective.

The news paradigms of bracketing texts were: 10 consumption, 27 development, 12 conflict. So, again, what is being bracketed is the element of conflict or potential conflict. In other words, these were stories in which the journalist chose to set aside the element of conflict by not seeking a second-perspective source.

Unlike in the first phase, in this sample, 12 bracketing texts incorporated some element of conflict. But in six of these, the *site* of the conflict itself (the competing claims of netsmen and anglers to consume the last wild salmon; the competing claims of grazers and tourist hill walkers to access to uplands) fell wholly within the consumption news paradigm; and the heritage element (conservation of salmon/conservation of upland landscapes) was bracketed. Conversely, in two other texts, what is essentially a Traveller-settled community conflict is represented as a heritage conflict.

Sample 3: There were 78 bracketing texts, of which 47 or 60% cited a single source in each case and a further 15 (19%) represented a single perspective.

The news paradigms of bracketing texts were: 31 consumption, 36 development, 27 conflict, 4 heritage. Again, the majority of stories fall into the consumption and/or development paradigms and exclude or omit the heritage element. As in Sample 2, there is a significant number of texts in the conflict paradigm but the site of the conflict has been shifted away from the heritage paradigm. Six such texts concern the competing claims of netsmen and anglers to consume the last wild salmon and the possibility of conserving salmon stocks has been omitted. Nine texts deal with the threat of avian flu but, as with all avian flu stories in the study, concentrate a) on the (extremely remote) risk to human health or b) the (somewhat more realistic) threat to human consumption in the form of commercial and domestic fowl. Not a single text as much as mentions the very real threat to wildfowl; wildfowl are represented exclusively as the vector for the

disease, even when this representation flies in the face of the scientific evidence, which strongly suggests that the disease is being spread by human agency and commercial activity and that wild birds are the victims rather than the culprits.[11] Similarly, two texts were concerned with the competing claims of rival developments for Dún Laoghaire Baths but the possibility of conserving the baths was omitted.

Sample 4: There were 55 bracketing texts, of which 33 or 60% cited a single source in each case and a further nine (16%) represented a single perspective. The news paradigms of bracketing texts were: 25 consumption, 19 development, 23 conflict, one (1) heritage. Again, the majority of stories fall into the consumption and/or development paradigms and exclude or omit the heritage element. As in Samples 2 and 3, there is a significant number of texts in the conflict paradigm but the site of the conflict has been shifted away from the heritage paradigm. Seven such texts deal with avian flu on the same basis as the texts in Sample 3 and three are concerned with the exploitation (rather than the conservation) of remaining fish stocks. Five concern the EU nitrates directive: in these texts, as in a majority of texts concerning the nitrates directive, the directive is represented as an arbitrary, capricious and whimsical ukase and as a site of conflict between the Government/EU and farmers. Not a single text awards the directive any utility or seeks to explain its aims or potentially beneficial effects on human health or biodiversity.

Cumulative: There were 247 bracketing texts, of which 169 or 68% cited a single source in each case and a further 39 (16%) represented a single perspective.

The news paradigms of bracketing texts were: 90 consumption, 126 development, 79 conflict, six (6) heritage. The majority of stories fall into the consumption and/or development paradigms and exclude or omit the heritage element, particularly where there is a potential for conflict. There is a significant number of texts in the conflict

[11] The H5N1 strain responsible for an outbreak at a Bernard Matthews turkey farm in Suffolk is genetically identical to the strain responsible for an outbreak in Hungary, whence Matthews imports 37 tonnes of part-processed turkey per week. A Royal Society for the Protection of Birds survey finds no evidence for the spread of Avian Flu by migratory birds that winter. Bird migrations in northern Europe in autumn/winter (with minor exceptions such as Pallas's Warbler) are from north-west to south-east, while the disease spreads is from south-east to north-west (*The Times*, London, February 9, 2007).

paradigm but the site of the conflict has been shifted away from the heritage paradigm. Sixteen (16) such texts deal with avian flu on the same basis as the texts in Sample 3. Twenty-seven (27) are concerned with the exploitation of remaining fish stocks. Five concern the EU nitrates directive. See Table 27 below and Table 28 overleaf.

Table 27: breakdown by section of bracketing texts

	S1	S2	S 3	S4	Combined
News	**44**	**18**	**31**	**21**	**114**
Property	**12**	**6**	**23**	**3**	**44**
Business	**8**	**5**	**3**	**5**	**21**
Fine art & antiques	**0**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**11**
Letters	**2**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**11**
Farming	**2**	**0**	**2**	**4**	**8**
Planning & development	**0**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**7**
Forestry	**2**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**6**
Advertising feature	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**5**
Opinion & analysis	**1**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**5**
Avian Flu special	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Time Out: angling	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**
Review	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
About us: Horizons	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
World Report	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
Technology	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Sport	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Money & jobs	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Total	**72**	**42**	**78**	**55**	**247**

Table 28: examples of subject matter in bracketing texts – cumulative

Subject matter included:	
The building, opening or planning of new **roads** without reference to impact on heritage	**12**
The building of **other infrastructure**, including wind farms, power stations/pylons, prisons, waste plants *etc.* without reference to the potential impact on landscape	**16**
The discussion in purely economic terms without reference to impacts on landscape and biodiversity of **forestation/deforestation**	**12**
or other agricultural concerns such as **REPS** and the **nitrates** directive	**10**
Discussions of strategic **planning** at local authority level, particularly relating to the drawing up of city and county development plans – including, in many cases, references to restrictions on '**once-off rural housing**' with no reference to impacts on landscape of once-off housing	**26**
Stories on **fish stocks** and **aquaculture** framed in economic terms without reference to impacts on seascape or biodiversity	**27**
Stories relating to specific buildings closing down or being sold/bought or demolished with no mention of heritage impacts. Such buildings included: army barracks in general, Custume Barracks, Athlone; Tralee Town Hall; a 140-year-old CIE freight yard in Sligo, rural Church of Ireland churches, glebes and manses in general, Sion Hill, Dún Laoghaire baths, an historic former hospital in Ennis, Drogheda's medieval walls	**57**
Announcements of large-scale new **'developments'** or **'investment opportunities'** without reference to impacts on built heritage	**56**
Auctions of antiques, historic art or memorabilia, particularly the contents of specific, named historic houses, without mention of the possibility of keeping such collections intact, in situ or even in Ireland	**12**
Avian Flu texts that identify migratory wild birds as the primary vector of the disease but ignore the effects of the disease on wild bird populations	**16**

Note: I included such announcements only where the text itself contained a specific implication that such impacts were possible or likely. These texts included implied impacts to: Blarney Castle (curtilage), Temple Bar, Killorglin old town centre, Dún Laoghaire Baths, a former institution (unnamed) in Stillorgan, Drogheda's medieval town wall, other former institutional land in Dublin, an old barracks in Ballincollig, Spencer Docks, a former convent in Cork, Custume Barracks in Athlone, Adare village, a 19th-century hotel and the new Gluckman Gallery in Cork city, the last Georgian house on O'Connell Street, with Victorian assembly rooms, a protected 18th-century house in Clonmel, the house in Suffolk Street, Dublin, in which Fianna Fáil was founded; Eyre Square; Breaffy House *etc.*

Discourse-wide omissions: A number of what are effectively discourse-wide omissions have been identified. In the discursive thread on declining fish stocks, especially salmon stocks, the possibility of conserving salmon stocks and preventing the extinction of the Atlantic salmon entered the discourse only in Sample 4, when the Government had finally decided on a drift-net buy-out. In the thread on the EU nitrates directive – designed to protect water quality and, hence, both human health and biodiversity – again, texts acknowledging the purpose of the directive began to enter the discourse late, only in Sample 4. Texts dealing with avian flu, as already stated, never mentioned the threat to biodiversity but always cast wild birds as the culprit. There were others: texts on wind, wave, biomass and wood energy were almost exclusively framed in the

environmental argument and never mentioned the effects on landscape. Texts on proposed waste facilities and incinerators, even when sited in areas of outstanding natural beauty, special areas of conservation or areas (such as the Boyne Valley) of historical or archaeological significance were always framed in terms of the risk to human health or the devaluation of properties.

Another type of discourse-wide omission is exemplified by the representation of the M3 Tara-Skryne Valley controversy. There are no omission texts within this discursive thread; that is to say, not a single text of 33 dealing with the proposed M3 appeared in any newspaper during the sample periods that failed to mention Tara. Some texts made claims in favour of the motorway, some made claims in favour of conserving the Tara landscape and some cited sources on both sides of the argument. Three texts, all letters to the editor, suggested compromise. All of the texts in favour of rerouting the motorway, and those suggesting compromise, took the cultural, archaeological and historical significance of Tara as a given. A number of texts argued for the greater significance of the motorway, on the basis of car usage, journey times, projected population growth *etc.* – yet not one text attempted to *establish or explain* the significance of Tara or place it in its historical or cultural context.

It is reasonable to speculate that these discourse-wide omissions would be far less likely to occur if the publications designated specialized heritage correspondents.

13. Area (built, landscape, biodiversity)

Despite the view that environment is a well-established news discourse, with its own 'news beat' and specialist correspondents, the majority of texts in the current study were concerned with built heritage, 738, compared with landscape/seascape heritage, 461, and biodiversity, 350. Some 203 texts were concerned with both built heritage and landscape/seascape heritage; 152 texts were concerned with both landscape/seascape heritage and biodiversity, 54 were concerned with built heritage and biodiversity; and 50 concerned with all three. Some 531 were concerned with built heritage alone, 156 with landscape/seascape heritage alone and 194 with biodiversity alone. This preponderance of texts concerned with built heritage will be discussed further later on, in connection with the 'geography' results.

14. Page number

Sample 1: Only one text – a story on rezoning decisions in Co. Wicklow and concerned more with a controversy over heavy-handed tactics and alleged misinformation than with potential impact on heritage – made it to the front page of any newspaper, *The Irish Times* of October 12, 2004.

Sample 2: Only one text – a story on new planning guidelines designed to relax restrictions on once-off houses in rural areas – made front-page lead, in the *Irish Independent* of Wednesday, October 13. One other item made it onto the front page – a stand-along photograph of restorers working on the statue of Daniel O'Connell in O'Connell Street, Dublin, in *The Irish Times* of Saturday, April 16, 2005.

Sample 3: Four texts – two on avian flu, one on the cost to the exchequer of holiday-home tax incentives and one on the sale of commercial sites in the Digital Hub, illustrated with a picture of St. Patrick's Tower, the original distillery windmill – made it to the front page. One of the avian flu texts appeared in *The Irish Times* of October 15, 2005, and the other appeared in the *Irish Examiner* of the same day. The Digital Hub text appeared in *The Irish Times* of Wednesday, October 12, and the holiday homes text appeared in *The Irish Times* of Wednesday, October 12.

Sample 4: Two texts – one on avian flu, in the *Irish Independent* of Wednesday, February 15, 2006, the other concerning a proposed 'gateway' monumental sculpture at Dublin's Red Cow roundabout, in *The Irish Times* of Thursday, January 19, 2006– made it to the front pages. The latter was essentially an extended photocaption accompanying a 5" by four-column computer-generated impression of the proposed monument.

Other stories were placed as tabulated in Table 29 overleaf.

Table 29: placement of stories – cumulative

Page	S1	S 2	S3	S 4	Total
1	1	2	4	2	9
2	23	21	18	15	77
3	2	4	10	6	22
4	8	12	12	15	47
5	6	4	3	3	16
6	4	8	6	16	34
7	10	8	9	7	34
8	18	16	7	11	52
9	7	13	8	6	34
10	13	4	12	21	50
11	6	1	6	9	22
12	10	3	6	17	36
13	3	3	13	13	32
14	2	7	5	10	24
15	4	8	3	12	27
16	5	9	19	14	47
17	1	1	7	9	18

In all, 581 texts were placed at the more prominent 'front' of the publications, in those pages, 1 to 17, normally reserved for current news, opinion and analysis. The other 609 texts appeared at the back of the publications or in various supplements and magazines. Note that in general terms, the earlier the page, the more importance has been assigned to the story but that right-hand pages are considered much more prominent positions than left. The left/right breakdown of these 581 stories is as follows: Sample 1: left ('low prominence') = 83 (67%), right ('high prominence') = 40 (33%); sample 2: left = 80 (65%), right = 44 (35%); sample 3: left = 85 (57%), right = 63 (43%); sample 4: left = 119 (64%), right = 67 (36%). Combined: left =367 (63%), right = 214 (37%). Samples 1, 2 and 4 were virtually identical. Slightly more prominence was awarded to heritage stories in sample 3.

Note: Page 2 is considered a reasonably prominent position in most newspapers – arguably next in importance after 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9. However, the high number of texts on page 2 is because *The Irish Times* reserves page 2 for what it used to call 'regional news'. In Sample 1, 22 of the 23 page 2 texts appeared in *The Irish Times* and in Sample 2, all 21 page 2 stories appeared in *The Irish Times*. In Sample 3, 15 of 18 page 2 stories appeared in *The Irish Times*. In Sample 4, 15 of 15 page 2 texts appeared in *The Irish Times*.

The unwary reader might well award these stories the significance reserved for stories appearing on page 2 of other broadsheet newspapers. Since this study is concerned with transmission rather than reception, however, we must decide what significance the

editors of *The Irish Times* have awarded to such stories. A look at the geography of those 43 *Irish Times* stories is informative.

Table 30: page 2 stories in *The Irish Times*

Region	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Total
G. Dublin	0	1 (DL&R)	0	0	1
East	3 (KE 2, MH)	3 (WW 2, KE 1)	1 (MH) 6	0	7
SE	3 (KK 2, TS 1)	1 (WX)	0	1 (KK)	5
Border E	1 (MN)	3 (LH, MN, LD)	0	0	4
Border W	2 (DL, SO)	1 (DL)	0	0	3
West	3 (MO 2, G 1)	3 (MO 1, G 1,G/M 1)	1 (G)	4 (G)	11
MW	4 (CE 2, TN, LK)	2 (LK, TN)	3 (CE, LK 2)	4 (CE 2, TN, LK)	13
Midlands	3 (OY 2, WH)	0	1 (WH)	0	4
SW	2 (KY 1, CK 1)	7 (KY 4, CK 2, C/K 1)	5 (KY 4, CK 1)	5 (KY 4, CK)	19
National	1	0	4	1	6

Key: DL&R= Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown, KE = Kildare, MH = Meath, WW = Wicklow, KK = Kilkenny, TS = Tipperary South, WX = Wexford, MN= Monaghan, LH = Louth, LD = Longford, DL= Donegal, SO = Sligo, MO = Mayo, G =Galway, CE = Clare, TN = Tipperary North, LK = Limerick, OY = Offaly, WH = Westmeath, KY = Kerry, CK = Cork,

So just one (1) of 73 (1.3%) page 2 stories in *The Irish Times* related to Greater Dublin, compared with the global *Irish Times* average of 120/480 (25%). In other words, though page 2 is no longer labelled 'Regional News' in *The Irish Times*, that newspaper's editors continue to treat it as a repository for regional stories.

For comparative purposes, I awarded each story placed from p1 to p17 a points value, in the following descending order of importance: p1 lead = 18, p1 = 17, p3 = 16, p5 = 15, p7 = 14, p9 = 13, p2 = 12, p4 = 11, p6 = 10, p8 = 9, p10 (p2 IT) = 8, p11 = 7, p13 = 6, p15 = 5, p17 = 4, p12 = 3, p14 = 2, p16 = 1. I have decided to treat page 2 stories in *The Irish Times* as if they had appeared on page 10 – the normal positioning for regional stories in the other two publications. See Table 31 overleaf.

Table 31: comparative placings

Page	S1	Pts	Total	S2	Pts	Total	S3	Pts	Total	S4	Pts	Total	Cmbd
1	1	17	17	2	18/17	35	4	17	68	2	17	34	154
2	23	12/7	166	21	12/7	147	18	12/7	141	15	7	105	559
3	2	16	32	4	16	64	10	16	160	6	16	96	352
4	8	11	88	12	11	132	12	11	132	15	11	165	517
5	6	15	90	4	15	60	3	15	45	3	15	45	240
6	4	10	40	8	10	80	6	10	60	16	10	160	340
7	10	14	140	8	14	112	9	14	126	7	14	98	476
8	18	9	162	16	9	144	7	9	63	11	9	99	468
9	7	13	91	13	13	169	8	13	104	6	13	78	442
10	13	7	91	4	7	28	12	7	84	21	7	147	350
11	6	8	48	1	8	8	6	8	48	9	8	72	176
12	10	3	30	3	3	9	6	3	18	17	3	51	108
13	3	6	18	3	6	18	13	6	78	13	6	78	192
14	2	2	4	7	2	14	5	2	10	10	2	20	48
15	4	5	20	8	5	40	3	5	15	12	5	60	135
16	5	1	5	9	1	9	19	1	19	14	1	14	47
17	1	4	4	1	4	4	7	4	28	9	4	36	72
	123		1046	124		1073	148		1199	186		1358	4676

Sample 1: Average placement value = 8.5 (equivalent to P8). Sample 2: Average placement value = 8.65 (equivalent to P8). Sample 3: Average placement value = 8.1 (equivalent to p11). Sample 4: Average placement value = 7.3 (equivalent to p11). Combined average 8 (equivalent to p11)

The table shows that even though, in absolute terms, the number of heritage texts placed towards the front of the publications increased over the time span of the study, there was also a downgrading of texts on average. Overall, the average placement of heritage texts moved one notch down the prominence ranking, from p8 to p11.

15. News Paradigms:

As explained in detail above (see Page 52), the term ‘paradigm’ is used here in a sense analogous to its linguistic application, *i.e.* the texts collectively form a syntagmatic continuum along the X or horizontal axis and I have grouped the texts into Y or vertical axes, ‘news paradigms’, on the basis of the ideological or representational choices made within each text, as evidenced by the claims and assumptions it makes about heritage. Thus, for example, if a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is intrinsically valuable, it belongs in what I have labelled the ‘heritage’ paradigm, as do all texts making similar claims or assumptions that share the same ideological world-view. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is valuable largely or wholly to the extent that it can be exchanged or consumed, it belongs in what I have labelled the ‘consumption’ paradigm. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is the victim of conflict or generates conflict (for instance, all of the avian flu-related stories in the corpus of texts make the claim that heritage, in the shape of wildlife, is in conflict with

human health) it belongs in what I have labelled the 'conflict' paradigm. Each news paradigm comprises a set of claims, assumptions and implications, categorized by one 'master-claim'. While each individual news paradigm is therefore categorical and mutually exclusive, any text may contain two or more such master-claims or modified versions thereof, situating that particular text between two news paradigms on the X axis. When all the texts are analyzed for claims about heritage, and all the texts are logged onto the continua, the precise ideological locus of the discourse will stand revealed.

By way of further example and illustration before proceeding to the main findings, here, categorized by master claim and sub-claims, are the 23 most frequently iterated claims from the results – that is to say, all of the claims repeated in 10 texts or more.

Heritage paradigm

Master-claim: Heritage is intrinsically valuable (26 iterations)

Sub-claims: Heritage is worth saving (10 iterations)
Heritage is interesting (20 iterations)
Heritage is exotic and interesting (11 iterations)

Consumption paradigm

Master claim: Heritage is valuable only to the extent that it can be consumed for profit (15 iterations)

Sub-claims: Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity (146 iterations)
Heritage is worth money (30 iterations)
Heritage is to be consumed (23 iterations)
Heritage is to be exploited (16 iterations)
Heritage is to be exploited to the maximum possible extent (20 iterations)
Heritage is to be exploited even to the point of destruction (24 iterations)
Heritage cachet survives the destruction of the heritage object (14 iterations)

Conflict

Master claim: Heritage gives rise to conflict (45 iterations)

Sub-claims Heritage is the victim of conflict (17 iterations)

Heritage is in conflict with human safety (33 iterations)

Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest (20 iterations)

Heritage is in conflict with itself (10 iterations)

Cost

Master claim: Heritage is too costly (30 iterations)

Sub-claims Heritage regulations are a costly and unnecessary inconvenience (19 iterations)

Development

Master claim: Development is intrinsically good, regardless of impact on heritage (47 iterations)

Sub-claims: Heritage is subservient to economic considerations (12 iterations)

Development improves heritage (10 iterations)

Loss of heritage is inevitable (10 iterations)

The texts were identified as falling within the following news paradigms, as tabulated in Table 32 below:

Table 32: news paradigms

Paradigm	No. of texts
Sample 1	
Conflict	**100**
Consumption	**60**
Development	**64**
Heritage	**25**
Sustainable development	**8**
Environment	**5**
Cost	**4**
Crime	**2**
Compromise	**1**
Total	**269**

(a number of texts fell into two or more paradigms)

Continued overleaf…

Table 32 continued

Paradigm	No. of texts	
Sample 2		
Conflict	**130**	
Consumption	**86**	
Development	**66**	
Heritage	**34**	
Compromise	**8**	
Sustainable development	**7**	
Cost	**6**	
Environment	**4**	
Crime	**2**	
Total	**344**	(a number of texts fell into two or more paradigms)
Sample 3		
Conflict	**106**	
Consumption	**173**	
Development	**95**	
Heritage	**60**	
Sustainable development	**13**	
Environment	**2**	
Cost	**27**	
Crime	**2**	
Compromise	**2**	
Total	**480**	(a number of texts fell into two or more paradigms)
Sample 4		
Conflict	**139**	
Consumption	**157**	
Development	**91**	
Heritage	**40**	
Sustainable development	**12**	
Environment	**0**	
Cost	**10**	
Crime	**3**	
Compromise	**4**	
Total	**456**	(a number of texts fell into two or more paradigms)
Cumulative		
Conflict	**475**	
Consumption	**476**	
Development	**316**	
Heritage	**159**	
Sustainable development	**40**	
Environment	**11**	
Cost	**47**	
Crime	**9**	
Compromise	**15**	
Total	**1579**	(a number of texts fell into two or more paradigms)

Paradigm by section: Sample 1: 66 of the 100 conflict stories (66%) were in news sections; a further 15 (15%) were on letters pages. Of the 68 consumption stories, 47 (69%) were in 'non-news' sections (21 property, 6 travel, 6 business, 8 magazine). But 21 (31%) were in news pages. Of the 64 'development' stories, 41 (66%) were in news sections, eight (13%) were in property and eight (13%) were in business. Of the 25 heritage texts, eight (31%) were in news pages.

Sample 2: 67 of the 130 conflict stories (51%) were in news sections; a further 35 (27%) were letters Of the 86 'consumption stories', 73 (86%) were in 'non-news'

sections (49 property, 3 travel, 5 lifestyle [health, country living]). But 13 (14%) were in news pages. Of the 66 ‘development’ stories, 32 (50%) were in news sections, nine (14%) were in property and five (8%) were in business. Of the 35 ‘heritage’ texts, 10 (28%) were in news sections.

Sample 3: 63 of the 106 conflict stories (59%) were in news sections; a further 12 (11%) were letters Of the 173 ‘consumption stories’, 141 (81%) were in ‘non-news’ sections (76 property, 23 antiques and arts). But 30 (17%) were in news pages. Of the 96 ‘development’ stories, 27 (28%) were in news sections, 38 (40%) were in property and three (3%) were in business. Of the 60 ‘heritage’ texts, just 19 (32%) were in news sections.

Sample 4: 94 of the 139 conflict stories (68%) were in news sections; a further 12 (9%) were letters Of the 157 ‘consumption stories’, 127 (81%) were in ‘non-news’ sections (57 property, 23 antiques and arts, 13 farming). But 30 (19%) were in news pages. Of the 91 ‘development’ stories, 42 (46%) were in news sections, 21 (23%) were in property and seven (8%) were in business. Of the 40 ‘heritage’ texts, 18 (44%) were in news sections.

Cumulative: 232 of the 475 conflict stories (49%) were in news sections; a further 74 (15%) were letters. Of the 484 ‘consumption’ stories, 388 (80%) were in ‘non-news’ sections (203 property, 49 antiques and arts, 13 travel, 13 business, 19 farming). But 94 (19%) were in news pages. Of the 316 ‘development’ stories, 142 (46%) were in news sections, 76 (24%) were in property and 23 (7%) were in business. Of the 204 heritage texts, 54 (34%) were in news pages.

This trend, with almost half of ‘development’ stories assigned to the news pages compared to just 20% of ‘consumption’ stories and a third of ‘heritage’ stories, suggests that ‘development’ is seen as an established news paradigm (i.e., the fact of the announcement or commencement of any new development qualifies as ‘news’ under the ‘newness’ criterion, subject to criteria of proximity, scale, economic importance *etc.*), whereas ‘heritage’ and ‘heritage-as-commodity’ are not (‘heritage’ is absent or confined to special-interest columns and letters pages; ‘heritage-as-commodity’ resides in ‘non-news’ sections and genres such as lifestyle, leisure *etc.*). However, it is noted that the

percentage of ‘heritage’ paradigm texts in designated news sections increased as the study progressed.

Conflictants: An analysis of how other news paradigms overlap with the conflict news paradigm revealed that 261 ‘conflict’ texts (55%) made no claims or assumptions outside the ‘conflict’ news paradigm, and four (4) made claims of ‘conflict’ and ‘compromise’. Of the remaining 44% (209 stories), 127 stories made claims locating them on the ‘development’ side of the heritage-versus-development fault line (conflict and development 70, conflict and cost 40, conflict and crime 8, conflict and sustainable development 9) while 93 made claims locating them on the heritage side of the heritage-versus-development fault line (conflict and consumption 58, conflict and heritage 35). See Table 33 below.

Table 33: conflict paradigm overlap

Paradigms	Texts
All conflict	475
Conflict only	261
Conflict/development	70
Conflict/cost	40
Conflict/consumption	58
Conflict/compromise	4
Conflict/heritage	35
Conflict/crime	8
Conflict/sustainable development	9
Conflict/environment	0

An analysis of the conflictants and causes/objects of conflict in the 475 ‘conflict’ news paradigm stories revealed that the site of conflict in the heritage discourse is the heritage-versus-development fault line. All but 54 ‘conflict’ texts are centred on this line. See Appendix A for a breakdown of the conflictants and the causes or objects of conflict in the 475 conflict stories. This table demonstrates graphically that the site of conflict in the heritage discourse is the line between heritage and development, with all but 54 conflict texts dividing along this fault line. Other significant fault lines include heritage versus heritage – typically represented by stories in which one wild animal is in conflict with another (grey squirrel versus red squirrel; python versus crocodile) – and consumption versus consumption, typically represented by stories on the competing rights of drift-net fishermen and anglers to exploit remaining salmon stocks.

Consumption paradigm – population of the celebrity stories

A wide range of celebrities and cultural icons, ranging from *Jaws* to Adolf Hitler and Roger Moore to the Titanic appeared in 75 texts. In 31 of the 75 celebrity stories, the single source was an auctioneer attempting to sell a property by emphasising the cachet of an often-tenuous celebrity connection (WB Yeats 'appears to have visited the house on numerous occasions'; the land was 'once owned by the Beckett family') – pointing up the connection between celebrity and consumption. Yet 11 of these 'aditorials' appeared on news pages (Patrick Kavanagh (2), U2, Van Gogh, Beethoven, Sean Lemass, Sean Connery and Roger Moore, Dolores O'Riordan (2), James Joyce and 19th-century novelist Lady Sydney Morgan), in all likelihood because of the assumed news value of the celebrity connection.

The following examples of celebrities appearing in heritage-related texts are given to illustrate the sheer range of historical, popular cultural, literary, political and artistic figures and iconic objects enlisted a) to create news value and/or b) to urge the reader to consume a heritage object.

Sample 1: Genghis Khan (2), Hollywood actor Stuart Townsend (2), the Kennedy family, the great white shark (*Jaws*), Gerald Durrell, *Angela's Ashes*, Tyrannosaurus Rex, a vintage Dornier aeroplane piloted by grandson of Claude Dornier, Hitler's brother, Peter O'Toole, John F Kennedy, Duke of Westminster, Princess Grace, Seán Lemass (playing poker), three 'Bonds' (Pierce Brosnan, Timothy Dalton, Roger Moore), the Berlin Wall, Owen O'Callaghan, Dermot Desmond, Éamon de Buitléar

Sample 2: Bono (2), The Edge (2), the Dalai Lama, Sir Charles Colhurst and the Blarney Stone, nightclub owner Dave Egan, Princess Grace, Patrick Kavanagh (2), Mozart, James Joyce, Samuel Beckett, Lady Sydney Morgan, Mehl-Muhlens the 'German fragrance' family, Walter Osborne, the author of *Songs Of The Womb* and *Reclaiming Father*, WB Yeats, Erwin Schrödinger.

Sample 3: Dolores O'Riordan of the Cranberries (2), Sean Connery, Roger Moore, Patrick Kavanagh, Steven Spielberg (2 – one shark story, one dinosaur story), JP McManus, La Gioconda, *Wallace & Gromit* (3), comedians Pat Shortt, Tommy Tiernan, Brendan Grace, Brendan O'Carroll, Graham Norton, Dara Ó Briain, Ardal O'Hanlon, Napoleon, the *Give Up Yer Aul' Sins* school, Lawrence of Arabia, Marilyn Monroe, Keith Wood, Miss Meredith (school), Tiede Herrema, Marian Coyle, Eddie Gallagher, Frank McCourt, Jim Kemmy, Kate O'Brien, Florence Nightingale, Beethoven, Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, Scott, Art McMurrough-Kavanagh, Beatrix Potter, Rebecca West , HG Wells, Oscar Wilde, Dr Johnson, Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James, Mrs Gaskell, Hilaire Belloc, DG Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, Laurie Lee, Dylan Thomas, Laurence Sterne, the Brönte s, Roddy Doyle, WB Yeats (2) and Daniel O'Connell, Oliver St John Gogarty, Lady Gregory, Augustus John and Winston Churchill.

Sample 4: *Big Brother* star Pete Burns, Elvis Presley, Jack B Yeats (2), Frederick William Burton, Percy French, Darina Allen, Bono, JM Synge (2), Van Gogh (2), Nelson, Beckett (2), Richard Adams (*Watership Down*), actors Anne Hathaway, James McAvoy, Julie Walters (2).

This strongly reinforces the point that lack of freshness or novelty need not be an impediment to the newsworthiness of heritage and, moreover, that conflict is not the only news value available to journalists in covering heritage controversies or heritage in general, since practically every significant heritage site or object has its historical, literary, political, artistic or cultural connections. It begs the question why, when journalists or their sources are frequently at pains to point up some celebrity or iconic connection to a heritage site or object for the purpose of representing heritage as suitable for consumption, they seem less inclined to do so for the purpose of representing heritage as intrinsically valuable or worthy of conservation. For example, it is pointed out elsewhere in the study that not a single text attempting to place Tara in its historical and cultural context appeared in the corpus of texts. This omission extends even so far as failing to mention the likes of King Malachy, the goddess Medb, St Patrick or Daniel O'Connell in connection with the monument.

16. Headlines

Headlines are of particular significance for three reasons:

1. They represent gatekeeper intervention. It is this writer's contention, based on 30 years of vocational experience and ethnographic observation, that every single headline is at least approved, and frequently amended, at each successive layer of a newspaper's editorial hierarchy up to and including the most senior executive on duty at the time the edition is sent to the printer –even when pressure of deadlines does not allow for every element in the newspaper to be so carefully checked. Although headlines may initially be written by the lowliest sub-editor, they typically must earn the approval of three to four gatekeeper levels – chief sub-editor, deputy night editor, night editor and the executive editor on duty at the time the edition is sent to the printer.

2. They frequently, for the sake of brevity, introduce a definitive choice to an otherwise balanced text. For example, a story that might most accurately be summed up as 'Whistleblower accuses Minister of embezzlement but Minister vehemently denies the claims' will carry either the headline: 'Whistleblower accuses Minister of embezzlement'; or 'Minister denies claims of embezzlement' but rarely both – even though the option is always open to the editor to incorporate both by adding a subsidiary headline to the main deck.

3. They give the strongest indication of why the story was chosen for inclusion in the first place. Again based on the writer's personal experience, the thrust of the headline (and, in some cases, the actual wording) is decided by senior editors as early as the news conference at which the story was first 'pitched' or broached. It then becomes the reporter's job to 'stand up' (authenticate) the news angle decided upon by senior editors at the news conference, and to write the story along the predetermined lines. Provided the reporter has been able to find the quotes or information to support the thesis decided upon at news conference, the thrust of the headline will not change throughout the day, though the actual wording may be tweaked to suit the page design. If the reporter has not sufficiently emphasised the point made in the headline, it is the story that will be adjusted to suit rather than the headline.

If the three stated reasons were not in themselves sufficient to award particular significance to the headlines, it may reasonably be speculated (though reception is outside the scope of this study) that on at least some occasions, the headline might be the only part of the story read by the reader as he or she scans the newspaper to decide which stories to read; and that the headline at least invites the reader to interpret the remainder of the text in a particular way and might, on at least some occasions, precondition the reader to do so.

It is not contended that, in terms of this research, the headline ought to carry for the entire story by way of attribution or explanation; and the following analysis of headlines in the corpus of texts is intended to be complementary to the analysis of other attributes and values contained in this study. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that it is precisely the function of a headline to encapsulate the main attributes of a story in one pithy phrase or two that can be digested at a glance.

Sample 1: The 215 stories carried 203 headlines; 12 stories were deemed too small to warrant headlines. Of the 203, 13 had 'label' headlines (one- or two-word headlines with no verb. Examples: 'Genghis Khan'; 'Drogheda Plans'; 'Mushroom Hunt'; 'Little Amsterdam').

Of the remaining 190 headlines, 16 headlines contained money amounts; a further 31 – so 45 in all, or 24% of all headlines - were expressed in purely economic terms. For example, '€30m excavation bill for M-way via Tara; Site excavations on M3 may cost €30m' (*Irish Independent*, 05/10/2004) – discovery of new heritage sites is couched in terms of cost to taxpayer; 'Flood relief budget overflows by €35m; Kilkenny flood costs lead to cuts' (*Irish Independent* (08/10/2004) – cost overrun is blamed on archaeology

Eleven other headlines, 6%, expressed delay or time-savings. Development was represented as 'urgent', 'impatient'. For example, 'Work on new Monaghan town bypass to start within a month*'* (*Irish Times*, 04/10/2004), 'Cashel bypass to open seven months ahead of schedule' (*Irish Examiner*, 05/10/2004), 'Dublin-Cork travel time to be reduced by one hour' (*Irish Times*, 12/10/2004)*,* 'Bypass to put brakes [on] traffic congestion in town' (*Irish Examiner*, 12/10/2004), 'Bridge delay "will lead to more

frustration for drivers"' (*Irish Examiner*, 12/10/2004), 'Dublin-Cork motorway to be finished a year ahead of time' (*Irish Independent*, 12/10/2004), 'Bus route planners think again as residents save trees' (*Irish Independent*, 11/10/2004), 'OPW admits it was forced to rethink flood control approach' (*Irish Examiner*, 11/10/2004), 'Major Blarney project awaits tee-off' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004), 'Nine-house village scheme is ready-to-go for buyer' (*Irish Independent*, 07/10/2004), 'Decision on Viking dig delays bypass' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004),

In 17 cases, 9%, the thrust of a story was reversed or disguised by the headline. These represent extreme examples of gatekeeper intervention since it is accurate to state that, though headlines are often written in the first instance by sub-editors occupying a low position in the organizational hierarchy, it is normal media practice that headlines are approved and, in some cases, adapted or rewritten by a senior editor (always allowing for time constraints close to production deadline, and for human error). Some examples of headlines that reversed or distorted the thrust of a story are: **'**Woods well worth a visit to savour and relax' (*Irish Examiner*, 04/10/2004), a story intensely critical of Coillte policy and the impact of forestation on bogs, waterways and biodiversity. 'Great white shark to be protected' (*Irish Independent*, 13/10/2004): In this case, the headline seems unintentionally neutral. The thrust of the story is ironic: 'Vicious killer to be protected' but the editor appears to have assumed that for 'Great white shark' the reader will automatically read 'Vicious killer'. (Alternatively, this could be a case, as could the preceding example, of a gatekeeper deliberately bracketing controversy or conflict in a headline to avoid alienation of potential readers. For discussion of this phenomenon, see Pages 111-116).

'Dublin-Cork travel time to be reduced by one hour' (*Irish Times*, 12/10/2004): The opening of the new Cashel by-pass. One hour is the projected time-saving on completion of the entire motorway by 2009, not the result of today's opening. In the headline, the Cashel by-pass is represented as more 'valuable' than is really the case.

'OPW admits it was forced to rethink flood control approach' (*Irish Examiner*, 11/10/2004): This is a story in which the Office of Public Works absolutely rebuts a previous story that cost overruns in Kilkenny had impacted adversely on a planned scheme in Clonmel. The headline appears to be an example of journalistic (or human)

reluctance to admit error, shifting the focus from the main point of the OPW response to a secondary theme.

Both of the following cases of stories positive to heritage but given a negative headline are in *The Irish Times*'s 'Planning & Development' section on 14/10/2004: 'Dublin 22 scheme rejected' – not 'Historic house saved'; and 'Clontarf Baths plan rejected' – not 'Clontarf Baths saved'.

'Anger over mobile mast go-ahead near castle' (*Irish Independent* 06/10/2004): Quotes show that residents actually object to the mast on health grounds, but the story is headlined by a reference to the mast's 'nearness' to a historic castle – in fact, half a mile!

'Maynooth Castle received only 14 visitors a day during summer' (*The Irish Times* 15/10/2004): a positive attempt by Emmet Stagg TD to expedite the restoration of the castle is given a violently negative spin by the headline writer.

An example of one story being headlined differently in two places in the same edition of the same newspaper (*Irish Examiner* 14/10/2004*)* is: 'Grab some jewels of the Kingdom' in the 'Commercial Property' section and 'Sale of rezoned land faces protest' in the news section. This same story in the *Irish Independent* (15/10/2004) was headlined: 'Rezoned park land "may fetch millions"'.

Sample 2: The 282 stories carried 270 headlines. Twelve stories were too small to carry headlines. Of the 270, nine had 'label' headlines (one- or two-word headlines with no verb. Examples: 'Lucifer's Tribe', 'Cairo blast', 'Hot Offer', 'Ecological "Nightmare"', 'Change of Scene', 'Divided Island', 'Ragged Cross', 'Fisherman's Friend' and 'Gut Instinct').

Of the remaining 261 headlines, 25 headlines contained money amounts; a further 24 were expressed in purely economic terms – so 49 in all, or 19% of all headlines, were couched entirely or mainly in economic terms. For example, 'Council agrees plan to protect €150m golf resort' (*Irish Independent*, 05/04/2005) – foreshore works, to which there were strenuous and repeated local and State-agency objections, are justified on

grounds of the value of the golf club; 'Sale of €1m island ruffles rare feathers' (*Irish Independent*, 06/04/2005) – the price of a seal- and bird-sanctuary island is, in fact, irrelevant to the story; 'Councillors welcome €140m plan for baths site' (*Irish Independent*, 04/04/2005) – sheer scale justifies development; 'Locals fear €12m route will ruin town park' (*Irish Independent*, 07/04/2005) – €12m cost (not value) of road is weighed against local objections; 'Treasury gets go-ahead for €150m Skerries tourism plan' (*Irish Independent*, 06/04/2005) – a scheme that will obliterate the 16th-century Milverton Demesne is again headlined by reference to economic considerations.

Six other headlines expressed delay or time-savings, with economic costs or benefits assumed. Development was couched as 'urgent', 'impatient'. For example: 'Clarence expansion on hold after objection' (*The Irish Times*, 06/04/2005); 'Vibrant Ballina on-line for fast-track development' (*Irish Independent*, 08/04/2005); 'Immigration could accelerate growth' (*The Irish Times,* 08/04/2005); 'Nothing added but time' (*Irish Examiner*, 09/04/2005) – here, passage of time is seen as a *positive*, adding value to Cork city's worth as a tourism venue; 'TD looks for speedy end to fishing fraud inquiry' (*The Irish Times*, 12/04/2004); and 'McDowell to "press ahead" with new jail' (*Irish Independent*, 13/04/2005).

In eight cases, 3%, the thrust of a story was reversed or distorted by the headline, representing extreme examples of gatekeeper intervention. For example, 'Sharing the responsibility of salmon preservation' (*The Irish Times*, 04/04/2005) – this story makes no reference whatever to salmon conservation or 'preservation' as the headline terms it. Rather, as with virtually all texts in the current study relating to wild salmon stocks, it is another instalment in a continuing polemic as to the most economically productive way to exploit surviving stocks.

'New look for Dún Laoghaire baths' (*The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005): In fact, the baths are to be entirely demolished!

'Cork's most precious collection' (*The Irish Times*, 15/04/2005): In fact, the collection referred to does not belong in any usual sense to Cork or to the people of Cork but to a private collector and property speculator.

‘Impact of waste facility outlined’ (*The Irish Times*, 13/04/2005): On the contrary, the story claimed that the facility would have no appreciable impact.

‘Author selling her D6 home’ (*Irish Independent*, 15/04/2005): Actually, a psychotherapist who has published specialist articles and books but ‘author’ lends her an air of celebrity.

‘WB Yeats is just one of many illustrious figures associated with this period Sligo home’ (*Irish Independent*, 15/04/2005): A putative WB Yeats connection in the story (‘appears to have visited the house on numerous occasions’) becomes definitive in the headline.

‘Cornelscourt apartments refused’ (*The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005): not ‘Historic house and mature trees saved’: Positive story, negative headline.

‘Redbrick on Beckett family land has potential’ (*The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005): A very tenuous connection indeed – the land in question was once owned by a member of Samuel Beckett’s extended family *before* the house was ever built. ‘Redbrick’ is usually property-page shorthand for Victorian/Edwardian (Georgian, including Regency, properties are referred to as ‘Georgian’; 1930s, ’40s and ’50s red-brick houses are usually referred to as ‘Thirties’ *etc.* or, if applicable, Art Deco). In this case, ‘redbrick’ refers to a house built as recently as 1976.

