

DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY
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MAKING THE VIEWER VISIBLE:
A STUDY OF TELEVISION VIEWING.
BY
DES MC GUINNESS.

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assesement for the programme of study leading to the award of Master of Arts is entirely my own work 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.

Signed.....*Des McGinness*.....

Des Mc Guinness

Date.....*1/3/93*.....

Date.....

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() Interviewee response

[] Interviewer questions or remarks

! Emphasis, humourous or otherwise.

(7) A bracketed number indicates a reference, all of which are presented in the 'Reference' section after Chapter Ten.

Glenroe. Programme titles and publications underlined.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates aspects of the relationship between a small, but broadly representative, group of Dublin working class viewers and television. Working with forty seven members of ten families from a predominantly working class suburb in north Dublin the following key research questions are addressed at both a theoretical and empirical level: (1) The programmes and channels which members of the ten families watch. (2) How much television they watch. (3) What the responses of the families to drama and sport reveal about Dublin working class culture. (4) What the responses of the families to actuality programmes reveal about the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness. (5) The gender and age factor in responses and audience activity.

The thesis comprises ten chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction to the research dissertation. Chapter Two critically reviews some key theoretical writings on ideology, discourse and working class culture. Chapter Three explores aspects of communication and television audience research in terms of 'active audience' and 'powerful text'. Chapter Four presents a profile of the suburb of Coolock where the ten families live. Chapter Five assesses the research methodologies of ethnographic interviewing and time use diaries, which are employed in this study. Chapter Six consists of information on the families' time use patterns and media consumption. Chapter Seven and Eight present and analyse the responses of family members to questions on the genres of drama, sport, news, current affairs and documentaries, in order to determine what they reveal about Dublin working class culture, the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness. Chapter Nine examines the extent to which gender and age were factors in the responses and audience activity of the families.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis by presenting the most pertinent points to have emerged from the research. The study indicated that television viewing was the main leisure activity for the majority of the family members and that a wide variety of programmes on all the available channels were viewed. The responses revealed a high level of engagement with representations of both Irish and English working class culture. The majority of interviewees associated notions of 'Irishness' with rural Ireland in so far as they identified Glenroe as being particularly Irish. Replies to questions on news and current affairs illustrated levels of critical capacity and an awareness that what was broadcast was but one possible interpretation. Documentaries were perceived to have a greater degree of credibility than the news. Differences between men and women viewers was less to do with the genres they favoured than with the nature of their engagement. Power relations along lines of gender and age were identified in particular aspects of audience activity. The study concludes by presenting the implications of the research to a wider Dublin working class audience, the telling of the Dublin working class story and further research.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In a wide ranging televised discussion on the future of Irish broadcasting on RTE1 in October 1991, Micheal D. Higgins T.D., the then Labour Party spokesperson on Communications and currently the Minister for the Arts, Broadcasting and the Gaeltacht suggested that television can be about "getting behind masks" as well as "about the right to tell your own story".(1) (*)

Tolka Row, the urban based soap which ended in 1968, was, according to Martin Mc Loone, "produced to provide an outlet for the largely unheard voice of working class Dublin"(McLoone.1984:61). Over thirty years later that "voice" is heard more frequently in Irish television programmes, but is still under-represented despite the huge increase in the numbers of working class people living in the greater Dublin area.

Through its policy of regional news gathering RTE has recognised the segmentation of its national audience on a geographical basis. However, in order for RTE to fulfil its public service remit it must reflect the new urban configuration of culture by acknowledging the diversity of that audience.

In this respect, the results of the 1989 and 1992 General Elections in the south of Ireland may represent a break with a nationalist consensus in urban politics i.e., the traditional

(*) References are listed at the end of the thesis

working class support for Fianna Fail. Whether this political development has yet found its cultural expression is open to question. Identifying a possible realignment of contemporary Irish urban life raises a series of questions for Irish public service broadcasting. Chief among those is the possibility that a decline in contemporary cultural nationalism may be replaced by a greater identification with the transnational culture of the new satellite channels.