Sample 3: The 352 stories carried 341 headlines. 11 stories were too small to carry headlines. Of the 341, 18 had ‘label’ headlines (one- or two-word headlines with no verb. Examples: ‘For Sale’, ‘London lots’, ‘Heritage grants’, ‘Detergent law’, ‘Weekend workshop’, ‘In brief’, ‘Booterstown sale’, ‘Meteor ad’ and ‘Annual Tree Day’).

Of the remaining 323 headlines, 28 headlines contained money amounts; a further 18 were expressed in purely economic terms or in terms of the scale of a development, signified by the number of houses or acreage to be developed – so 46 in all, or 14% of all headlines, were couched entirely or mainly in economic terms. For example, ‘Warning over “huge” cost of excavating prison site’, (*The Irish Times,* 11/10/2005);

‘The expensive catch in drift netting’ (*Irish Independent,* 7/10/2005); ‘Salmon net ban “may cost €70m”’ (*Irish Independent*, 12/10/2005); and ‘New Abbey to cost €170m’ (*Irish Independent,* 14/10/2005) all represent heritage as cost, while headlines such as ‘€150 million Dundalk shopping centre to open in November’ (*The Irish Times*, 12/10/2005), a story about a plan to build a mock-period streetscape to replace the real one, ‘€100m project will “set scale” for quays’ (*The Irish Times*, 13/10/2005), about a controversial development in Cork, and ‘Gannon plans €90m of new homes for northside Dublin’ (*Irish Independent*, 14/10/2005), about the demolition and development of Belcamp College, represent development as value.

Three other headlines expressed delay or time-savings, with economic costs or benefits assumed. Development was couched as ‘urgent’, ‘impatient’. For example: ‘Nitrates process drags on’ (*Irish Examiner*, 13/10/2005), ‘Lough Key awaiting development’ (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2005); and ‘Invest in infrastructure now or pay the price later’ (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2005).

In four cases, 1.2%, the thrust of a story was reversed or distorted by the headline, representing extreme examples of gatekeeper intervention. For example, ‘Villa go-ahead’ (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2005) actually refers to a successful planning application for four luxury mansions.

‘Give up yer oul’ [*recte* aul’] sins, or give up yer oul’ name… that is the dilemma’ (*Irish Independent*, 12/10/2005) is a botched attempt to establish the celebrity of a school that is moving to a new building. There is no question of the school changing its name. The problem is that the *Give up yer aul’ sins* connection (this is the school where the original recordings of naïve retellings of Bible stories were made in the 1960s) must be worked in somehow. If it were any old school – 100 years old or not – the story would not run.

‘Gracious Gracepark’ (*The Irish Times*, 13/10/2005) refers to a former convent that was demolished to make way for apartments. Gracepark no longer exists!

‘The demesne of elegance’ (*Irish Independent*, 14/10/2005), likewise refers to the former de Burgh-owned Oldtown Demesne, now demolished and developed.

Sample 4: The 341 stories carried 325 headlines, 16 stories being deemed too small to carry headlines. Of the 325, 15 had 'label' headlines (one- or two-word headlines with no verb. Examples: 'Jellyfish death', 'Tara landscape', 'Green building', 'Fire damage', 'Fishery report anger', 'Development in Malahide' and 'Salmon survival').

Of the remaining 310 headlines, 26 headlines contained money amounts; a further 19 were expressed in purely economic terms or in terms of the scale of a development, signified by the number of houses or acreage to be developed – so 45 in all, or 14% of all headlines, were couched entirely or mainly in economic terms. For example, 'Record €238m paid under REPS', (*Irish Examiner,* 10/1/2006); 'Ireland may face €40m fine over illegal fishing' (*Irish Examiner,* 6/2/2006); 'Heritage watchdog urges financial reward for environmentalist farmers' (*Irish Independent*, 10/1/2006); and 'Gosford Castle in Armagh sells for £1,000' (*The Irish Times,* 10/1/2006) all represent heritage as cost (or, in the case of Gosford Castle, as not being valuable enough), while headlines such as 'Details of €300m town plan to be revealed' (*Irish Examiner*, 15/2/2006) and '€350 million quayside scheme for Wexford' (*The Irish Times*, 16/3/2006), both about a controversial plan to develop the quayside in the town of Wexford, 'Regions fare well in NDP spending' (*The Irish Times*, 24/2/2006) and 'Council gives green light to €50m retail park' (*Irish Examiner*, 7/3/2006), about an equally controversial development on the outskirts of Ennis, represent development as value.

Ten other headlines expressed delay or time-savings, with economic costs or benefits assumed. Development was couched as 'urgent', 'impatient' or heritage as too time-consuming. For example: 'Square reopens after two-year upgrade fiasco' (*Irish Examiner*, 12/4/2006) 'Lucan "road to nowhere" still closed in dispute over payment' (*The Irish Times*, 19/1/2005, about a row that is holding up the further development and destruction of Laraghcon House); 'Controversial projects for fast track with new planning laws' (*Irish Independent*, 15/2/2005).

In eight cases, 2.7%, the thrust of a story was reversed or distorted by the headline, representing extreme examples of gatekeeper intervention. For example, two linked headlines 'Huge interest likely in late Victorian property bearing a "good address"' and '…or try this four-bed 1940s semi just over the road' (both *Irish Examiner*, 28/1/2006)

both emphasise the heritage attractions of two houses for sale, whereas the text plays down the heritage element and urges the purchasers to demolish and develop.

In the case of 'Tempers frayed in illegal coarse fishing dispute' (*Irish Independent*, 6/2/2006) there is no question of illegal fishing. In fact, the story blames foreigners for depleting coarse fish stocks, such as pike, by retaining and eating the fish that they catch rather than voluntarily returning them to the water as, it is claimed, Irish anglers do.

'Solving global warming with trees' (*The Irish Times*, 7/3/2006) headlines a story which argues that tree planting cannot mitigate global warming. The headline manages to convey the opposite impression.

'Conserving salmon stocks the only way' (*Irish Examiner*, 16/3/2006), tops a story that makes no reference to conservation but, instead, argues the usual case that the remaining wild salmon should be exploited for angling tourism on economic grounds.

In 'Quirky cottage with space and style' (*The Irish Times*, 16/3/2006), the text lays great emphasis on the heritage aspects of the property for sale, making them a major selling point. The headline reduces them to 'quirky' – nothing in the text justifies the use of this word.

'Guarded welcome for latest initiatives to protect Burren' (*The Irish Times*, 3/4/2006). Actually, the text does not mention 'protection' and, in fact, the latest initiatives are aimed at exploiting The Burren for tourism purposes. Proponents Dr Liam Lysaght and Tony Killeen, Minister for State at the Department of the Environment and Heritage, respectively call the initiative a 'huge marketing potential' and the 'most significant development-tourism related initiative since the attempt to provide the visitor centre'.

In 'Jawsus! Shark nursery opens' (*Irish Independent*, 12/4/2006), as the text itself makes clear, the entire *raison d'etre* of the shark nursery is to rid sharks of the *Jaws* image. The second paragraph reads: 'The latest addition to the National Sea Life Centre is all about dispelling the myths created by "*Jaws*" and generally improving the reputation of this wonderful sea creature.'

Cumulative: Nominalization and naturalization in headlines

It is frequently suggested that news coverage in general and newspaper coverage in particular 'reifies' certain discourses, for example, the economic discourse. Gavin offers a succinct definition with regard to the economic discourse:

> The idea is that the individuals and agents responsible for economic events or developments are largely absent from coverage. News portrays the economy as a self-contained system of inter-related factors (such as inflation, unemployment and interest rates), which are largely beyond direct political control. The economy is something impinging on citizens, companies and the government alike, rather than constituted by their actions, inactions and decisions. It is, therefore, abstracted from the combined actions of socially located actors… The resultant commentary has neoconservative ideological undertones, and an economy of blind, unstoppable, indiscriminate and 'asocial' force carries with it an underlying, neo-liberal, laissez-faire political agenda, thus obscuring important political and economic realities. (Gavin 2007 pp49-50).

Reification is sometimes characterised as difficult to conceptualise and operationalize, but these difficulties tend to occur when the descriptive elements of the concept are separated from the critique of capitalism, and the focus has been narrowed from an analysis of capitalist production relations to the study of individual attitudes. Thus, the social-structural dimension disappears and reification is reduced to a psychological characteristic of the abstract individual. Reification is interpreted as a state of amnesia in which the individual 'forgets' the human origins of the social world. Social phenomena are apprehended instead 'as if they were something else than human products – such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:89, cited in Burris 1988). This 'forgetfulness' is explained, in turn, as a defensive reaction on the part of the individual. At the other end of the scale, particularly among the Marxists, the concept of reification is frequently employed in a merely critical or polemical fashion, and discussion tends to take place independently of any analysis of the underlying social relations producing such reification (Burris 1988). Provided that the investigation of reification in the heritage discourse is anchored in the consciousness of the social relations at play and rooted in

the analysis of structural and practical determinants in the discourse, both these difficulties will be avoided.

In terms of operationalizing the concept of reification, and measuring the level of reification in a news discourse, we can, of course, carefully log the number and type of sources cited in the texts, as well as their 'footing' – the level of authority afforded to the source by descriptors within the text itself – and the number and type of actants and reactants, as well analyse the status, either arbiter or advocate, awarded to them within the text. We can by extension, although with less certainty, attempt to quantify the omission and occlusion of actions, sources, actants and reactants. Analysis of the corpus of texts for evidence of the commodification of heritage will also point to the presence of reification in the discourse since, as Lukács (1919), equating commodification with reification, puts it, the extension of capitalist economy reduces all values to exchange value. From the objective point of view, 'commodification' – 'reification' – means the creation of a second nature of pseudo things. From the subjective point of view, it means the estrangement or alienation of human activity (Lukács 1923).

In a further operationalization of the phenomenon of reification in news discourse, Fairclough points out that cultural constructs, including discourses, ultimately comprise institutions, events (including texts), practices and practitioners (Foucault passim). Certain linguistic strategies and practices – the use of nominal clauses, participles and verbal nouns; the avoidance of verbs and, therefore subjects and objects; the use of the passive voice – tend to contribute to a process of nominalization; that is to say, to the concealment of agency, the disguising of institutions and the denial of practices and events (Fairclough 2003). Such linguistic practices clearly run contrary to the stated news values of journalists, not least drama, novelty, propinquity, significance, authority, celebrity, rarity or uniqueness, and to the instructions to headline writers contained in the vocational literature *passim* (Evans 1972, Hicks 2002). However, the data show that, to a considerable extent, precisely this sort of linguistic choice permeates the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers. Fairclough identifies another linguistic phenomenon, naturalization, as contributing to reification. This is the use of natural terms – chemical, physical and, especially, biological – to describe human practices: development, growth, tide, current, trickle, flow, drain, spurt, evaporation, drift and many others. Naturalization substitutes processes for practices and goes beyond nominalization in not

merely concealing human agency but denying it. The presence of these readily quantifiable linguistic phenomena will provide strong evidence of a tendency towards reification in the heritage discourse. At a later stage, in the survey of journalists, the investigation of journalists' awareness of the prevalence of these phenomena should demonstrate to what extent the production of a reified discourse is structurally embedded in newspaper praxis.

Of the 1140 headlines, just 380 (33%) had animate (human or animal) actants, 193 (17%) had reactants and only 72 (6%) had both actant and reactant. Human or animal agency is therefore absent from considerably more than half of the headlines – 639 of 1140 (56%). Human or animal action is present in 501 headlines (44%) and human or animal interaction is present in 72 headlines (6%).

In 639 headlines, therefore, nobody was involved, nobody was responsible. Inanimate objects moved, grew, developed, delayed, frustrated and angered. Glancing down the list, we see that work started spontaneously, cathedrals and freight yards closed their own doors, houses sold themselves, developments were accepted and rejected and acquired go-aheads, green lights and funding, without the benefit of human action.

Three hundred and eighty-five headlines had no verb; and 300 had no verb and no animate actant or reactant: in other words, there were 300 headlines (26%) in which nobody did anything to anybody, or nothing happened to anybody. This is very far from what we might have expected to find using journalistic news values, as defined in the vocational literature *passim*, as our normative template, as the discussion below will demonstrate.

Of the 755 headlines that contained one verb or more, 125 used the verb 'to be' (in a percentage of these, the verb is assumed) and 18 use the verb 'to have'. These are essentially existential, adjectival or adverbial clauses – 'Baily house has heart-stopping bay views' (*The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005), 'Wood energy "has many benefits"" (*Irish Examiner*, 08/10/2004), 'Great white shark [is] to be protected' (*Irish Independent*, 13/10/2004), 'Villagers [are] angry over bypass' (*Irish Examiner*, 08/10/2004), 'Planning approval [is] difficult for locals' (*The Irish Times*, 13/10/2004), for example. Another 167 headlines used the passive voice or false active ('barns come down' when

what is meant is: 'barns are demolished'; 'house sells for €3.5m' when what is meant is 'house is sold for €3.5m'; three headlines actually managed to use both passive and false active) and 96 of these were impersonal, containing no actants or reactants, while a further 39 contained only reactants. But 32 contained actants and four contained both actants and reactants; in these cases particularly, the author appears to have gone out of his or her way to reverse standard English syntax, writing, for example, 'Airtricity sales cut by cheaper Energia power' (*Irish Independent*, 11/10/2004) instead of 'Cheap Energia power hits Airtricity sales'; or 'Pyreneans polarised by bears' (*The Irish Times*, 16/04/2005), instead of 'Bears polarise Pyreneans'. Space is clearly not a consideration in the above-cited examples, the latter version of the bear headline actually counting about four characters shorter, thereby allowing for the inclusion of another word: 'Wild bears polarise Pyreneans', for example.

Headlines – normative templates

Applying the journalistic cultural imperatives of objectivity, balance, fairness and authority (or 'representational legitimacy', as Hamilton terms it, which serves for accuracy); and the news values of drama, freshness, scale, propinquity, celebrity, importance, rarity or uniqueness *etc.*, we can construct normative templates for headlines for each of the news paradigms ('conflict', 'development', 'consumption') that are present and for the news paradigms ('heritage', 'compromise', 'sustainable development', 'environment', 'cost') that are largely absent, using the values that we have logged: presence or absence of verb, passive or active voice, presence or absence of actants, reactants and interactants.

'Conflict' news paradigm headlines: We should expect the 'conflict' headline, where space allows, to contain both actant and reactant, with as dramatic a verb as the text justifies, in the active voice. So: 'Actant vows to fight reactant' or 'Actant accuses reactant of stonewalling' *etc*. To establish propinquity, we might expect a geographical or cultural signifier chosen to be as recognisable, identifiable and inclusive as possible – so that 'Kilmessan' might be deemed too localized and not readily recognizable whereas 'Meath' establishes geographical proximity to Dublin and suggests a suburban-commuter-motorist-middleclass lifestyle. To establish scale and importance, we might expect a figure such as '€5m' or '350-acre' and to establish representational legitimacy

we might expect one of the actants to be an authority figure or celebrity, where one is available.
So, a headline such as 'Archaeologists vow to challenge Roche's green light for €2bn Tara motorway' would fulfil most of the criteria. 'Archaeologists' and (Environment Minister Dick) 'Roche' establish authority and, by substitution, accuracy. 'Vow' and 'challenge' are action verbs, in the active voice, but do not (in themselves) indicate bias in one direction or the other. 'Tara' is a first-class locator (but carries cultural connotations), '€2bn' establishes scale and 'motorway' establishes cultural propinquity with a majority of readers (motorists, commuters, taxpayers). 'Green light' establishes freshness – the story is about the reaction to the latest move in the continuing Tara news discourse.

Of course, the example is an ideal (from the journalist's point of view). The first and most obvious objection is that it is too long to fit into the space generally allocated for headlines. But it must not be forgotten that the amount of space – and the size of type – allocated for a headline is a matter of journalistic choice; a choice made strategically by the designers of the newspaper and on a quotidian, almost case by case, basis by senior editors and senior sub-editors within parameters laid down by the designers. Four lines of 48pt type, for instance, occupy almost exactly the same space as three lines of 60pt but admit of perhaps twice as many words. If our ideal normative headline is 'too long', it is only too long because journalists decide that visual impact overrides some or all of the journalistic criteria listed above.

Let us progressively shorten our headline. In a continuing discourse such as that concerning Tara, editors may rely upon intertextual assumptions – assumptions that the reader has gained a certain level of knowledge about the Tara controversy from previous texts. The editor might assume that most readers will already know that the conflict is between archaeological heritage and a proposed motorway and that the motorway in question is the M3 and that the Government minister with responsibility is Dick Roche. He/she may also assume that the scale and importance of the story has already been established – either because the reader has intertextual knowledge of the amount involved or because the fact that the story was deemed of sufficient scale and import to be included previously is of itself sufficient justification to include it again, provided that there has been a new turn of events.

Hence:

‘Archaeologists vow to challenge Roche’s green light for €2bn Tara motorway’

‘Archaeologists challenge Roche’s green light for €2bn Tara motorway’ – shorter, but entails loss of accuracy since the challenge has not occurred yet

‘Archaeologists criticise Roche’s green light for €2bn Tara motorway’ – loss of drama

‘Archaeologists vow to challenge Roche’s green light for M3’ – assumes intertextual knowledge. Now, the archaeologists are objecting to the *entire* motorway and not just a particular section or impact – an unreasonable stance that sets them well outside the cultural consensus. Balance, fairness and accuracy are lost and bias introduced.

‘Archaeologists vow to challenge M3 green light’ – assumes reader will know Dick Roche must have given the green light. A measure of authority is lost, but also, crucially, responsibility. With human reaction removed, the M3 takes on independent life and becomes naturalized. The process of building the road becomes a natural process, rather than the result of human action.

To proceed any further in shortening the headline, we must remove the archaeologists. (A downmarket newspaper might already have resorted to using the shorter, semi-pejorative ‘Boffins’ as a substitute for ‘Archaeologists’ but our target publications are midmarket-to-quality and unlikely to use that particular term). So:

‘Challenge to M3 green light’ – no human actant or reactant. With the archaeologists has gone the last vestige of human motivation for the conflict. The headline is now a nominative clause and the story has been nominalized. The conflict itself has been naturalized.

The next step down the chain is to the passive voice: ‘M3 challenged’ or to the even shorter nominative phrase ‘M3 challenge’.

Both of these last two headlines satisfy hardly any of the news values or requirements of journalistic culture we might hypothetically expect, though they still fulfil the function of alerting readers to the nub of the story.

Let us check the content of the conflict headlines in all four samples against our normative template.

Of the 475 conflict texts, 463 had headlines. Of these, 106 had no verb at all, 53 used the verb 'to be' and three used the verb 'to have'. A total of 162 conflict headlines (35%), therefore, contained no action. A further 74 were in passive voice and 10 used a false active. Ten used a present participle or verbal noun in a style of headline borrowed directly from the genre of corporate advertising ('Seeing the words from the trees' – *Irish Independent*, 05/04/2005; 'Building our future while saving our past' – *Irish Examiner*, 14/10/2004). A total of 180 (39%) conflict headlines had no animate actant or reactant. 217 had an actant(s), 120 had a reactant (s) and 54 had both actant and reactant. Seven of the latter had no verb and in two more, the verb was passive. So only 45 of 463 headlines (9.7%) approximated to our normative template (had an active verb, an actant and a reactant) for a conflict headline, even applying these limited criteria. Nor was space, in this case, a significant factor: the average word count for the conflict headlines was 6.75 words. Of the 74 headlines that had no verb, actant nor reactant, three ran to nine words ('Objections to plan for "superpub" on St Stephen's Green' – *The Irish Times*, 04/04/2005; 'Controversial projects for fast track with new planning laws' – *Irish Independent,* 15/2/2006; and 'Suspected outbreak of bird flu on French turkey farms' – *Irish Examiner*, 24/2/2006). We have already seen from some of the examples cited above ('Airtricity sales cut by cheaper Energia power' instead of 'Cheap Energia power hits Airtricity sales', or 'Pyreneans polarised by bears' instead of 'Bears polarise Pyreneans') that journalists were inclined to omit verbs or resort to the passive voice or to omit actants and/or reactants and nominalize or impersonalize human actions long before the point at which they were forced to do so by requirements of brevity.

Normative templates – 'consumption' news-paradigm headlines: Given that the consumption texts, even the out-and-out aditorials, are couched in the genre and style of reportage, we might expect some vestige of journalistic convention to survive in the writing of headlines. Instead of conflictants – actant and reactant – the texts are

populated by buyers and sellers or providers and consumers and there is a range of appropriate verbs: buy, sell, invest in, purchase, offer, provide, trade, transfer, launch, transact, bring to market *etc*. The consumption texts must still meet some of the news-value criteria – topicality (the commodity has been sold yesterday or is for sale today), propinquity (it must be for sale/have been sold/be about to come on the market in Ireland and within easy distance of Cork or Dublin; it should appeal to, be affordable by, the publication's readership) or its antithesis, exoticness (a faraway holiday, a house in Tuscany, something fabulously expensive for vicarious consumption), celebrity (N buys, sells or endorses this) and scale (house fetches €5m, new broadband is 10 times faster, new MP3 player fits 48 hours of music, *etc.*). Generally absent will be the qualities of rarity or uniqueness, importance and authority – though the words 'rare', 'unique', 'major' and 'important' all appear in consumption-paradigm headlines in the sample as journalists work to construct the missing news values from the materials to hand.

In the case of the aditorial headlines in particular, we might expect the formula: 'You should/must consume this because…' Headlines will have few human actants/reactants apart from the unspoken 'you' since what is for sale is normally an impersonal commodity and the consumer and the reader are generally taken to be the same person. We can expect a considerable level of borrowing from the corporate advertising and brochure/prospectus genres and many headlines that are adjectival or nominative clauses or phrases; and this, in fact, is what we find.

There were 484 'consumption' texts, of which 468 had headlines. 313 (68%) contained no human actant or reactant and in 26 other cases, the actant was an explicit 'you' in an imperative-mood slogan borrowed straight from the genre of corporate advertising ('Grab some jewels of the Kingdom' – *Irish Examiner*, 14/10/2004*;* 'Live the big house life on one floor' – *The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005; 'Move up the property ladder - literally - in Laois' – *Irish Independent*, 08/04/2005; 'Take the east Cork choo, choo to a property with potential' – *Irish Examiner*, 25/3/2006; 'Stand at the cliff-face of excitement'– *Irish Independent*, 3/4/2006). A total of 205 consumption headlines had no verb, 49 used the verb 'to be' and 11 used the verb 'to have', so 265 (57%) had no action verb. 38 used the passive voice and 10 used false actives (examples: 'face' for 'is faced with' and 'sell' for 'is sold'). Only 121 had actants, 54 had reactants and 20 had

both actant and reactant. Twenty-two (22) used the corporate-advertising present participle ('Taking to the cool streets of a real walker's paradise' – *The Irish Times*, 09/10/2004*;* 'Weekending in Lisbon' – *The Irish Times*, 09/10/2004) and one used the literary verbal noun ('The moving of the Mona Lisa' – *Irish Independent*, 06/04/2005). Some 166 texts (35%) had no verb, actant or reactant. Another 47 used 'to be' or 'to have' in adjectival clauses and had no actant or reactant, so a total of 213 (45%) had no action verb, no actant and no reactant.

But of the 93 consumption texts coded 'hard' news, 39 of the 88 headlines (44%) were unpopulated. Eleven had no verb (12.5%) and 12 more had no action verb (14%), 26 were in passive/false active (30%) – so only 39 (44%) used an action verb in the active voice. Of the 96 consumption-paradigm texts that appeared in news sections, 48 of the 91 headlines (53%) were unpopulated. Twelve (12) had no verb (13%), 10 more no action verb (11%), 24 used passive voice/false active (26%) – so only 45 (49%) used an action verb in the active voice.

This compares with global 'news' section (462 headlines) – unpopulated 195 (42%), no verb 69 (15%), no action verb 52 (11%), passive/false active 106 (23%), total action verbs in active voice 235 (51%); and with global 'hard news' coding (499 headlines) – unpopulated 214 (43%), no verb 78 (16%), no action verb 56 (11%), passive/false active 123 (25%), total action verbs in active voice 242 (48%).

So consumption texts in the 'hard' news genre and in the 'news' sections are given headlines that are very much like other 'hard' news and 'news' section headlines; but all of the headlines in the 'hard' news genre and the 'news' sections are given headlines that much more closely resemble what we should expect consumption-paradigm headlines to look like than what we should expect general 'hard' news or 'news' section headlines to look like.

This suggests that though the evidence points to a relatively low level of genre-crossing between sections (only two texts coded 'aditorial' appear in the 'news' sections, for example, and only seven texts coded 'hard' news appear in the property sections) there is a very much higher level of genre-borrowing, with stylistic and generic elements

more appropriate to one section invading the headlines of another; and that this is happening because or in spite of gatekeeper intervention.

Normative templates – 'development' news paradigm headlines: Given that 142 of 313 'development' texts appeared in sections designated as 'news' and that 174 of those 313 texts were identified as belonging to the 'hard news' genre, we should expect journalistic convention in terms of the journalistic cultural conventions and news values to apply. Many of the texts are concerned with one stage or another of a building or civil engineering project – acquisition of land, announcement of project, planning applications and appeals, completion of projects. The texts are populated by 'developers' – corporate entities, State agencies and individuals – and again there is a range of appropriate verbs: build, launch, buy, purchase, unveil, announce, plan, secure, obtain, complete, finish, offer, bring to market *etc*. The texts must meet most of the news-value criteria – topicality (there must have be a turn of events yesterday or today), propinquity (the development is in Ireland and within easy distance of Cork or Dublin, or is being promoted abroad by an Irish developer; cultural propinquity is assumed since, in the 'development' texts, development is deemed to be good for everyone) or its antithesis, exoticness (a fabulously exclusive apartment block or hotel, for instance), celebrity (N buys, sells or endorses this), authority (Government Ministers, State agencies, economists, successful 'millionaire' or 'multimillionaire' businesspeople), scale (600 houses, €3bn motorway) and importance (motorway will ease traffic problems, cut travel time, tunnel will accommodate 19,000 trucks). Again, generally absent will be the qualities of rarity or uniqueness – though the words 'rare', 'once-off' and 'unique' all appear in development-paradigm headlines in the sample as journalists work to construct the missing news values from the materials to hand.

Again, we can expect a considerable level of borrowing from the corporate advertising and brochure/prospectus genres and many headlines that are adjectival or nominative clauses or phrases; and this, in fact, is what we find.

There were 313 'development' texts, of which 298 had headlines. Some 189 (64%) contained no human actant or reactant. In only nine headlines were the actants or reactants named private-sector individuals or corporate entities – O'Callaghan, Airtricity and Energia (in two headlines), Frinailla, Treasury Holdings, SCS (Society of

Chartered Surveyors), Dunnes, Gannon, Patrick Gallagher (*obit.*). In 17 headlines, the actant or reactant was a named State or suprastate agent or agency – [Minister Willie] O'Dea, [Minister Michéal] Martin, BIM, the OPW, Sustainable Energy Ireland, An Taisce, President McAleese, the ESB (three headlines), [Minister Tom] Parlon, EC, EU, CIE (two headlines), Bord Gáis, OPW. Some 189 were unpopulated; 75 had no verb, 34 used the verb 'to be' and seven (7) used the verb 'to have', so 116 (39%) had no action verb. 69 used the passive voice or false actives. 81 had actants, 38 had reactants and nine (9) had both actant and reactant. Ten used the corporate-advertising present participle (examples: 'Inching towards extinction' – *The Irish Times*, 09/10/2004; 'Taking a swing at Dundalk' – *The Irish Times*, 05/04/2005; 'Keeping an eye on their village' – *The Irish Times*, 08/04/2005; 'Building for the future' – *Irish Examiner*, 09/04/2005). Fifty-one (51) (38%) had no verb, actant or reactant.

But of the 174 development texts coded 'hard' news, 91 of the 167 headlines (54%) were unpopulated. Twenty-five (25) had no verb (15%) and 18 more had no action verb (11%) and 49 were in passive or false active voice (29%) – so only 75 (45%) used an action verb in the active voice. Of the 142 development-paradigm texts that appeared in news sections, 68 of the 136 headlines (50%) were unpopulated. Fourteen (14) had no verb (10%), 19 no action verb (12%), and 37 used passive voice or false active (27%) – so only 66 (548%) used an action verb in the active voice.

This compares with global 'news' section (462 headlines) – unpopulated 195 (42%), no verb 69 (15%), no action verb 52 (11%), passive/false active 106 (23%), total action verbs in active voice 235 (51%); and with global 'hard news' coding (499 headlines) – unpopulated 214 (43%), no verb 78 (16%), no action verb 56 (11%), passive/false active 123 (25%), total action verbs in active voice 242 (48%).

So development texts in the 'hard' news genre and in the 'news' sections are again given headlines that are very much like other 'hard' news and 'news' section headlines; but all of the headlines in the 'hard' news genre and the 'news' sections are given headlines which much more closely resemble what we should expect development-paradigm headlines to look like than what we should expect general 'hard' news or 'news' section headlines to look like.

This again suggests that there is a high level of genre-borrowing, with stylistic and generic elements more appropriate to one section invading the headlines of another; and that this is happening because or in spite of gatekeeper intervention. As was the case with the consumption headlines, this is largely a question of stylistic and generic borrowings from the world of corporate advertising and promotion invading the news pages of the publications.

Of the 185 heritage-paradigm headlines, 65 (35%) have no verb, 29 (16%) others have no action verb, 27 (15%) are passive/false active and 10 (5%) use the present participle borrowed from the corporate advertising genre. Only 64 (34%) have an action verb in the active voice.

Population of the 'conflict' headlines – status of actants and reactants: In the breakdown of conflict-paradigm headlines, actants representing power groups, elites or authority figures (104) were half as plentiful again as those representing 'others' - exotic or abnormal figures or those outside or against the public good - (70); and almost two-and-a-half times as plentiful as those representing 'us', the public at large, the common good or with whom 'we' were invited to identify (43).

In the breakdown of reactants, however, the results are somewhat different. The typical reactant represents 'others' (58). Reactants representing 'us' were just less than half as plentiful (28); and reactants representing power groups and elites were just over half as plentiful (32). See Tables 34 and 35, Pages 149 and 150.

Table 34: population of the 'conflict' headlines – actants

Us (43)	Others (70)	Power/authority (104)
Celtic Tiger	monk (2)	board (planning)
We (5)	blow-ins	council (19)
Villagers	traders	Minister (2)
family	poachers	golf club (3)
locals (3)	Kenya	farmers (3)
Greens, Labour	Townsend	rangers
Residents (3)	protestors	authorities
Mayo	dinosaurs	judge (3)
Desmond (Dermot)	Green Party	fishery board
You (3)	Dúchas	IFA (4)
Hill walkers	Kennedys	Kenya
Deer (2)	amphibians (2)	Coillte
Prime Time	supporters of ban	Wicklow Council
Village	Travellers (2)	councillors (5)
Southsiders	An Taisce	Wicklow
Dublin coastal groups	bomber	TDs
Men with no clout	Buchenwald survivors	OPW
Anglers	Taliban	planners (2)
Couple	bears	TD
Siamese cat	Pyrenean mountain dog	engineers
Investors	Turkey	expert
Family	python (2)	hoteliers
Red squirrels	Great White	diocese
Eagle	Dolores	body
Group	they	Dalai Lama
Labour (2)	Seán the Sheep	court (2)
An Taisce (2)	tourists	gardaí
Greens	shark Nicole	government (2)
You	driftnet fishermen	tourism body
Sargent	Lawrence of Arabia	McDowell
	salmon	Dick Roche
	birds (7)	NRA
	bird-like fossil	local authorities
	males	Roche (2)
	Hunt accuser	appeal board
	migratory bird	archaeologist
	Big Brother star	site expert
	woman (criminal)	newspaper (2)
	lake invader	PDs
	monkeys	Bertie (2)
	thieves (2)	Church
	gun gang	PD deputy
	fishermen (in court)	committee
	six (criminals)	Naval Service
	Bono	Bord (Pleanála) (2)
	M3 objector	Iraq
	Patrick Gallagher	heritage watchdog
	M3 protestor	Fingal Council
	veteran campaigner	NZ
	DUP (2)	air mogul
	Mansfield	FF TDs
	alien invaders/non-natives	Dempsey
	ominous hawks	Oireachtas committee
	cunning jackdaws	EU
	bird-flu swan	council planners
	shark (2)	fire crew
	infected swan	commissioner
		mayor
		Smurfit
		Yeats
		explorers
		Ahern
		ESB (2)
		Azerbaijan

Table 35: population of the 'conflict' headlines – reactants

Us (28)	Others (58)	Power/authority (32)
Walkers (2)	poachers	farmers
Seaside dwellers	red stag	religious order
Hill walkers	An Taisce	golf club (2)
Locals	lion	council (3)
Drivers	students	forestry (*i.e.* Coillte)
Us (4)	orange roughy	OPW
Diver	tyrannosaurus	city council
Visitors	Travellers (3)	Bord Pleanála
SVP	slurry spreaders	Doonbeg Golf Club
Volunteers	salmon (9)	Frinailla
Primates	U2	EU (2)
Four (dead)	wild fish	NRA
Swallows	netters	EC
Our	seals (2)	archaeologist (2)
Dubliners	Princess Grace	expert
Ireland	Rathkeale Rovers	state
Irish	dumpers and developers	government (2)
Pike	poison toads	Bord Gáis
You	Pyreneans	Teagasc (2)
Environmentalist farmers	fishermen (2)	museum director
Species	croc	court
Girl, 14	alligator	Ireland
Pub owners	drug-users	Denmark (2)
Local protestors	stocks (salmon)	Fianna Fáil
	villagers (Amazon)	
	wildlife (Amazon)	
	bird (4)	
	old star (GAA)	
	wild females	
	grey competitors (squirrels)	
	fish	
	whale	
	advice body	
	accused	
	earl	
	swans/cats	
	objector	
	Haughey	
	panther	
	oily fish	
	leopard	
	the reds	
	US firm	

Population of the development headlines

Of the 298 development-paradigm stories with headlines, 189 (63%) are entirely unpopulated and only 81 (27%) are populated by actants, showing the extent to which development is naturalized and nominalized in heritage-related texts in the sample. The breakdown of the headline population, as tabulated in Tables 36 (actants) and 37 (reactants) Pages 150 and 151, is also revealing: just 22 developers, named or unnamed, appear as actants in development-paradigm headlines.

Table 36: population of development-paradigm headlines – actants

Actants (81)	
Developers (22)	**All others (59)**
Tech(nology) sector	council (10)
Celtic Tiger	(Minister Willie) O'Dea
Energia	Minister
Airtricity	councillors
O'Callaghan	us
Tourism sector	OPW
Golf club (2)	expert (2)
Treasury Holdings	planners, residents
Group (investors)	protestors
CEO Sustainable Energy Ireland	BIM
Ex-dentist	President (McAleese)
Dolores	AA (Automobile Association)
Couple	Martin (Minister Micheál)
Celtic Tigers	Kavanagh (poet Patrick)
Dublin firm	them (villagers)
Market	TD
Gannon	local authorities
OPW	Sweden
Patrick Gallagher	you (2)
Cork	Longford (golf club)
DUP	Parlon (Minister Tom)
	traders
	vicars
	Guinness
	SCS (Society of Chartered Surveyors)
	we (2)
	they (people of Waterford)
	Seán the Sheep
	animal
	Iron Duke
	Bord
	Collins (estate agent)
	Eileen Gray
	jellyfish
	Scott (architect)
	bird
	tourists
	German swans
	M3 objector
	mayor
	architects
	M3 protestor
	veteran campaigner
	Greens
	salmon
	DUP
	alien invaders

Table 37: population of development-paradigm headlines – reactants

Reactants (38)	
Developers (11)	**All others (27)**
ESB	Donegal textile workers
Buyer	seaside dwellers
Investors	An Taisce
Airtricity	drivers
Doonbeg Golf club	OPW
Golf club	IFA
Frinailla	AA
New developers	Kavanagh
Developers	public
Dunnes	surveyors
Big players	you (2)
	EC
	Ireland
	EU
	miniature humans
	cheetahs
	Bord Gáis
	farmers (2)
	Bord
	council
	objector
	Haughey
	ESB
	Fianna Fáil
	local protestors

Population of the consumption headlines

Of the 484 consumption-paradigm stories, 468 have headlines. A total of 313 (66%) are entirely unpopulated, 20 are populated by both actants and reactants, 101 by actants only and 34 by reactants only. In 25 cases (Examples: 'Grab some jewels of the Kingdom' – *Irish Examiner*, 14/10/2004; 'Your chance to buy a slice of local history with Red Abbey townhouse' – *Irish Examiner*, 16/10/2004; '€390k buys you period features in Dublin' – *Irish Independent*, 15/10/2004; 'Move up the property ladder - literally - in Laois' – *Irish Independent*, 08/04/2005; 'Pumping up your investments in London' – *The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005; and 'Live the big house life on one floor' – *The Irish Times*, 14/04/2005), the actant is 'you', the reader or consumer, and in three cases, 'you' is the reactant. In the case of consumption headlines, the general absence of animate actants/reactants is partly explained by the fact that the stories deal largely with objects for sale, especially properties, and places to visit. The nominalization and naturalization of consumption headlines echo those of the development headlines: houses and investments are sold or sell themselves without human agency.

The consumption paradigm headlines are populated by 109 actants: Farmers, tech sector, Energia, Airtricity, you (25), Belfast, expert, diocese, Irish investor, Government, senior tourism figures, auctioneers, Schroedinger, locals, owners, Kerry locals, traders (2), village, Guinness, newest EU neighbours, author, Minister (2), Éamon (de Buitléir), President (McAleese), hoteliers, investors, council (2), skippers, SCS, writer, Nelson (2), partnership, me (2), us, golfers, men, anglers/Government, Joshua Reynolds, Mona Lisa, Sandro Caramelli, PDs, we, Celtic Tigers, Dublin firm, investors, salmon (2), market, Iron Duke, Herrema, poet, Nurse Nightingale, gentlemen, Collins, Beethoven, Michelangelo, males, O'Connell, Blackshaw, *Big Brother* star, IFA, Elvis fan, Jack B Yeats, tillage farmer, farm groups, SWS Forestry Service, Coillte nursery, Sotheby's, collector, Scott (architect), fishermen, German swans, OPW, architects, Synge (2), Van Gogh (2), former IDA chief, buyers, Smurfit/Yeats, George Campbell, Beckett, explorers, pilgrim, shark (2), Jane (Austen), crowds. There are 49 reactants: farmers (3), investors, us, Beckett family, Airtricity, IFA, visitors, buyers, salmon (4), fishermen (2), whitefish, developers, AA, netters, top architect, you (3), Dunnes, tourists, people with vertigo, first-timer, funnyman Shortt, cheetah, salmon stocks, market, big players, Miss Meredith (school), Mealy's (2), females, fish, Teagasc, council, hen harrier, architect, pub owners, anglers, oily fish, seal, Stephenson, Jane Austen, sharks

Population of the heritage headlines: Of the 201 heritage-paradigm stories, 185 have headlines. One hundred (100) are unpopulated, 48 are populated by actants only, 34 are populated by reactants only and eight (8) have both actant and reactant. In the case of heritage-paradigm headlines, the absence of animate actants/reactants is partly explained by the fact that the stories deal largely with objects – objects, moreover, whose human causers are in many cases long dead. However, to some extent at least, the nominalization and naturalization of heritage-paradigm texts echo that of the development-paradigm texts: even proponents of heritage talk in terms of heritage under threat from this or that development or development in general, without reference to human agency. See Table 38 overleaf.

Table 38: population of heritage-paradigm headlines

Actants (56)	Reactants
Agriculture Minister Mary Coughlan	medieval brain surgeons
An historical member of the Guinness family	people
Raptors	museum founder
One (i.e. 'I')	Chad Man
(Naturalist) Éamon de Buitléar	Mozart
Bumble bees	us
Ape-like creature	dinosaur
Blue tit	fishermen
Voles	Turkey
(Physicist Erwin) Schroedinger	public
Young Georgians	legend (Le Brocquy)
You (4)	fish species
We (4)	you
Partnership	salmon stocks
Shark Nicole	EC
Tourists	EU
Us	bees
Shark	salmon
Joshua Reynolds	birds
Volunteers	saints
Bertie	club owner
Sparrow hawk	environmentalist farmers
Salmon-driftnet fishermen	species
Council (3)	farmers
Morph (animation character)	shrew
Father/son	scientists
Committee	leopard
Robot	Beckett
Salmon (2)	local protestors
Herrema	him
Bird-like fossil	Bank of Ireland
Beethoven	
Eileen Gray	
Golfers	
Farmers	
Heritage watchdog	
Jack B Yeats	
Rare eagle	
Sturgeon	
Fulmars	
Eagle	
Council planner	
Jurassic beaver	
Prehistoric beaver	
Former IDA chief	
Explorers	
First dentists	

17. Evans's test

As described above, Page 56, Evans (1972) divides news stories into 'say' stories – that is, stories based on statements, press releases, reports and speeches, for instance, in which someone says something has happened, is happening or will happen – and stories based on actual events. I have subdivided 'event' stories into unexpected (fires and car crashes, for example), scheduled (Dáil and county council meetings, for instance), predictable (the outcome of a court case, for example) and managed (opening ceremonies, launches, press conferences). I have also noted where unexpected, scheduled or predictable events elicited a managed response.

Sample 1: 113 texts concerned events (52%); 42 (20%) were 'say' stories; 15 (7%) were aditorial, 11 were information features, 12 were opinion/analysis not predicated on a single event, three (3) were letters responding to events and 13 were letters responding to letters, two (2) were humorous/entertaining pieces.

Sample 2: 133 texts (48%) concerned events; 22 (7%) were 'say' stories; 61 (22%) were aditorial, 19 (7%) were information features, five (5) were opinion, 15 were letters responding to events, three (3) were letters responding to articles and 24 were letters responding to letters.

Sample 3: 139 texts (40%) concerned events; 54 (15%) were 'say' stories; 102 (30%) were aditorial, 23 (7%) were information features, 20 were opinion, nine (9) were letters responding to events, two (2) were letters responding to articles and three (3) were letters responding to letters.

Sample 4: 146 texts (42%) concerned events; 57 (17%) were 'say' stories; 84 (25%) were aditorial, 17 (5%) were information features, 18 were opinion, 15 were letters responding to events, three (3) were letters responding to articles and one (1)) was a letter responding to a letter.

Table 39: categorization of event stories

	Sample 1	S2	S3	S4	Total
Unexpected	**11**	**20**	**16**	**26**	**73**
Predictable	**9**	**12**	**14**	**22**	**57**
Scheduled	**26**	**44**	**43**	**33**	**146**
Managed	**54**	**52**	**64**	**57**	**227**
Unexpected, but managed response	**7**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**11**
Scheduled with managed response	**2**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**5**
Predictable with managed response	**4**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**
Total managed	**67**	**55**	**66**	**60**	**248**

Combined: Only 73 of 1190 heritage texts concerned genuinely unexpected, sudden events. The others were scheduled events such as Dáil and local authority meetings, planning board rulings *etc.*; predictable outcomes to long-running stories; managed events such as press conferences, demonstrations, publication launches *etc.*; or 'say' stories. The significance of this is that the potential difficulty of the lack of 'newsworthiness' of heritage objects that have been *in situ* for hundreds or even thousands of years has been regularly surmounted and that journalists, in the case of

heritage texts, frequently go outside their own parameters of 'what is news' to report heritage-related stories.

Of the 227 'managed event' stories, 162 were single source and a further 47 were single perspective. Only 18 were multiple-perspective texts. Of the 21 'managed response' stories, 15 were single source and three (3) more were single perspective. The 248 managed event/managed response stories cited 348 sources. The sources were overwhelmingly from elite social groups. See Table 40 below.

Table 40: source type for managed event/managed response stories

	sources	texts
Corporate sector	**96**	**81**
Local government	**37**	**32**
Academics	**36**	**34**
State agencies	**39**	**34**
Government	**55**	**52**
Semi-state	**13**	**13**
Community group	**13**	**13**
Farm body	**7**	**5**
NGO	**8**	**8**
Lobby group	**9**	**8**
Other media	**4**	**3**
Celebrity	**5**	**5**
Umbrella group (mixed composition)	**4**	**4**
Citizens	**10**	**8**
Supranational (UN, EU)	**4**	**3**
Religious order	**3**	**3**
Opposition politicians	**5**	**5**
Total	**348**	**not applicable**

18. Geography

Geography is important both in terms of news values (propinquity, relevance to presumed public) and market imperatives (relevance to actual geographical sales area). All three publications claim national coverage but *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* are Dublin-based and derive the bulk of their circulation and advertising from the Greater Dublin area, while the *Irish Examiner* is based in Cork and derives the bulk of its circulation and advertising from Munster. Plotting heritage stories onto regional and county maps of Ireland is a revealing exercise in terms of demonstrating the extent to which the heritage discourse is driven by the news values of propinquity and relevance, and by market imperatives. To an extent even greater than expected, the coverage of the Dublin-based newspapers is heavily centred on Dublin, while the *Examiner*'s coverage is heavily centred on Cork. The implications of this for the representation of heritage are drawn out further in the next chapter.

Of the 1190 texts, 443 were concerned with urban heritage, 328 with rural heritage and 53 with mixed urban and rural heritage. The remaining 366 texts dealt with heritage in a general, non-specific way with regard to the urban-rural divide. See Tables 41 to 55 and Maps 1 to 5 on the succeeding pages.

Table 41: sample 1 geography – all publications

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	38	
Ireland/Scotland	1	
National maritime	7	
Dublin	24	
Mid-east	22	(Meath 10, Wicklow 8, Kildare 4)
Midlands	5	(Offaly 3, Laois 1, Westmeath 1, Longford 0)
Midlands/Mid-West/West	1	(Offaly, Galway, Clare and North Tipperary [Shannon Callows])
Mid-West	22	(Clare 12, Limerick 8, North Tipperary 5)
Northern Ireland	6	(Belfast 3, Armagh 1, Fermanagh 1, Down 1, Antrim 0, Tyrone 0, Derry 0)
Border East	4	(Louth 2, Cavan 1, Monaghan 1)
West	6	(Mayo 3, Roscommon 1, Galway 1)
BMW	1	
Border West	9	(Donegal 5, Sligo 4, Leitrim 0)
Southwest	31	(Kerry 14, Cork 19)
Southeast	13	(Kilkenny 4, South Tipperary 8, Waterford 3, Carlow 0, Wexford 0)
Britain	3	
Europe	16	
Asia	7	
Africa	2	
America	1	
Global	4	

Table 42: sample 1 geography – *Irish Examiner* (based in Cork) (75 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	14	
National maritime	2	
Dublin	0	
Mid-east	3	(Meath 2, Wicklow 1, Kildare 0)
Midlands	0	
Mid-West	12	(Clare 6, Limerick 5, North Tipp 1)
Northern Ireland	3	(Belfast 1, Fermanagh 1, Down 1, Armagh 0, Antrim 0, Derry 0, Tyrone 0)
Border East	0	
West	0	
BMW	0	
Border West	2	(Donegal 2, Sligo 0, Leitrim 0)
Southwest	24	(Kerry 11, Cork 13)
Southeast	8	(Kilkenny 1, South Tipperary 5, Waterford 3, Carlow 0, Wexford 0)
Britain	0	
Europe	4	
Europe/Asia	1	
Asia	1	
Africa	0	
America	0	
Global	1	

Table 43: sample 1 geography – Dublin-based publications (140 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	24	
Ireland/Scotland	1	
National maritime	5	
Dublin	24	
Mid-east	19	(Meath 8, Wicklow 7, Kildare 4)
Midlands	4	(Offaly 2, Laois 1, Westmeath 1, Longford 0)
Midlands/Mid-West/West	1	(Offaly and North Tipperary)
Mid-West	9	(Clare 5, Limerick 3, North Tipperary 3)
Northern Ireland	3	(Belfast 2, Armagh 1, Antrim 0, Derry 0, Fermanagh 0, Down 0, Tyrone 0)
Border East	4	(Louth 2, Cavan 1, Monaghan 1)
West	5	(Mayo 3, Roscommon 1, Galway 1)
BMW	1	
Border West	7	(Donegal 3, Sligo 4, Leitrim 0)
Southwest	7	(Kerry 3, Cork 4)
Southeast	5	(Kilkenny 3, South Tipperary 2, Waterford 0, Wexford 0, Carlow 0)
Britain	3	
Europe	9	
Europe/Asia	0	
Asia	5	
Africa	2	
America	1	
Global	3	

Table 44: sample 2 geography – all publications

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	47	
National maritime	11	
Dublin	66	
Mid-east	22	(Meath 10, Wicklow 8, Kildare 4)
Midlands	4	(Offaly 1, Laois 2, Longford 1, Westmeath 0)
Mid-West	18	(Clare 12, Limerick 3, North Tipperary 3)
Northern Ireland	6	(Belfast 2, Armagh 1, Fermanagh 2, Antrim 1, Down 0, Derry 0, Tyrone 0)
Border East	6	(Louth 3, Monaghan 3, Cavan 0)
West	11	(Mayo 7, Roscommon 2, Galway 7)
Border West	8	(Donegal 2, Sligo 4, Leitrim 2)
Southwest	39	(Kerry 9, Cork 34)
Southeast	13	(Kilkenny 1, Carlow 1, Wexford 8, Waterford 5, South Tipperary 0)
Britain	2	
Europe	13	
Asia	2	
Africa	6	
America	2	
Global	3	

Table 45: sample 2 geography – *Irish Examiner* (based in Cork) (61 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	8	
National maritime	1	
Dublin	2	
Mid-east	0	(Kildare 0, Wicklow 0, Meath 0)
Midlands	0	(Laois 0, Offaly 0, Longford 0, Westmeath 0)
Mid-West	9	(Clare 7, Limerick 2, North Tipperary)
Border East	0	(Cavan 0, Monaghan 0, Louth 0)
West	1	(Galway, Mayo)
Border West	0	(Donegal 0, Sligo 0, Leitrim 0)
Southwest	27	(Kerry 3, Cork 26)
Southeast	4	(Kilkenny 1, Carlow 1, Waterford 4, Wexford 0, South Tipperary 0)
N. Ireland	0	
Britain	0	
Europe	3	
Asia	0	
Africa	2	
America	0	
Global	1	

Table 46: sample 2 geography – Dublin-based publications (221 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	39	
National maritime	10	
Dublin	65	
Mid-east	22	(Meath 10, Wicklow 8, Kildare 4)
Midlands	4	(Offaly 1, Laois 2, Longford 1, Westmeath 0)
Mid-West	9	(Clare 5, Limerick 1, North Tipperary 3)
Northern Ireland	5	(Fermanagh 2, Antrim 1, Belfast 1, Armagh 1, Down 0, Derry 0, Tyrone 0)
Border East	6	(Louth 3, Cavan 0, Monaghan 3)
West	11	(Mayo 6, Roscommon 2, Galway 6)
Border West	8	(Donegal 2, Leitrim 3, Sligo 4)
Southwest	12	(Kerry 6, Cork 8)
Southeast	9	(Wexford 8, Waterford 1, Carlow 0, Kilkenny 0, South Tipperary 0)
Britain	2	
Europe	10	
Asia	2	
Africa	4	
America	2	
Global	2	

Table 47: sample 3 geography – all publications (352 texts)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	46	
National maritime	21	
Dublin	92	
Mid-east	21	(Meath 14, Wicklow 5, Kildare 3)
Midlands	11	(Offaly 6, Laois 1, Longford 3, Westmeath 1)
Mid-West	27	(Clare 20, Limerick 11, North Tipperary 7)
Northern Ireland	3	(Antrim 3)
Border East	3	(Louth 3)
West	12	(Roscommon 2, Galway 3)
Border West	7	(Donegal 3, Sligo 2, Leitrim 2)
Southwest	55	(Kerry 13, Cork 42)
Southeast	28	(Kilkenny 8, Wexford 6, Waterford 15, South Tipperary 3)
Britain	16	
Europe	29	
Asia	1	
Africa	4	
America	9	
Australasia	3	
Global	3	

Table 48: sample 3 geography – *Irish Examiner* (based in Cork) (116 texts)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	17	
National maritime	8	
Dublin	9	
Mid-east	4	(Meath 4)
Midlands	2	(Offaly 2)
Mid-West	16	(Clare 7, Limerick 7, North Tipperary 4)
Border East	0	
West	5	(Galway, Mayo)
Border West	0	
Southwest	33	(Kerry 5, Cork 28)
Southeast	8	(Kilkenny 2, Waterford 6, Wexford 2)
N. Ireland	0	
Britain	4	
Europe	8	
Asia	1	
Africa	1	
America	4	
Australasia	1	

Table 49: sample 3 geography – Dublin-based publications (236 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	**29**	
National maritime	**13**	
Dublin	**83**	
Mid-east	**17**	(Meath 10, Wicklow 5, Kildare 3)
Midlands	**9**	(Offaly 4, Laois 1, Longford 3, Westmeath 1)
Mid-West	**11**	(Clare 3, Limerick 4, North Tipperary 3)
Northern Ireland	**3**	(Antrim 2, Belfast 1)
Border East	**3**	(Louth 3)
West	**11**	(Mayo 7, Galway 4)
Border West	**7**	(Donegal 3, Leitrim 2, Sligo 2)
Southwest	**22**	(Kerry 8, Cork 14)
Southeast	**20**	(Wexford 4, Waterford 10, Kilkenny 6, South Tipperary 3)
Britain	**12**	
Europe	**21**	
Asia	**0**	
Africa	**3**	
America	**3**	
Australasia	**2**	
Global	**1**	

Table 50: sample 4 geography – all publications (341 texts)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	**55**	
National maritime	**14**	
Dublin	**69**	
Mid-east	**36**	(Meath 15, Wicklow 17, Kildare 5)
Midlands	**3**	(Offaly 2, Westmeath 1)
Mid-West	**30**	(Clare 10, Limerick 10, North Tipperary 5)
Northern Ireland	**4**	(Belfast 1)
Border East	**4**	(Louth 1, Cavan 2, Monaghan 1)
West	**12**	(Galway 12)
Border West	**5**	(Donegal 1, Sligo 3, Leitrim 1)
Southwest	**46**	(Kerry 14, Cork 32)
Southeast	**19**	(Kilkenny 4, Carlow 2, Wexford 6, Waterford 7, South Tipperary 1)
Britain	**10**	
Europe	**29**	
Asia	**8**	
Africa	**3**	
America	**3**	
Australasia	**2**	
Global	**3**	

Table 51: sample 4 geography – *Irish Examiner* (based in Cork) (150 texts)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	**29**	
National maritime	**8**	
Dublin	**11**	
Mid-east	**7**	(Meath 4, Wicklow 3)
Midlands	**1**	(Offaly 1)
Mid-West	**9**	(Clare 4, Limerick 4, North Tipperary 1)
Border East	**0**	
West	**3**	(Galway 3)
Border West	**1**	(Sligo)
Southwest	**36**	(Kerry 8, Cork 28)
Southeast	**10**	(Kilkenny 2, Waterford 6, Wexford 1, Carlow 1)
N. Ireland	**0**	
Britain	**6**	
Europe	**15**	
Asia	**3**	
Africa	**2**	
America	**6**	
Australasia	**3**	
Global	**1**	

Table 52: sample 4 geography – Dublin-based publications (191 stories)

Locus	No. of texts	Breakdown
National	**24**	
National maritime	**6**	
Dublin	**58**	
Mid-east	**29**	(Meath 10, Wicklow 14, Kildare 5)
Midlands	**2**	(Offaly 1, Westmeath 1)
Mid-West	**19**	(Clare 10, Limerick 6, North Tipperary 4)
Northern Ireland	**2**	
Border East	**4**	(Cavan 2, Monaghan 1, Louth)
West	**9**	(Galway 9)
Border West	**4**	(Donegal 1, Leitrim 1, Sligo 2)
Southwest	**10**	(Kerry 6, Cork 4)
Southeast	**9**	(Wexford 5, Waterford 1, Kilkenny 2, South Tipperary 1, Wexford 1)
Britain	**4**	
Europe	**14**	
Asia	**5**	
Africa	**1**	
America	**2**	
Australasia	**2**	
Global	**2**	

Table 53: cumulative geography – all publications, 1190 texts

Locus	S1	S2	S3	S4	Total	Breakdown
National	38	47	46	53	**184**	
National maritime	7	11	21	14	**53**	
Dublin	24	68	92	69	**253**	
Mid-east	22	22	21	36	**101**	(Meath 48, Wicklow 38, Kildare 16)
Midlands	4	4	11	3	**22**	(Offaly 12, Laois 4, Westmeath 4, Longford 4)
Mid-West	21	18	27	28	**94**	(Clare 50, Limerick 32, North Tipperary 18)
N Ireland	6	2	3	4	**15**	(Belfast 6, Armagh 2, Fermanagh 3, Antrim 4, Down 1)
Border East	4	6	3	4	**17**	(Louth 9, Cavan 3, Monaghan 5)
West	5	12	16	12	**45**	(Mayo 17, Roscommon 5, Galway 27)
Border West	9	8	7	5	**29**	(Donegal 11, Sligo 13, Leitrim 6)
Southwest	31	39	55	46	**171**	(Kerry 51, Cork 127)
Southeast	13	13	28	19	**73**	(Kilkenny 17, Carlow 3, S Tipp 11, Wexford 20, Waterford 30)
BMW	1	0	0	0	**1**	
Britain	3	2	16	10	**31**	
Europe	13	13	29	29	**84**	
Asia	6	2	1	8	**17**	
Africa	2	6	4	3	**15**	
America	1	2	7	8	**18**	
Australasia	0	0	3	5	**8**	
Global	4	3	1	3	**11**	

Table 54: cumulative geography – *Irish Examiner* (based in Cork), 402 texts

Locus	S1	S2	S3	S4	Total	Breakdown
National	14	8	17	29	**68**	
National maritime	2	1	8	8	**19**	
Dublin	0	2	9	11	**22**	
Mid-east	3	0	4	7	**14**	(Meath 10, Wicklow 4)
Midlands	0	0	2	1	**3**	(Offaly 3)
Mid-West	12	9	16	9	**46**	(Clare 24, Limerick 18, North Tipp 5)
Northern Ireland	3	1	0	0	**4**	(Belfast 2, Fermanagh 1, Down 1)
Border East	0	0	0	0	**0**	
West	0	1	5	3	**9**	(Mayo 1, Galway 7, Roscommon 2)
Border West	2	0	0	1	**3**	(Donegal 2, Sligo 1)
Southwest	24	27	33	36	**120**	(Kerry 27, Cork 97)
Southeast	8	4	8	10	**30**	(Kilkenny 6, S Tipp 5, Carlow 2, Waterford 18, Wexford 3)
Britain	0	0	4	6	**10**	
Europe	4	3	8	15	**30**	
Asia	1	0	1	3	**5**	
Africa	0	2	1	2	**5**	
America	0	0	4	6	**10**	
Australasia	0	0	1	3	**4**	
Global	1	1	0	1	**3**	

Table 55: cumulative *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* (Dublin), 788 texts

Locus	S1	S2	S3	S4	Total	Breakdown
National	24	39	29	24	**116**	
National maritime	5	10	13	6	**34**	
Dublin	24	66	83	58	**231**	
Mid-east	19	22	17	29	**87**	(Meath 38, Wicklow 34, Kildare 16)
Midlands	4	4	9	2	**19**	(Offaly 9, Laois 4 Westmeath 4, Longford 4)
Mid-West	9	9	11	19	**48**	(Clare 26, Limerick 14, North Tipperary 13)
Northern Ireland	3	1	3	4	**11**	(Fermanagh 2, Antrim 4, Belfast 4, Armagh 2)
Border East	4	6	3	4	**17**	(Louth 9, Cavan 3, Monaghan 5)
West	5	11	11	9	**36**	(Mayo 16, Roscommon 3, Galway 20)
Border West	7	8	7	4	**26**	(Donegal 9, Leitrim 6, Sligo 12)
Southwest	7	12	22	10	**51**	(Kerry 24, Cork 30)
Southeast	5	9	20	9	**43**	(Kilkenny 11, S Tipp 6, Wexford 17, Waterford 12, Carlow 1)
BMW	1	0	0	0	**1**	
Britain	3	2	12	4	**21**	
Europe	9	10	21	14	**54**	
Asia	5	2	0	5	**12**	
Africa	2	4	3	1	**10**	
America	1	3	3	2	**9**	
Australasia	0	1	2	2	**5**	
Arctic	0	0	0	1	**1**	
Global	3	2	2	2	**9**	

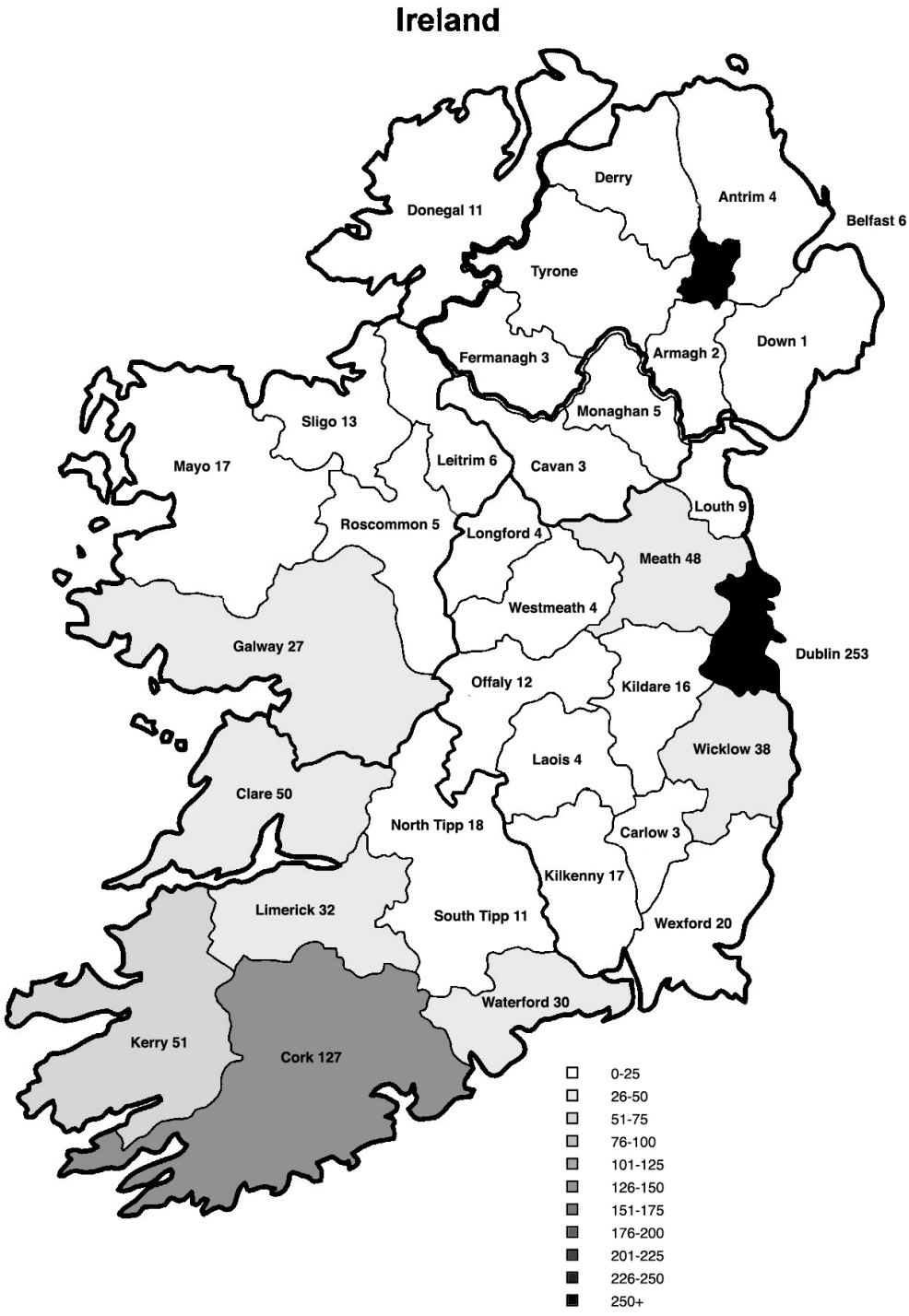
Table 56: cumulative *Irish Independent*, 308 texts

Locus	S1	S2	S3	S4	Total	Breakdown
National	13	17	11	11	**52**	
National maritime	2	2	4	1	**9**	
Dublin	6	19	29	11	**65**	
Mid-east	9	6	8	12	**35**	(Meath 17, Wicklow 10, Kildare 8)
Midlands	1	1	5	1	**8**	(Offaly 3, Laois 3, Longford 2)
Mid-West	3	3	3	11	**20**	(Clare 11, Limerick 6, North Tipperary 3)
Northern Ireland	2	1	1	0	**4**	(Fermanagh 1, Antrim 2, Belfast 2, Armagh 2)
Border East	2	1	2	2	**7**	(Louth 3, Cavan 2, Monaghan 2)
West	1	4	6	4	**15**	(Mayo 7, Roscommon 1, Galway 9)
Border West	2	4	1	3	**10**	(Donegal 2, Leitrim 3, Sligo 6)
Southwest	2	2	7	3	**14**	(Kerry 5, Cork 10)
Southeast	2	6	7	3	**18**	(Kilkenny 3, S Tipp 2, Wexford 8, Waterford 7, Carlow 1)
BMW	0	0	0	0	**0**	
Britain	1	1	6	2	**10**	
Europe	6	4	7	5	**22**	
Asia	2	2	0	2	**6**	
Africa	1	2	2	1	**6**	
America	1	3	1	2	**7**	
Australasia	0	1	1	2	**4**	
Arctic	0	0	0	1	**1**	
Global	0	0	1	0	**1**	

Table 57: cumulative *The Irish Times*, 480 texts

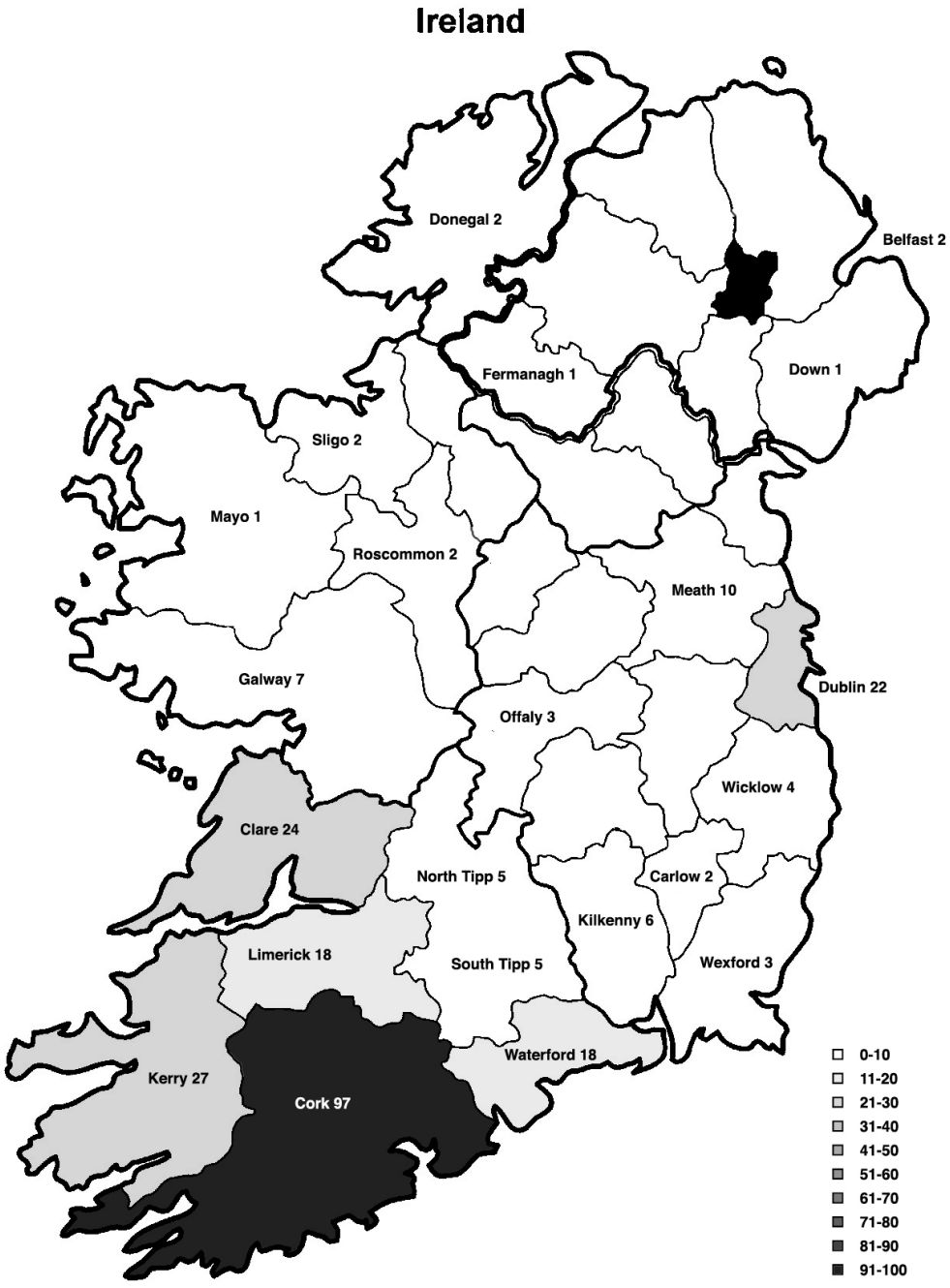
Locus	S1	S2	S3	S4	Total	Breakdown
National	11	22	18	13	**64**	
National maritime	3	8	9	5	**25**	
Dublin	18	47	54	47	**166**	
Mid-east	10	16	9	17	**52**	(Meath 21, Wicklow 24, Kildare 8)
Midlands	3	3	4	1	**11**	(Offaly 6, Laois 1, Westmeath 4, Longford 2)
Mid-West	6	6	8	8	**28**	(Clare 15, Limerick 8, North Tipperary 10)
Northern Ireland	1	0	2	4	**7**	(Fermanagh 1, Antrim 2, Belfast 2)
Border East	2	5	1	2	**10**	(Louth 6, Cavan 1, Monaghan 3)
West	4	7	5	5	**21**	(Mayo 9, Roscommon 2, Galway 11)
Border West	5	4	6	1	**16**	(Donegal 7, Leitrim 3, Sligo 6)
Southwest	5	10	15	7	**37**	(Kerry 19, Cork 20)
Southeast	3	3	13	6	**25**	(Kilkenny 8, S Tipp 4, Wexford 9, Waterford 5)
BMW	1	0	0	0	**1**	
Britain	2	1	6	2	**11**	
Europe	3	6	14	9	**32**	
Asia	3	0	0	3	**6**	
Africa	1	2	1	0	**4**	
America	0	0	2	0	**2**	
Australasia	0	0	1	0	**1**	
Global	3	2	1	2	**8**	

Map 1: cumulative geography – all publications



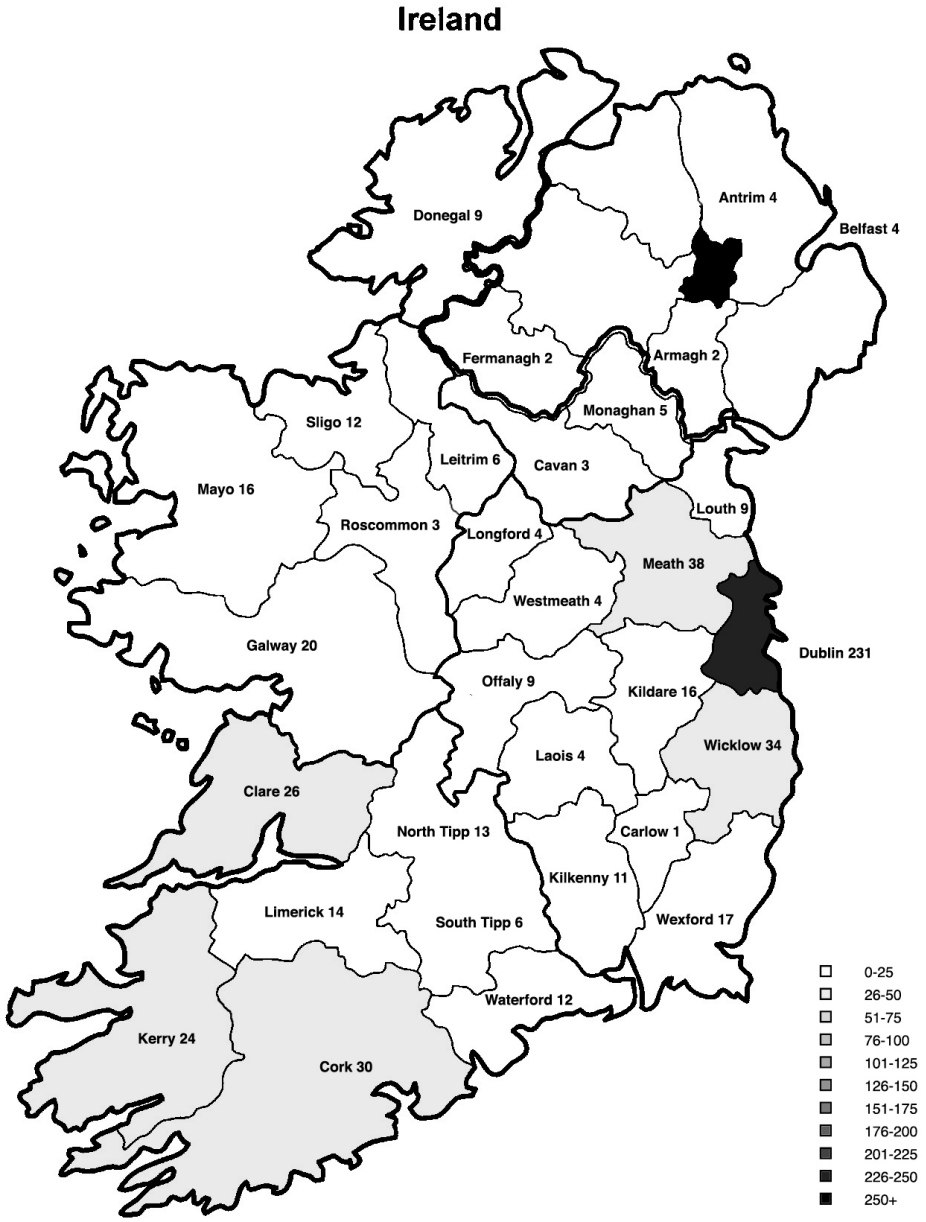
Map 2: cumulative geography – *Irish Examiner*

Based in Cork – 402 texts, of which 251 refer to specific places on the island of Ireland

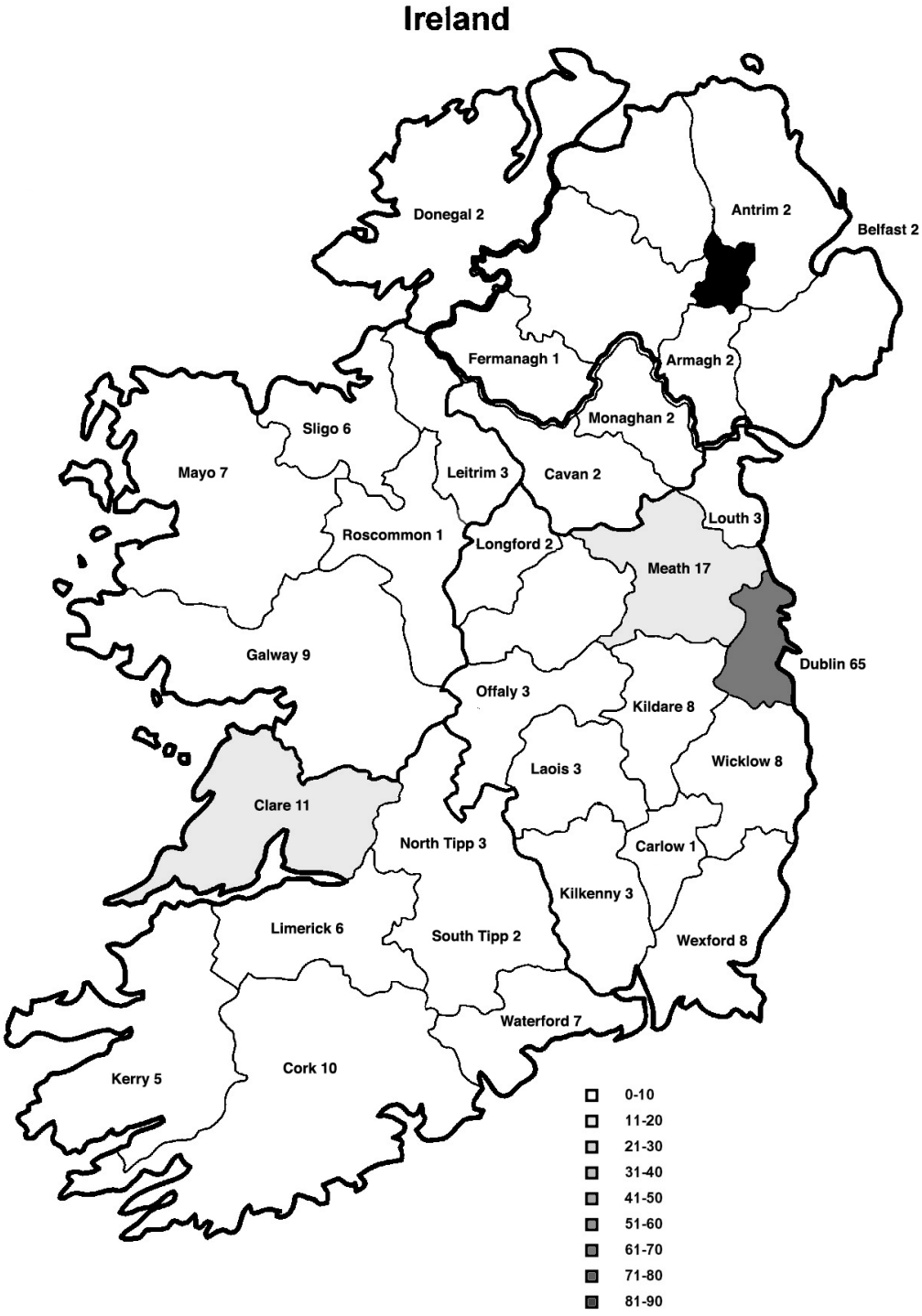


Map 3: cumulative geography – Dublin-based publications

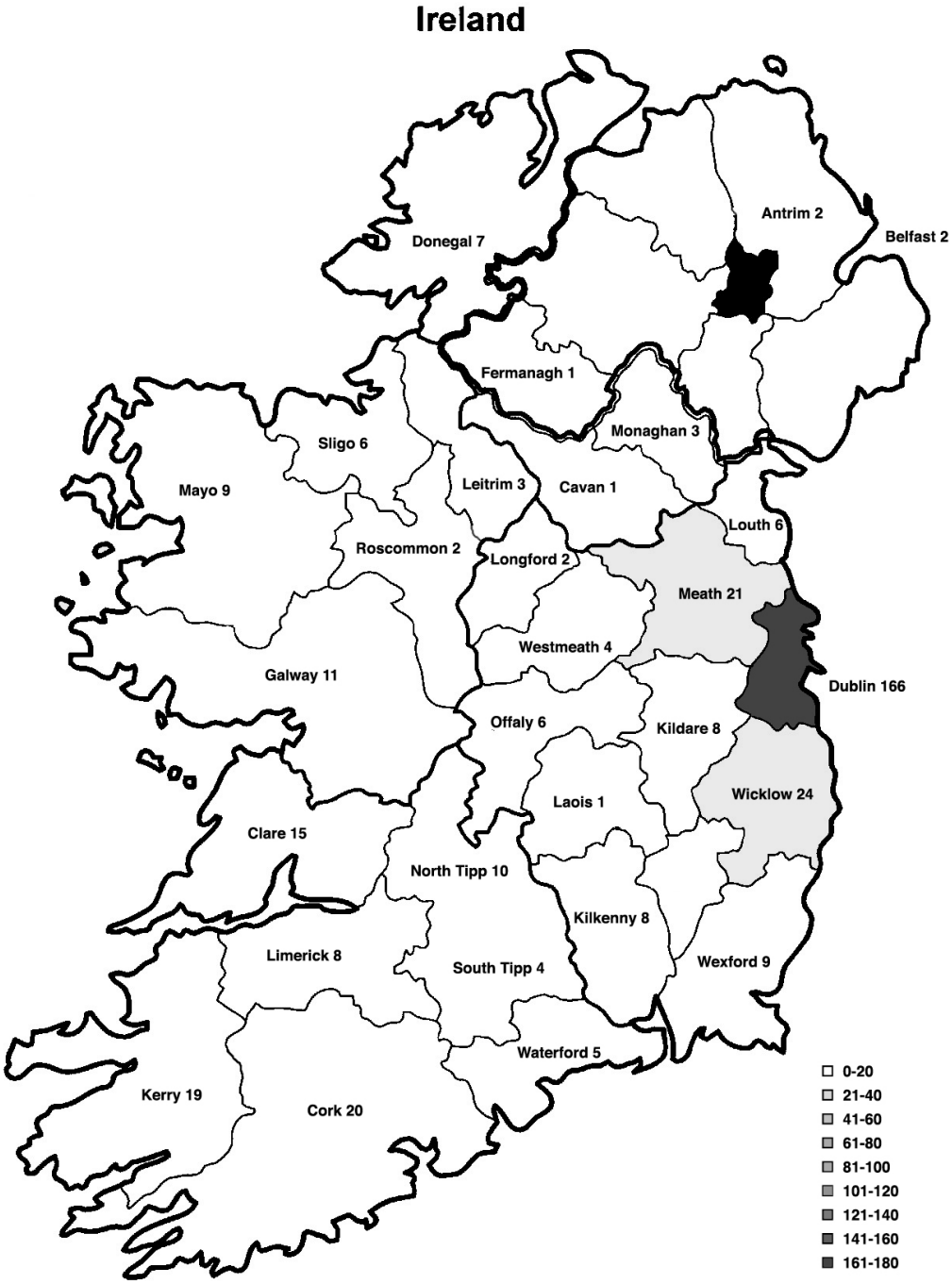
Irish Independent and *The Irish Times* – 788 texts, of which 561 refer to specific places on the island of Ireland



Map 4: cumulative geography – *Irish Independent* – 308 texts



Map 5: cumulative geography – *The Irish Times* – 480 texts



19. Claims and warrants, preferred reading/discursive ascendancy

Of the 1190 texts, all but seven (7) make claims about heritage. The exceptions are decorative photographs or very brief information pieces advertising some forthcoming heritage event. Just 53 texts make secondary claims, and five make tertiary claims. There is little correlation between texts making secondary claims and the number of sources relied upon; indeed, of the 53 stories, 25 rely on a single source and the secondary, usually bipolar, reading has been incorporated intertextually or inserted by the journalist. Thirty-two (32) of the 53 texts making secondary claims are coded negative – that is to say, the primary claim/preferred reading is negative to heritage. Twelve (12) of these 32 texts make reinforcing secondary claims that are also negative to heritage. The remaining 20 make counterbalancing claims that are positive to heritage. Twenty-one (21) of the 53 texts with secondary claims make primary claims that are positive to heritage. Eleven of these texts make reinforcing secondary claims that are also positive to heritage. Ten make counterbalancing claims that are negative to heritage. In two of these later texts, the negative claim is confined to the headline.