Communications/Media Studies researchers have to date provided valuable analyses of the representations of the Dublin working class in television drama and current affairs programmes, (Gibbons.1984, Kelly.1984, McLoone.1984, Rockett.1984 and Sheehan.1987); however, besides the notable exceptions of Irish TAM's quantitative data (Fahy.1992) and qualitative research conducted by O'Connor.1987,1990, Reynolds.1990, very little research is available on the television use and viewing patterns of Dublin working class audiences.

While Strumpet City remains a classic in RTE's history of broadcasting, it is arguable that the station's programme makers have difficulty in coming to grips with the working class experience. This has taken different forms in the past. For example, both 7 Days and Today Tonight have been criticised for programmes on the Dublin working class suburbs of Ballyfermot, Finglas and Darndale presented during the 1970s and 1980s. As Dr Mary Kelly has stated:

"current affairs reporting frequently represent working class housing estates as homogeneous- and as

constituting a major social problem" (Kelly.1984:105).

Why that might be the case was explained by Kelly when she wrote that:

"current affairs....symbolically represent the existing class, elite and gender structure by repeatedly giving a tiny minority the right to access to the airwaves, to the exclusion of the vast majority"(Kelly.1984:105).

As for drama, in May 1986 Gene Kerrigan was prompted to write in a review of the Access Community Drama production Emigrants that:

"what we saw was recognisable, something that doesn't happen too often in RTE drama. We saw the insides of modern working class homes, for instance, something RTE seldom shows and usually gets wrong when it does"(Cited in Sheehan.1987:379).

These two examples are an indication of previous shortcomings by programme makers to capture the realities of working class life.

The aim of this research is to examine clearly defined aspects of the relationship a group of predominantly working class families from Coolock in north Dublin have to television. Based on information provided by the families in audio taped interviews, time use diaries and a questionnaire, I will address the following key questions:

- (i) What are the patterns of time use and media consumption among the ten families?
- (ii) What do the families' responses to drama and sports on television tell us about Dublin working class culture in terms of the following: (i) identification with representations of urban working class culture, (ii) images of rural Ireland and (iii) class and national identity?
- (iii) What do the families' responses to actuality programmes (news, current affairs and documentaries) reveal about the

operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness among the ten families?

(iv) To what extent is gender and age a factor in the audience activity and response of this group of families?

It is important to state at this stage that I was reluctant to categorise all the families who participated in this project as working class, as in my opinion it was incorrect to assume that all family members would consider themselves to be of the working class, irrespective of whether or not I thought they fulfilled the necessary criteria. So, throughout the thesis I use the qualifiers 'mainly' or 'predominantly'.

In holding with the belief that "all knowledge is instrumental," terms as diverse as 'audience,' 'culture' and 'working class' have been problematised (Wilden.1984:xxvii). For example, when the term 'audience' is used it is done so with reservations, as Andrew Tudor states:

"audience is not a satisfactory term. Even its everyday use has overtones of passivity: to a member of an audience is to be a non-contributing recipient"
(Cited in Hartley et al.1985:5)

Instead of 'audience' I use the term 'viewer' where suitable.

I will take this opportunity to explain why the present research involved mainly working class families. This decision derives from a number of factors, which are listed as follows and written in the first person:

(i) For over twenty years I have had a close association with a Dublin working class way of life. Such an association began

during a nine month illness in the late 1960s and since then despite a continuing link with a middle class background I have moved across class boundaries to work, live, socialise, form personal relationships, and participate in trade union and socialist politics along with people from working class backgrounds. Over the past twenty years I have learned from personal experience that struggle is essential for any oppressed group or individual seeking their rights and/or emancipation, whether it be on the basis of class, gender, nationality, or sexuality.

(ii) I believe that knowledge of the preferences, sensibilities and opinions of working class audiences are essential if RTE is to fulfill its public service remit. That the views of that section of the national audience ought to be ascertained, respected and responded to.

(iii) I believe that when middle class people are engaged in a research process 'on behalf of' or 'in the interests of' working class people that they learn to listen, to respect and come to know that these relationships are ultimately political and therefore bound up with power relations. That given the predominantly middle class ethos of academics, researchers, programme and broadcasting policy makers questions of social class and culture ought at least be acknowledged. That for many years middle class researchers and professionals have entered working class communities to analyse, evaluate, survey and document, seldom returning to those communities to share the information/data arising from their work. That learning to find

non-oppressive and non-exploitative ways of conducting research involves dialogue, political honesty and an openness on the part of the researcher in relation to the work being carried out.