The 1183 texts that make claims about heritage make 348 distinct claims, of which 333 are primary claims constituting a preferred reading and 15 are secondary claims. This contrasts with the 952 distinct subject matters dealt with by the 1190 texts in the sample. On average, each subject matter is repeated every five texts, while each claim is repeated every 1.4 texts. In fact, a great many claims occur infrequently while a small number of claims are repeated again and again. Some 198 claims are unique, while another 102 received two iterations. All together, 577 claims each receive nine iterations or fewer. At the other end of the scale, the 23 most frequently repeated claims account for 608 iterations. They are tabulated in Table 58 overleaf.

Table 58: most frequently iterated claims

Pos.	Claim	Iterations
1.	Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity	146
2.	Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage	47
3.	Heritage gives rise to conflict	45
4.	Heritage is in conflict with human safety	33
5.	Heritage is worth money	30
6.	Heritage is too costly	30
7.	Heritage is intrinsically valuable	26
8.	Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction	24
9.	Heritage is to be consumed	23
10.	Heritage is to be exploited to the maximum possible extent	20
11.	Heritage is interesting	20
12.	Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest	20
13.	Heritage regulations are a costly and unnecessary inconvenience	19
14.	Heritage is the victim of conflict	17
15.	Heritage is to be exploited	16
16.	Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit	15
17.	Heritage cachet survives destruction of heritage	14
18.	Heritage is subservient to economic considerations	12
19.	Heritage is exotic and interesting	11
20.	Development improves heritage	10
21.	Heritage is in conflict with itself	10
22.	Heritage is worth saving	10
23.	Loss of heritage is inevitable	10

Inspection of the most frequently made claims reveals that though several are controversial and represent extreme views, few are entirely unexpected (though their frequency may be). Nevertheless, because pains have been taken not to be over-reductive and to mark even subtle differences between similar claims, some general discussion is called for, including examples. The majority of texts making the most often-repeated claim, that heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity, are property aditorials asserting that such and such a property is more desirable and, therefore, more marketable and valuable, because of a heritage attribute. Examples chosen at random include 'Your chance to buy a slice of local history with Red Abbey townhouse' (*IE*, 16/10/2004) and 'Hidden gem in Dublin 6: Period detail is very much in evidence in this Victorian residence, guiding €1.4m' (*II*, 08/04/2005). The second claim, that development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage, appears in texts that are more evenly distributed across genres and sections, with 19 of 47 appearing in sections designated 'news' and 24 of 47 appearing in sections designated 'property', 'business' or 'development'. Examples include 'Lift-off at convent site' (*IE*, 14/10/2004) and 'Over 160 homes plan for Kingscourt, Cavan' (*II*, 24/02/2006), both of which hail plans to demolish historic buildings and develop the sites. Claim No.3 (in order of frequency), that heritage *gives rise* to conflict, is distinguished from claim No.14, that heritage is a

victim of controversy. The former texts contain specific claims that heritage in general or a particular heritage object has brought conflict upon itself or is itself responsible for the conflict arising from the desire or attempt to conserve it. Examples of the former include 'United German village remains divided' (*IT*, 10/10/2005), in which the Berlin Wall itself (rather than any human agent) is blamed for the controversy over attempts to preserve a section of it, and 'Move to Transport no surprise after heated fisheries row' (*IE*, 15/02/06) in which the intractability of the fish-stocks problem gets the blame for Environment Minister Martin Cullen losing his job. Examples of the latter include 'Orange roughy in the depths of despair' (*IT*, 16/10/2004) and 'Landmark Jesuit church in Limerick sold for €4m' (*IT*, 07/03/2006). The exemplar of claim No.4, that heritage is in conflict with human safety, is the type of text in which migratory wild birds are asserted to pose a threat to human health by spreading avian flu. As it happens, these stories are both erroneous in identifying migratory wild birds as a significant vector in the spread of the disease and exaggerated in their assertion of a significant threat to humans – but that is neither here nor there in terms of the process of logging claims made. The misrepresentation of wild birds in this type of story is discussed further elsewhere in this dissertation.

Claim No.5, heritage is worth money, is exemplified by stories on the auction or sale of historic artefacts or *objets d'art*, such as 'Van Gogh painting 'to fetch more than €40m'(*IE*, 25/03/2006) and 'Auctioneers expect Titanic bid to hit €53,000 for rare watch' (*II*, 15/04/2005). Claim No.6, that heritage is too costly, is typically made in texts about civil-engineering projects that have run foul of conservation laws ('€30m excavation bill for M-way via Tara' – *II*, 05/10/2004), about cost overruns attributed to 'unforeseen' archaeological finds ('Flood relief budget overflows by €35m' – *II*, 08/10/2004) or in which the sale of historic properties to developers is justified on the grounds that upkeep is too costly ('Historic hospital sells for €5.2m' – *II*, 16/10/2004; 'Gosford Castle in Armagh sells for £1,000' – *IT*, 10/01/2006). Claim No.7, that heritage is intrinsically valuable, is most commonly made in nature columns ('Bumble bees get buzz out of pussy willow' – *IE*, 04/04/2005) and letters to the editor ('Decline in salmon stocks' – *IT*, 06/10/2005). Claim No.8, that heritage ought to be exploited even to the point of destruction, is predominantly made in two types of story in the corpus of texts: stories arguing that the maximum value ought to be extracted from the destruction of remaining salmon stocks by allowing tourist anglers rather than

commercial fishermen to fish them out ('The expensive catch in drift netting' – *II*, 07/10/2005); and stories urging the purchase and destruction by development of heritage sites that have hitherto escaped development precisely because of their historical value. In 'Iron Duke's birthplace guide priced at €4.7m' (IE, 13/10/2005), for example, the heritage cachet is laid claim to (more than half of the text is devoted to the life of the hero of Waterloo) but the castle is represented as an inconvenience and developers are urged to buy the property as a land bank 'so close to Dublin'.

Claim No.10, that heritage is to be exploited to the maximum possible extent, is a variant of Claim No.8 but does not specifically call for the destruction of the heritage object under discussion. Claims No.9, that heritage is to be consumed; No.11, that heritage is interesting; No.15, that heritage is to be exploited *simplicitur*; and No.19, that heritage is exotic (a claim similar to No.11 but typically applied to exotic wildlife in foreign countries) are so straightforward and banal as not to require examples. Claim No.12, that heritage proponents are acting against the national interest, is exemplified by stories such as 'An Taisce asked to take focus off once-off housing' (*IT*, 07/10/2004) and 'More than 100 objections expected to dual carriageway' (*IE*, 11/04/2004) in which objectors to development, either private or public, are accused of sabotaging the economy. Examples of claim No.13, that heritage regulations are a costly and unnecessary inconvenience[12], can be found in texts such as 'TD looks for speedy end to fishing fraud inquiry' (*IT*, 12/04/2005) and 'IFA suspends Teagasc support over nitrates' (*IE*, 19/01/2006). In both of these cases, as in others, the EU is represented as the villain of the piece for attempting to enforce conservation measures.

Claim No.16, that heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit, is made in texts such as 'Filthiest river gets clean-up in push to lure salmon tourists' (*II*, 25/03/2006), in which it is argued that there is no merit in restoring 'Ireland's most polluted river' unless the project generates money. Claim No.17, that heritage cachet survives the destruction of heritage, is made in a number of stories, typically property aditorials, in which the former existence of a heritage object on the site (including some in which the heritage object was demolished to make way for the new development) is tendered as a selling point for the development. In 'A home with a history' (*II*,

[12] Note: this claim is quite distinct from the claim that heritage itself (rather than heritage regulations) is a costly inconvenience

07/10/2005), for example, brand-new apartments at the Brabazon Hall development in Meath are sold largely on the basis that they stand on the site of an historic brewery, demolished to make way for them. Claim No.18, that heritage is subservient to economic considerations, is exemplified by a number of texts dealing with a fire that destroyed a large and significant chunk of city-centre Victorian Belfast, in which the heritage aspect is minimized or omitted entirely, while the loss of Christmas trade is emphasised. Typical is 'Christmas stock destroyed in mystery city centre blaze' (*II*, 15/10/2004).

Claim No. 20, that development improves heritage, is most often made in the context of typically State-sponsored or grant-aided projects to add tourism facilities such as car parks, toilets and interpretative centres, often obtrusive and controversial, to heritage sites in order to generate revenue – not merely for the upkeep of the site but for the local private economy. Typical are 'Regions fare well in NDP spending' (*IT*, 24/02/2006), in an aditorial feature paid for by the National Development Plan, that claims the NDP has 'improved' no fewer than 47 heritage sites; and 'Stand at the cliff-face of excitement' (*II*, 03/04/2006), an uncritical puff for the controversial cliff-top interpretative centre at the Cliffs of Moher in Co. Clare. Claim No.21, that heritage is in conflict with itself, typically concerns wildlife and appears in texts that are couched in the 'nature, red in tooth and claw' trope, often accompanied by the moral that, no matter how hard mankind toils to save certain species, they will uncooperatively persist in killing each other. A second common trope is that of 'foreign invaders', such as the grey squirrel, 'wiping out' 'native' species such as the red (in fact, both subspecies were recent introductions from Britain, the red [1820] predating the grey [1911] by less than a century). Examples: 'Red alert: project aims to protect native squirrels from grey competitors' (*IT*, 15/10/2005) and 'Alien invaders: "non-natives" threatening biological diversity' (*IT*, 03/04/2006).

Claim No.22, that heritage is worth saving, is made in three letters (one on Tara and two on salmon stocks) and seven news stories. Three of the news stories are straightforward reports of a Bord Pleanála decision to uphold a decision not to allow a wind farm, on grounds of visual impact on the landscape. Two are single-perspective stories on opposition to a proposed telecoms mast on identical grounds: in one, the single source is a Benedictine monk; in the other, Defence Minister Willie O'Dea, in whose

constituency the mast is putatively sited. Finally, Claim No.23, that loss of heritage is inevitable, is exemplified by two near-identical stories on the same subject ('Expert calls for new research centre' – *IE*, 24/02/2006; and 'Call for integrated research centre' – *IT*, 24/02/2006), in which a former director of Teagasc, the State farm advisory body, calls for the setting up of such a centre to contest the necessity of EU conservation measures such as the nitrates directive. A key quote in both articles claims: 'Such a centre is a prerequisite to having the necessary knowledge base to achieve the optimal balance between economic development and protection of Ireland's rich natural and cultural heritage.' In other words, economic development and protection of heritage are mutually exclusive, and the claim that a balance must be achieved necessarily entails the loss of some heritage.

What the table of most frequently iterated claims (Table 58 above, Page 169) reveals is a high level of homogeneity and redundancy in the heritage discourse: 1,190 texts are transmitted, covering 952 discrete subject matters but more than half of those texts, 608, repeat the same 23 claims over and over again. Lest it be imagined that this frequency is to any extent the result of the study adopting a more reductive approach to the logging of claims than to the logging of subject matters, a single example will suffice to show how subtly differentiated are the claims as logged. The table records 12 iterations of Claim No.18, that heritage is subservient to economic considerations. Close variants of this claim present in the discourse include: heritage is subservient to… development, infrastructure, the environment, the profit imperative, energy demand, the market, social considerations, science, client requirements, property rights, celebrity and human safety. Between them, these variant claims account for 53 iterations, but any temptation to conflate even variants as close as these has been rigorously resisted.

It will be noted that the 23 most frequently occurring claims above split evenly into those that are negative towards heritage and those that are positive. See Tables 59 and 60 overleaf.

Table 59: most frequent claims – negative (12)

Pos.	Claim	Iterations
2.	Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage	47
3.	Heritage gives rise to conflict	45
4.	Heritage is in conflict with human safety	33
6.	Heritage is too costly	30
8.	Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction	24
12.	Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest	20
13.	Heritage regulations are a costly and unnecessary inconvenience	19
17.	Heritage cachet survives destruction of heritage	14
18.	Heritage is subservient to economic requirements	12
20.	Development improves heritage	10
21.	Heritage is in conflict with itself	10
23.	Loss of heritage is inevitable	10
		274

Table 60: most frequent claims – positive (11)

Pos.	Claim	Iterations
1.	Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity	146
5.	Heritage is worth money	30
7.	Heritage is intrinsically valuable	26
9.	Heritage is to be consumed	23
10.	Heritage is to be exploited to the maximum possible extent	20
11.	Heritage is interesting	20
14.	Heritage is the victim of conflict	17
15.	Heritage is to be exploited	16
16.	Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit	15
19.	Heritage is exotic and interesting	11
22.	Heritage is worth saving	10
		334

Categorizing the same 23 most frequently made claims by representational paradigm reveals the distribution of iterations among the paradigms. It will be seen, for example, that while four of the most frequent claims fall within the 'heritage as intrinsically good' paradigm, they account for only 67 iterations. In contrast, the six most frequent claims that fall within the consumption paradigm are iterated 250 times. In Table 61 overleaf, 'Pos.' refers to that claim's position in Table 58 (Page 169).

Table 61: most frequently made claims by paradigm

Pos.	Claim	Iterations
Development		
2.	Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage	47
17.	Heritage cachet survives destruction of heritage	14
18.	Heritage is subservient to economic requirements	12
20.	Development improves heritage	10
23.	Loss of heritage is inevitable	10
		93
Conflict		
3.	Heritage gives rise to conflict	45
4.	Heritage is in conflict with human safety	33
6.	Heritage is too costly	30
8.	Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction	24
12.	Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest	20
13.	Heritage regulations are a costly and unnecessary inconvenience	19
14.	Heritage is the victim of conflict	17
21.	Heritage is in conflict with itself	10
		198
Consumption		
1.	Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity	146
5.	Heritage is worth money	30
9.	Heritage is to be consumed	23
10.	Heritage is to be exploited to the maximum possible extent	20
15.	Heritage is to be exploited	16
16.	Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit	15
		250
Heritage		
7.	Heritage is intrinsically valuable	26
11.	Heritage is interesting	20
19.	Heritage is exotic and interesting	11
22.	Heritage is worth saving	10
		67

In 698 texts, the claim is warranted on assumption. In 219 texts, the claim is warranted on authority, that is to say, on the citation of an authority figure – either an expert in the field or, more likely, a person, such as a Government minister, with *ex officio* authority. In 164 cases, claims were warranted on internal evidence. In 165 cases, the claims were not internally warranted (total 1,241: 1,183 primary claims, 53 secondary, five tertiary; in a handful of texts, claims were warranted by more than one method).

Table 62: warrants by paradigm

	Development	Conflict	Consumption	Heritage
Assumption	191	198	345	109
Authority	57	112	56	52
Internal evidence	35	102	49	49
Unwarranted	52	104	54	5

Conclusions from the results

Even in this relatively raw form, the data have revealed a great deal about the nature of the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers, about what things are sayable and unsayable

about heritage, about who is saying them and in whose interest; and they yield important pointers as to why heritage is being represented – or misrepresented – in the way that it is.

We can already assert that the transmitted message varies from day to day, section to section and genre to genre; and that this variation and its attendant fluctuation from negativity to qualified positivity depends essentially on the spatial requirements of the advertising department.

Almost 300 different authors contributing heritage-related stories (and 400-plus unsigned texts), covering more than 900 discrete subject matters points to a disjointed and fractured discourse lacking context and overview. None of the newspapers had a designated heritage editor, correspondent or even reporter. The most prolific authors included agriculture, business, property and development correspondents, none of whom might be expected to have a particular professional affinity to heritage concerns. Of 13 stories signed by agriculture correspondents, for instance, only two (15%) were positive towards heritage.

Only 16 of 189 illustrations were live-action photographs of unexpected events. Almost a third were provided by a source or posed at a photo-opportunity created by a source. The ability of sources to provide suitable illustrations or the opportunities for taking suitable photographs was a significant determinant in how heritage was represented.

Heritage-related property aditorials are given far more display proportionate to the text than heritage news stories, skewing the overall message transmitted towards the consumption paradigm, *i.e.* ‘heritage is valuable insofar as it can be consumed or exchanged’.

Genres do not generally inappropriately cross sectional boundaries (as between advertising sections and news sections, for instance) but genre-borrowings do: property aditorials, for example, gain generic verisimilitude by imitating the genre of hard-news stories.

A slight majority of texts, 53% are coded positive towards heritage but positivity drops to 38% in the more authoritative hard-news sections; and the positivity in the non-news sections is qualified by the dominance of the consumption paradigm *i.e.* 'heritage is valuable insofar as it can be consumed or exchanged'. Negative stories are given more weight and significance.

A majority of texts rely on a single source, or two sources supporting a single perspective. A majority of sources on all sides of the discourse are elite sources. The data suggest that journalists are less trusting of sources from heritage bodies, or expect their readers to be less trusting.

There were 247 texts containing significant omissions, 84% of them relying on a single source or encompassing a single perspective. The majority fell into the consumption and/or development paradigms and excluded or omitted the heritage element, particularly where there was a potential for conflict. A number of discourse-wide omissions were identified: the absence of any attempt to explain the archaeological, mythological or historical significance of Tara, for instance, or the lack of any attempt to explain the purpose and putative benefits of the EU Nitrates Directive. Again, the data suggest that the presence of a specialist heritage editor or correspondent to co-ordinate coverage of heritage affairs might go some way towards rectifying these omissions.

The preponderance of stories relating to the built heritage, as opposed to landscape and biodiversity, taken together with the geographical evidence, suggests that the discourse is dominated by an urban perspective centred particularly on Dublin and Cork. This means that readers in the remainder of the country – where no such conditions exist – are repeatedly reading about developmental pressures, the dearth of zoned building land, overloaded planning services, high demand for residential and commercial property, and calls for green spaces and institutional lands to be sacrificed 'in the national interest'. Plotting the geographical locus of each text onto the map of Ireland reveals that the discourse is strongly biased towards coverage of the core circulation and advertising market areas of the three newspapers.

The average placement of heritage texts on Page 11 of the publications reveals that editors consider the heritage discourse to be of relatively low importance compared with, say, crime, politics and economic affairs.

A large and diverse collection of celebrity figures and cultural icons, ranging from *Jaws* to Adolf Hitler and Roger Moore to the Titanic, are recruited to help sell heritage for consumption, but are rarely employed to support the case for conservation.

Identified linguistic choices and the general absence of actants and reactants in headlines point to a strong tendency towards reification in the heritage discourse – a tendency to disguise or omit human agency and to attribute human actions, such as the destruction of heritage for profitable building purposes, to natural, unstoppable processes.

The majority of heritage stories, around 56%, were 'say' stories – stories in which someone said that something had happened, was happening or was about to happen. Of the actual events covered in the remainder of the stories, almost half, 47%, were managed events such as press conferences, demonstrations and publication launches. The data suggest a strong potential for manipulation of the discourse by interested sources.

Analysis of claims made about heritage reveals a high level of homogeneity and redundancy in the heritage discourse: 1,190 texts are transmitted, covering 952 discrete subject matters but more than half of those texts, 608, repeat the same 23 claims about heritage over and over again. In only 165 cases were the claims warranted on evidence and argument contained within the story itself. In 219 texts, the claims were warranted on the say-so of an authority figure or expert. In the remainder, claims were either warranted on assumption (698) or not internally warranted at all.

In the next chapter, the implications of the content analysis results will be teased out still further to reveal the extent of the ideological misrepresentation of heritage that dominates the print-media discourse, and to map the ideological locus of the discourse. The conclusions will lead us on to the second part of the study, the survey of journalists.

5. CONTENT AND CRITIQUE: THE MEDIA ANALYSIS REVIEWED

As explained in detail above (see Page 52), I have grouped the texts into Y or vertical axes, 'news paradigms', along a continuum from 'heritage' to 'development', on the basis of the ideological or representational choices made within each text, as evidenced by the claims and assumptions it makes about heritage. Thus, for example, if a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is intrinsically valuable, it belongs in what I have labelled the 'heritage' paradigm and goes to the leftmost or western extreme of the representational continuum, as do all texts making similar claims or assumptions that share the same ideological world-view. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is valuable largely or wholly to the extent that it can be exchanged or consumed, it belongs in what I have labelled the 'consumption' paradigm and takes its place one step further eastwards along the representational continuum. If a text makes the claim or assumption, either declared or implicit, that heritage is the victim of conflict or generates conflict (for instance, all of the avian flu-related stories in the corpus of texts make the claim that heritage, in the shape of wildlife, is in conflict with human health) it belongs in what I have labelled the 'conflict' paradigm, at the centre of he continuum. Each news paradigm comprises a set of claims, assumptions and implications, categorized by one 'master-claim'. While each individual news paradigm is therefore categorical and mutually exclusive, any text may contain two or more such master-claims or modified versions thereof, locating that particular text between two news paradigms on the X axis.

When all the texts were analyzed for claims about heritage and logged onto the continuum, the heritage discourse revealed itself as being located across an ideological spectrum of paradigms, ranging from heritage-as-intrinsically-good through consumption and conflict to developmental declinism, sustainable development and development-as-intrinsically-good. In the first two samples, the great majority of texts – 473 of 497 (95%) – fell wholly or partly within three of these paradigms, yielding a much simpler, and roughly symmetrical, spectrum thus:

Diagram 1: samples 1 & 2 continuum

Consumption	→	CONFLICT	←	Development
146		**230**		**130**

(Note: the 473 texts yielded 506 claims about heritage, as some texts made more than one claim.)

A very substantial increase in the number of consumption-paradigm texts in the third and fourth samples, however – due mainly to a substantial increase in the number of property aditorials at the height of the property boom in autumn 2005 and spring 2006 – yielded a somewhat different shape to the spectrum:

Diagram 2: samples 3 & 4

Consumption	→	CONFLICT	←	Development
330		**245**		**186**

Diagram 3: cumulative

Consumption	→	CONFLICT	←	Development
485		**475**		**316**

There was also an increase in Samples 3 & 4 in the number of texts falling outside of the three main paradigms – 106 in Sample 3 and 69 in Sample 4 – as the discourse took on a slightly more nuanced character. Overall, 1053 of 1190 texts (88%) slotted into one of the three main paradigms, as compared with 95% in the Samples 1 & 2. Redistributing these other paradigms on either side of the conflict fault line gives a simplified diagram as follows:

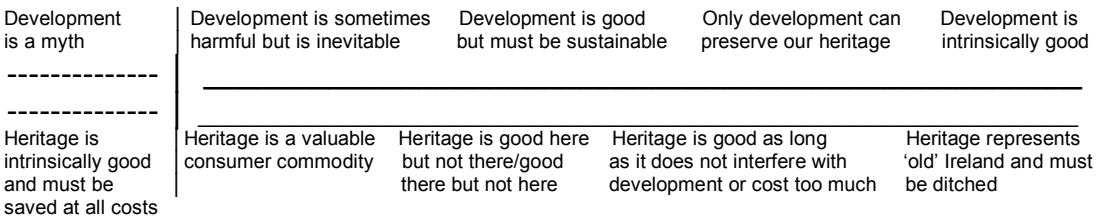
Diagram 4: simplified

Consumption	→	CONFLICT	←	Development
(plus heritage)		(plus compromise)		(plus sustainable development, crime, cost)
635		**490**		**429**

Not one of the 475 ‘conflict’ texts, or, indeed, of the 1190 heritage texts, attempts to contextualize the others or gives an overview of the discourse. Indeed, each text behaves as if it were not part of a heritage-development conflict discourse at all, but a once-off, stand-alone discourse on this road or that house or salmon stocks or the virtues of Prague as a heritage tourism destination. Texts lying outside the ‘conflict’ news paradigm, that is to say those falling within the heritage, consumption, development, sustainable development, cost and crime news paradigms, (note that these form a majority: 700 of 1,190 texts) behave as if there were no conflict; and those falling within the ‘conflict’ paradigm set up a series of bipolar oppositions up to and including ‘heritage versus development’ but including also ‘locals versus outsiders’, ‘Celtic Tiger versus traditional Ireland’, ‘traditional fishing versus aquaculture’, ‘consensus versus dissidence’, ‘archaeology versus infrastructure’ *etc*. Yet, all but a handful of these bipolar oppositions can be plotted on either side of an axis drawn between ‘heritage’ and ‘development’. One might say, therefore, that this is a covert discourse; or an amorphous discourse that, perhaps, is in a process of crystallising around the ‘heritage versus development’ fracture line. It should also be noted that this same axis of conflict also represents the line of ‘compromise’ or ‘reconciliation’. Only 15 texts in the corpus of 1,190 dealt with any heritage controversy in terms of compromise or reconciliation.

Representations of ‘heritage’ as intrinsically good and worth preserving at whatever cost; and ‘heritage’ as something that must be sacrificed or replaced, form the extremities of the heritage spectrum. ‘Development’ as intrinsically good, indeed ‘natural’ and beyond question, regardless of impacts; and development as intrinsically evil form the extremities of a parallel and inverse ‘development’ continuum, as in Diagram 5.

Diagram 5: the double continuum



However, in the sample analysed, 87% of representations of heritage fall east (to the right) of the vertical line, and representations of heritage lying west (left) of the line are

confined to ‘nature notes’ columns and contributions to the letters pages; while on the development continuum, there are no representations of development west of the vertical line: not a single text fundamentally questions the inevitability of development or the economic growth imperative.

Effectively, therefore, the heritage continuum begins in the ‘consumption’ paradigm. Typically, representations of heritage as a commodity to be consumed appear in the feature and magazine sections, and in the property pages. Travel features frequently ‘sell’ destinations – particularly overseas destinations – exclusively in terms of their heritage content. In the sample, Rome, Turin, Brittany, Delft, Lisbon, the Canal du Midi, Tuscany, Africa, southeast Asia, Cyprus, Cologne, the Ukraine, Corfu, the Baltic states, Death Valley, Luxembourg, Boston, Valencia, Galicia and even Afghanistan are recommended as tourism destinations purely on the basis of their historical, architectural or wildlife heritage, as are destinations in Cork, Crossmaglen, Connacht, Fermanagh and Down. Only one text considers the impact upon heritage of tourism itself – a story predicting that the movement of Alpine ski resorts to higher altitudes will damage a landscape heritage of world importance – but the effect is blamed on global warming and the receding snowline rather than on the tourism provider/consumer. In the magazine and feature pages of the target publications, heritage is represented unambiguously as a commodity to be consumed rather than as intrinsically valuable or, with one exception, as an industry in which to work.

Note also that the destinations are foreign and even exotic (Delft, Vietnam and Laos, the Canal du Midi, Afghanistan, Africa, Death Valley). This, of course, can partly be explained by an appeal to the social status and spending power of the publications’ target readerships – and/or the desire to convince potential advertisers of the social status and spending power of the publications’ actual readerships; and there are news-value arguments for featuring destinations that, unlike Benidorm or Tenerife, have not yet become commonplace (or deemed to have become commonplace). However, there are also localization-globalization ideological forces in play here that fit into the same ideological boxes as a) the commodification and marketization of heritage and b) the global development ideological paradigm. According to these ideologies, ‘heritage’ is no longer to be subject to common ownership, common concern and common enjoyment but is henceforth to be subject to local ownership and exploitation and global consumption. Representations of heritage in the ‘consumption’ paradigm on the feature and magazine pages of the publications as something for ‘us’ to consume elsewhere but

not necessarily here, have their corollaries and antitheses in the 'conflict' paradigm in the news sections, where representations abound of heritage as 'good' here but not there, or 'good' there but not here. Yet alongside representations of heritage as a commodity to be consumed elsewhere, 200 'consumption' texts appeared in the property and investment sections and these were texts in which some heritage aspect was represented as a positive 'selling point' in the presentation of a piece of property or an investment opportunity for consumption, at home or abroad. 'Consumption' texts in these sections included those in Table 63 below.

Table 63: examples of consumption texts in property/investment sections

Headline	Subject
'€5m guide of O'Connell Street townhouse'	last Georgian house on O'Connell Street, with Victorian assembly rooms. Prospective buyers are encouraged towards commercial development, heritage aspect is selling point rather than deterrent
'Tuscany delight in ambitious Pederone project'	renovation project in Tuscany as an investment vehicle
'City pad on historic street makes a flourish'	house for sale
'Former estate house has superb features'	house for sale
'Your chance to buy a slice of local history with Red Abbey townhouse'	house for sale Cork city
'Going for the church'	churches for sale as dwellings
'€390k buys you period features in Dublin'	house for sale with period features
'Historic building is investment opportunity'	house where de Valera founded Fianna Fail and which has been AA headquarters for 70 years is expected to fetch €4.5m
'Irish investor buys €53m historic store'	oldest independent department store in the world in Edinburgh is investment opportunity
'New homes, unusual homes and homes with a real history'	but only 'homes with real history' are illustrated
'Period bliss at Trudder Lodges'	house for sale
'Hidden gem in Dublin 6: Period detail is very much in evidence in this Victorian residence, guiding €1.4m'	house for sale
'Stag's Head to be a trophy buy'	pub where Joyce used to drink
'Fine family period home overlooks the harbour'	house for sale with period features
'A Wexford fairytale'	thatched cottage sold on heritage
'Grandiose features add charm to former coach-house'	period house, 'once home ot Countess de Vesci', sold on heritage cachet
'Growing retail market in Maynooth attracts the big players'	proximity to castle is point in centre's favour

However, in the same sections of the publications, there are examples of properties and investment opportunities being offered for consumption, in which an implicit heritage

aspect is likely to impose restrictions on development, involve the investor/developer in costly conservation works or make it difficult to obtain planning permission. In all of these cases, with one exception each in Samples 1 and 2 and none in Samples 3 and 4, the solution is to omit the potential problems and make no explicit mention at all of the heritage aspect. A case in point is 'The demesne of elegance' – *Irish Independent*, 14/10/2005, in which the De Burgh family's Oldtown Demesne near Naas has been demolished for a housing scheme. Recorded monuments at the demesne include a prehistoric enclosure, an underground stone passage and St Patrick's Well - but the reader is not told what has become of these.

In the single exception in Sample 2, 'Listed house with development potential' (*The Irish Times*, 07/04/2005), an aditorial inviting interest from developers, the heritage aspect is denigrated rather than bracketed: the house is 'quite rambling', none of the rooms is 'grand or even large' and the house is surrounded by housing estates which can be seen from the upstairs windows.

There are two stories, 'Retail units show good yield for investors' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004) and 'Lift-off at convent site' (*The Irish Times*, 14/10/2004), in which the demolition of an historic building, respectively a barracks and a convent, is presented as a *fait accompli*, the way now being clear for complication-free and guilt-free investment/development.

The single case in Sample 1 in which a heritage aspect is explicitly represented as a deterrent to consumption in a 'consumption' paradigm story on a property/investment page is text No.174 in the database, which appeared in the *Irish Examiner*'s Commercial Property supplement on Thursday, October 14, 2004, under the headline 'Grab some jewels of the Kingdom'. This text, for which the only (unquoted) source was estate agent Tom Spillane, offers sites for sale in Killarney, bounded by Killarney National Park, a golf course and the lakes. While the sites are recommended for their setting in a prime landscape tourism area and their consequent potential for high yield, investors are warned away from purchasing one lot because of the presence thereon of an 'historic cottage', which is described as 'restrictive' and 'limiting options other than conservation'. These same sites are the subject of another text, No.196, that appeared in the news section in the same publication on the following day, Friday, October 15,

under the headline 'Sale of rezoned land faces protest'. This version, too, relies on a single source, Killarney town councillor Michael Courtney, and falls firmly within the 'conflict' news paradigm.

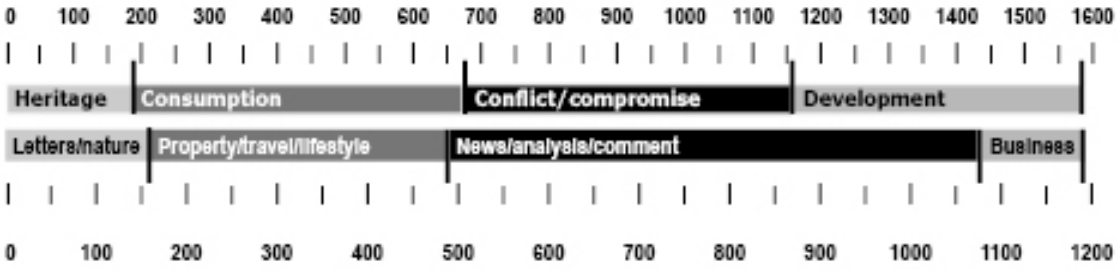
In all samples, there are several stories ('Begin a new life in the Old Quarter' – *Irish Examiner*, 16/04/2005; 'Retail units show good yield for investors' – *Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004*;* 'Lift-off at convent site' – *The Irish Times*, 14/10/2004; and '€60m plan for north inner city convent lands' – *The Irish Times*, 13/04/2005) in which the demolition or constructive demolition by neglect ('Shepherd rounds up mixed week for Frinailla' – *Irish Examiner*, 07/04/2005) of an historic building is effectively celebrated, the way now being clear for complication-free and guilt-free investment/development. In the first-mentioned case, there is heavy irony, not alluded to, in the fact that the Old Quarter – the former army barracks and married quarters in Ballincolig, Cork –has been entirely demolished. In another case, 'Dockside project launched: €100 million development kicks off docklands renewal' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/04/2005), the lost heritage includes a 19th-century post office, CIE yards, 18th and 19th-century warehouses and the former Ford factory. In this particular case, part of the new building will be occupied by Thomas Crosbie Holdings, publisher of the *Irish Examiner* in which this and several other fawning pieces on the docklands development appeared – but equally uncritical pieces appeared in the other two publications also.

A large number of texts also appear in which the cachet of a heritage building is deemed to have survived its destruction and thus continues to act as an incentive to consumption. Examples: 'Housing, hospitality scheme replaces famed Maudie Macs' – *Irish Examiner*, 08/10/2005, in which a now-demolished dancehall is represented as a selling point, is a case in point, as is 'Film house shuts its doors' – *Irish Examiner*, 13/10/2005, in which the cachet of the site history is claimed even though a cinema is to close and be knocked down.

At this end of the double continuum, then, heritage is represented as valuable precisely to the extent that it can be consumed. It is presented as something to be enjoyed in other countries or a commodity that can add value to properties or enhance the potential of investments. As soon as heritage is seen to be likely to reduce value or cause inconvenience, it drops out of sight or moves into the 'conflict' zone.

At the other end of the double continuum, almost half of the 'development' paradigm texts (143 of 316; 45%) appear in news sections. The others – including the texts with the most extreme 'pro-development/anti-heritage' representations, the 'sacrifice' and 'palimpsest' representations – appear in pages designated business, property, investment, lifestyle, technology, forestry and farming. We can begin to map newspaper sections – the way newspapers see or purport to see news discourse as being compartmentalized – onto our double inverse continuum.

Diagram 6: the paradigm/genre continuum



In the above schema, the bottom scale represents the 1190 texts categorized by news genre; and the top scale represents the 1,554 counts those texts registered between them on the representational continuum (several texts contained more than one representation of heritage or claim about heritage). Representations of heritage as intrinsically good are coextensive with letters to the editor and dedicated nature columns. Similarly, representations of heritage as consumable commodity are largely coterminous with property, travel and lifestyle texts. However, though it will be seen from the schema that, while the consumption-conflict-development spectrum is roughly symmetrical along the effective range of representations (upper scale), the 'news/analysis/comment' genre bracket is considerably off-centred towards the eastern, or 'development' end of the double continuum. A much smaller proportion of 'consumption' texts appear in the news sections (97 of 485 texts; 20%) than the proportion of 'development' texts appearing in the same sections (218 of 429; 51%).

The absence (apart from the handful on the letters pages and in one or two regular columns) of representations of heritage as intrinsically good produces something of a bias in favour of development and against heritage across the publications viewed in

their entirety. However, within the more authoritative and putatively unbiased 'news sections' of the publications, the ideological bias is considerably more pronounced.

At the 'development' end of the double continuum, considerable space and display are given to several extreme representations of development-as-protector-of-heritage and loss-of-heritage-as-development. It is worth citing some examples.

At No.155 in the database of texts, a story appears under the headline 'Fish cages vital for a marine revolution, says BIM', on *The Irish Times*'s Technology page, inside the Business supplement on Friday, October 8, 2004. The by-line is that of Lorna Siggins, Marine Correspondent. The text runs to 16 column inches and there is a four-inch, three-column, four-colour computer-generated image of a imagined, would-be futuristic submarine fish tank. The single source for the story is a paper delivered by Donal Maguire, aquaculture development manager Bord Iascaigh Mhara (BIM) at an aquaculture conference hosted by BIM and the Marine Institute. In this story, the loss of marine biodiversity, particularly the depletion and projected extinction of food-fish stocks, is represented as 'an opportunity' – in fact, a '€21million opportunity'. The following phrases all occur within the opening paragraphs: 'blue revolution', 'healthier, faster-growing fish', 'multiply production', 'increasing output', and 'expansion'.

No. 156, *The Irish Times*, Friday, October 8, 'News Feature', 'Business this Week', by-line Jane O'Sullivan, Markets Correspondent. 35-inch text with four, four-colour pictures in a broadsheet half-page: under the headline 'Hotel stable aims to deliver Dublin flavour', the piece argues that only continued commercial development can preserve Dublin's architectural heritage and that the best way to ensure the survival of the city's historic buildings is to develop them as hotels. The piece is an unconsciously mythological profile of Dublin hotelier Fionn Mac Cumhail (though, of course, the mythological significance of the object's name, which is also that of a famous character in Irish folklore, has not entirely escaped the writer's conscious notice), in which the entrepreneur is represented as culture-hero and demiurge.

At No.315 in the database, a story appears under the headline 'Something special in country mansions', in an advertising feature on 'Connaught' in the *Irish Independent* on Friday, April 8. There is no by-line. The story claims that new 'period country

mansions' are in the course of being built, making the implicit claim that 'new' heritage can be developed instantly.

No. 452, 'Money & Jobs' section, *Irish Examiner*, Friday, April 15, by-line Geoff Percival, no designation, 39-inch text with four, four-colour pictures in a broadsheet half page. Under the headline 'My Job: CEO, Sustainable Energy Ireland – Man on mission to keep Kyoto working', a profile of David Taylor, CEO of the State agency Sustainable Energy Ireland. The piece argues that society can develop its way out of adverse developmental effects and that increased development of road infrastructure will reverse the pollution affects of traffic congestion. Example: 'Lobbying for increased transport infrastructure investment is also high on the SEI agenda, given that the contribution from traffic to harmful emissions/pollution has doubled in the last 15 years.'

No. 507, 'Outdoors' section, *Irish Examiner*, Monday, October 3, 2005, by-line Donal Hickey, no designation, 18.5 inches with mono picture of a tuna in a 30-inch display. Under the headline 'There is an upside to climate change', it is argued, on the authority of a Marine Institute report, that the loss of fish stocks due to climate change is an 'opportunity' and all that is needed to ameliorate the negative effects of development is further development.

At Nos. 939 and 966 are two stories, 'The Mayne Allure' (Property section, 'Throwing Shapes' subsection*, Irish Examiner* Saturday, January 28, 2006, by-line Des O'Sullivan, no designation, 7.75 inches, with one mono picture of architect Thom Mayne in 12.5-inch display) and 'Creating Ireland's New Identity' ('The Arts' section, *The Irish Times*, Monday, February 6, 2006, by-line Frank McDonald, Environment editor, 48.5 inches and seven colour pictures of buildings by architects Scott Tallon Walker in a double half-page broadsheet spread), that typify the palimpsest representation – that modern Ireland needs a whole new architectural heritage, overinscribed on the existing architectural heritage, to reflect and create a fitting new identity (Huyssen 2003).

No. 167 in the database, headlined 'Cork art gallery reflects State's new optimism, says President' (*The Irish Times*, 16/10/2004) reports on a speech by President McAleese at the official opening of the new Gluckman Gallery in Cork. The speech, though largely

comprising the sort of platitude expected on such occasions, is couched in exclusively 'Celtic Tiger' economic and developmental terms and in effect likewise calls for a 'new heritage' reflecting modern, prosperous Ireland to be built to replace the 'old', 'pre-Tiger' heritage.

No. 976, 'Commercial Property' section, *Irish Independent*, Wednesday, February 15, 2006, no by-line, 15 inches with colour picture of Hamilton Osborne King (estate agents) directors and politician Pat Cox in 26-inch display. Under the headline 'Cork needs to capitalise on key opportunities', the single source, Isobel O'Regan of HOK, is quoted as saying (and is not challenged): 'Our green belt consists of over 100,000 acres, which represents a massive opportunity'.

A number of opinion pieces, 'The Celtic Tiger's back…It's Grrrreat' (*The Irish Times*, 12/10/2004), 'I won't shed any tears if the Great White becomes extinct' (*Irish Independent*, 15/10/2004) and 'Island of saints and Spanish' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004), represent heritage as the concern of 'others' and the property of a recently bygone age or disappearing culture, that is to say, not of the early Christian or Medieval period but of the pre-Celtic Tiger days of economic stagnation and emigration. Culturally, 'heritage' is associated with báinín ('Aran'-style) sweaters and tweed jackets; and, economically and developmentally, with reliance on low-wage, pre-sunrise, 'moss belt' industries like tourism. These texts explicitly advocate, albeit in a 'light', would-be humorous way, the destruction or, at least, the neglect of heritage.

A typical example of the representation of heritage as being well and good as long as it does not cost too much is at No.194 in the database under the headline 'Historic hospital sells for €5.2m' (*Irish Independent*, 16/10/2004). Ennis Town Council, required to move to new headquarters because of space constraints, was considering a move back to its former offices, in a building described as 'an historic hospital', but councillors voted against the proposal on the grounds that €33m was too much to spend on a conservation project. Instead, they sold the building to a private developer. The fact that the council made a 'profit' of €4m on the sale was presented by the author as vindicating the decision to sell. In other stories, the preservation of wild salmon, the archaeology at Tara, the conservation of historic churches in Dublin city, coastal defences, the regulation of planning matters and the maintenance of the wild deer population are all

represented as having negative cost implications; and 'developments' are routinely represented as being too valuable (in terms of their building costs) to pass up on the grounds of heritage concerns. In the heritage discourse, expenditure by the State or local authorities – in other words, of public money – is always represented as 'cost' while expenditure by the private sector is always represented as 'worth', even though the ultimate source of the money is the same in both cases ('consumers' or 'taxpayers', who are, of course, one and the same) and public money is just as effective as private money in stimulating economic activity. Texts in the heritage discourse constantly juxtapose the 'cost' of conserving, say, a heritage building against the 'value' of demolishing it and developing the site.

These representations of heritage as costing too much, or delaying development, or being antithetical or secondary to or dependent on development, or representing an outmoded sense of identity, abound in the 'development' paradigm but spill over into the 'conflict' paradigm, where all but 54 of 475 'conflict' texts (11%) divide along the 'heritage versus development' fault line. In other words, in 54 'conflict' texts, the conflict is between conflicting viewpoints on the heritage side, or between conflicting viewpoints on the development side, or, perhaps, between environmental and heritage concerns; but in the vast majority of 'conflict' texts, 421 of 475 'conflict' texts (89%), the site of the conflict is heritage versus development (See Appendix A). All of these 421 'conflict' texts, therefore, contain one or more of the above-mentioned negative representations of heritage, either declaratively stated or incorporated intertextually.

These representations are most extreme where the developer is the State and the journalist aligns himself/herself with the taxpayer. Examples include texts relating to Tara and the proposed M3 (20 texts), the Kilkenny flood relief scheme (3 texts) and the Viking remains discovered during construction of a new road in Co. Waterford.

In the case of Tara, the initial story – the announcement by the NRA of the results of the archaeological survey of the route – was carried on 05/10/2004 by *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* under almost identical headlines: '€30m excavation bill for M-way via Tara' (*II*) and 'Site excavations on M3 may cost €30m' (*IT*). Neither chose to take the line: 'Twelve important sites discovered'. These articles drew letters from archaeologists Conor Newman (published in all three publications) and Brian

Hodkinson (*The Irish Times*) that, in turn, drew a response (carried in all three publications) from NRA archaeologist Mary Deevy. Two further texts, carried in the *Irish Independent* and *Irish Examiner* but ignored by *The Irish Times*, related to a protest at Tara led by the Hollywood actor Stuart Townsend. In Sample 2 (April 2005), Tara was still a live topic in the letters pages, with nine letters on the subject but, despite this, only one text appeared as a news story. In Sample 3 (October 2005), a further two letters appeared, but no news story and in Sample 4 (January to April 2006), there were seven news stories, five of them prompted by a court attempt to halt work on the motorway, which, in turn, prompted another flurry of four letters.

Mary Deevy's letter in Sample 1 posited an interesting and extreme representation of heritage that was by no means confined to the letters pages. The thrust of her letter was that the construction of the motorway had 'discovered' heritage sites that would otherwise have remained undetected (and, by implication, not have come into existence), a thesis that allowed her to describe Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age sites as 'new'– thus reversing, by centuries, the order of precedence. The motorway came *before* the heritage – leaving heritage in the position of having to justify its continued existence. In terms of the conflict discourse, heritage assumes the role of aggressor, of giving rise to conflict, while development is represented as the innocent victim.

This type of representation may owe as much to the *process* of providing infrastructural projects in this country – 'need' identified→funds allocated→route chosen→road designed→*archaeological survey conducted* – as to the ideological dominance of the development paradigm or the mythological 'naturalization' of development. Hence, in the Waterford case, millennium-old Viking remains are blamed for 'delaying' (the language of inevitability) an as-yet-nonexistent bridge and road – 'Decision on Viking dig delays bypass' (*Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004) and 'Bridge delay "will lead to more frustration for drivers"' (*Irish Examiner*, 12/10/2004); and in the Kilkenny case, 'unforeseen' archaeological costs during works to canalize the River Nore in the centre of a town dating to the 6th century AD are blamed for a massive cost overrun on estimates, at the expense of the taxpayer and other towns awaiting similar flood-relief schemes.

Nowhere does any journalist suggest or quote any source as suggesting – not even on behalf of the taxpayer – that the 'discovery' of important, previously undocumented archaeology at Tara, Waterford and Kilkenny was, in fact, not only foreseeable but statistically probable. Far less does any journalist suggest, or quote any source suggesting, that the decision to route a motorway through Tara might have been influenced by a) a desire to increase the commodity value of Tara as a tourism product; or b) a subconscious or even wilful desire to bury the past (especially the 'failed' past) under blacktop. Gusfield (1989), interpreting Burke on the subject of vicarious sacrifice, argues that order (represented by faith and reason; converse: sensory temptation and imagination) implies sacrifice, since choices involve the 'mortification' of some desires. Insofar as a given order requires sacrifices of some sort, the sacrificial principal is intrinsic to the nature of order. Hence, since substitution is a prime resource available to symbol systems, the sacrificial principle comes to ultimate fulfilment in vicarious sacrifice, which is vicariously rationalized, and can be viewed accordingly as a way to some kind of ultimate reward. Asking not how the sacrificial motives revealed in institutions of magic and religion might be eliminated in a scientific culture, but what new forms they take (Gusfield argues) extends the range of those manifestations (of vicarious sacrifice) far beyond the areas ordinarily so labelled. Besides extreme instances like Hitlerite genocide, or the symbolic 'cleansings' sought in wars, uprisings and heated political campaigns, victimage would include *inter alia* 'social exclusiveness… rabid partisanship in sports… the excessive pollution of air and streams, the 'bulldozer mentality' that rips into natural conditions without qualms, the many enterprises that keep men busy destroying in the name of progress or profit the ecological balance on which, in the last analysis, our eventual well-being depends, and so on' (Gusfield 1989, p281). Put simply: If we wish to maintain order, motorways must be built. In order to reap the reward conferred by the new motorway, something must be sacrificed. Some people must sacrifice their land for the greater good, for example, and the greater the sacrifice, the greater the reward. In this respect, Tara, representing an old, magical, irrational culture and a superseded faith, makes the perfect symbolic sacrifice.

It should be noted that in the process outlined above ('need' identified→funds allocated→route chosen→road designed→*archaeological survey conducted*) there is no public consultation or structured democratic input until after the 'need'

identified→funds allocated stages; hence the marginalization of the dissenting view. Public consultation (largely confined to local landowners) is allowed only at the 'choosing of routes' stage by which time the 'existence' of the road is a *fait accompli*. The 'alternative routes' strategy is itself a divide-and-conquer tactic, designed to fracture local opposition and pit dissidents against each other, since the choice offered is likely to be between routes that are equally destructive of heritage and equally disruptive of the community. How can journalists interrupt the process to ensure public debate at, or even before, the 'need' identified stage?

6. HERITAGE STORIES AND THE PRAXIS OF DETERMINATION

In a multiparty parliamentary democracy such as Ireland, the right to freedom of expression should ideally empower journalisms to provide in-depth and balanced coverage of issues that affect heritage – fundamentally a matter of public concern with an acknowledged public-interest dimension – that incorporates all reasonable viewpoints and includes representatives of all concerned parties, identifies the major agents, apportions responsibility for key decisions, and provides sufficient analysis and overview to locate heritage issues in their social and ideological context. In reality, we have seen that the heritage discourse in the three publications under review is truncated, exclusive, selective, imbalanced, negative and incoherent. It is truncated insofar as the effective range of the discourse does not cover the full range of reasonable representations from heritage-as-intrinsically-good to heritage-as-undesirable; it is imbalanced insofar as the centre of the 'news' discourse on heritage is biased considerably towards the development end of the spectrum; it is exclusive n that it excludes representatives of legitimately concerned parties; it is selective in failing to identify the major agents or apportion responsibility for key decisions; it is negative insofar as heritage is represented as controversial and giving rise to conflict, worthwhile only in terms of its commodity value and only rarely (if at all) as likely to be reconciled with development; and it is incoherent in that it fails to provide sufficient analysis and overview to locate heritage issues in their social and ideological context. Now we must look at what the research reveals about the factors producing this imbalance and negativity; and those determining which texts will appear and how heritage will be represented.

Factors determining whether a story will be used and *how* a story will be mediated include news values and journalistic culture, organizational matters, source strategies, market forces and ideology, both institutional and personal. With regard to news values, there is extensive literature – and almost as many lists as there are pieces of research. Milestone work by Galtung and Ruge (1967), Hetherington (1985) and Harcup and O'Neill (2001) suggested that journalists' ideas of newsworthiness were not fixed and immutable but tended to change over time. Galtung and Ruge, for instance, listed 'negativity' as a criterion for news selection, while both 'bad news' and 'good news'

made their way onto Harcup and O'Neill's list 34 years later. But closer reading reveals that both the former's 'negative' stories and the latter's 'good' and 'bad' news had to fulfil other criteria such as topicality, proximity, celebrity and drama in order to be selected. Eliminating unnecessary entities such as these reveals that despite terminological differences, there is virtual unanimity among researchers as to which news values are most important in practice, at least among British and Irish journalists. These include, in no order of precedence: freshness or topicality, geographical and/or cultural proximity ('elite nations/meaningfulness' in Galtung and Ruge), scale ('threshold' in Galtung and Ruge), celebrity ('elite persons/ personalisation' in Galtung and Ruge), unexpectedness or rarity ('surprise' in Harcup and O'Neill) and continuity ('follow-ups' in Harcup and O'Neill), conflict and drama.

Some taxonomies of 'newsworthiness' confuse or conflate the concept of 'news values' with that of 'news determinants'; lists of news values in the literature are frequently found to contain entities such as 'availability' and 'giving the readers what they want'. 'Availability' – the difficulty or expense of covering one story as opposed to another – is a separate organizational determinant with both practical and structural elements: does the newspaper have a correspondent in the area or can a reporter be sent there; and, if not, why not? 'Giving the readers what they want' is the essence of market pressure, a structural determinant deriving from the imperative to make money in a capitalist economy. What I mean when I speak of news values as a distinct set of journalistic cultural determinants might be defined as: journalists' shared ideals of newsworthiness in the absence of all other considerations. In other words, given unlimited resources and absolute freedom of choice, journalists will still choose the story that happens near at hand, has the greatest impact in terms of cost or scale, the greatest urgency or topicality, contains an element of conflict or other drama, is unexpected and has at its centre a celebrity subject (and here, Harcup and O'Neill's definition is closer to the mark than Galtung and Ruge's 'eliteness': though wealth and power are deemed intrinsically newsworthy, the overriding element is popular fame or notoriety – so that, given the choice between a well known TV presenter and her little known producer, or between a high-profile politician and a possibly more powerful but less known senior civil servant, journalists will generally emphasise the subject with pre-established celebrity).

Of course, there is considerable overlap between news values (cultural proximity and celebrity, for instance) and between news values and other determinants (geographical proximity and market pressure, for one example; for another, news values collectively and source strategies, since communications practitioners have learned to exploit news values by 'giving journalists what they want'), so that it can be difficult to separate the effects of one from the effects of another. The following discussion attempts to tease out these issues to the greatest extent possible but, given that this study is concerned with demonstrating the extent to which structural and practical issues determine the heritage discourse, the most important consideration to bear in mind is that all of the pressures and tensions discussed above are, precisely, structural and practical determinants.

Propinquity (geographical and cultural proximity)

A glance at the maps on Pages 163-167 shows that geography is a more important factor than might have been expected. The *Irish Examiner* was, until a decade ago, essentially a Cork newspaper and its core readership is still very much the south-west – Cork, Kerry and Limerick and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Limerick's Co. Clare hinterland and Waterford, where the TCM group that owns the *Examiner* also owns a local newspaper. Nevertheless, the *Examiner* distributes nationally and maintains a Dublin newsroom with a significant staff. *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent*, on the other hand, have always claimed to be national and it is striking to find their coverage, of heritage-related issues at least, so concentrated on Dublin and the east. For its part, the *Examiner* did not cover the results of the preliminary archaeological survey at Tara, carried in both the Dublin-based publications, and is only seen to become involved in the Tara story when actor Stuart Townsend entered the frame. Of 33 texts on the Tara-M3 controversy, less than a quarter – eight texts – appeared in the *Examiner* and five of these were letters. Of 12 Tara-M3 news stories, just three appeared in the *Examiner*. Likewise, in the samples featured in this study, neither of the Dublin-based publications covered the story on the controversy involving Viking Waterford and road building, which was the subject of four texts in the *Examiner*.

The *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* carried 290 place-specific texts located on the island of Ireland but outside of Dublin. Of these, no fewer than 30 originated from just two freelance journalists, Gordon Deegan and Anne Lucey, based respectively in

Clare and Kerry. Of 101 texts located in Clare or Kerry in all publications, 52 came from these two journalists. It is probable that the majority of these stories were originated by the freelance journalists themselves and sent, unsolicited and speculatively, to the news editors of the national newspapers; and that, were it not for the initiative of these freelance journalists, the stories would not have come to the attention of the news editors and, therefore, would not have been covered at all. The data strongly suggest that the presence of a freelance journalist with a sense of the potential news value of heritage stories is a key factor in determining whether heritage stories from a particular locality will be carried.

The question of whether or not Irish newspaper journalists see heritage as an essentially local issue, perhaps (as suggested earlier) because of the localization of heritage, will be considered later.

Picture availability/celebrity involvement

The availability of a photograph or the opportunity for a photograph, especially one with a celebrity content (*e.g.* Stuart Townsend, Frank McCourt), high aesthetic or decorative impact (*e.g.* glamour models used to illustrate the launch of a stamp and the announcement of a refurbishment plan for the Shelbourne Hotel) or an offbeat angle (*e.g.* Br. Aloysius), was evidently an important factor in the selection of some 123 news texts, and appeared to determine the amount of display given to them, in the news sections of the publications. A case in point was the story of local opposition to a planned telecommunications mast in a scenic area of Limerick, which opposition was led by a Benedictine monk, Br Aloysius. Four photographs of the monk, in full monk's habit, were used to illustrate a story that would not normally be of interest to the national press (because there are thousands of such masts, often attracting local opposition and generally deemed of local interest only). After the initial round of stories, local TD and Minister for Defence Willie O'Dea joined the opponents of the mast, giving the story further impetus – but the monk's picture continued to be used as illustration. Another case in point was the opening of the new Cashel by-pass in south Tipperary – on the evidence of the geographical data, outside the core readership area of all three publications – which was given significant display by all three publications on the basis of a stage-managed photograph showing the then-Minister for Transport, Martin Cullen, inspecting the new road from a convoy of vintage cars. In 25 texts, the

opportunity to use a celebrity photograph was a determinant and in 12 texts, the opportunity to use the image of a cultural icon (the Titanic [twice], the Berlin Wall, the *Mona Lisa*, the Cliffs of Moher, Buchenwald prisoners, Beethoven, *Wallace & Gromit* [twice], Munch's *The Scream* and Jane Austen [twice]) was a determinant. In another 41 cases, the availability of pictures, though not necessarily the primary determinant of whether the news story was included, appeared to determined the amount of display awarded. It can be taken that in the magazine and feature sections, as well as in the property pages, texts and illustrations are almost always interdependent: usually, no feature will be run without suitable illustration; but suitable illustration can always be found from agencies, the newspapers' own archives or online photo libraries.

The source breakdown of some 181 photographs in the 'news' sections (excluding photo-by-lines and maps and infographics generated in-house) is as follows:

- fast-breaking, unexpected news – five photographs, two of a city-centre fire in Belfast, two of a gorse fire in Kerry, one of a film-studio fire in Bristol;
- ongoing news story – five photographs, two of a Traveller-landowner stand-off in Wicklow that lasted some days, and three of chemical-suited workers engaged in Avian Flu measures in various countries;
- news aftermath – four photographs, two of a dead python and alligator, one of police at an Oslo museum after an art theft and one of the burnt-out film studio in Bristol;
- action shot but of prenotified/scheduled event (an opening ceremony, an unveiling ceremony, seven pictures of protests, four pictures of litigants leaving/entering court, the removal of a statue, the refurbishment of statues) – 15;
- arranged public-relations photo-opportunity –33;
- supplied by architects, estate agents, developers, publishers or from public-domain planning documents – 23;
- from the newspapers' own mugshot files of politicians, businesspeople, literary figures etc. – 42;
- from commercial photo-libraries – 19 (foreign stock shots such as the Berlin Wall, Big Brother celebrity Pete Burns, the Alicante coast);
- from international commercial agencies – 9 (foreign news events such as the Buchenwald reunion or fossil finds);

- static target (Dublin port's damaged South Wall, a pub on St Stephen's Green involved in a planning controversy, a half-demolished cottage, a dead oak tree and etc.) – 26.

The results suggest that availability of/opportunity for suitable illustration and the involvement of celebrities, easily recognisable authority figures or cultural icons were determinants in the selection of texts, in the length of texts used (in the news sections, inclusion of a photograph boosted the length of text, as opposed to overall display, from an average 8" to an average 11.75") and the placing of the text (41% of illustrated heritage 'news' texts were given early right-hand page position compared with 35% of heritage 'news' texts without illustration).

Freshness

Any negative assumption about the newsworthiness of heritage, given its general antiquity, familiarity and long existence, loses significance in light of the data. Only a small minority of texts relating to heritage concerned genuinely fresh or unexpected events but journalists showed themselves perfectly willing to include stories on scheduled, predictable and even managed events, such as press conferences, and equally willing to include manufactured 'say' stories: that is to say, the fact that someone said something new about heritage was deemed newsworthy even if nothing new had actually happened.

The results suggest, therefore, that newsworthiness or lack of newsworthiness of heritage, judged on the journalistic news-value criterion of 'topicality' or 'newness' was not a negative determinant.

Conflict, excitement, drama

Assuming a desire on the part of news editors and news readers for excitement and drama, it is to be expected that heritage stories, especially in the absence of some other 'news' ingredient, will tend to gravitate towards the 'conflict' news paradigm; and the tendency will be to represent heritage as constantly involved in conflict. The crucial point is whether heritage is represented as *causing* conflict or as the innocent victim of

aggressive development. The data revealed that heritage was represented at various times as both 'victim of conflict' and 'cause of conflict'. It has been found that, in the final quarter of the last century, 'environment' made the transition in the media from aggressor to victim and how concern for the environment passed from 'otherness' to mainstream (Wilson 1992, Hansen 2002); it is therefore valid to hypothesize that nothing in journalistic culture dictates that it is inevitable that heritage should be represented as giving rise to conflict.

There is no doubt that, for example, 'Solution found to Tara conflict' would be a major news story, satisfying all news-value criteria including drama; and even 'Heritage body proposes solution to Tara conflict' should qualify for inclusion applying the news-value criteria in the way that they are actually applied in the samples collected and analysed here. However, such texts are largely absent from the samples and, even where present, tend to be framed within the conflict paradigm, so that a story such as 'Heritage body proposes solution to Tara conflict' tends to attract a headline along the lines of 'Heritage body demands that Minister act to save Tara'.

The results suggest that the 'drama' news value was a major determinant in how heritage was represented and that the 'drama' news value tended to be satisfied by the element of 'conflict' even when the facts of the story did not demand that this be so. It will be seen later, in the discussion of the results of the survey of journalists (See Page 231), that the respondents, asked to rank a selection of news values in the order of importance they believed their organizations assigned to them, chose 'conflict' as the most important and 'drama' as the second-least important.

Personal ideology

Tracing its origins to the post-World War II reconstruction and the foundation of the United Nations, Rist (2004) identifies 'development' as the first universal paradigm, equally acceptable to left and right and to the 'developed', 'developing' and 'underdeveloped' countries. 'Development', itself a biological term, has become mythologized as natural, desirable, inevitable and unstoppable. It is not to be expected, therefore, that a large proportion of journalists would fundamentally question the development paradigm and, indeed, this is evidenced in the study. However, as I have

pointed out above, extensive commodification of heritage has occurred, particularly during the 1980s and '90s, and, again, the data provide evidence of such commodification. Given that increased consumption is a developmental imperative, there is no *ideological* conflict between heritage-as-commodity and development. Instead, whether the journalist/publication lines up with the developer or the consumer/taxpayer seems to be decided on a case-by-case basis on a 'greater good' (financial) set of criteria. Here too, the trope or convention of public-investment-as-cost, private-investment-as-worth comes into play since the preservation of heritage usually falls on the public purse, either at local or national level, while the competing development is conventionally seen as boosting the local or national economy at no cost to the consumer/taxpayer.

Surveys undertaken by Lansdowne Market Research (1999-2007) for the Heritage Council indicate that the public has a generally positive attitude to heritage and that the trend is towards greater positivity. In fact, the ideology of the development paradigm, entailing as it does the concepts 'underdeveloped', 'developing' and 'developed', suggests compromise: the preservation and 'enhancement' of already 'valuable' (*i.e.*, 'consumable') heritage, alongside the development of 'underdeveloped', less valuable assets. The line of conflict on the heritage-discourse continuum is also the line of compromise and reconciliation (sustainable development, cost-effective heritage: 'let's save this and bulldoze that'; 'let's move the line of the road slightly to preserve part of this').

The results of the content analysis suggest that the universal dominance of the development ideological paradigm limits the effective range of the heritage discourse and largely excludes representations of heritage-as-intrinsically-good. The near-universal acceptance of the development paradigm and the failure of a heritage-as-intrinsically-good paradigm to establish itself in the ideological value-sets of journalists are tending to push the centre of the discourse towards the 'development' end of the continuum. However, within the effective range of the discourse, there is no ideological reason why heritage texts should so overwhelmingly favour conflict over compromise; and we must seek other factors of journalistic culture, convention and organisation to explain this phenomenon.

News value of 'authority'/availability of 'authoritative' sources

Since the effective range of representations is from consumption to development, the entire discourse is constructed from a middle-class socio-economic and cultural perspective – which is to be expected, given the target markets of the publications under review. Virtually all sources cited in the texts are from elite professional-academic-administrative-proprietorial backgrounds and there is no shortage of readily available authoritative sources on both sides of the conflict and across all news paradigms. The analysis of sources revealed both a wide availability of heritage sources – from the heritage departments of Government agencies (the OPW, Dúchas), statutory agencies (An Taisce, the Irish Heritage Council) and heritage officers of local authorities, to academics, conservation bodies and lobby groups – and a reluctance to use them, for reasons that the survey of journalists will help to reveal. Texts appearing in the letters pages and in special-interest columns (and in at least one general-interest opinion column) demonstrated that there are authoritative sources available to represent points of view *outside* the effective range of the discourse at the heritage-as-intrinsically-good end of the continuum, if the publications wished (or felt able) to avail of them.

Availability or lack of availability of authoritative sources on either side of the discourse was not a key determinant of what stories were included – but the choice of sources was a key factor in determining the nature of the discourse.

Source strategy

Given the high proportion of single-source and single-perspective stories; the high proportion of 'say' stories and managed events; and the acceptability of sources representing a spectrum of views on heritage and development, source strategy would appear to be a key determinant. Whoever manages the most, and best, events; whoever issues the most, and best, press releases; whoever enlists the active support of Stuart Townsend or Dermot Desmond; and provides the most imaginative photo-opportunities, is best placed to influence the discourse. However, the data suggest that journalists are more reluctant to accept single-source stories from heritage sources and more inclined to reinforce heritage sources with a second, non-heritage source or balance a heritage source with a second perspective than other types of sources. Stories citing heritage

sources were also somewhat shorter than the global average and were given considerably less display. Journalists were also less prepared to accept 'say' stories from heritage sources: 45% of stories citing heritage sources were non-event stories, against the 56% global average. The evidence suggests that journalists regard heritage sources as being less authoritative, or expect their readers to regard heritage sources as being less authoritative, than other sources. Source strategies and their influence on journalists, as well as journalistic attitudes to heritage sources, need to be teased out at the second stage of the project, the survey of journalists. From an organizational-structural point of view, the results provide prima facie evidence that, at least in the context of the heritage discourse, there is a high level of tolerance of manufactured stories and managed events, undoubtedly for their cost-, labour- and time-saving qualities; and that defensive measures to defeat source strategies, if any exist, are ineffective. However, it must be borne in mind that the content analysis cannot quantify the manufactured stories, managed events and other source strategies that failed to yield the desired coverage.

The results suggest that source strategies and journalistic attitudes to sources comprise a key determinant.

Influence of advertisers

On the property pages and**,** to a lesser extent, on the business and travel pages, the publication's relationship with advertising clients is the most important determinant, followed by news values – travel destinations must be out-of-the-ordinary, financial products must be new, properties must be new to the market, 'important' (i.e., expensive) and offer something out-of-the-ordinary, which might include a heritage aspect. Aditorial space is awarded in direct proportion to the size of an estate agency's advertising spend – resulting in aditorial stories being awarded far more display than hard-news stories. In the news sections, 117 private-sector sources of 841 (14%) were cited in 102 of 477 texts (22%) but with no evidence of any direct link to advertising.

Advertising-influence does not appear to be a major determinant in the selection of heritage items appearing in 'news' sections but contributes significantly to the overall chaotic message being sent, ranging from 'Consume heritage' through 'Heritage is confrontational; avoid it' and 'Heritage is problematic; ignore it' to 'Destroy heritage'.

Authorship and designation

None of the target publications had a 'heritage correspondent' and none of the publications appears to recognize 'heritage' as a separate beat in the way that 'environment', 'religion', 'agriculture' and 'industry' are recognized. Interestingly, the publications' environment correspondents contributed only 31 heritage-related items during the study period, despite the obvious overlap between environmental issues and heritage concerns, such as landscape and seascape heritage and biodiversity; and 10 of these stories appeared over one two-day period and related to the same topic. Nevertheless, the large number of heritage texts suggests that the absence of a recognized heritage 'beat' is not a major impediment to inclusion. However, the existence of a heritage beat and designated heritage correspondents might: a) generate more stories b) legitimate heritage c) result in more representations of heritage as intrinsically good and d) provide an overall context for the conflict, revealing the social and ideological locus of the discourse.

Lack of a heritage 'beat' clearly does not prevent the inclusion of a large number of heritage-related texts but is a factor in determining which stories are included and how they are mediated

Journalistic 'objectivity'

The very high percentage of single-source and single-perspective texts indicates that the journalistic cult of 'objectivity' (more accurately, 'impartiality' or 'balance') is not a key determinant in how heritage stories are mediated. Is time/pressure of deadlines a factor here? Would the journalist consult a second, dissenting source if sufficient time were available? The results suggest that, in the context of the heritage discourse at least, journalists and newspapers are relying on inter- or extratextual balance – from day to day, section to section and page to page – rather than striving for balance within the text. Sometimes journalists can generate two stories 'for the price of one' by running the response on a subsequent day. The thinking appears to be that, provided the reader buys the publication every day and reads it from cover to cover, he/she will obtain a reasonably balanced view of a particular discourse. There is a striking example in the current analysis of the same story given radically different mediations in different sections of the same newspaper – 'Grab some jewels of the Kingdom' in the *Irish*

Examiner's commercial property section and 'Sale of rezoned land faces protest' in the same newspaper's news section. Further evidence in the current analysis is provided by the coding of 243 texts as single perspective but with a bipolar perspective intertextualized, of which almost half (121) were in the 'news' sections and more than a quarter (65) were letters responding to news stories or letters responding to letters.

There was no evidence that lack of journalistic 'objectivity' (in terms of the unavailability of a corroborating or balancing source) was a deterrent to the publication of a text. However, as noted at Page 105, journalists appeared more at pains to apply standards of impartiality and balance when dealing with pro-heritage sources than when dealing with non-heritage or anti-heritage sources.

The 'watchdog' role

Insofar as the target publications see themselves as performing a watchdog role, they appear to interpret 'the public good' narrowly and to identify it closely with taxpayer value-for-money and efficiency, in line with currently dominant political ideology, which values the categories 'taxpayer' and 'consumer' above that of 'citizen' (Exchequer funds, for instance, are never referred to as 'public' money but universally as 'taxpayers' money). Stories critical of power centres generally follow this line. Where the interests of the consumer are seen to clash with Government policy/ inefficiency/corruption, the publications align with the consumer, who, in many of the cases in the current study, is identified as the motorist. Where there is no direct State involvement, the public good is defined as the interests of the citizen-as-consumer and is generally assumed to coincide with the interests of the private developer. In one story, headlined 'Villagers angry over bypass' (*i.e.* villagers angry over *delay* to by-pass) (*Irish Examiner*, 08/10/2004), the National Roads Authority was cast as the villain of the piece for not providing quickly enough a new road close to the thatched village of Adare in Co. Limerick. The 'villagers' of the headline were a private developer who wished to build a hotel beside the new road, and a local estate agent who stated that uncertainty over the new road was depressing property prices.

The results suggest that the 'watchdog role', as narrowly reinterpreted by the publications, was a key determinant

Market forces

It will be seen from the discussion immediately above that the publications, in carrying out their 'watchdog' role, feel free to define 'the public good' as the 'good of the greatest number', a concept that coincides happily with the 'good of the greatest number of readers'. To take Tara as a case in point, potentially conflicting interests are represented by the following groups: professional archaeologists (dozens), local residents (thousands), those concerned enough about heritage to forego the motorway (indeterminate), motorists and taxpayers. This is not to suggest that the publications perform actuarial calculations in individual cases or that they would spurn a 'good story' on actuarial grounds but the journalistic-culture imperative of being 'fearlessly on the side of our readers' and the market imperative of 'giving our readers what they want' will tend to steer the publication towards the view of the motorist and the taxpayer. Applying the publications' particular social and geographical niches reduces the equation to 'taxpayers and Dublin/eastern motorists/commuters', further marginalizing dissenting voices. The best interest of the reader is therefore served by a) building the motorway and b) building it as quickly and cost-effectively as possible. In the case of Viking Waterford, which lies athwart the main Rosslare-to-Cork tourist route, market pressures reduce the equation to 'taxpayers and Cork/southern motorists/commuters/tourists'.

At the most basic level, market determinants revealed themselves in the fact that aditorial texts achieved much greater prominence on the average, in terms of their text-to-display ratio, than texts in other genres, particularly news genres. Advertorial texts totalling 2,805" received 10,038" of display, a ratio of 3.6" of space, including photographs, headlines and other furniture, for every inch of text. That compares with 13,494" to 33,403", a ratio of 2.4-1 for all texts; and 4,612" to 9,009", a ratio of only 1.95-1 for hard news texts.

These aditorial stories that received a disproportionate prominence compared with the global average and hard-news texts, were typically texts selling property, artefacts or holidays on the basis of a heritage content. They implicitly or explicitly made claims, most often warranted on assumption, within the consumption paradigm – such as 'heritage adds cachet and, therefore, value to property' or 'foreign heritage is worth

consuming' or 'heritage enhances the experience of consumption (of food, travel, wine…)' – and they tended to be positive towards heritage to the extent that they awarded heritage a money or commodity value. But many were negative to heritage in that they claimed the cachet of heritage survived even the destruction of that heritage; or in that they invited investors or developers to buy a 'period' house or 'listed building' and knock it down.

On another level, market determinants in terms of core readership became starkly visible when the geographical spread of texts was mapped. It is reasonable to speculate that Dublin and Cork, apart from being the bases of the target publications and the two main centres of population are also the centres of the greatest developmental pressure and the places, therefore, where heritage and development are most likely to come into conflict – and that might help to explain why there are so many texts from those places. But the effect on the discourse as transmitted is that readers in Kilkenny and Longford and Cavan and Waterford, where there is not anything like the same level of developmental pressure, are being sent the same message as readers in Cork and Dublin, with the same claims that heritage must be sacrificed for the sake of infrastructure or to relieve traffic congestion or provide housing or whatever.

The results suggest that market forces were a significant determinant in how heritage was represented. How these forces are vectored to the individual journalist is an important question for Phase 2 of the study, the survey of journalists.

Controversiality

Columnists operate to a different set of news values than news reporters, among the most notable of which are the relaxation of the 'objectivity' requirement, the necessity to be 'different' and the tendency to be deliberately controversial. Some of the most extreme representations of heritage/development referenced above ('I won't shed any tears if the Great White becomes extinct' – *Irish Independent*, 15/10/2004; 'The Celtic Tiger's back…It's Grrrreat' – *The Irish Times*, 12/10/2004; 'Island of saints and Spanish' – *Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004; and 'Institutional land required for development' – *The Irish Times*, 04/10/2004; 'When will we plan for the future?' – *Irish Examiner*, 08/10/2005, a militantly pro-heritage piece; 'Storm clouds gather for

Bord' – *The Irish Times*, 19/01/2006; 'Why we all deserve a bit of wildlife porn' – *Irish Independent*, 07/03/2006; 'Dublin booms but now rural Ireland must fight back' – *Irish Independent*, 07/03/2006) were written by staff or guest columnists. There are a number of examples here of manufactured controversy ('I won't shed any tears if the Great White becomes extinct' is a case in point) in which the writer adopts a 'commonsense' or 'man in the street' stance in opposition to an assumed or pretended 'political correctness' or 'left-liberal consensus' that in fact represents a minority viewpoint in the Irish media. In such cases, the columnist incorporates the 'consensus' view intertextually as a straw man, often exaggerating it in the process, and then proceeds to ridicule it. In the example, the writer cites the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species as representing the consensus viewpoint – but this is the only instance of CITES being quoted, cited or even mentioned in 1190 heritage texts. This practice allows the columnist to be represented as controversial (the word often appears in a standfirst or strap headline accompanying such columns) while appealing, in fact, to what is likely to be the viewpoint of a majority of his or her readers.

The results suggest that the marked tendency of some columnists to be represented as controversial may have determined some of the most extreme representations of heritage/development.

National culture, identity

It has been argued (Sheehan 2004, O'Hearn 1998) that Irish society is in a process of redefining itself culturally in the wake of the so-called Celtic Tiger, under the influence of the dominant neo-liberal political ideology and the forces and effects of globalization – including inward migration, 'outsourcing', the reduced importance of traditional industries and agriculture, changes in work-life balance, commuter culture and the acquisition of second homes in rural/littoral areas and abroad. It is further argued (McDonald and Nix, 2005) that this process must inevitably affect attitudes to that portion of Irish heritage (Tara, the Rock of Cashel, the GPO, Clonmacnoise) that was such a key part of the national iconography up to now. A number of texts already cited (including, among many others, 'The Celtic Tiger's back…It's Grrrreat' – *The Irish Times*, 12/10/2004; 'Island of saints and Spanish' – *Irish Examiner*, 07/10/2004; 'Fish

cages vital for a marine revolution, says BIM' – *The Irish Times*, 08/10, 2004; 'Dockside project launched: €100 million development kicks off docklands renewal' – *Irish Examiner*, 07/04/2005; and 'Hotel stable aims to deliver Dublin flavour' – *The Irish Times*, 08/10/2004; 'The Mayne allure' – *Irish Examiner*, 28/01/2006; 'Creating Ireland's new identity' – *The Irish Times*, 06/02/2006) represent concern for heritage as outmoded, obsolete and belonging to the pre-Celtic Tiger era. Gledhill (Hall *et al.,* 1997), on genre production of representations, argues that, while standardization is a key element of genre, another key component is what she calls 'differentiation', that is to say, sensitivity to cultural trends and changes, which serves to 'maximize appeal and keep tabs on changing audiences'. Applying Gledhill's argument to news genres, we can hypothesize that part of the journalist's role is to anticipate and interpret cultural change on an ephemeral, micro level: defining 'what's hot and what's not', identifying new slang terms and stereotypes such as 'bling' and 'chav', identifying and commenting on new cultural 'phenomena' such as the reality TV show, the iPod, *café latté*, texting, Sports Utility Vehicles and so on. Standardization of genre, determined in the first instance by the economics of production (and, we might add, the constraints of the medium itself) tends to stabilize audiences and create brand loyalty – but also to promote the political and social *status quo*. But competition between journalists to be 'first' to identify micro cultural trends might tend to impel cultural change on an ephemeral, micro level towards global consumer culture; and the accretion of micro cultural changes induces at least the illusion of macro cultural change and a tension between national identity and the global consumer cultural norm. The appetite of many journalists for micro cultural 'newness' contributes to a discourse in which national identity and the heritage associated with it are seen as 'old-fashioned' and belonging to a previous generation.

Between the words

Fairclough points out *passim* that a discourse comprises as much what is not said as what is said. It is not possible to say everything in every text every day. Journalists assume intertextual knowledge in the reader – general knowledge as well as special knowledge gleaned from previous instalments of the same and related stories. This syndrome will always tend to narrow the scope of the discourse, turning it back in upon itself. Exigencies of time and space further encourage journalists into a type of

bricolage in which they assemble already established 'high-concept' textual elements, themes, scenarios and news paradigms to make new stories. An example of such a textual element is the universally used phrase 'the human form of mad cow disease' which is deemed all the explanation necessary when writing of Creutzfeld Jacob's Disease (CJD) and instantly accesses the entire Bovine Spongiform Encephalitis (BSE) discourse, importing certain assumptions and givens: that the patient contracted CJD by eating infected beef, probably in Britain; that the cow became infected by eating infected bone meal; and so on. 'Conflict' and 'consumption' being established news paradigms for 'heritage', journalists will always be on the lookout for stories that will slot into these paradigms, perpetuating already-established representations of heritage. The same syndrome encourages journalists to watch how other newspapers and other media cover stories, themes and discourses, setting up a self-perpetuating media loop. A journalist writing a story on Tara, for example, is likely to rely mainly on other media for background information – a hypothesis I tested at the survey of journalists phase.

As discussed above (Pages 200-1), the necessity, indeed, inevitability of development is a given – journalists take it for granted that the value of development goes without saying. A mere handful of the 497 texts question the value of even individual developments (for example, in the sample, Tara conservators do not question the value of the M3 *per se*, rather, the routing of a short section of it) and none questions the economic development imperative itself. Insofar as heritage has no *overt* political or ideological enemy, heritage too is a given – but in a very different sense. It is clear from the sample that support for heritage is a qualified given, the sort that leads to statements such as: 'Of course, we all want to see Tara preserved, but…' The value of heritage in general is fundamentally challenged in a number of texts, the value of individual heritage sites is questioned in a great many texts and whenever the value of heritage is weighed against the value of development, it is understood without saying that development wins.

A problem for the content analyst is that this representation of development is all-pervasive and pervades other news discourses well beyond the range of the heritage discourse. I have analysed texts in which an identifiable heritage implication has been bracketed, but there are many other texts with no direct heritage implications – and

therefore outside the scope of this study – yet which impact on the heritage discourse by reinforcing the representation of development as possessing unquestionable value.

Another property of development is that it is a 'natural' process, hence the use of a biological terminology: development, growth, decay, maturity, fruition, yield; and as a natural process, it is irrational to oppose it. Furthermore, natural processes happen of their own accord, requiring no human action. This, in turn, leads to the practice of reification/nominalization (Pages 137-148) – the phenomenon whereby processes, comprising human actions, choices, motivations and results, are reduced to labels that disguise or obliterate actions, actants and effects. We have noted the absence of developers from the headlines of stories falling within the development paradigm. We have seen how self-imposed space constraints contribute to the process of nominalization; but we have seen too how, even where space was not a consideration, journalists opted to nominalize, using the passive voice or no verb at all and omitting human actants. What is the reason for the latter phenomenon? Is it merely that habits acquired in the context of constrained space have formed a headline vocabulary and syntax that have become generalized, even though this syntax and vocabulary break traditional rules of headline writing (Pages 137-148), as they continue to be propounded in the vocational literature and enshrined in the house stylebooks of the publications under review? Is it that styles borrowed from other, commodified genres – such as the brochure genre of the travel feature or the corporate-advertising genre of the property aditorial, in which there is no human population – have infected the genre of reportage? Or can it be that market imperatives, dictating that headlines should appeal to the greatest number of readers – and, therefore, should avoid confrontation and controversy – override the journalistic requirement for drama, even in conflict headlines? In an extreme example of a gatekeeper deciding to bracket controversy or conflict sparked by development in a headline, a story highly critical of the policy of Coillte (the formerly State-owned forestry company) and of the impact of forestation on bogs, waterways and biodiversity drew the headline: 'Woods well worth a visit to savour and relax'!

7. A SURVEY OF WORKING JOURNALISTS

Respondents

A total of 56 journalists were identified as having been foremost in the writing of stories about heritage in the three daily broadsheets during the sample periods of this study. Those journalist were then surveyed for their opinions, and a copy of the survey form that was sent to them may be found below in Appendix B. Those who responded were, generally speaking, among the most prolific writers on heritage in the sample. A total of 23 journalists, or 41% of the global population, completed the survey in part or in whole (journalists were given the option of skipping questions that they felt unable to answer), including journalists from all three newspapers and a number of freelances. Thirteen of the respondents had contributed texts to *The Irish Times*, seven to the *Irish Independent* and nine to the *Irish Examiner*. Between them, these 23 journalists contributed 223 texts to the content analysis, slightly less than 20% of the total, at an average of above nine per journalist. Fourteen were general news reporters, six worked in their newspaper's property section, including two who specialized in fine arts and antiques, two worked in the features/magazine sections on nature and heritage-related topics, two specialized in business, one in farming, one in politics and one in science.

The response included seven specialist correspondents and editors – an environmental editor, a property editor, a political editor, a science editor, a marine correspondent, a regional development correspondent and a property deputy editor. The basic information as to title, designation and duties solicited in Question 1 is included in Table 64 overleaf, along with the number of texts contributed by each respondent. The numbers before the names indicate each respondent's ranking in the global population, according to the number of texts contributed.