Based on the above, it is worth stating that the present work is not being undertaken 'on behalf of,' or 'in the interests of' those that are been interviewed, or indeed a wider Dublin 'working class community'. Rather it is undertaken in a sense of solidarity and a strong belief that Irish television can contribute much more to the telling of working class stories and provide a vehicle for the expression of views and concerns of that class. This approach influences both the methodology as well as the overall spirit of the thesis.

So, with such a research design and perspective in mind the following is a summary of the contents of each chapter:

Chapter Two provides the theoretical basis for an examination of the relationship between a predominantly working class audience and that which is transmitted on their television. The chapter sets the theoretical background for subsequent chapters in that it clearly establishes the influence of the cultural studies tradition on both communication and television audience research. By addressing the issues of ideology/discourse in terms of agency and structure, the theoretical backdrop to the notion of the 'active' and 'passive' television viewer is presented.

Chapter Three presents a critical review of some of the main communications and television audience research traditions. By

investigating both research traditions side by side the development of effects, literary criticism, reception analysis, uses and gratification research will be presented in an historical context showing how communication research merges with that of television audience research. The key questions examined in this chapter will relate to the power of the television text and the role of the 'active' viewer in television consumption.

Chapter Four comprises a profile of the Coolock area, a predominantly working class suburb in north Dublin where the families who participated in this project reside. Besides establishing the local cultural context in which the families live, the chapter concretises the relationship between culture and social class in a number of respects.

Chapter Five, presents the methodology employed in this study. As such the chapter focuses on ethnographic research methods and time use diaries. The research stages and a brief biographical sketch of the ten families who participated in the project is also included.

So having presented the theoretical perspectives which informs the research, the cultural context and biography of the families who participated in the project, as well as the methodology used, the information which emerged from the interviews and time use diaries is presented and analysed in Chapters Six to Nine.

Chapter Six, provides information on the families' time use patterns, programme and channel preference, therefore providing an overview prior to addressing the remaining research questions.

While this chapter contains mainly quantitative data it also maps cultural tastes extending beyond the families' relationship to television.

In addressing the responses of the interviewees to television drama, Chapter Seven focuses on their identification with representation of urban working class life and rural Ireland. It also addresses the responses in terms of national identity.

Chapter Eight includes an examination of the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness in terms of the families' responses to news, current affairs and documentary. The chapter also takes account of topics which provoked discussion in the home and were perceived to be biased.

Chapter Nine explores to what extent gender and age were a factor in the responses and activity of the families. In that respect the process whereby family members negotiate choice of programme and channel is examined.

Chapter Ten, presents a summary of the most pertinent points that emerged in the course of the research, at both a theoretical and empirical level. The thesis concludes by discussing the implications of the findings in relation to a wider Dublin working class audience, the telling of the Dublin working class story and further research.

CHAPTER TWO

WORKING CLASS CULTURE

(2.1) INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines aspects of the relationship between class, culture, ideology and discourse with the main focus directed towards an understanding of Dublin working class culture. The emphasis on cultural studies in this chapter and the debates surrounding communications and television audience research addressed in Chapter Three, form the theoretical backdrop to the thesis in general. The present chapter examines the following issues:

- (2.2) Cultural Studies
- (2.3) Ideology and discourse
- (2.4) Irish working class culture

(2.2) CULTURAL STUDIES

Stuart Hall has identified specific writings of Richard Hoggart(1971), Raymond Williams(1980,1983), and E.P.Thompson(1963) as being the "originating texts, the original 'curriculum', of the field" of cultural studies in Britain (Hall.1984a:16) These writings represent the foundation of the 'culturalist,' as opposed to the structuralist approach to cultural analysis. They are also significant in that Hoggart and Williams drew on their own working class backgrounds when writing and that E.P Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class(1963) remains a key text in the study of working class culture.