Table 64: survey respondents

Contributor	Section	Designation	IT	IE	II	Total
1. Gordon Deegan	news	freelance	5	18	7	30
3. Anne Lucey	news	freelance	14	4	5	23
4. Sylvia Thompson	About Us	Horizons	19	0	0	19
5. Frank McDonald	news	environmental editor	18	0	0	18
6. Lorna Siggins	news	marine/western corr	14	0	0	14
8. Paul Cullen	news	none	12	0	0	12
9. Des O'Sullivan	property	antiques/fine art	0	12	0	12
12. Donal Hickey	news/outdoors	none	0	10	0	10
16. Mary Leland	property/arts	none	2	7	0	9
18. Donal Buckley	property	deputy property editor	0	0	8	8
18. Tim O'Brien	news	regional Development corr	8	0	0	8
21. Fiona Gartland	news	none	7	0	0	7
30. Bernice Harrison	property	none	6	0	0	6
30. Rose Doyle	property	none	6	0	0	6
36. Cliodhna O'Donoghue	property	property editor	0	0	5	5
36. Paul Melia	news	none	0	0	5	5
36. Ralph Riegel	news	none	0	0	5	5
36. Eoin English	news/business	none	0	5	0	5
36. Stephen Cadogan	farming	none	0	5	0	5
48. Dick Ahlstrom	science	science editor	4	0	0	4
48. Olivia Kelly	news	none	4	0	0	4
48. Charlie Weston	news/business	none	0	0	4	4
48. Harry McGee	news	political editor	0	4	0	4
Totals			**119**	**65**	**39**	**223**

Ideology

Question 2 tested political orientation, asking respondents to choose, from a list of seven, the political orientation that most closely matched their own. Respondents also had the option of choosing 'none' or specifying another orientation, or skipping the question. Six of the 23 chose to skip the question; 17 responded. Contrary to oft-repeated claims of left-wing bias among journalists but very much in line with the findings of a Virginia Commonwealth University survey (Croteau 1998) that most journalists identify themselves with the political centre on both economic and social issues, the responses show a majority alignment with the centre and, more especially with the liberal consensus represented by the three main political parties and the Progressive Democrats. No respondent classified him- or herself as either 'conservative' or 'left-wing'. Seven respondents (41.2%) described themselves as 'liberal', two as 'social democrat/centre-left', one as 'centrist' and three as 'pragmatist', making a centre-orientated bloc of 13 of the 17 respondents (76%) – to which might reasonably be added the three who claimed to have no political orientation at all, making 16 of 17 (94%). The other respondent chose 'other' and enigmatically described himself as 'former liberal'.

Table 65: political orientation

	Percentage response	Number of respondents
Liberal	41.2%	7
Pragmatist	17.6%	3
None	17.6%	3
Social democrat (centre-left)	11.8%	2
Centrist	5.9%	1
Other ('former liberal')	5.9%	1
Conservative	0.0%	0
Christian democrat (centre-right)	0.0%	0
Left wing	0.0%	0

Journalistic attitudes to heritage

Question 3 tested journalists' attitudes to heritage by asking them to rate the strength of their agreement/disagreement with the 23 claims about heritage that appeared most often in texts the content analysis. The journalists recorded their responses on a four-point Likert scale, from '1- strongly disagree', through '2 – disagree somewhat' and '3 – agree somewhat' to '4 – strongly agree'. The higher the rating average, therefore, the more strongly the group agreed with the statement. Rating averages between 1 and 2 indicate strong agreement, between 3 and 4 strong disagreement and between 2 and 3, a lack of consensus. As each respondent logged on to the survey site online, the order of the statements was randomized, except for the statement 'This cachet survives the destruction of the actual heritage', which always followed the statement 'Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity'. With the exception of this linked couplet, the responses are tabulated in descending order of agreement. It will be noted that some of the claims are only subtly different, but different nonetheless. It was decided to state the claims as they appeared in the texts without further exegesis or example, for fear of distorting the responses. As a result, the journalists may simply have been at a loss what to make of statements such as 'Heritage is in conflict with itself' and indeed, this statement proved among the more divisive. In fact, texts making this claim are commonplace, almost all of them cast in the 'nature red in tooth and claw' trope – stories of grey squirrels ousting red squirrels or sharks eating crocodiles – to the effect that irrespective of how humankind treats them, animals kill each other all the time. The point is that these are the journalists who either make these claims in the texts they produce or allow such claims to go unchallenged in the texts they produce. In the case of some of the claims in the middle of the table – those that elicited agreement and disagreement in more or less equal measure – it is possible that journalists simply do not

always stop to consider all the implications of everything they write. In the case of claims with which the group strongly disagreed, notwithstanding having frequently reproduced such claims, I will attempt to tease out the implications at the discussion stage.

The highest level of agreement is elicited for the statements 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable' and 'Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity', thus perfectly reflecting the last two dominant paradigms in the historical heritage discourse though, perhaps, not in the order one might have expected. At the other end of the table, the strongest disagreement is reserved for the somewhat extreme claims 'Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction' and 'Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage' respectively. Yet tested against the frequency of claims as they actually appear in the content analysis (Table 58, Page 169), we find that 'Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity' is the most frequent, being iterated in 146 texts, but that 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable' is only the seventh most frequent, iterated in a mere 26 texts. In contrast, 'Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage' is the second-most frequently made claim (47 texts), while 'Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction' comes immediately behind 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable' at eighth (24 texts).

Table 66: heritage claims

	1	2	3	4	Rating
Heritage is intrinsically valuable	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	17.4% (4)	82.6% (19)	3.83
Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity	0.0% (0)	4.3% (1)	26.1% (6)	69.6% (16)	3.65
This cachet survives the destruction of the heritage	47.8% (11)	39.1% (9)	13.0% (3)	0.0% (0)	1.65
Heritage is worth saving	4.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	21.7% (5)	73.9% (17)	3.65
Heritage is interesting	8.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	21.7% (5)	69.6% (16)	3.52
Heritage is worth money	0.0% (0)	4.3% (1)	47.8% (11)	47.8% (11)	3.43
Heritage is exotic and interesting	0.0% (0)	13.0% (3)	65.2% (15)	21.7% (5)	3.09
Heritage gives rise to conflict	4.5% (1)	40.9% (9)	31.8% (7)	22.7% (5)	2.73
Heritage is a victim of conflict	4.3% (1)	43.5% (10)	43.5% (10)	8.7% (2)	2.57
Heritage is to be exploited	19.0% (4)	38.1% (8)	38.1% (8)	4.8% (1)	2.29
Development improves heritage	13.0% (3)	52.2% (12)	34.8% (8)	0.0% (0)	2.22
Loss of heritage is inevitable	30.4% (7)	21.7% (5)	43.5% (10)	4.3% (1)	2.22
Heritage is in conflict with itself	31.8% (7)	45.5% (10)	13.6% (3)	9.1% (2)	2.00
Heritage is to be consumed	36.8% (7)	36.8% (7)	26.3% (5)	0.0% (0)	1.89
Heritage is subservient to economic requirements	39.1% (9)	43.5% (10)	13.0% (3)	4.3% (1)	1.83
Heritage is to be exploited to the utmost extent	47.8% (11)	43.5% (10)	8.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	1.61
Heritage proponents act against the national interest	60.9% (14)	26.1% (6)	4.3% (1)	8.7% (2)	1.61
Heritage is too costly	47.8% (11)	43.5% (10)	8.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	1.61
Heritage regulations are costly and unnecessary	54.5% (12)	40.9% (9)	4.5% (1)	0.0% (0)	1.50
Heritage is in conflict with human safety	59.1% (13)	31.8% (7)	9.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	1.50
H. is valuable to the extent it can be consumed for profit	78.3% (18)	17.4% (4)	0.0% (0)	4.3% (1)	1.30
Dev. is good, irrespective of impact on heritage	73.9% (17)	26.1% (6)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	1.26
H. is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction	87.0% (20)	13.0% (3)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	1.13

Number of respondents in brackets. 1= strongly disagree, 2 = disagree somewhat, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = strongly agree

The content analysis tabulated these claims as positive or negative towards heritage in Tables 59 and 60. Here are the claims, divided into positive and negative and tabulated in order of agreeability/objectionability according to the survey.

Table 67: most frequent claims – positive (11)

	Claim	response average
1.	Heritage is intrinsically valuable	3.83
2.	Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity	3.65
2.	Heritage is worth saving	3.65
4.	Heritage is interesting	3.52
5.	Heritage is worth money	3.43
6.	Heritage is exotic and interesting	3.09
8.	Heritage is the victim of conflict	2.57
9.	Heritage is to be exploited	2.29
13.	Heritage is to be consumed	1.89
16.	Heritage is to be exploited to the utmost extent	1.61
21.	Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit	1.30

Table 68: most frequent claims – negative (12)

	Claim	response average
7.	Heritage gives rise to conflict	2.73
10.	Development improves heritage	2.22
10.	Loss of heritage is inevitable	2.22
12.	Heritage is in conflict with itself	2.00
14.	Heritage is subservient to economic requirements	1.83
15.	Heritage cachet survives destruction of heritage	1.65
16.	Heritage is too costly	1.61
16.	Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest	1.61
19.	Heritage is in conflict with human safety	1.50
19.	Heritage regulations are costly and unnecessary	1.50
22.	Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage	1.26
23.	Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction	1.13

The highest position the survey respondents awarded to a negative claim was seventh. The lowest position awarded to a positive claim (and one that could be characterised as marginally positive at that) was 21st, but positive claims filled eight of the top nine positions in the league table of agreeability. All in all, the respondents' attitude towards heritage was, according to this test, overwhelmingly positive.

Question 4 further investigated the journalists' attitude to heritage by seeking their preferred outcome to the continuing controversy over the M3 and the Hill of Tara. Respondents were offered five options, representing the two extremes (one of which, nevertheless, is the most probable outcome), plus three compromise outcomes and the chance to suggest an alternative. The results are tabulated in Table 69 overleaf.

Table 69: Tara/M3 preferred outcomes

	Percent	Count
Should proceed on the existing route	0.0%	0
Should proceed on the existing route, but with a total ban on roadside development in the vicinity of Tara	40.9%	9
Should proceed on another route in the Tara-Skryne valley, further from Tara	13.6%	3
Should proceed on another route, well away from the Tara-Skryne valley	31.8%	7
Should not proceed at all	4.5%	1
Other	9.1%	2
	answered question	**22**

None opted for the motorway proceeding along the existing route, which was precisely what was most likely to happen. At the other end of the scale, only one opted for the motorway to be abandoned. Two selected 'other', one of whom claimed to have no preferred outcome and one of whom pleaded lack of knowledge. The other 19 (86%) of the 22 who answered the question opted for compromise solutions – the very sort of outcome their news values make them least inclined to mediate. Of 33 texts on the Tara-M3 issue in the content analysis, only three fell wholly or partly within the 'compromise' news paradigm– in other words, only three included claims conducive to or suggestive of compromise. More than 40% of respondents plumped for 'The motorway should proceed on the existing route, but with a total ban on roadside development in the vicinity of Tara', which is precisely the compromise suggested by the Heritage Council to the then-Minister for the Environment, Dick Roche, but which did not rate a mention in any of the texts analysed for this study.

The feed-forward loop – homogeneity and redundancy

Question 5 explored a number of issues relating to homogeneity and redundancy in the discourse, again using Tara-M3, the highest-profile story throughout the period of the content analysis. In particular, it was hoped that this question would shed light on the phenomenon whereby, though there were several texts in the content analysis justifying or explaining the importance of the planned motorway, not a single text appeared explaining the history or significance of Tara or even providing a physical description of the archaeological complex there. It was further expected that this question might provide evidence to support the hypothesis that journalists, whether from pressure of time or lack of research resources or any other reason, rely largely on other news media for their view of the world, resulting in a media feed-forward loop of journalists tending to repeat continually what they have already read, heard or seen elsewhere in the media.

The responses did, indeed, yield such evidence: four obtained their knowledge of Tara from school or college, one visited the site, one studied books and/or journals, one cited research but without providing details and one claimed personal knowledge but without specifying how he had acquired that knowledge. The majority, however, 13 of the 22 who answered, 59%, said they had acquired the bulk of their knowledge of Tara from other media. An unexpected finding was that none of the respondents claimed to have acquired his or her knowledge of Tara largely from the internet. The fact that only one journalist had actually visited Tara for a story, and that only one referred to their own research, suggests that it is also unlikely that articles explaining the historical significance of the site or even providing a physical description of the archaeological complex there are to be readily encountered outside the sample periods of this study.

Table 70: sources of knowledge about Tara

	Percent	Count
Largely from school/college	18.2%	4
Largely from other media	59.1%	13
Largely from books/journals	4.5%	1
Largely from the Internet	0.0%	0
Other (please specify)	18.2%	4
Breakdown of 'other'		
Emails/texts from Save Tara groups	4.5%	1
Visit to site	4.5%	1
From my own knowledge	4.5%	1
Research	4.5%	1
	answered question	**22**

Organizational culture versus professional training/education

Question 6, 'Where did you acquire the bulk of your professional expertise and knowledge as a journalist?' taken in conjunction with Question 7, 'If you have a third-level qualification (diploma or degree), what subject(s) is it in?', goes to the question of to what extent journalists in the heritage discourse are subsumed into organizational culture and whether their professional training insulates them to some extent from becoming 'company men' (Hofstede 1980). Let us take Question 7 first. The 21 respondents who answered this question hold 33 diplomas and degrees between them, so third-level education is pretty well universal. A maximum of two of the 23 respondents possibly do not hold a third-level qualification.

Table 71: third-level qualifications

	Percent	Count
Journalism	47.6%	10
Media/communications	9.5%	2
History	19.0%	4
Economics	4.8%	1
English	28.6%	6
Law	4.8%	1
Sociology	4.8%	1
Politics/public admin	4.8%	1
Other (please specify)	33.3%	7
Other breakdown		
Science	4.8%	1
Geography/archaeology	4.8%	1
MA in Old/Middle English	4.8%	1
Psychology	4.8%	1
Engineering/maths	4.8%	1
PR/marketing/advertising	4.8%	1
Arts (English/classics)	4.8%	1

Note that 10 of the respondents hold a third-level qualification in journalism while another two are qualified in media and/or communications, so that 12 of the 22, or 54%, hold qualifications in journalism or media/communications. Now compare the Question 6 table, Table 72.

Table 72: source of professional expertise

	Percent	Count
Third-level education	8.7%	2
Formal in-house training courses	4.3%	1
Informal on-the-job training and advice from superiors/colleagues	21.7%	5
Experience	65.2%	15

The vast majority said they acquired the bulk of their professional expertise and knowledge from experience (15 of 23, or 65.2%) or from informal on-the-job training and advice from superiors and/or colleagues (5 of 23, or 21.7%). Between them, these very similar groups account for 20 of the 23, or 87% per cent of the group. Just two of the respondents, both of them journalism graduates, regarded their third-level education as the most important component of their professional knowledge and expertise. If the results are to be taken at face value, then it is clear that a high proportion of the journalism graduates who responded and who have been working for some years in newspapers believe that their college degrees have been less formative professionally than has been their immersion in the work-place.

Note that though four respondents have history degrees, one minored in archaeology, one minored in classics and another studied Old and Middle English at postgraduate level, none holds any sort of qualification in heritage studies.

Passivity

The content analysis found a high level of passivity (planning permission was granted; the land has been developed) and the use of false active constructions (the house sold for €5million; the barns came down) in the heritage discourse, contrary to the urgings of the vocational literature; and the effect of such usage was often to disguise agency or omit agents entirely. Questions 8 and 9 explore the 'official' attitude of the respondents' publications to the use of the passive voice and whether this attitude is carried through into practice. Question 8 asked the journalists whether their publication had a house stylebook in active use and 18 of the 21 respondents to this question (85.7%), representing all three newspapers, responded in the affirmative, one said 'don't know' and two responded in the negative. Of these latter two, one was a freelance who, however, wrote exclusively for the *Irish Examiner*, and the other was an *Irish Independent* staffer. In both cases, their answer was unanimously contradicted by their colleagues. But Question 9 revealed a much greater level of uncertainty regarding whether the stylebook or style policy discouraged the use of the passive voice. In almost equal measure, the respondents answered 'yes' (seven, 35%), 'no' (six, 30%) and 'don't know' (seven, 35%). Broken down by publication, *Irish Times* journalists showed the greatest certainty, with seven of 13 insisting that the house style discouraged the use of the passive voice, two claiming it did not and four saying they did not know. The corresponding totals for the *Irish Independent* were: 'yes' one, 'no' two and 'don't know' two; and for the *Irish Examiner*: 'yes' one, 'no' one and 'don't know' three (some freelance journalists contributed to all three newspapers). Yet, according to the content analysis, *The Irish Times* was just as likely to have recourse to the passive voice or false active constructions as the other publications. Of 167 passive or false-active headlines, 77 (46%) were in *The Irish Times*, 38 were in the *Irish Independent* and 52 were in the *Irish Examiner*. The inescapable conclusion is that, whatever individual journalists are being told, any official stricture on the use of passive and false-active constructions is being frequently ignored at management level.

Sources

The next five questions all explored the journalists' and their publications' attitudes to and relationships with sources. Questions 10 and 11 proposed a hypothetical case in which there was a development proposal for a heritage site and asked journalists which source types they would use to research the heritage (Question 10) and development (Question 11) aspects of the story. Journalists could choose more than one source type, and this disclosed the first discrepancy between respondents' perceptions/aspirations and the reality as revealed in the content analysis for, between the two panels, the 18 journalists who responded to this question chose 156 source types, at an average of 8.6 sources each – 80 on the heritage side (average 4.4 each) and 76 on the development side (4.2 each). In reality, 787 of 1,190 texts (66%) cited a single source and 1,001 (84%) cited sources representing a single perspective. In terms of source type, the responses yielded the data tabulated below, in descending order of popularity, in Tables 73 (Question 10) and 74 (Question 11).

Table 73: sources – heritage side

	Percent	Count
Local historian or academic	88.9%	16
Planning authority	66.7%	12
Protesters	66.7%	12
Community group	55.6%	10
Other media (newspapers, radio, TV)	50.0%	9
The developer	50.0%	9
Books/journals	38.9%	7
Local politician	27.8%	5
	answered question	**18**

Table 74: sources – development side

	Percent	Count
The developer	94.4%	17
Planning authority	88.9%	16
Community group	50.0%	9
Local politician	50.0%	9
Protesters	44.4%	8
Other media (newspapers, radio, TV)	33.3%	6
Local historian or academic	33.3%	6
Books/journals	27.8%	5
	answered question	**18**

Note that the respondents were more prepared to ask the developer about the heritage aspect, than to ask the local historian or academic his views on the development – and this is in line with the findings of the content analysis, which uncovered an apparent distrust by journalists of heritage sources in comparison with other source types (Page 105). Note, too, that the respondents are more prepared to rely on other media when

researching the heritage aspect than when researching the development aspect. Here (Table 75) are the values for the hypothetical story (combining the answers to Questions 10 and 11), alongside the actual values from the content analysis (texts citing source type as percentage of all texts). For example, 26 of 36 respondents (72.2%) said they would use the developer as a source whereas the content analysis revealed that only 36.3% of texts cited developer sources.

Table 75: source types combined and compared

	Survey		Content
	Percent	Count (of 36)	Percent
The developer	72.2%	26	36.3%
Local historian or academic	61.1%	22	8.7%
Planning authority/local politician averaged	58.3%	21	12.5%
Protesters	55.8%	20	2.9%
Community group	52.6%	19	4.0%
Other media (newspapers, radio, TV)	41.7%	15	0.5%
Books/journals	33.3%	12	0.0%

The very much lower percentages for the content analysis in general reflect the fact that journalists in the heritage discourse are far less likely to cite a second or third source than they seem to think they are (much less 8.6 sources in a single story!), so the ratios are more important than the absolute values. They reveal that journalists are more likely to cite local government sources than they believe they are, but less likely to cite heritage academics and significantly less likely to cite protestors and community groups. However, the respondents' enthusiasm for private-sector sources was an accurate reflection of the findings of the content analysis. The very low value for media sources actually cited in the content analysis probably reflects the reality that journalists, even if they do rely on other media to research background for an article, are unlikely to acknowledge that in print.

More respondents were reluctant to answer Questions 12 through 14 than any other questions with the exception of Question 21, with the reticence peaking on Question 14, to which just 14 of 23 responded. Question 12 asked journalists how often their newspaper insisted on a) a second, corroborating source and b) a second, counterbalancing source, giving the choice of 'always', 'sometimes', 'seldom' and 'never'. The values returned are contained in Table 76 overleaf.

Table 76: second sources

	Always	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Count
Insist on a second corroborating source	58.8% (10)	35.3% (6)	0.0% (0)	5.9% (1)	17
Insist on a second counterbalancing source	43.8% (7)	50.0% (8)	0.0% (0)	6.3% (1)	16
			answered question	17	

The high level of agreement that the publications always or sometimes insisted on a second source is not borne out by the evidence of the content analysis: 787 texts of 1190 did not have a second source of any description and these were distributed as follows between the publications: *The Irish Times* 289 (60% of all *Irish Times* texts), *Irish Independent* 221 (72%) and *Irish Examiner* 277 (69%). There were 1001 of 1190 texts without a counterbalancing source, distributed as follows: *The Irish Times* 387 (81%), *Irish Independent* 273 (71%) and *Irish Examiner* 341 (85%). Nor did genre make any appreciable difference: of 477 stories in 'news' sections across all three publications, 264 (55%) had a single source and 365 (77%) had sources supporting a single perspective.

Question 13 asked journalists how often, if ever, they were deterred from seeking a second source by a) time pressure or b) fear of killing the story. The values returned are contained in Table 77.

Table 77: reasons for failing to seek a second source

	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never	Count
Due to lack of time	0.0% (0)	23.5% (4)	11.8% (2)	64.7% (11)	17
For fear of 'killing' the story	0.0% (0)	6.3% (1)	12.5% (2)	81.3% (13)	16
				answered question	18

Given the respondents' firm belief that they always seek at least two and, presumably, frequently seek at least four sources per story (for that is the implication of the answers to Question 12 – source A, source B to corroborate source A, source C to counterbalance source A and source D to corroborate source C), it is hardly surprising that most journalists insisted they were never deterred from contacting a second source. Again, the answers are at odds with the evidence of the content analysis. However, six journalists admitted they were sometimes deterred from contacting a second source due to time pressure and three admitted they were sometimes deterred from contacting a second source for fear of killing the story.

Question 14 properly belongs with Questions 10 and 11 but I thought it prudent to take the respondents' minds off source types before returning to the issue, in case thinking about Questions 10 and 11 contaminated the responses to Question 14. The respondents were asked to rank eight source types 1-8 in order of 'authoritativeness'. Note, the question does not make a distinction between source types whom the journalists consider authoritative and source types whom the journalists think their readers will consider authoritative. Note too, the higher the score, the lower the ranking (one being the highest possible and eight being the lowest possible average; 14 being the highest possible total and 112 being the lowest possible total).

Table 78: authoritative sources

	Average	Total
Academic	2.43	34
Statutory body	2.57	36
Government	3.57	50
Local government	3.64	51
Professional	4.00	56
Lobby group	6.21	87
Private citizen	6.50	91
Businessman	7.07	99
	answered question	**14**

This time, the high rankings awarded to statutory bodies, government and local government and the low ranking awarded to lobby groups and private citizens are in broad agreement with the frequency or lack of frequency with which journalists had recourse to these source types in the content analysis. Yet for all that journalists see academics as authoritative, they rarely cite them in the heritage discourse; and business people's perceived lack of authoritativeness does not prevent them being the most frequently cited source type – nor does it usually prompt the journalist to cite a second source. The gap between journalists' low opinion of businesspeople as sources and the frequency with which they cite them might reasonably be assumed to be, at least in part, the product of source strategies, with businesspeople providing press releases and photo-opportunities, flexing their advertising muscle and obtaining publicity through sponsorship of charities and community causes.

One of the journalists who declined to answer Question 14 supplied the reasonable objection that different source types are more or less authoritative in the context of different story types. I point out in defence of the question that respondents were asked

at the top of the survey to consider all the questions in the context of the heritage discourse only.

Newsroom power – Journalists and management

Questions 15 through 19 explore the amount of independence journalists have (or perceive themselves to have) in determining what texts are included, who determines the main thrust or angle of the story, and to what extent texts are altered after they leave the journalists' desks. Question 15 asked respondents to what extent they generated their own story ideas and to what extent story ideas were suggested or assigned by management, and to assign a rough percentage value, totalling 100, to each. The average values came in at just under 70% (69.25%) self-generated, just over 30% (30.75%) assigned. Individual assessments ranged from 30% self-generated, 70% assigned (two respondents) to 100% self-generated (two respondents). The mode was 50-50 (five respondents of 19). Given the experience range of the group, from general and freelance reporters to specialist correspondents and editors, this has the appearance of a fairly accurate assessment. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that the more experienced a journalist becomes – and trusted within his or her organization – the more input he or her will have when it comes to story selection. For example, one of the journalists who supplied the lowest figure for self-generation, 30%, is a highly experienced, high-profile political reporter who, however, has quite recently moved from the *Irish Examiner*, where he was political editor, to *The Irish Times*, where he is political correspondent, one rung below political editor.

However, what this pattern disguises (or, perhaps, reveals) is that journalists may gain trust within their organization precisely at the rate and to the extent that they become subsumed into organizational culture. The more experienced and trusted they become, the more they pitch stories and angles that they know stand a good chance of being included; the more they pitch stories and angles that suit their publications' stance, market and world-view, the more they will be trusted to generate their own story ideas and the more likely those ideas are to be accepted. Such a trend would be in line with research into the manager-subordinate dryad by Brower *et al* (2008), which found that trust in the subordinate was positively related to organizational citizenship behaviour. Put simply, good organizational citizens have more trust reposed in them by managers.

Question 16 addressed the amount of independence journalists have (or perceive themselves to have) in determining the main thrust or angle of a story. The question posed was: 'Irrespective of whose idea the story was, who has the major input in deciding the main thrust or angle of the story? Please assign a rough percentage value, totalling 100 (50/50, 60/40, 30/70 *etc.*).' This time, the journalists rated their input even higher – at 84.2%, compared with 15.8% for management input. The range was from 50-50 (one respondent) to 100-0 (three respondents) and the mode was 90-10 (nine respondents). The two who had earlier rated their input into story generation at 30-70, rated their input into story framing at 90-10. This seems counterintuitive and implausible. What the respondents appear to be ignoring is the possibility that the story ideas suggested or assigned by management may already contain the main thrust or angle. In other words, instead of suggesting 'Let's do a story on Celebrity A' (as the respondents' answers appear to imply), editorial managers are actually saying 'Let's do a story on Celebrity A's latest visit to rehab'.

Questions 17 and 18 asked how frequently the main thrust or angle of a story was significantly changed at the production stage, once it had left the journalist's desk. They were essentially the same question, asked twice. The first iteration was more open and less specific: 'After you have filed a story, is the main thrust or angle (of the text itself) significantly changed at the production stage frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never?' The responses were as follow in Table 79.

Table 79: production

	Percent	Count
Frequently	5.3%	1
Occasionally	10.5%	2
Seldom	63.2%	12
Never	21.1%	4

A comment box attracted six comments as follow:

1. 'I don't think a story I have ever written in 19 years of journalist has been deliberately changed/manipulated or distorted to change its message or import. Occasionally an inexperienced or careless sub-editor has changed an intro or written a headline that has inadvertently led to distortion.' (Answered: Seldom)

2. ‘Obviously, it depends on the type of story (court stories are rarely strongly edited) or the publication (stories are more likely to be significantly changed in a tabloid and the changes often result in an improvement in the story, making the piece more “snappy” and reader friendly).’ (Seldom)

3. ‘The thrust is rarely changed. However, the intro may be tweaked slightly, or details in paragraphs further down the piece may be brought up higher in the story.’ (Seldom)

4. ‘It depends on the publication. *The Irish Times* seldom changes – the *Examiner* and the *Independent* operate differently.’ (Freelance journalist who contributes to all three publications. Answered: Seldom)

5. ‘Reports may be converted into English for the purposes of house style and accuracy but seldom if ever would the central thesis be changed.’ (Seldom)

6. ‘Intros can be re-written, other material added or, as in the most frequent case, stories are cropped to fit the available space.’ (Occasionally)

Question 18 probed more deeply and suggested specific ways in which the main thrust or angle of the story might be changed without necessarily involving major surgery to the text itself. It asked: ‘After you have filed a story, is the main thrust or angle significantly changed at the production stage by the headline, captions, pullquotes, standfirst or photographs *etc.*, frequently, occasionally, seldom or never?’ Respondents said that this was more often the case. Now, almost a third (31.6%) of journalists were prepared to acknowledge that the main thrust or angle of their stories was frequently or occasionally changed at the production stage. In comparison with Question 17, the results of which are tabulated in Table 79 (Page 226), the ‘nevers’ dropped from 21.1% to 15.8%, the ‘seldoms’ dropped from 63.2% to 52.6% and the ‘occasionallys’ rose from 10.5% to 26.3%. See Table 80 overleaf.

Table 80: production, display and furniture

	Percent	Count
Frequently	5.3%	1
Occasionally	26.3%	5
Seldom	52.6%	10
Never	15.8%	3
	answered question 19	

Four respondents added comments:

1. 'Occasionally, they miss the point. But never because they are pursuing a particular agenda or grudge.' (Answered: Seldom)

2. 'On rare occasions, a flat headline can ruin a good story. Production restrictions, i.e. lack of space, are most often the cause.' (Seldom)

3. 'Headline writers frequently distort the picture.' (Seldom)[13]

4. 'Headlines are always the major issue – they can tilt a story in either direction. Most rows I encounter arise from headlines – with people reacting sometimes despite the fact that the story text itself can be quite balanced.' (Occasionally)

Note also that two of the comments above (Nos.3 & 4) provide support for the thesis proposed in the content analysis rationale in Chapter 3 that, though reasonable balance may be achieved within the body of a text, pressure of space – and an unwillingness to appear indecisive or equivocal in what is the main 'seller' of a text – often dictates that the headline makes a definitive choice.

[13] Note that this respondent, and the respondent responsible for comment No.1, both contradicted their answers in their comments and, if their comments were to be accepted, No.1 should have answered 'Occasionally' rather than 'Seldom' and No.3 should have answered 'Frequently' rather than 'Seldom'. The adjusted table, included here merely for the sake of completeness, would look like this:

	Percent	Count
Frequently	10.5%	2
Occasionally	31.6%	6
Seldom	42.1%	8
Never	15.8%	3
	answered question 19	

Finally in this section, Question 19 asks journalists about the determining power of the availability of a good photograph. The question was: 'In your opinion, does the availability or non-availability of a good photograph determine a) how much space your story gets and b) whether your story runs at all, frequently, occasionally, seldom or never? The results produced the following table:

Table 81: availability of photograph as determinant

	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never	Count
How much space a story gets	42.1% (8)	52.6% (10)	5.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	19
Whether a story runs at all	11.8% (2)	23.5% (4)	29.4% (5)	35.3% (6)	17

The respondents recognized that picture availability was an important determinant in how much space a text was awarded, with 18 of 19 (95%) saying it frequently or occasionally determined the amount of space, and none saying it never did. The significance comes into sharper focus given that several journalists appear to believe that lack of space is itself a factor in texts becoming inadvertently or innocently distorted – forgetting that the amount of space 'available' is a product of conscious choice on the part of management rather than of any natural process. The respondents further recognized that picture availability was a factor – less marked but still significant – in determining whether a story ran at all.

A comment box elicited four comments:

1. 'A good picture, as they say, speaks a thousand words. A good story combined with a strong image gets the splash. A good story without a strong image still gets a good show but loses its impact. In my nine years with the *Examiner*, I can never remember a good story of mine not running because there was no photo. If it's a good story that deserves a good image, we go all out to get that shot - but it's not always possible.' (Answered: frequently/never)

2. 'Again, it depends on the publication.' (Freelance who contributes to all three publications. Answered: occasionally/occasionally)

3. 'A picture is worth a thousand words!' (Frequently/occasionally)

4. ‘The *Irish Independent*, in particular, is very photo-driven. Having a good image or picture can very often determine whether a story is used, where it is used and how much space it is allocated.’ (*Independent* staff writer. Answered: frequently/frequently).

Question 20 attempted to elicit information on the publications’ news criteria as perceived by their journalists. Respondents were asked to rank eight widely recognized news values in order of their importance in determining story selection. The choices appeared to the respondents in automatically randomized order. Seven respondents – the second-highest after Question 14 – declined to answer this question. One commented that she felt unable to answer the question because I had omitted the most important news criterion of all, ‘news value’, notwithstanding the fact that the question itself refers to each of the listed categories as particular news values. This was a person with a degree in media/communications. The results are tabulated in Table 82, in descending order of importance. Again, note that the higher the average and total value, the lower the quantity’s rank. The ‘most important’ possible would have a total of 16 and an average of one; the ‘least important’ possible would have a total of 128 and an average of eight).

Table 82: hierarchy of news values

	Average	Total	Count
Conflict/a good row	2.56	41	16
Size or scale	3.50	56	16
Economic cost or value	3.63	58	16
Rarity	4.31	69	16
Geographical proximity to your readership	4.75	76	16
Cultural proximity to your market segment	5.44	87	16
Drama	5.88	94	16
Celebrity or personality	5.94	95	16
	answered question	**16**	

There was certainly nothing like unanimity on this question: the actual range is 2.56-5.94 compared with the potential range of 1-8 – meaning that no single news value was regarded on average as being more important than ‘two-and-a-halfth’ position or less important than sixth position. All eight news values were seen as important criteria for story selection in the three publications. Nevertheless, the journalists were able to divine a hierarchy of news values that corresponded very closely to the one revealed by the content analysis, where ‘conflict’ was the single most important news value and cost/value and scale figured highly, while plotting the locus of each text onto maps of

Ireland (See Pages 163-167) revealed the importance of geographical proximity. But in rating geographical proximity only fifth, the journalists underrated its importance as a criterion, given the evidence of the content analysis. As to the question posed earlier in light of that evidence – do Irish newspaper journalists see heritage as an essentially local issue? – it remains moot, since the survey answers suggest that the respondents do not quite appreciate just how localized their newspapers' coverage of heritage affairs is. In contrast, the one value that was perhaps not as significant in the content analysis as the respondents believe it to be is rarity value. This is the most alluded-to of all news values, celebrated in the famous quote from *New York Sun* editor John B Bogart: 'When a dog bites a man, that is not news, because it happens so often. But if a man bites a dog, that is news.' (Kaplan 1992, p554). Celebrated or not, it is the finding of this and other research, notably that on agenda-setting, that rarity itself is a rarity in news discourses. That is not to suggest that a genuinely rare event will receive no coverage; rather, that a profound lack of rarity is no impediment in news terms and that many newspaper stories ('Opposition attacks Government', 'Grieving mother criticizes "lenient" sentence', 'Cost of living rises again') are repeated endlessly despite their banality.

Specialist correspondents

Question 21 probed journalists' perceptions of the role of the specialist correspondent, and the effect the existence of specialist heritage correspondents might have on the discourse. It was worded: 'Finally, if your publication had a specialist Heritage Correspondent or Heritage Editor (in the same way as it has a Political or Environmental Correspondent or a Business or Property Editor), how do think this would affect your publication's coverage of heritage affairs? (Tick as many as you feel appropriate).' The results appear in Table 83, ranked in order of popularity.

Table 83: heritage correspondents

	Percent	Count
Increased coverage of heritage affairs	88.9%	16
Coverage that is better informed about heritage	83.3%	15
Tendency to include stories that might not otherwise be covered	77.8%	14
A greater inclination to seek out and quote pro-heritage sources	44.4%	8
Coverage that is more critical or questioning of development	44.4%	8
Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to heritage	33.3%	6
A decrease in coverage that is negative towards heritage	5.6%	1
Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to development	0.0%	0
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
	answered question	**18**

There was near-unanimous acceptance of the suggestion that the appointment of a specialist heritage correspondent or editor would result in increased coverage of heritage affairs – not in itself, of course, necessarily a 'good' thing as far as heritage is concerned, for the content analysis demonstrated that there is no shortage of coverage of heritage-related news in absolute terms. But there was also a high degree of acceptance that the creation of a specialist post would result in coverage that was at least better-informed about heritage – tending to suggest a perceived lack of knowledge about heritage among general reporters and other correspondents. Just to be certain that journalists were not interpreting 'increased coverage' as meaning merely longer texts, the respondents were asked whether a tendency to cover heritage stories that might not otherwise be covered would ensue, and they largely agreed that it would – in other words, that the creation of a specialist heritage position would result in (or stem from) an assumed *a priori* news value for heritage, with an allocated space to be filled by heritage stories each day.

But the respondents were not convinced that a heritage correspondent or editor would result in coverage that was more positive towards heritage, or more critical of development, nor that such a move would result in more heritage sources being cited or a decrease in negative coverage of heritage.

Six of the seven specialist correspondents and editors – an environmental editor, a property editor, a science editor, a marine/western correspondent, a regional correspondent and a political correspondent – completed this question and their answers are particularly interesting.

Table 84: heritage correspondents, the correspondents' view

	Percent	Count
Increased coverage of heritage affairs	100%	6
Coverage that is better informed about heritage	100%	6
Tendency to include stories that might not otherwise be covered	80%	5
A greater inclination to seek out and quote pro-heritage sources	50%	3
Coverage that is more critical or questioning of development	50%	3
Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to heritage	50%	3
A decrease in coverage that is negative towards heritage	20%	1
Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to development	0.0%	0
Other (please specify)	0.0%	0
	answered question	**6**

The specialists were even more emphatic that the appointment of a heritage correspondent or editor would result in a) more and b) better-informed coverage of heritage affairs. Five of the six thought such a move would result in a tendency to include heritage stories that might not otherwise be included. But they were only marginally less sceptical than their non-specialist colleagues of the idea that such a move would necessarily lead to more positive coverage of heritage, a greater inclination to quote pro-heritage sources, or more critical coverage of development – and only one of the six believed that it would lead to a decrease in coverage that was negative to heritage.

8. TABLES TURNED: A REFLECTION ON THE JOURNALISTS' FEEDBACK

According to the model of meaning-making, in which some meaning is inscribed even before production, and more meaning is inscribed during contestations or negotiations to which the journalist is not party, it was pointed out earlier that the journalist need not be ideologically motivated in order to produce texts that contain ideological meaning and perform ideological work – and that the journalist need not necessarily be aware of such ideological content. In describing themselves as 'liberal', 'centrist', 'pragmatist' or apolitical and declining to classify themselves as either left- or right-wing or even conservative, the respondents to the survey aligned themselves firmly with the current political mainstream in the Republic of Ireland. They are third-level graduates almost to a person and, of course, professionals. As such, they are very much members of the same socio-economic groups for whom they write – middle-class, educated professionals with mainstream political orientations. In terms of their attitudes to heritage, too, they have much in common with their readers. It is precisely the better-off, 35+ adults who form the bulk of the readership of the three publications that exhibit the most interest in and awareness of heritage[14]. Asked to rate their agreement with the 23 most frequently made claims about heritage found in the content analysis, the respondents agreed most strongly with the least problematic claims, such as 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable', 'Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity' and 'Heritage is worth saving', and disagreed most strongly with extreme claims such as 'Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit', 'Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage' and 'Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction'.

Yet, these are the very journalists who wrote the texts that repeatedly made these extreme claims. Between them, these 23 claims were iterated 608 times in 1190 texts. 'Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage', the second-most objectionable claim to the journalists, was iterated almost twice as often (47 times), than 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable' (26 times), the claim the respondents found most

[14] Lansdowne Market Research 1999: *Policy Paper on Heritage Awareness in Ireland*. Kilkenny: The Irish Heritage Council

agreeable. In the 223 texts authored by the respondents themselves, the three claims they found most objectionable were iterated 17 times – and allowed to go unchallenged 15 times: 12 of the stories were single source and another three were single perspective. The claim the respondents found most agreeable, 'Heritage is intrinsically valuable', was iterated only six times in the 223 texts generated by these same journalists. It is clear that the views expressed and assumptions made in many of the texts produced by these writers in the heritage discourse are sharply at odds with their own attitudes and beliefs, as well as those of their readers – and it appears to be the case that, objectively, the journalists' own attitudes and beliefs play very little part in determining the nature of the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers. We must seek our determinants elsewhere.

Of course, the journalists, for the most part, did not themselves make these claims about heritage that they would find disagreeable. Usually they were quoting someone else – typically from the private corporate sector or government at local or national level – and they were required by the journalistic cultural imperative of objectivity, as well as liberal democratic ideas of freedom of expression and belief, to record faithfully what their source had to say. However, other journalistic cultural imperatives, such as fairness and balance, should come into play to ensure that, particularly in the case of extreme or problematic views, these claims should be challenged and critiqued by quoting a second, counterbalancing source. As we have seen, in the heritage discourse as mediated by Irish newspapers, this rarely happened. For example, one of the respondents in the survey authored a text that contained some of the most extreme views on loss of biodiversity found anywhere in the content analysis. Under the deceptively restrained headline: 'Fish cages vital for a marine revolution, says BIM', the text is the report of a speech given at an aquaculture conference by Mr Donal Maguire, aquaculture development manager of Bord Iascaigh Mhara, the State body charged with, among other things, management of Irish fish stocks. In the report, Mr Maguire acknowledged that stocks of wild fish in Irish waters were in terminal decline but represented this loss of biodiversity as 'a €21million opportunity' and a 'blue revolution'. Wild fish will be replaced by 'healthier, faster-growing' farmed fish that will enable the aquaculture industry to 'multiply production'. The speech is replete with development-paradigm buzz-words such as 'increasing output' and 'expansion'. Yet Mr Maguire's extremely tendentious views went unchallenged. If a second source was sought, none was cited in the text and there was no countervalent view.

The respondents strongly resisted the suggestion that they might sometimes be deterred from seeking a second or subsequent source by pressure of time or for fear of killing the story. The survey did not broach the possibility that the seeking of counterbalancing views might sometimes be deferred so that they could form the material for a second story for a subsequent edition – a strategy with a certain 'two stories for the price of one' attraction to management. What the survey did reveal, however – and it was one of the most striking and disturbing findings – was that the journalists seemed oblivious to how frequently they signed single-source or single-perspective stories. Many of them believed that their publications always insisted on at least two sources and often insisted on a minimum of four sources. When offered a choice of source types for a hypothetical story on a development proposal for a heritage site, they chose, on average, 8.6 sources each – seven more than the average 1.5 sources actually cited in the 223 texts written by the 23 survey respondents. Of the 223 texts, 128 were single source and another 40 were single perspective. Nor can it be the case that the contributions of second sources are being regularly cut at the production stage, because these journalists also strongly resisted the suggestion that their texts might routinely be significantly altered during production.

One possible explanation for the divergence between the journalists' strongly held beliefs and the reality is that these journalists are making a mental distinction between 'contentious' and 'uncontentious' stories, or between 'problematic' and 'unproblematic' stories. Perhaps they mean to convey that their publications always or usually insist on two or more sources whenever the subject matter is potentially controversial and that it went without saying that many stories, being unproblematic, did not require a second source. If the respondents can see stories such as the one cited above as uncontentious or uncontroversial, it can only mean that the journalists themselves are immersed in an ideology in which the value of economic growth and development is taken for granted to the point of being incontestable, or that they assume their readers to be so immersed, or both. If this seems an unlikely scenario for a group of people the overwhelming majority of whom have had their critical faculties and scepticism honed at college, we need to remind ourselves that the majority of the respondents – including even those who studied journalism, media or communications – now see their third-level education as less relevant in their careers than the experience they have gained working in media

organizations and/or the advice of superiors and colleagues, which suggests a triumph of collective culture over individual values (Deal *et al.* 1982).

Nor is organizational culture the only collectivism in play; there is firm evidence, too, that journalistic professional culture frequently overrides the respondents' personal ideology and attitudes. This is most starkly revealed by juxtaposing the responses to Question 4 (preferred outcomes to the Tara controversy) with the responses to Question 20 (relative importance of news values). In answering Question 4, 86% opted for one of three suggested compromise solutions, two of which in particular received little or no coverage in the texts sampled for the content analysis. But at Question 20, the respondents collectively made 'conflict' their most important news value, with nine of the 16 who answered individually selecting it as the most important of a range of eight news values, one rating it second-most important and three others rating it in the top half. This clear-cut case of journalistic professional values trumping personal attitude and ideology explains why only one respondent selected either of the two extreme and conflicting outcomes in Question 4 (1. The motorway should proceed as planned; 5. The motorway should not proceed at all), notwithstanding the fact that these are the most often rehearsed statements in the actual discourse and that the first is by far the most probable outcome in reality.

The survey also provides evidence of the significance of source PR strategies as a determinant in the heritage discourse and as another factor persuading journalists to produce texts that are sharply at odds with their personal attitudes and ideologies. Private corporate-sector sources are by far and away the most often cited and quoted according to the content analysis, despite the respondents' low opinion of businesspeople as authoritative sources. In addition, the respondents' acknowledgement that the availability of a 'good' photograph often determines the amount of space and level of prominence awarded to a story, and less often determines whether the story runs at all, reveals a worrying potential for manipulation by claimsmakers – a potential that the content analysis reveals is being realized. Whoever is prepared to go to the expense and trouble of providing good photographs or photo-opportunities can determined largely what space and prominence is awarded to which stories and even which stories are included. It should be noted here that the respondents to the second part of Question 19 (whether the availability of a good photograph ever determined whether a story ran

at all) appear to have considered the determining power of photographs only as a negative quality – a possibility not predicted when the question was being framed. The question was not intended to encompass only the possibility that stories might sometimes be excluded for want of a good photograph; what the respondents, judging by their comments, do not seem to have considered is that a story might sometimes be included merely or largely because of the availability of a good photograph to accompany it.

The responses to Question 21 suggest that the journalists contributing to the heritage discourse do not perceive any major problem in the way heritage is currently represented or any great bias in the discourse – aside from a perceived lack of knowledge of heritage affairs among them. The respondents believed that the appointment of a specialist heritage correspondent or editor would result in increased coverage of heritage affairs, better-informed coverage of heritage affairs and a tendency to include stories that would not otherwise be covered; but they did not believe that such an appointment would necessarily result in coverage that was more positive towards heritage or more critical and questioning of development.

In Chapter 3 above, it was argued that a more sophisticated model was required to represent the full complexity of the negotiation of meaning in a newspaper discourse. I argued that such a model should take account of medial and generic determinants, and show the major negotiations of meaning: between journalist and management structures and routines; between journalist and sources; between journalist and other media; and between journalist and audience. However, I pointed out that it would be difficult to incorporate into any such model the internal and internalized negotiations within the journalist – with journalistic culture and routine (as opposed to organizational culture and routine), ethics and personal ideology, for instance. While the survey provides compelling evidence that the journalists writing in the newspaper heritage discourse have, to some extent, 'internalized' both journalistic and organizational culture – in the sense that they do not appear always to recognize journalistic and organizational cultural norms in operation – the point needs to be forcibly reiterated that these journalists are also subject to a range of external structural and practical pressures that are extremely difficult to defend against. These include source strategies and source availability; time and resource pressures; medial and generic constraints; legal and

regulatory requirements; market pressures, particularly in relation to geographical proximity; and, especially, power relations within the organization. Despite the respondents' claim to a significant amount of autonomy in selecting and framing stories, it is important to remember that the ultimate arbiters of what goes into the newspaper, where it goes and how much prominence is awarded to it, are gatekeepers and managers who are themselves subject to a whole range of structural and practical pressures.

To compound the situation, the survey suggests that many journalists themselves rely heavily on the news media for their knowledge of the world, so that the combined effects of these structural and practical determinants may be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

9. CONCLUSIONS

This research started from the premise that the heritage discourse in Ireland had, with the advent of the so-called 'Celtic Tiger' economy in the middle 1990s, entered a new phase, one characterised by conflict and controversy. Moreover, given the rapid transition from the previous paradigm, in which heritage was fêted as a valuable commodity and the engine of rural development and prosperity, the study argued that only the economic and ideological State apparatuses – that is say the nexus of legal, administrative and economic structures and practices and the mass media that legitimize them – could have the necessary reach to bring about the required paradigmatic change within the given timeframe. It was hypothesised that this paradigmatic change would be both reflected *and reciprocated* in the Irish newspaper discourse on heritage, with newspapers not merely reporting on heritage controversies but propagating representations of heritage as expendable, superabundant, local, rural, unreasonable and outmoded, alongside representations of development as unstoppable, natural, commonsensical, desirable, modern and the *sine qua non* of economic growth, itself an incontestable given. It was further argued that this essentially ideological discourse would need to conceal itself carefully from a general public and a journalistic professional corpus only recently converted to thinking of disused factories as consumer commodities, and fields and squirrels as part of a commodified leisure landscape. That argument in turn led to the central thesis that in order for journalists to perform the ideological work of propagating a new paradigm that was likely to be sharply at odds both with their personal ideologies and attitudes to heritage, and those of the majority of their readers, it merely required the range of structural and practical determinants that are always in play at institutional level, along with additional external pressures such as source strategies and market imperatives.

What the content analysis – the aim of which was to discover *how* heritage is being represented in Irish newspapers – managed to capture was a moment of ideological transition; a confused, contradictory and chaotic discourse in which the hypothesised development doxa was undoubtedly manifest and even dominant but not yet all-pervasive, uncomfortably co-existing with the consumption imperative from the previous, heritage-as-commodity paradigm; a discourse in which newspaper readers were being urged to buy this house or that artefact because of its heritage cachet, to

travel to this or that city to consume its heritage experience, to rejoice that a new interpretative centre at the Burren or the Cliffs of Moher would yield so many millions to the local economy, at the same time as they were being persuaded that it was perfectly reasonable and commonsensical and absolutely necessary to build a motorway over Carrickmines Castle or allow farmers to continue to wipe out wildlife by applying excessive nitrogen and phosphates to their fields. Throughout the study period, there was still the occasional small voice proclaiming the intrinsic value of heritage or its continued importance as a crucial component of national identity.

It is a discourse that, at best, resembles Stage 2 of Baudrillard's precession of simulacra (Baudrillard 1994) in that it masks and perverts the underlying reality. Terminology becomes more fanciful or, conversely, blander: the people formerly known as 'builders' and 'speculators' transmute into, first, 'developers' then the more-grandiose sounding 'property developers'. A persistent use of passive and false-active constructions conceals agency and nominalizes actions, processes and practices: houses sell themselves, historic barns 'come down' (i.e. are demolished), projects get themselves under way. Heritage objects such as, say, an Iron Age ring fort, that have existed in situ for perhaps hundreds of years, can be represented as 'threatening' some development proposal – a new prison, say – that exists only on paper. In all cases, development proposals are treated as real objects – *faits accomplis*, even – from the moment they are first mooted: this is particularly so in cases of publicly owned infrastructure, probably because the taxpayers' metre is running. Developers constantly complain of a shortage of development land (for example, *The Irish Times* 04/10/2004 'Institutional land required for development', which argues that schools, convents and colleges sitting on acres of greenery in the larger cities should be forced to cede their land for development), while hoarding vast land banks in the north of Dublin and the surrounding counties, drip-feeding it onto the market. There are constant complaints of 'restrictive' planning processes, even as Central Statistics Office figures prove that individual ('one-off') rural houses are being built in record numbers. At times, the discourse verges on pure simulacrum, Stage 4 in Baudrillard's scheme: plotting the locus of each text onto maps of Ireland reveals that most of the heritage texts in *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* reside in a small area surrounding Dublin and that most of the stories in the *Irish Examiner* originate in an equally restricted area around Cork – the two cities where there might be some nub of truth in the constantly repeated

claims of developmental pressure. But in the context of the same stories being read in Roscommon, Wexford or Leitrim, the discourse bears no relation to any objective reality whatever, yet transmits exactly the same message, again and again, to Ballaghaderreen as to Dublin.

Indeed, this repetition – the sheer level of homogeneity and redundancy in the discourse – is one of the most striking findings of the content analysis and one of the most pertinent. Regardless of phase, frame, subject matter or context, we find the same few claims about heritage being repeated over and over. Taken in conjunction with the survey respondents' revelation that they acquire most of their knowledge of the world from other newspapers and other news media (as most of us do), the inevitable result is a closed and ever-tightening loop. I have argued that it is always useful and legitimate to inquire of a production what it tacitly implies and what it does not say (Macherey 2006), as well as what it actually says. In this case, the importance awarded to the 'conflict' news value means that some of the most extreme claims are the most often repeated; and the development doxa ensures that, more often than not, those claims are extremely favourable to development and extremely hostile to heritage – yet repetition itself tends to naturalize those claims and make them appear reasonable. The constant reiteration of a restricted number of claims necessarily involves the omission of others (typically, the ones tending towards compromise, conflict-solving and reconciliation), closing off potential meanings, narrowing the range of subject positions and reducing the potential for the contestation of meaning – even without the effect of generic and medial constraints discussed in Chapter 3. Intertextuality, to example just one feature of news genre that was found in the content analysis to be widespread, works in this discourse not, as Bakhtin found in literature, *against* the unifying tendencies within the culture as generally advocated by the ruling classes (Morris 1997), but rather *with* those unifying tendencies. In the newspaper heritage discourse, instances of intertextuality constitute homoglossia rather than heteroglossia, always tending to reduce the dialogicality of the discourse. The essential ephemerality of the medium and the real or imagined lack of space mean that intertextuality always works in the news genre towards encapsulating yesterday's story into a single, pithy phrase. Journalists frequently assume a pressure of newspaper space on their competing texts, and a pressure of time on their readers, so they tend as a matter of course to condense the essential facts of a whole story into the first two or three paragraphs. Complex and

sophisticated arguments over the appropriate distance from the archaeological complex at the Hill of Tara a planned motorway should be sited are reduced after the first two or three stories to the single word 'Tara' or the single word 'M3', by which it is assumed the regular reader will understand the entire controversy to date. This makes it appear, of course, that the protagonists are hostile to the Hill of Tara itself or to the motorway itself – equally unreasonable and mutually irreconcilable positions – rather than the finer points of the precise alignment of the road. On the evidence of this study, givens and assumptions are seen by journalists as useful space-saving narrative devices, and the study found that both sides of heritage controversies were most often represented by assumptions or sets of assumptions not warranted by internal evidence.

In terms of narratology, it hardly needs pointing out that news narrative is essentially paradigmatic rather than syntagmatic (Pietilä 1994) – at least at the level of the text. Events and acts are not ordered chronologically, as in most storytelling, but in order of 'importance' – and this study has shown that the selection of what is or is not important is a matter of journalists making conscious decisions based on professional and organizational, rather than personal, values. But the study has demonstrated that there is another narrative at work at the discursive level, the cumulative product of thousands of texts whose connectedness may not even be apparent to the casual reader, produced by hundreds of people over a period of months or even years – and that the key rhetorical device in this metanarrative is repetition. Subject matter is diverse but largely predictable. Though subject matter is diverse, there is far less diversity – in other words, far greater homogeneity and redundancy – in terms of the claims being made about heritage. The 1190 texts, though dealing with 952 distinct subject matters, made only 348 distinct claims about heritage; and the 23 most frequently made claims accounted for 608 iterations, for an average of 26 times each (See Table 58, Page 169). Even when dealing with different subject matter, texts said the same thing about heritage again and again.

One egregious gap in terms of subject matter, however, revealed itself in a marked absence of texts relating to the impact of agriculture on heritage, especially given the large number of texts located in rural settings. Almost all of the texts relating to agriculture and heritage appeared in the dedicated 'farming' sections of the publications, which like to represent themselves as being 'fearlessly on the side of the farmers'. Even

when they did not appear in dedicated farming sections, they were still likely to be signed by specialist agricultural correspondents, and to cite farm lobby groups or representatives as their sources. Where controversy arose, as in the case of the EU nitrates directive, the conflict was bracketed or omitted or the site of the conflict was shifted away from farmers versus wildlife to farmers versus Eurocrats. The purpose or rationale of the nitrates directive was never explained, causing it to appear unreasonable, arbitrary and vexatious. This was part of a general trend: representations of heritage varied from section to section and, therefore, from day to day, reflecting the different priorities and values of the newspapers' various *personae* – watchdog, informant, campaigner, advertising vehicle, profit-making organization. A reader whose primary interest is in the business or farming pages, say, will come away with a very different impression of the newspapers' attitude to heritage than one who pores over the lifestyle features or vicariously lives a second life by soaking up the travelogues and the property aditorials. In the more authoritative 'news' sections, heritage is overwhelmingly represented as being implicated in conflict or giving rise to conflict. In the 'magazine' (feature) sections and supplements, heritage is overwhelmingly represented as being of value insofar as it can be consumed; or as being inimical to development and economic wellbeing. Representations of heritage as having intrinsic value are largely absent or are confined to genres that are low on the newspaper genre chain, such as specialist nature columns or letters to the editor. Objective truth, balance and fairness are deemed to reside in each newspaper's entire output – today's story balancing yesterday's, an opinion piece here compensating for a news story or business report there. This allows the newspaper to present a different image of itself to different market segments – cool and funky to the young reader of the music and film reviews; sober and serious-minded to the more mature consumer of current affairs; commonsensical and pragmatic to the business reader; objective and non-partisan to all. There are clear but unpredictable implications for the reader who reads only certain sections or who buys the paper, say, only every second day.

Heritage-related texts in the magazine/feature sections and supplements are presented in design genres and layout styles that borrow heavily from those of corporate advertising and holiday sales brochures, but are written in newspaper-reportage genre. Genres generally do not cross section boundaries, but elements and aspects of genre slip

dangerously easily across the supposedly sacrosanct borders between news and advertising, reportage and opinion.

The average placement for a heritage text was on page 8 of the newspaper, which, as seen earlier is roughly 14th in order of precedence among news pages after 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 2, 13, 4, 15, 5, 17 and 6. This placement indicates the relatively low importance awarded to the heritage discourse despite the large number of heritage-related texts. But 'importance/significance' is not the primary factor determining the prominence and display awarded to a given heritage text. News-section texts and hard-news genre texts are awarded the lowest display-to-text ratio in all three publications. Property-section aditorial-genre texts are typically awarded two to three times as much display. Furthermore, the overall number of property-section/aditorial-genre heritage texts and the overall space awarded to property-section/aditorial-genre heritage texts fluctuated quite sharply from phase to phase of the content analysis; whereas the overall number of news-section/hard-news genre heritage texts and the overall space awarded to such texts remained remarkably consistent across all four phases. This is not what one would expect if news values were outweighing commercial values, for it is news, unpredictable and chaotic, that one expects to fluctuate in both quantity and quality from day to day, week to week and month to month. If nothing else, the evidence undermines the survey respondents' somewhat naïve perception of 'availability' of space as a natural phenomenon. The slide-rule consistency of the amount of space allocated to heritage news across the period of the content analysis proves that there is nothing haphazard or accidental in the selection and allocation process. Property sections and supplements are seen as 'paying for themselves' because of the far higher proportion of advertising to text tolerated. As a result, the only limit on the amount of space awarded to a property aditorial is the necessity of keeping all the major advertisers satisfied. In layout terms, the property sections borrow from the genre of property advertising brochure, using the same range and number of exterior and interior photographs (in fact, often using the same photographs, provided by the estate agent, thus cutting the newspaper's costs). Yet, the aditorial texts are still couched in the inverted-pyramid genre of the news story. This is effectively news for sale to the highest bidder; the commodification of news itself *at the production end* (news has long been commodified at the *consumer* end).

Not only is the heritage discourse charged with disguised ideology but, in several ways, the discourse itself is hidden and hard to pin down. Although the hundreds of texts sampled share a clearly delimited commonality of theme, and although they repeatedly make the same statements and claims about heritage, the subject matter is diverse and seemingly unconnected. Heritage is not recognized as a specialized news beat, depriving it of the *a priori* news value accorded to other beats such as politics, crime, business and environment, and forcing heritage stories to compete with general news stories on the same criteria of drama, scale, freshness and so on. The lack of accredited heritage correspondents or editors results in fragmentation and loss of context to the heritage discourse, and is a probable contributor to the presence in the discourse of a number of significant 'discourse-wide omissions'. Correlation of multiple contributions with specialist designations in the content analysis suggests that the designation of a specialist heritage correspondent would have resulted in increased coverage of heritage events and issues. The survey respondents believed that the appointment of a specialist heritage correspondent or editor would result in increased coverage of heritage affairs, better-informed coverage of heritage affairs and a tendency to include stories that would not otherwise be covered. However, the survey respondents did not believe that such an appointment would necessarily result in coverage that was more positive towards heritage or more critical and questioning of development – a fact that suggests that the survey respondents, in so far as they were aware of the heritage discourse *per* discourse at all, were happy that as far as their publications were concerned, the discourse was being conducted in a fair and balanced manner that was already sufficiently positive towards heritage and already sufficiently critical and questioning of development.

As has been noted, the content analysis revealed a discourse couched in the language of conflict and controversy even though this hardly reflected the reality on the ground. Outside of Dublin and Cork, it would be extremely difficult to make a case that there was any particular shortage of land suitable for development or redevelopment. True, there was a structural inducement to developers throughout this period to buy agricultural land and seek to have it rezoned for industrial, residential or commercial development, for that was the path to maximum profit – a commonplace practice that barely rated a mention in the texts sampled for the content analysis, in some cases perhaps for fear of falling foul of Ireland's restrictive libel laws (Bourke 2004). Yet, there seemed no equally compelling reason for developers to target heritage buildings or

archaeological sites especially, unless it was something to do with Burkean notions of vicarious sacrifice (See Page 192) or Huyssenian ideas of palimpsest (See Page 188) – a desire to overinscribe the country's existing 'outmoded' heritage with a new public architecture befitting a new, brash Ireland. One possible motivation might have been that certain heritage sites, because of the reverence in which they had previously been held, simply had not been developed already, and were unencumbered except by weakly framed and half-heartedly enforced conservation laws. Many were in State ownership or under State guardianship and it may have been that developers divined or intuited an unwillingness on the part of Government to take conservation seriously and, consequently, regarded them as 'easy-meat' – during the research period, for instance, one private developer managed to carve a slice out of Killarney National Park. In some cases, it appears, developers operated on the belief that the commodity cachet from the demolished heritage building would attach itself to the new development, making it more marketable. There were 14 examples in the content analysis of aditorials for new houses standing on the site of a newly demolished monastery, castle or barracks, where such a location was represented as a selling point. Reduced to its crudest expression, 'Heritage cachet survives the destruction of the heritage object', this claim may have bemused survey respondents; nevertheless, 12 out of 23 agreed somewhat or only somewhat disagreed.

Be that as it may, there seemed no overwhelming reason for either public or private developers to embroil themselves in conflict and controversy at a time when demand for property was so high that almost any land or site could be turned to profit. Yet, conflict and controversy were the overriding characteristics of the discourse and the survey respondents provided strong evidence why this should be so. Despite their personal preference for compromise and reconciliation, as befitted their centre-tending, apolitical and pragmatic personal ideologies, they recognised that 'conflict' was the most-favoured news value of all three newspapers at least with regard to the heritage discourse. The result was strongly negative towards heritage: the content analysis found that conflict texts were twice as likely to be negative as positive. Consumption texts were more than twice as likely to be positive as negative – with the already-mentioned proviso that this positivity was exactly commensurate with the heritage object's euro value and applied only until something more valuable came along to replace it. In 72% of positive texts, the positivity is qualified in that the texts fall within the consumption

(positivity to heritage is contingent on the commodity value of the heritage concerned, 46%), conflict (heritage is valuable but is an object of conflict, 20%) or development (heritage is valuable but subservient to the requirements of development, 6%) paradigms. Development texts were four times as likely to be negative as positive. Compromise texts were just as likely to have a negative coding as a positive one.

The content analysis suggested that the availability of a picture or the opportunity for a picture, especially one with an 'angle' (celebrity, authority, scale, exotica, high decorative or aesthetic content) is an important determinant of whether a particular text is included or excluded and established that the availability of a picture or the opportunity for a picture determined the amount of display and prominence given to it. The survey respondents acknowledged that the availability of a 'good' photograph often determined the amount of space and level of prominence awarded to a story and, less frequently, whether the story ran at all. Furthermore, 84% of the survey respondents acknowledged that the import of stories was sometimes, even if seldom, significantly altered at the production stage by the addition of headlines, photographs and other display items. Research suggests that, even without considering other display elements such as headlines and quotations, 'news photographs can trigger a complex set of cognitive and affective processes, and that these intertwine closely throughout people's mental frameworks to shape information processing and decision making'(Domke *et al.*, 2002, p149).

Indeed, the analysis of picture content and source (Table 7, Page 75) strongly suggested that the provision of such pictures or opportunities for such pictures is already a key element of source strategy in determining the heritage discourse – and that private-sector sources, followed by public-sector corporate sources including Government departments, were already realising this potential.

One other somewhat disturbing feature of the role of photographs in the discourse was the usage of hyper-realistic computer-generated or mock-up images of future developments *in situ*, especially in news pages – another example of generic traits migrating from one genre, in this case, from corporate promotion/marketing to hard news. These images magically obliterate all traces of the existing heritage building and drop the 'new' building into the present landscape of mature trees and parkland,

masking and perverting reality – in fact, depicting an impossible future in which the brand-new development is surrounded by existing trees that will, in reality, be chopped down to make way for it and take decades to grow back, by which time the brand-new building will be decades old. These images also neatly by-pass the act of demolition and the noise, nuisance and visual impact of the building process.

Source strategies in the heritage discourse did not extend only to the provision of photographs. The vast majority of heritage texts did not relate to sudden, unexpected dramatic events but to scheduled, predictable or managed events or 'say stories' (in which someone made a 'new' claim about something). The overwhelming majority of managed events were managed by sources representing elite corporate or State-sector power groups. Of these stories, 73% were from a single source and 93% were from sources representing a single perspective. The survey provided corroborating evidence of the significance of source PR strategies as a determinant in the heritage discourse: the respondents' low opinion of businesspeople as authoritative sources, as revealed in the survey, did not prevent private corporate sector sources from being by far and away the most often cited and quoted according to the content analysis. Business sources, clearly, are doing *something* to conquer journalists' self-professed reluctance to use them; the content analysis added further evidence to existing research (Manning 2001, Hamilton 2004) that what they are doing is supplying journalists with ready-made news and managed news events. Elite sources have learned that, for time-pressured journalists, 'authority' is a useful substitute for accuracy and 'conflict' is a useful substitute for drama. All that is required to make a usable news story is that an *ex officio* authoritative figure make a controversial statement. There is no need to verify the objective truth of what the Minister for Finance, the celebrity economist or the business leader is saying; the journalist can simply 'put it out there' and expect the reader to take the statement for what it is worth.

In fact, the vast majority of sources were elite sources representing power centres in society. Journalists were less inclined, on the face of the data, to cite sources from heritage groups than sources from Government, State or local government bodies, developers or other sources representing private enterprise; and far less inclined to rely on heritage sources alone – despite the survey respondents' declared preference for academics, community groups and lobby groups when researching the heritage aspects

of planning controversies. The infrequency with which the Heritage Council, itself a statutory body, was cited – in just 11 texts of 1,190 – is a case in point. With regard to sources, the survey revealed a strong divergence between journalists' aspirations to balance, fairness and objectivity on one hand, and actual practice on the other. Furthermore, respondents seemed largely unaware of this divergence. Source types significantly more likely than the global average of 86% to be primary definers were: private sector corporate sources (93% primary definers), academics (94%), religious (94%) and professionals (92%). Private sector corporate sources, religious and professional sources in the sample were predominantly pro-development, anti-heritage, while academics were marginally more likely to be pro-development and anti-heritage. Source types significantly less likely than the global average to be primary definers were: Opposition sources (65%), local government (75% – usually pitted against other local government sources), private citizens (79%), celebrities (74%), EU sources (70% – these tended to be pitted against Irish farming sources) and lobby groups (76%). These groups were predominantly pro-heritage. Among groups of sources with the highest percentage of arbiters (global average 59%) were: UN sources (83%), private sector (78%), EU (77%), statutory (73%) and Government (73%). Among source types most likely to be represented as advocates were: lobby groups (90%), private citizens (89%), Opposition sources (87%), farming sources (87%) and community groups (70%). Heritage sources are somewhat less likely (12%) than the global percentage (14%) to be classed as secondary and tertiary definers – in line with the finding that journalists were less likely to muster a heritage source to contradict or balance a non-heritage source than the other way round. Heritage sources were somewhat less likely to be awarded arbiter footing (52%) than the global average (59%). A significant majority of claims across all paradigms were warranted on assumption, or not warranted at all. In 698 texts, the claim is warranted on assumption. In 219 texts, the claim is warranted on authority, that is to say, on the citation of an authority figure – either an expert in the field or, more likely, a person, such as a Government minister, with *ex officio* authority. In 164 cases, claims were warranted on internal evidence. In 165 cases, the claims were not internally warranted.

It has been argued earlier (Page 128) that headlines are of particular significance in analyzing this or any newspaper discourse. In the heritage discourse at least, headline writers display a marked tendency to omit verbs, use the passive or false active voice

and/or omit human actants and reactants contrary to the requirements of journalistic culture and news values, even when not constrained by space – and this tendency has the effect of naturalizing and nominalizing development and development-related conflict and removing human action, responsibility, causes and motives. Developers, especially named developers, are almost entirely absent from development-paradigm headlines. Exceptions to this tendency are most likely to occur when the actants represent power groups or authorities (council, government, department, minister *etc.*) and the reactants represent marginal groups with traits of 'otherness' (Travellers, protestors, poison toads, Pyreneans). This tendency is puzzling when set against the insistence of survey respondents from all three newspapers that their publication operated and strictly enforced a house stylebook; less puzzling when the respondents later revealed a high level of uncertainty as to what the stylebook actually contained.

In all headlines relating to planning decisions and appeals in the texts collected and analyzed here, negative consequences for development are stressed, rather than positive consequences for heritage – *i.e.* 'Development rejected' not 'Heritage site saved'. In heritage headlines, private investment is universally represented as economic benefit and justification, whereas public investment is represented as cost so that private developments are 'good', and the costlier the better, whereas publicly funded heritage projects and the heritage-related cost element of civil projects are 'bad', and the costlier the worse – despite the should-be-obvious fact that the bearer of the cost in both cases (the public, whether as consumer or taxpayer) is exactly the same. This is in line with the newspapers' tendency to view 'the public good' as synonymous with 'taxpayer cost-efficiency' and is entirely consistent with the neo-liberal ideology that has dominated the Irish body politic for almost two decades, and appears to hold as inalienable and self-evident truth the superior efficiency of the private sector.

The upshot of all this is that the heritage discourse in Irish newspapers is ideologically charged, structurally predisposed to favour development and, ultimately, negative in its attitude to and representations of heritage. Plotting heritage texts by news paradigm along an ideological continuum from heritage-as-intrinsically-good to development-as-intrinsically-good reveals a bias towards the development end of the continuum, particularly in the more-authoritative 'news' sections and in the hard-news genre. The heritage-as-intrinsically-good paradigm is only marginally present in the discourse, with

159 texts of 1190 (13%) containing the heritage master-claim and just 108 (9%) containing only the heritage master-claim. Furthermore, of the latter, only 24 were hard-news texts, the remainder breaking down as follows: 20 soft news, 16 brief announcements of forthcoming events, 32 features (including 16 specialist nature columns), one opinion piece, seven letters, and six stand-alone photocaptions.

Typically, then, a text that is negative towards heritage appears in the news sections, most probably on a right-hand (more prominent) page, falls into the conflict or development paradigms, is couched in the 'hard news' genre and in a style that is intended to be taken seriously. It will be somewhere around 7" long with a total display area of just under 10" inches and will typically not be accompanied by a photograph or other illustration. It will represent heritage as giving rise to conflict, or actively and unreasonably threatening or delaying a valuable development or key piece of infrastructure. It will quote only one source, typically from the private corporate sector or State agency, who will be awarded 'arbiter' footing. If there is a second source, it will typically be a corroborating, rather than a counterbalancing source. In the unlikely event that a second, counterbalancing source is used, that source will be awarded only 'advocate' footing. If counterbalancing sources are used, the source representing the development side will be the primary definer. If positive and negative claims are made about heritage, the negative claim will constitute the inscribed preferred reading. Both claims are equally likely to be warranted on assumption. In contrast, a positive text typically appears at the back of the publication or in a supplement, falls into the consumption paradigm and is couched in a genre that is 'lower' than 'hard news' in the newspaper genre chain – such as letter, aditorial, soft news, or information feature – often in one of a number of 'lighter', more frivolous styles. It is typically shorter but is given much more prominent display and is well endowed with photographs – but the text's positivity is wholly contingent on the heritage object's assumed commodity value and is provisional, pending the arrival some more valuable development proposal.

This negativity towards heritage and celebration of development is produced despite the professed personal ideology and overtly expressed positive opinions of journalists on heritage – journalists who, in turn, frequently share the personal ideology, educational background, socio-economic grouping and attitudes to and awareness of heritage, with the bulk of their readers. The negativity is so produced because, as hypothesised, the

journalists' personal ideology, education and attitudes to heritage are defeated by an array of external, organizational and internal structural and practical pressures and constraints. It is not within the scope of this study to attempt to explain the cognitive processes of the journalists concerned, but is worth noting two contributory factors revealed by the survey. Firstly, though the group held 33 third-level qualifications between them and 12 held qualifications in journalism, media or communications, 87% rated experience and osmosis as the most important components of their professional knowledge and expertise. Secondly, the respondents seemed unaware of the operation of some of these structural and practical constraints and pressures, confused about some aspects of the production process, uninformed about others and, even, to some extent, naïve. For example, though respondents resisted the suggestion that stories might routinely and deliberately be altered at the production stage, they were less resistant to the suggestion that the import of stories might be significantly altered at the production stage by the addition of headlines, photographs and other display items. The respondents showed a disturbing tendency to regard the resulting changes as accidental or inadvertent. In particular, the respondents seemed to regard 'lack of space' as a natural phenomenon and the allocation of space as an organic, natural process rather than as a matter of conscious and carefully considered choice on the part of management. The respondents demonstrated a low level of knowledge and awareness of the operation or even existence of a 'style policy' within their organisation; and though they accurately estimated the relative importance of conflict, scale and economic cost or value as determinant news criteria, they underestimated the importance of geographical proximity, as revealed in the content analysis, and seriously overestimated the importance of rarity.

Just as the heritage discourse is self-concealing, the news-production process is structured to be self-concealing. News production is a collective process, but that should not be taken to mean that each producer co-operates and contributes at every stage of the process. As well as being divided vertically into a management hierarchy, newspaper staffs are divided horizontally by the chronological sequence of production. Each stage of the process is historically located: first this happens, then this. Reporters are at the start of a conveyor belt that passes through screen curtains at the end of each stage. Whatever determinant power the reporter might have in the initial selection and shaping of texts, that power becomes severely limited once the story has left the writer's

desk; and the writer's knowledge of what happens next – and why – diminishes as the text proceeds through the stages. He is unlikely to see the story again as it goes through the subediting, design and checking processes until it appears in the next day's edition. As the story travels onwards, it travels upwards through the hierarchy, requiring the approval – and input – of ever more senior gatekeepers before being allowed to move on. Ultimately, it is approved by the editor, the one person with the vantage point required to maintain an overview of the whole process.

The study deals a blow to a narrowly pluralist, market-led view of news production, which holds that newspapers merely reflect the views of their average reader and always pander to the demands of their consumers. Readers are essential to the survival and profitability of the newspaper but it must be remembered that equally essential to a newspaper are its sources, its advertisers and its shareholders and investors. If the views of its sources, advertisers and shareholders diverge from the views of its readers, a newspaper may find it far easier to justify itself in the monologic communication with the latter than in the dialogic negotiations with the former. It is appropriate to insert a health warning at this point: this study does not encompass reception research – that is to say, research into the effect of the discourse on the readers – and has, therefore, been careful to avoid speculation on reception effects, concentrating instead on the message as transmitted and claiming the right only to assume a relativity of effect, *i.e.* that a discourse with one set of attributes must have different effects than a discourse with an opposite set of attributes. I have argued at length in Chapter 3 for a reappraisal of reception theory as it applies to news media in general and newspapers in particular, pointing out potential problems in the application of certain methodologies and drawing on a body of more recent research to support my thesis. Nevertheless, there remains a large volume of research establishing that the relationship between audience and news output is a complex one: work by Morley (1992), Jensen (1990) and Lewis (1983, 1991) demonstrates that audiences have the capacity to negotiate, contest and resist meaning even within a news discourse, and bring their own scepticism and personal ideological predispositions to the negotiating table; and, further, put media items to different uses. Goddard et al (1998) show that levels of understanding of the transmitted message (albeit in the context of economic reporting, but undoubtedly with implications for other news discourses) are an important factor in reception. In the context of the current study, it might even be argued that the results of the only major attitudinal surveys on

heritage conducted in this country, those carried out by Lansdowne Market Research (1999-2007) for the Heritage Council, tend to demonstrate that, regardless of its nature, the newspaper heritage discourse is not producing a markedly negative attitude towards heritage in the majority of newspaper readers. However, a number of important factors need to be weighed against the general positivity (some 92% of respondents in the most recent, 2007, survey, agreed that heritage should be protected) found by the Lansdowne surveys. In the first place, that positivity is qualified: 58% of respondents also agreed that 'protecting our heritage should not interfere with necessary development of our infrastructure', a value that rose 5% since 2004 – in other words, over the period of this study. Strong agreement rose from 22% to 32% during the same period.

Secondly, the Lansdowne surveys concern themselves with attitudes to heritage in general; and it is precisely heritage in general that the newspaper heritage discourse does not encompass. Heritage issues are dealt with on a case-by-case basis and the nature of the discourse is ad hoc, disjointed and piecemeal, without context, overview or perspective. Qualitative research with focus groups in the Lansdowne surveys suggested that while 92% of respondents were in favour of heritage being protected, there were doubts as to the practicality of protecting 'all' heritage: 'There appears to be some acceptance that not everything can be preserved which led to suggestions that (within the built environment) good examples of a particular "type/form" should be preserved. For example, rising house prices force many to extend their homes rather than move. The question was raised as to how realistic it is to impose "listed building" status on all homes of a particular era. Some flexibility is necessary but it was recognised that excellent examples must be preserved (Lansdowne 2007, p27). It was clear that respondents perceived a hierarchy of heritage: local heritage, for instance, was seen as less valuable than 'national' heritage. It is difficult, therefore, to estimate the value of public positivity towards heritage when it is uncertain just how far the desired protection of heritage is intended to extend. The research also suggests that the public is susceptible to being persuaded by 'common sense' practical or economic arguments on a case-by-case basis that such and such heritage object does not deserve to be protected – and the newspaper discourse is characterised by precisely such arguments.

Thirdly, though it is commonly assumed that in order to produce social effects, a media discourse must influence a sizeable proportion of the general public, this is not

necessarily the case; it may be reasonably conjectured that a discourse need only influence a relatively small number of people who are in positions of power or authority and have the capacity to effect social change directly – Government ministers and senior civil servants, for instance. Furthermore, the persuasive power of a media discourse may lie in its putative mass effect: powerful social agents might be motivated to effect social change, either on the assumption that a media discourse accurately reflects popular sentiment, or on the assumption that a media discourse will have a persuasive effect on mass sentiment.

Finally, a general point about audience reception of news discourses: while it is acknowledged that audiences bring their own scepticism and personal ideological predispositions to the table in negotiations of meaning, far too little research has been done on how that scepticism and those personal ideological predispositions were formed in the first place to be able to discount news discourses as an important – perhaps crucial – component of opinion-forming.

In summation, there has been a tendency in recent social and cultural theory simply to attribute the noted – and empirically established – tendency of the news media to support the ideological status quo to mere inertia. This study has demonstrated the rapidity with which Irish newspapers can change their ideological tune, without necessarily appearing to have changed at all, and mobilise themselves – or be mobilised – to reflect *and reciprocate* a new ideological status quo. As to the question of whether, indeed, Irish newspapers mobilise themselves or are mobilised to perform such work, the answer is: both. Insofar as this study indicates that there is a tendency of Irish newspapers both to reflect and reciprocate the dominant ideology of societal power centres, it has been demonstrated that it is a product of a) external pressures including source strategies, market forces, commercial pressures and the legal-economic structural and practical environment in which they operate; and b) the extent to which structures and practices within the newspaper-corporate and the corpus of journalists enable those journalists to perceive and resist such pressures.

Finally, a word on the pedagogic implications: the survey finding that, though the group held 33 third-level qualifications between them and 12 held qualifications in journalism, media or communications, 87% rated experience and osmosis as the most important

components of their professional knowledge and expertise must be a sobering one for those who teach journalism. The problem is that if journalism schools seek to make their courses more relevant to actual journalistic practice, they may simply be reinforcing the discursive failings uncovered here; whereas, if journalism pedagogues attempt to equip their students with stronger defences and resistance to source strategies, market pressures and the determining effects of pressures of time and limited resources, graduates and newspaper organizations will see academic qualifications as even less relevant in the real world.

Ultimately, while it has been acknowledged that there are some generic and medial constraints that cannot be altogether defeated, and that market and commercial pressures are to some extent a fact of life – at least in a capitalist system – the responsibility for producing a fair and balanced discourse on any topic rests with the newspaper and other news media organizations themselves. Many of the structural and practical determinants that go to shape the heritage discourse – the reliance on other media; the failure to seek counter balancing sources; restrictions on news space that, because of the demands of advertisers, do not apply to lifestyle and promotional features; and the connivance at source strategies, among others – are the direct result of newspapers increasing their profits by failing to employ sufficient resources to produce a fair and balanced discourse.

Principal findings of content analysis of daily broadsheets

- Representations of heritage vary from section to section of the newspapers and, because certain sections are published only on certain days of the week, project different priorities and values on different weekdays.

- In the more authoritative 'news' sections, heritage is overwhelmingly represented as being implicated in conflict or giving rise to conflict.

- In the 'magazine' (feature) sections and supplements, heritage is overwhelmingly represented as being of value insofar as it can be consumed; or as being inimical to development and economic wellbeing.

- Representations of heritage as having intrinsic value are largely absent or are confined to genres that are low on the genre chain, such as specialist nature columns or letters to the editor.

- Heritage-related texts in the magazine/feature sections and supplements are presented in design genres and layout styles that borrow heavily from those of corporate advertising and holiday sales brochures, but are written in newspaper-reportage genre. Genres generally do not cross section boundaries but elements of genre do.

- Heritage is not recognized as a specialized news beat, depriving it of the *a priori* news value accorded to other beats such as politics, crime, business and environment and forcing heritage stories to compete with general news stories on the same criteria.

- The lack of accredited heritage correspondents or editors results in fragmentation and loss of context to the heritage discourse, and is a probable contributor to the presence in the discourse of a number of significant 'discourse-wide omissions'.

- Correlation of multiple contributions with specialist designations suggest that the designation of a specialist heritage correspondent would have resulted in increased coverage of heritage events and issues.

- The availability of a picture or the opportunity for a picture, especially one with an 'angle' (celebrity, authority, scale, exotica, high decorative or aesthetic content) is an important determinant, both in terms of the inclusion of a particular text and, more especially, the amount of display and prominence given to it.

- The provision of such pictures or opportunities for such pictures is a key element of source strategy in determining the heritage discourse.

- The usage of hyperrealistic computer-generated images of future developments *in situ* is an element in the naturalization of development.

- 'Importance' is not the primary factor determining the prominence and display awarded to a given text. News section texts and hard-news genre texts are awarded the lowest display-to-text ratio in all three publications. Property-section aditorial-genre texts are typically awarded two to three times as much display.

- The average placement for a heritage text is page 8 (roughly 14th in order of precedence among news pages after 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 2, 13, 4, 15, 5, 17 and 6), indicating the relatively low status awarded to the heritage discourse despite the large number of heritage-related texts.

- Conflict texts are twice as likely to be negative as positive. Consumption texts are more than twice as likely to be positive as negative. Development texts are four times as likely to be negative as positive. Compromise texts are just as likely to have a negative coding as a positive one.

- Typically, a text that is negative towards heritage appears in the news sections, probably on a right-hand page, falls into the conflict or development paradigms,

is couched in the 'hard news' genre and in a style that is intended to be taken seriously; while a positive text typically appears at the back of the publication or in a supplement, falls into the consumption paradigm and is couched in a genre that is 'lower' than 'hard news' in the newspaper genre chain – such as letter, aditorial, soft news, or information feature – often in one of a number of 'lighter', more frivolous styles.

- In 72% of positive texts, the positivity is qualified in that the texts fall within the consumption (positivity to heritage is contingent on the commodity value of the heritage concerned, 46%), conflict (heritage is valuable but is an object of conflict, 20%) or development (heritage is valuable but subservient to the requirements of development, 6%) paradigms.

- The vast majority of sources are elite sources representing power centres in society.

- Journalists are less inclined, on the face of the data, to cite sources from heritage groups than sources from Government, State or local government bodies, developers or other sources representing private enterprise; and far less inclined to rely on heritage sources alone

- In particular, it may be noted, the number of texts in which the Heritage Council was relied upon as a source was very small in the samples studied, being precisely 11 out of 1,190.

- Source types significantly more likely than the global average of 86% to be primary definers are: private sector corporate sources (93% primary definers), academics (94%), religious (94%) and professionals (92%). Private sector corporate sources, religious and professional sources in the sample are predominantly pro-development, anti-heritage, while academics are marginally more likely to be pro-development and anti-heritage.

- Source types significantly less likely than the global average to be primary definers are: Opposition sources (65%), local government (75% – usually pitted

against other local government sources), private citizens (79%), celebrities (74%), EU sources (70% – these tend to be pitted against Irish farming sources) and lobby groups (76%). These groups are predominantly pro-heritage.

- Among groups of sources with the highest percentage of arbiters (global average 59%) were: UN sources (83%), private sector (78%), EU (77%), statutory (73%) and Government (73%). Among source types most likely to be represented as advocates are: lobby groups (90%), private citizens (89%), Opposition sources (87%), farming sources (87%) and community groups (70%).

- Heritage sources are somewhat less likely (12%) than the global percentage (14%) to be classed as secondary and tertiary definers. This is in line with the finding that journalists are less likely to muster a heritage source to contradict or balance a non-heritage source than the other way round.

- Heritage sources are somewhat less likely to be awarded arbiter footing (52%) than the global breakdown (59%).

- Subject matter is diverse but largely predictable. However, there is a marked absence of texts relating to the impact of agriculture on heritage, especially given the large number of texts located in rural settings.

- Though subject matter is diverse, there is far less diversity – in other words, far greater homogeneity and redundancy – in terms of the claims being made about heritage. The 1,190 texts, though dealing with 952 distinct subject matters, made only 348 distinct claims about heritage; and the 23 most frequently made claims accounted for 608 iterations, for an average of 26 times each. Even when dealing with different subject matter, texts said the same thing about heritage again and again.

- A significant majority of claims across all paradigms are warranted on assumption, or not warranted at all. In 698 texts, the claim is warranted on assumption. In 219 texts, the claim is warranted on authority, that is to say, on the citation of an authority figure – either an expert in the field or, more likely, a

person, such as a Government minister, with *ex officio* authority. In 164 cases, claims are warranted on internal evidence. In 165 cases, the claims are not internally warranted.

- In all headlines relating to planning decisions and appeals in the texts collected and analyzed here, negative consequences to development are stressed, rather than positive consequences to heritage – *i.e.* 'Development rejected' not 'Heritage site saved'.

- In heritage headlines, private investment is represented as economic benefit and justification, whereas public investment is represented as cost so that private developments are 'good', and the costlier the better, whereas publicly funded heritage projects and the heritage-related cost element of civil projects are 'bad', and the costlier the worse.

- Headline writers display a marked tendency to omit verbs, use the passive or false active voice and/or omit human actants and reactants contrary to the requirements of journalistic culture and news values, even when not constrained by space – and this tendency has the effect of naturalizing and nominalizing development and development-related conflict and removing human action, responsibility, causes and motives.

- Exceptions to this tendency are most likely to occur when the actants represent power groups or authorities (council, government, department, minister *etc.*) and the reactants represent marginal groups with traits of 'otherness' (Travellers, protestors, poison toads, Pyreneans)

- Developers, especially named developers, are almost entirely absent from development-paradigm headlines

- The vast majority of texts do not relate to sudden, unexpected dramatic events but to scheduled, predictable or managed events or 'say stories' (in which someone makes a new claim about something)

- The overwhelming majority of managed events are managed by sources representing elite corporate or State-sector power groups. Of these stories, 73% are from a single source and 93% are from sources representing a single perspective

- There is a very marked tendency to include heritage stories from within a very limited radius of Dublin, in the case of the two Dublin-based publications, and Cork, in the case of the Cork-based publication – or, in other words, to exclude stories from areas outside these geographic parameters

- Plotting heritage texts by news paradigm along a continuum from heritage-as-intrinsically-good to development-as-intrinsically-good reveals a bias towards the development end of the continuum, particularly in the more-authoritative 'news' sections and in the hard-news genre

- The heritage-as-intrinsically-good paradigm is only marginally present in the discourse, with 159 texts of 1190 (13%) containing the heritage master-claim and just 109 (9%) containing only the heritage master-claim. Furthermore, of the latter, only 24 were hard-news texts, the remainder breaking down as follows: 20 soft news, 16 brief announcements of forthcoming events, 32 features, including 16 specialist nature columns, one opinion piece, seven letters, and six stand-alone photocaptions.

Principal findings of survey of working journalists

- The journalists who responded to the survey for this study correspond very closely to its readership in terms of personal ideology, educational background and socio-economic grouping.

- The population of the survey respondents corresponds very closely to its readership in terms of attitudes to and awareness of heritage, but diverges sharply from the attitude to heritage revealed in the texts they helped produce and in the newspaper discourse on heritage as a whole.

- The survey responses suggest that journalists gain the bulk of their knowledge on heritage issues from other newspapers, radio and television, providing further evidence for the existence of a media feed-forward loop tending to reduce the range of possible representations of heritage and helping to explain the high level of redundancy, repetition and homogeneity in the discourse.

- Respondents demonstrated a low level of knowledge and awareness of the operation or even existence of a 'style policy' within their organisation.

- Though the group held 33 third-level qualifications between them and 12 held qualifications in journalism, media or communications, 87% rated experience and osmosis as the most important components of their professional knowledge and expertise.

- With regard to sources, the survey revealed a strong divergence between journalists' aspirations to balance, fairness and objectivity on one hand, and actual practice on the other. Furthermore, respondents seemed largely unaware of this divergence.

- The survey, in conjunction with the content analysis, provides evidence of the significance of source PR strategies as a determinant in the heritage discourse: private corporate sector sources are far and away the most often cited and quoted

according to the content analysis, this being despite the respondents' low opinion of businesspeople as authoritative sources.

- Respondents resisted the suggestion that stories might routinely and deliberately be altered at the production stage. However, they were less resistant to the suggestion that the import of stories might be significantly altered at the production stage by the addition of headlines, photographs and other display items.

- The respondents showed a tendency to regard the resulting changes as accidental or inadvertent. In particular, the respondents seemed to regard 'lack of space' as a natural phenomenon and the allocation of space as an organic, natural process rather than as a matter of conscious and carefully considered choice on the part of management.

- Journalists acknowledged that the availability of a 'good' photograph often determined the amount of space and level of prominence awarded to a story and, less frequently, whether the story runs at all – disclosing a potential for manipulation by claims-makers, such as protestors or developers. Examples include M3 protestors providing a photo-opportunity of film-star Stuart Townsend at the Hill of Tara in order to secure publicity, and developers providing computer-generated images of new developments *in situ* in order to sanitise the demolition process.

- Respondents accurately estimated the relative importance of conflict, scale and economic cost or value as determinant news criteria, but underestimated the importance of geographical proximity, as revealed in the content analysis.

- The respondents believed that the appointment of a specialist heritage correspondent or editor would result in increased coverage of heritage affairs, better-informed coverage of heritage affairs and a tendency to include stories that would not otherwise be covered.

- The respondents did not believe that such an appointment would necessarily result in coverage that was more positive towards heritage or more critical and questioning of development.

10. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Neither in Ireland nor elsewhere does one find a surplus of studies of media coverage of heritage issues. The innovative decision of the Heritage Council to encourage such research has been rewarded by the revelation that there is much for society at large and for journalists in particular to learn about the assumptions and practices of the media when it comes to heritage stories. This study has been confined to just one aspect of one medium, the daily broadsheet newspaper, in just one State, but its findings clearly indicate the scope for further research both in Ireland and overseas. It is hoped by its author that, just as he has drawn on what relevant literature has been published eslewehere, so this dissertation may inspire and assist further studies by not only Irish scholars but by academics elsewhere.

The methodologies devised, developed, adopted or adapted for this study have revealed the hidden ideology in the Irish heritage discourse as conducted in the news media, as well as to discover its locus and the methods by which it is transmitted. The task of devising such a methodology was necessary because, on the face of it, heritage itself and the heritage discourse are ideologically innocent and neutral. Heritage in Ireland has never been the sole preserve of either left or right, no political party is ‘anti-heritage’, the discourse did not appear to be gendered in one way or another, and if there was ever a ‘Protestant’ and a ‘Catholic’ heritage, in the way that there is a ‘Buddhist’ and a ‘Muslim’ heritage in Afghanistan, any such distinction has long since disappeared, at least in the Republic of Ireland. Moreover, Irish people have long been invited, even urged, to regard the national heritage in a positive light, first as a thing of intrinsic value and an integral component of Irish identity and, later, as a valuable commodity capable of being consumed and of being parlayed into prosperity and economic growth.

But as economic circumstances changed rapidly in the mid-1990s and heritage was seen to be become embroiled in a series of bitter conflicts with private developers and even with the State itself, it was clear that a new ideological paradigm had become or was becoming established. It was hypothesised that this new paradigm must reveal itself in media discourse, and that the media discourse would both reflect and reciprocate the new ideological paradigm, but without necessarily appearing to do so. The first problem for the research was how to detect the presence and extent of the new ideological

paradigm in the research; and then to reveal its structural and practical determinants. The obvious solution to the first part of the problem was a content analysis, but one specifically engineered to detect hidden ideological content that might have been determined by specific structural and practical factors. Framing was one content analysis methodology considered and then rejected, for while framing is useful for categorizing texts syntagmatically, it is not so effective at differentiating texts according to paradigm, that is to say, according to ideological choices. It was decided that Critical Discourse Analysis, would provide the best template, particularly adapting those tools specifically developed by Fairclough (2003) to analyze discourses for the traces of what he calls new capitalist ideology, and augmenting them with any analytical device that seemed useful for any specific aspect of the task. The solution to the second part of the problem was to conduct a survey of journalists directly linked to the findings of the first part.

I propose that the methodology worked effectively and that, with subject-specific adaptations, it could equally be applied to other concealed-ideology discourses in newspapers and, with medium-specific adaptations, to such discourses in other news media. Perhaps the discourse *par excellence* may be crime, punishment and victimage, and their representations. Once again, it is a discourse that is the site of much controversy, even though no sane person and no political party would ever dream of claiming or admitting to be 'pro-crime', any more than they would claim or admit to being 'anti-heritage'. At the same time, that does not stop participants in the discourse from accusing each other of being 'soft on crime' or accusing the justice system of being biased in favour of the criminal. As is the case with heritage, the discourse appears to be divided along the fissure between 'reasonable' and 'unreasonable', 'sane' and 'lunatic', 'us' and 'other' – and even to be inhabited by some of the same stereotypical characters; for are not the bearded, sandal-wearing tree-huggers who object to the M3 the same bleeding-heart liberals who want to see criminals being awarded medals instead of being sent to prison?

Another news discourse that might be amenable to this sort of methodology, again *mutatis mutandis*, is the discourse on immigration. On the face of it, the discourse seems highly politicized, but often in terms of race or culture and often at a level that is less ideological than emotional. Given that the largest single bloc of immigrants is white

English people, and that they never seem to rate as much as a mention in the news discourse, it might be interesting to probe that discourse for politico-economic rather than just ethnic politics. What is more, the discourse has the effect of making both right and left appear (and feel) as if they were on the wrong side. From the point of view of the left, it is the right, with its ideological commitment to freedom of movement and its economic motivation for allowing migrants from low-wage countries to enter the market, who should be the most welcoming yet are frequently the most vociferously opposed; while the left, who purport to represent the people who stand to lose out if the labour market is depressed, feels compelled by its ideological commitment to internationalism and fraternity to be welcoming. Fairclough, Bordieu and many others would argue that it is the liberals who, despite their extreme views, have managed to hide themselves in the centre merely by dint of being neither conservative nor socialist, who have sponsored the modern mass migrations while always appearing to take the reasonable middle way – and that the sort of methodology applied here might help to reveal the real ideological locus of immigration controversies.

In terms of further research on the heritage discourse, even as this project draws to an end, Ireland and the West have entered a new economic cycle of recession which is certain to bring with it, for however long, new ideological imperatives and new doxas. The news media, this study proves, will not merely react to this new paradigm but will help to usher it in. From a heritage point of view, developmental pressures will disappear virtually overnight with the end of the building boom, but new pressures on heritage will arise in their place. The business sector will clamour for the Government to redouble its capital outlay on infrastructure and forge ahead with its motorways and prisons, while reducing unnecessary day-to-day expenditure on fripperies such as museums and conservation projects. The oil shock and ensuing world food shortage have already brought forth demands to dismantle the commodified leisure landscape that overproduction and ‘set-aside’ helped bring about, and return the land to intensive production, either of food or of biofuels. Although developers as a class are currently held in some odium, it may be that in a time of recession, any development, no matter how destructive of heritage, will be welcomed like desert rain. In other words, almost before the ink is dry on this study, it is time for another, identical one!

Given sufficient resources, time and personnel, the ultimate media research project would be the critical analysis of a news discourse from every conceivable angle. Deacon *et al.*'s 1999 paper, 'From inception to reception: the natural history of a news item', reported on a project that followed a single news story through the production stage and on to reception. But it was restricted by its small scale, its simplified model of meaning-making and its use of a focus group for the reception study. I have argued already that such studies can be fatally flawed by the gratuitous introduction of a group dynamic into a process that is quintessentially individual. Nor is it merely the focus-group methodology that has the potential to skew the results of reception studies. I strongly suspect that the consumption of news is not only an individual pursuit but a largely unconscious process, and that any methodology that encourages readers to self-consciously focus on news content in a way they do not normally think about news content is bound to produce distortions. Nevertheless, provided reception methodologies can be devised that will replicate as closely as possible the normal, solitary, semiconscious consumption of news, then a major content analysis of the sort attempted here, alongside a functional-linguistic computer corpus analysis of the same texts and contemporaneous surveys of sources, subjects (that is, the people in the stories), media owners and managers, journalists and readers, each using carefully crafted instruments designed specifically for the purpose and the survey population, must be the ultimate ambition of the media researcher.

On a much less ambitious scale, one specific project that suggested itself during the study – suitable for an interesting monograph – would be a critical analysis of a newspaper style-guide as a habitus of concealed ideology, followed by a content analysis to compare style policy with actual practice, carefully noting when – and theorizing why – the two diverged. Though Irish newspapers tend to guard their style-guides jealously, the stylebooks of a number of English newspapers are available for general sale in book form or posted online.

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APPENDIX A

Conflictants in conflict stories

Heritage side		Development side			Cause/object
None		commercial tourism	v	driftnet fishermen	ownership of bio-resource
Walkers	v	landowners			enjoyment of landscape
Objectors	v	wind farm			enjoyment of landscape
'Us', the common weal	v	seaside dwellers			cost of coastal erosion
An Taisce	v	locals/caravan park owners			enjoyment of landscape
Monk and protestors	v	telecoms mast			enjoyment of landscape
Archaeological sites	v	taxpayer/common weal			motorway
Council planners	v	locals/'sons and daughters' (restrictions discriminate against locals)			once-off housing restrictions
Archaeological sites	v	taxpayer/common weal			motorway
Locals	v	'blow-ins' (restrictions protect locals)			once-off housing restrictions
Locals	v	non-natives (restrictions protect locals)			once-off housing restrictions
Locals	v	once-off houses (restrictions protect locals)			once-off housing restrictions
Minister O'Dea	v	telecoms mast			enjoyment of landscape
Museum curator	v	'us', public decency			reconstruction of Berlin Wall
National Museum	v	Bandon TC			ownership of silver mace
Traditional traders	v	developers			character of Temple Bar
Archaeology	v	taxpayers/other towns			Kilkenny flood relief scheme
Council	v	golf club			enjoyment of landscape
Hill walkers	v	farmers			enjoyment of landscape
'Us', public interest	v	property owners			enjoyment of property rights
Council	v	religious orders			preservation of green paces
Hill walkers	v	farmers			enjoyment of landscape
Council	v	religious orders			preservation of green spaces
Archaeology	v	'us', common weal			motorway
Council	v	golf club			enjoyment of landscape
None		NRA	v	angry villagers	delayed by-pass road
An Taisce	v	Minister for Heritage			once-off housing restrictions
Council	v	locals			housing restriction near lakes
Residents	v	quarry company			court case
Dunsink Observatory		none	v	Travellers	preservation of heritage
Residents, agencies	v	golf club			right of way/coastal protection measures
None		tourism interests/anglers	v	driftnet fishing	exploitation of bio resource
Monaghan councillors	v	commercial interests			GM crops
Residents	v	commercial interests			quarry
Heritage sites		none	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Objectors	v	St Stephen's Green development			enjoyment of streetscape
Us, common weal	v	government			legislation to fast-track development

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side		Development side			Cause/object
None		commercial fishermen	v	hotelier	exploitation of bioresource
Residents, agencies	v	golf club			right of way/coastal protection measures
EU	v	farmers			forestry grant changes
EU	v	farmers			forestry grant changes
Citizens		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resource
Citizens		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resource
Citizens		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resource
Us, common weal	v	government			M3 at Tara
Residents, agencies	v	golf Club			right of way/coastal protection measures
Councillors, lobby	v	commercial interests			Bewley's Café preservation
Objectors	v	Bono, The Edge			Clarence Hotel development
Objectors	v	transport authorities			road through Airfield Model Farm
Us, common weal	v	government			M3 at Tara
Councillors, lobby	v	commercial interests			Bewley's Café preservation
Residents, agencies	v	golf club			right of way/coastal protection measures
Heritage sites		none	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Residents	v	developer			shopping centre near Drogheda
Heritage sites		none	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Us, common weal	v	government			M3 at Tara
Objectors	v	Bono, The Edge			Clarence Hotel development
None		tourism interests/anglers	v	commercial fishermen	exploitation of bio resource
Frank McDonald	v	citizen			M3 at Tara
Conservationists	v	property owner			sale of bird- and seal-sanctuary
Academics	v	commercial fish farmers			harmful impacts of fish-farming
None		tourism interests/anglers	v	commercial fishermen	exploitation of bio resource
Heritage sites		None	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Conservationists	v	property owner			sale of bird- and seal-sanctuary
BIM	v	commercial salmon fishermen			seal cull
Dalai Lama	v	poachers, developers			plea to protect wildlife
Locals	v	local government			road through town's park
Blarney Castle owner	v	citizen litigant			civil suit, personal injury for fall
Objectors	v	developer			development of listed buildings
None		Berlin museum	v	London Eye	Ferris wheel
EU	v	farmers			forestry grant changes
An Taisce	v	developer			Wonderful Barn
Heritage	v	developer			listed house in Dublin
Objectors	v	citizen			M3 at Tara
Citizen	v	development/natural causes			salmon stocks
Community	v	authorities			Grace Kelly cottage

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side		Development side			Cause/object
Heritage sites		none	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Cairo bazaar	v	terrorist			bomb attack (mention of bazaar is to establish propinquity – likelihood of tourist fatalities)
Planners	v	government, developers			planning failures
Biodiversity	v	poachers, developers			primates under threat
Citizen	v	Coillte			sale of forest land for development
Cairo bazaar	v	terrorist			bomb attack (mention of bazaar is to establish propinquity – likelihood of tourist fatalities)
Conservationists	v	commercial salmon fishermen			salmon stocks
Citizen	v	government			M3 at Tara
Green party politician	v	media			lack of Millennium Ecosystem report coverage
Citizen		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resource
Citizen		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resource
Objectors	v	eco-village developers			Ireland's first eco-village
Ethiopia	v	Italy			obelisk
Us, common weal	v	cost of conservation/lure of development			Georgian churches
Heritage sites		none	v	Travellers	protection of heritage sites
Heritage agencies	v	farming, tourism			pollution of lakes of Killarney
Councillors, lobby	v	commercial interests			Bewley's Café preservation
Schiller, Goethe	v	Buchenwald			Buchenwald reunion
None		tourism interests/anglers	v	commercial fishermen	exploitation of bio resource
Citizen	v	capitalism			erosion of Carrauntoohill
Citizen	v	commercial salmon netsmen			salmon stocks
Citizen	v	commercial salmon netsmen			salmon stocks
Citizen		none	v	diocesan heritage centre	access to heritage resort
Biodiversity	v	farming/development			loss of sheds/barns (swallow habitats)
Heritage Council	v	farming/development			Paps of Anu
None		tourism interests	v	farming	access to uplands
Heritage Council	v	farming/development			Paps of Anu
Fine Gael	v	government			plans to close tourism body
None		tourism interests	v	farming	access to uplands
Citizen	v	transport authorities			road through Airfield Model Farm
Heritage	v	artefact owner			historic painting may leave country
Councillors	v	government			heritage at proposed prison site
Conservationists	v	farmers			cane toads (Australia)
'Old' shop mall	v	new shopping mall			Stillorgan v Dundrum
Objectors, lobby	v	developer			Dún Laoghaire baths
Objectors	v	developer			landscape impact of waste facility on Royal Canal
None		tourism interests	v	farming	access to uplands

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side		Development side			Cause/object
Objectors	v	government			heritage at proposed prison site
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
NRA	v	Clare County Council			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
'Old' shop mall	v	new shopping mall			Stillorgan v Dundrum
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
None		Clare councillors	v	Clare Co. Co.	shortfall from sale of heritage site
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Deer	v	farming			economic damage caused by deer
Truffle hunters	v	truffle rustlers			threat to biodiversity
Government	v	developers			planning restrictions in scenic areas
Local planners	v	cost			cost of applying new guidelines
Locals	v	Waterford council			removal of 100-year-old statue
Planning board	v	developers			destruction of Cornelscourt House and trees
Citizen	v	developers			poverty of built environment
Citizen	v	government			salmon stocks
Walkers	v	farmer			access to uplands
Prime Time	v	fisheries board			salmon stocks: poaching
Objectors, lobby	v	developer, council			Dún Laoghaire baths
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	government			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	developers			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	developers/farmers			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Common weal	v	developers			relaxation of restrictions on once-off houses
Conservationists	v	rural dwellers			conservation of bears
Farmers		none	v	conservations	side-effect: preservation of dog breed
Deer	v	farmers			cost of deer
None		farmers	v	walkers/tourism	access to uplands
Citizen	v	government			M3 at Tara
Environment Minister Dick Roche	v	local authorities			poor urban landscape
None		drift netters	v	anglers	salmon
None		drift netters	v	anglers, tourism interests	salmon
Residents	v	government			heritage at new prison site
Conservationists	v	drift netters			salmon
Conservationists	v	Galway council			Eyre Square redevelopment

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side			Cause/object
Dubliners		v	hotel developers			loss of heritage
Green Party		v	farmers			Green policies
Conservationists		v	developers			veterinary college
Conservationists, museums		v	past-buriers			Berlin Wall
Collection contractor		v	'smugglers'			waste farm plastic
Opponents of Turkish EU entry		v	proponents			Turkey's non-European heritage
Opponents of sewage plant		v	Southsiders			orbital sewerage scheme
Conservationists		v	local authority road planners			terrace of 19th-century cottages
Conservationists		v	drift netters			salmon
Conservationists		v	developers			Eaton Brae House
Irish Georgian Society		v	developers			Old Schoolhouse
Conservationists		v	developers			19th-century house, Rathcline Castle
Python	v	crocodile	none			
Great White	v	humans	none			
NRA		v	developers			once-off housing
Conservationists		v	Clare Council			Cliffs of Moher
Locals		v	developers/council			People's Park
EU/government			farmers			waste farm plastic
Conservationists			developers			over-development
Locals			'outsider' developers			Lough Key forest park
Archaeologist	v	media	none			Carrickmines
Planning authorities		v	Dolores O'Riordan			littoral development in Spain
Planning authorities		v	Dolores O'Riordan			littoral development in Spain
Archaeology		v	locals/motorists			Waterford bridge
Archaeologist	v	media	none			Carrickmines
Tourism authorities		v	tourism operators			Ireland's heritage image
Tourism authorities		v	tourism operators			Ireland's heritage image
Tourists		v	tourism operators			Ireland's heritage image
None			drift netters	v	anglers, tourism interests	salmon stocks
Great White	v	humans	none			
Locals		v	developer/Limerick council			People's Park
None			drift netters	v	anglers, tourism interests	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	government			salmon stocks
Anglers, tourism interests		v	government			salmon stocks
Archaeologist	v	media	none			Carrickmines
Archaeologist	v	media	none			Carrickmines
PDs		v	Fianna Fáil			salmon stocks
Python	v	alligator	none			
Conservationists		v	consumers			global warming

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side	Cause/object
Archaeologist	v	media	none	Carrickmines
Conservationists		v	consumers	global warming
Conservationists		v	Bertie Ahern	Tara/M3
Planning authorities		v	developers	The Burren
Council		v	OPW	Castle used as drug den
Park-keepers		v	rhododendrons	National park, oak forest
PDs		v	Fianna Fáil	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	Church authorities	St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh
Authorities		v	bomb hoaxer	Eiffel Tower
Park-keepers	v	rhododendrons	none	National park, oak forest
Locals, conservationists		v	developers	eight waste plants
PDs		v	Fianna Fáil	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown council	baths, seafront
Python	v	cat	none	
Council		v	developers	Rockfield House estate
Wildlife conservationists		v	Meteor phone company	orang-utan in advertisement
Dún Laoghhaire Council		v	developers	baths, seafront
Locals		v	Department of Justice	Thornton Hall prison
PDs		v	Fianna Fáil	salmon stocks
Council		v	developers	Rockfield House estate
Dún Laoghhaire Council		v	developers	baths, seafront
Conservationists		v	Galway council	Eyre Square
Government committee		v	drift nets	salmon stocks
Government committee		v	drift nets	salmon stocks
Government committee		v	drift nets	salmon stocks
Archaeological discovery		v	Iraq	TE Lawrence map
Conservationists		v	consumers	global warming
Government committee		v	drift nets	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	government scheme	holiday home tax scheme
Government committee		v	drift nets	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	government scheme	holiday home tax scheme
EU		v	farmers	nitrates directive
Wildlife		v	humans	Avian Flu
Archaeology		v	historiology	fossil find
Birds		v	Nowlan Park	ordure
Planning authorities		v	shopping centre developers	landscape
Navy		v	Irish fishermen	fish stocks
Planning authorities		v	shopping centre developers	landscape
Animals	v	humans	none	zoonotic diseases in history
Planning authorities		v	shopping centre developers	landscape

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Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side			Cause/object
An Taisce		v	developers			Shannon landscape
Conservationists		v	Church authorities			St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh
Planning authorities		v	developers			Carrickmines
Conservationists		v	immigrants			pike stocks
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
GAA legend's family		v	criminals			antique medals
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Archaeology		v	historiology			fossil find
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Locals		v	sawmill owners			planning process
Fruit flies		v	human consumption			fruit fly infestations
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Nazi Hunters	v	museum	none			Hunt museum collection
Red Squirrel	v	grey squirrel	none			squirrel cull
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Conservationists		v	*Big Brother* star			gorilla-skin coat
Landscape conservationists		v	wind farm owners			planning process
Bord Gáis		v	city authorities			Waterford quays
None			Irish anglers	v	English anglers	fish stocks
Teagasc		v	IFA			Nitrates directive
Locals		v	Department of Justice			Thornton Hall prison
Scientists/conservationists		v	industry			Arctic pollution
Heritage Council		v	farmers			REPS
Local authority		v	Department of Justice			Thornton Hall prison
Local authority		v	developers			Airfield House
Heritage Council		v	farmers			wildlife
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Archaeologists		v	NRA/Environment Minister			Tara M3
Beit Trust	v	criminals	none			Beit collection
New Zealand		v	Japan			whale hunting
Teagasc		v	IFA			nitrates directive
Museum director		v	NRA/Environment Minister			Tara M3
Teagasc		v	IFA			nitrates directive
Conservationists		v	Department of Justice			Spike Island jail

continued overleaf…

Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side			Cause/object
Native flora	v	invasive weed	none			invasive species
None			Irish fishermen	v	foreign fishermen	fish stocks
Local authority		v	Dermot Desmond			renovation of heritage building
Monkeys	v	human society	none			monkeys invade parliament in New Delhi
Conservationists		v	developers/councils			planning retentions
Beit Trust	v	criminals	none			Beit collection
Archaeologists		v	NRA/Environment Minister			Tara M3
An Taisce		v	Galway Council			Heritage buildings on Shop Street
Locals		v	developers/council			Inchydoney Pier
Locals		v	developer			Laraghcon House, Lucan
Spain	v	foreign criminals	none			heritage artefacts
EU		v	Irish fishermen			mackerel stocks/illegal fishing
Irish anglers		v	foreign anglers			coarse fish stocks
Spain	v	foreign criminals	none			heritage artefacts
Salmon committee		v	anglers			salmon stocks
Planning authorities		v	Shane Ryan, son of Tony			Lyons Demesne
Conservationists		v	Department of the Environment			fast-track proposals
Court		v	fishermen			over-quota fishing
Bush administration		v	poachers/farmers			bald eagle
Locals		v	Department of Justice			Thornton Hall prison
Planning authorities		v	Shane Ryan, son of Tony			Lyons Demesne
Urban planning experts		v	developers/councils			Dublin planning
Dáil committee		v	fishermen			fish stocks
Locals		v	Wicklow council			Greystones Harbour
Locals		v	Wicklow council			Greystones Harbour
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Dáil committee		v	fishermen			fish stocks
Locals		v	Department of Justice			Thornton Hall prison
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Beit Trust	v	criminals	none			Beit collection
Marine Minister		v	fishermen			fish stocks
Marine Minister		v	fishermen			fish stocks
Citizen conservationist		v	locals			thatched cottage in Malahide
EU/Teagasc		v	farmers			nitrates directive
EU/Teagasc		v	farmers			nitrates directive
An Taisce		v	developers			retail park in Killarney near national park
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Council planners		v	councillors			planning issues in general

continued overleaf…

Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side			Cause/object
Church	v	criminals	none			theft of antique pew
An Taisce		v	developers			retail park in Killarney near national park
Earl of Roden	v	thieves	none			antique desk
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Conservationists		v	Coillte			forest fire in Sligo
Conservationists		v	Coillte			forest fire in Sligo
Conservationists		v	developer			sale of Jesuit church and presbytery
Conservationists		v	developer/council			retail development in Ennis green belt
Bolivia	v	Chile	none			gift of traditional instrument to Bono
Congolese government		v	hunters			threatened Bonobo ape
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Dealers/museums		v	artists			droit de suite
Locals		v	soccer club			all-weather pitch plan for park
Conservationists		v	developer			sale of Jesuit church and presbytery
Kerry county council		v	mink farm			planning process
Conservationists		v	developer/council			retail development in Ennis green belt
Conservationists		v	development			endangered species
Walkers		v	farmers			right of way
Rural tourism		v	Dublin			decline of heritage tourism
Conservationists		v	developer			sale of Jesuit church and presbytery
Conservationists		v	private seller			copy of national anthem
Teagasc		v	farmers			slurry as fertilizer
Teagasc		v	farmers			potash and nitrates
EU		v	farmers			nitrates directive
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Teagasc		v	farmers			nitrates directive
None			anglers	v	fishermen	salmon stocks
None			anglers	v	fishermen	salmon stocks
Conservationists		v	NRA			Tara M3
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Council		v	pub owners			décor of heritage pub
SIPO Commission		v	Kerry Council			rezoning decision in Killarney
Conservationists		v	NRA			Tara M3
Conservationists		v	Patrick Gallagher			St Stephen's Green *etc*.
Society		v	new ascendancy			Kilmainham, Dublin Castle,
RHA Panther	v	human safety	none			feral panther on Border
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
None			anglers	v	fishermen	salmon stocks

continued overleaf…

Conflictants in conflict stories continued

Heritage side			Development side			Cause/object
Conservationists		v	NRA			Tara M3
Vincent Salafia		v	NRA			Tara M3
Conservationists		v	human health			fish oil consumption
Seals		v	fishermen			seal cull in Canada
Alligators	v	human safety	none			development encroaching on habitats
Archaeology	v	historiology	none			archaeological find
Greens		v	Fianna Fáil			Roche calls Greens 'roadblock to progress'
Greens		v	Fianna Fáil			Roche calls Greens 'roadblock to progress'
Archaeologist		v	NRA			Tara M3
Conservationists		v	development			Amur leopard
DUP		v	Indaver Ireland, Irish Cement			Battle of Boyne site
Planning authorities		v	Jim Mansfield			Palmerstown Demesne
Planning authorities		v	Jim Mansfield			Palmerstown Demesne
DUP		v	Indaver Ireland, Irish Cement			Battle of Boyne site
Michael Smurfit		v	Charles Haughey			Jack B Yeats painting
Northern Ireland		v	Republic of Ireland			once-off housing
Locals in general		v	developers in general			PR resources
The Church	v	Reds/liberals	none			newly discovered archive
Garda		v	criminals			illegal bird traps
Spain		v	illegal developers	v	Irish investors	planning corruption
Conservationists		v	government/tourism interests			Burren action plan
Government (NPWS)	v	alien species	none			invasive species
Conservationists		v	developers			Dublin Bay
Garden birds	v	hawks	none			Natural predation
Jackdaws	v	humans	none			cunning of jackdaws in subverting human habitation
None			Burundi	v	Rwanda	Nile expedition
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Conservationist		v	government			Tara M3/1916 memorabilia
Planning authorities	v		ESB			power line through SAC
Sharks	v	human safety	none			new shark nursery
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Conservationist		v	government			Tara M3/1916 memorabilia
None			auctioneer	v	relative of survivor	provenance of Titanic deckchair
Locals		v	council			Cliffs of Moher
Locals		v	council			Eyre Square
Sharks	v	human safety	none			new shark nursery
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Wild birds	v	humans	none			Avian Flu
Locals		v	council			Eyre Square
Planning authorities		v	ESB			power line through SAC
French cave art	v	Spanish cave art	none			newly discovered cave art

APPENDIX B

Heritage Survey

Please try to answer all the questions, but if you have any qualms or reservations about a particular question (I would appreciate any feedback if such is the case), please skip it and complete the others.

For the purposes of this study, 'heritage' comprises a) Built heritage, such as Tara, Trim Castle, Georgian and Victorian houses, industrial heritage, antiques and other artefacts, monuments and so on - and even modern buildings that are consciously iconic or monumental (Liberty Hall for example); b) the landscape and seascape; and c) wildlife heritage - flora and fauna.

Note: 'heritage' and 'environment' sometimes overlap but are NOT the same, and are often at odds. For example, wind farms are good for the environment but bad for the landscape and bird life.

1. Job details

Name…….

Publication ……..

Staff/freelance……..

Title (reporter, editor, correspondent *etc.*) ……..

Beat (news, property, business *etc.*) ……

Email Address……

2. Which of these descriptions most closely matches your personal political philosophy? (Choose one)

Conservative……

Liberal……

Christian Democrat (centre-right) ……

Social Democrat (centre-left) ……

Left wing……

Centre……

Pragmatist……

None…….

Other (please specify) ……

……

3. Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following claims about heritage:

Heritage adds cachet and value to a commodity

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

This cachet survives the destruction of the actual heritage

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Development is good, irrespective of impact on heritage

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage gives rise to conflict

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is in conflict with human safety

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is worth money

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is too costly

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is intrinsically valuable

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is to be exploited

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is to be exploited to the utmost extent

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is to be exploited, even to the point of destruction

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is to be consumed

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is interesting

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage proponents are acting against the national interest

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage regulations are costly and unnecessary

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is a victim of conflict

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is valuable only to the extent it can be consumed for profit

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is subservient to economic requirements

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is exotic and interesting

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Development improves heritage

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is in conflict with itself

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Heritage is worth saving

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

Loss of heritage is inevitable

Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree somewhat ☐ Agree somewhat ☐ Strongly agree ☐

4. In the Tara/M3 controversy, what is your preferred outcome (Choose one)

a) The motorway should proceed on the existing route…….☐

b) The motorway should proceed on the existing route, but with a total ban on roadside development in the vicinity of Tara…….☐

c) The motorway should proceed on another route in the Tara-Skryne valley, further from the Hill of Tara…….☐

d) The motorway should proceed on another route, well away from the Tara-Skryne valley…….☐

e) The motorway should not proceed at all……☐

f) Other (please specify) ……

……

……

……

5. Where did you derive your knowledge of Tara (choose one)

Largely from school/college? ……..☐

Largely from other media? ……..☐

Largely from books/journals? ……☐

Largely from the internet? ……☐

Other (please specify) ……

……

……

……

6. Where did you acquire the bulk of your professional expertise and knowledge as a journalist? (Choose one answer)

Third-level education……☐

Formal in-house training courses……☐

Informal on-the-job training and advice from superiors/colleagues……☐

Experience……☐

7. If you have a third-level qualification (diploma or degree), what subject(s) is it in? (Choose one or more as appropriate)

Journalism……☐

Media/communications……☐

History……☐

Economics……☐

English……☐

Law……☐

Sociology……☐

Politics/public admin……☐

Other (please specify) ……

8. Does your publication have a house stylebook in active use?

Yes……☐

No……☐

Don't know……☐

9. Does your house stylebook or style policy discourage the use of the passive voice?

Yes……☐

No……☐

Don't know……☐

10. If you were asked to write a story about a heritage site for which there was a development proposal, where would you research the history and significance of the heritage, and the potential impact on it of the development? (Choose one or more)

The planning authority……☐

Local politician……☐

The developer……☐

Books/journals……☐

Protesters……☐

Other media (newspapers, radio, TV) ……☐

Community group……☐

Local historian or academic……☐

11. Following on from the previous question, where would you research the details of the development proposal and its potential benefits? (Choose one or more)

The planning authority……☐

The developer……☐

Community group……☐

Other media (newspapers, radio, TV) ……☐

Books/journals……☐

Protesters……☐

Local historian or academic……☐

Local politician……☐

12. Does your publication:

Insist on a second corroborating source?

Always ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

Insist on a second counterbalancing source?

Always ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

13. Have you been deterred from contacting a second corroborative or balancing source:

Due to lack of time?

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

For fear of 'killing' the story?

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

14. Please rank the following sources 1 to 8 in order of authoritativeness

private citizen ……

professional ……

businessman ……

lobby group ……

government ……

statutory body ……

local government……

academic ……

15. To what extent do you generate your own story ideas/are assigned to cover stories by management. Please assign a rough percentage value, totalling 100 (50/50, 60/40, 30/70 *etc.*)

Self-generated ……

Assigned ……

16. Irrespective of whose idea the story was, who has the major input in deciding the main thrust or angle of the story? Please assign a rough percentage value, totalling 100 (50/50, 60/40, 30/70 *etc.*)

You ……

Management ……

17. After you have filed a story, is the main thrust or angle (of the text itself) significantly changed at the production stage?

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

Add a comment/example (optional)

……..……

……..……

……..……

……..……

18. After you have filed a story, is the main thrust or angle significantly changed at the production stage by the headline, captions, pullquotes, standfirst or photographs *etc.*?

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

Add a comment/example (optional)

……..……

……..……

……..……

……..……

19. In your opinion, does the availability or non-availability of a good photograph determine:

How much space your story gets

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

Whether your story runs at all

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐ Never ☐

Add a comment/example (optional)

……..……

……..……

……..……

……..……

20. In your experience, when selecting stories, how much importance does your publication place on each of the following news values. Rank them in importance, 1-8

Conflict (a good row!) ……

Celebrity or personality ……

Drama ……

Rarity value ……

Size or scale ……

Economic cost or value ……

Geographical proximity to your readership ……

Cultural proximity to your market segment ……

21. Finally, if your publication had a specialist Heritage Correspondent or Heritage Editor (in the same way as it has a Political or Environmental Correspondent or a Business or Property Editor), how do think this would affect your publication's coverage of heritage affairs? (Tick as many as you feel appropriate)

Increased coverage of heritage affairs ☐

Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to heritage ☐

Coverage that is more positive in its attitude to development ☐

A greater inclination to seek out and quote pro-heritage sources ☐

Coverage that is better informed about heritage ☐

A tendency to include heritage stories that might not otherwise be covered ☐

A decrease in coverage that is negative towards heritage ☐

Coverage that is more critical or questioning of development ☐

Other (please specify) ……

……..……

……..……

…….……..……

Thank you so much for completing the survey.