According to Hall, William's The Long Revolution is the "text of the break" in so far as it "shifted the whole ground of debate from a literary-moral to an anthropological definition of culture"(Hall.1984a:16) In The Long Revolution Raymond Williams defines culture as:

"the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life. The analysis of culture is the attempt to discover the nature of the organisation which is the complex of these relationships"
(Williams.1980:63).

The Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies(CCCS) at the University of Birmingham was established in 1964 as an interdisciplinary post-graduate research centre and has since its inception been identified with a variety of research projects, ranging from work on ideology to language, from media to youth sub-cultures. The starting point for those at the Centre was, according to John Fiske, the:

"belief that meanings and the making of them (which together constitute culture) are indivisibly linked to the social structure and can only be explained in terms of that structure and its history"(Fiske.1987:254).

Implicit in Fiske's quotation is the intimate link between structure and agency. Within Marxism two opposing traditions have taken either structure or agency as their starting points. While structuralist Marxists such as Louis Althusser focus on structures, humanist Marxists such E.P. Thompson consider agency as primary (Sarup.1983). This distinction will be shown to have significant importance in terms of communication and television audience research.

In Britain the most sustained research on working class culture was carried out in the late 1950s and early 1960s, by writers such as Brian Jackson, Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and Ferdinand Zweig. While aspects of these writings are flavoured with a sense of nostalgia for a way of life which the authors saw as being in decline, they also contain passages which identify popular culture as being partly responsible for the erosion of a traditional working class way of life. For example, Richard Hoggart and to a lesser extent Raymond Williams, identified North American mass culture as having a particularly corrosive impact on British working class culture. (Morley & Robins.1990:17-21). The analysis of British working class culture was further developed by other writers, including those associated with the CCCS, who directed particular attention towards working class youth subcultures.(Clarke.1980.1981, Johnson.1980)

Within what he describes as the "radical research tradition" James Curran identifies two contending perspectives, i.e., the "culturalists," which he associates with the CCCS, and the political economy perspective, associated with the Leicester Centre for Mass Communication Research. The latter:

"tended to emphasise the centrality of economic ownership, the indirect influences exerted by the state and the structures and logic of the market"
(Curran.1990:139).

By incorporating a political economy perspective within Cultural Studies, some weaknesses identified within that approach can be rectified. In fact this inclusion is essential in any examination of mediated communications.

Rather than follow Marx's proposition that the mode of production "determines in the last instance," Graham Murdock suggests that instead the economic determines in the "first instance". His position is that:

"economic dynamics play a crucial role in structuring the social spaces with which communicative activity takes place" (Murdock.1989:229-235).

In that regard Murdock outlines "four ways in which economic dynamics determine consumption". These are in summary form:

(a) "A person's position within the productive system structures access to the resources required for consumption both directly and indirectly".

(b) "The organisation of production also impinges on consumption through the ways it structures social relations and activities both inside and outside the home".

(c) "...the ways the pleasures of the text are [also] structured by the producers' strategies for maximising their returns".

(d) "...the organisation of production structures communicative activity through the technologies and combinations of technologies it promotes" (Murdock.1989:229-235).

Against a background in which the concept of social class is largely neglected or simply not referred to, Peter Murdock and Graham Golding argue that media studies:

"should derive from, and feed into, the continuing debate on the nature and persistence of class stratification" (Murdock & Golding.1984:12).

Various approaches have been developed to analyse the phenomenon of social class and stratification, most of which derive from the work of Karl Marx and Max Weber. In his 1963 Preface to The Making of the English Working Class, E.P.Thompson

describes 'class' as an:

"historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness. I emphasize that it is a historical phenomenon. I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships....The relationship must always be embodied in real people and a real context....class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs....The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born- or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not" (Thompson.1980:8-9).

Up to the early 1970s probably the main weakness of class analyses was that they tended to make invisible the role of women, domestic labour and the reproduction of life itself. The analysis also tended to neglect the importance of 'community' and leisure. In this regard feminism has been "responsible not only for setting 'reproduction', along side 'production,' as a key site for the elaboration of cultural structures, but also for rethinking the concept of 'production' itself"(Hall.1984a:38). For some feminists the issue of social class:

"must be shifted from the centre of the stage, for its language has denied the experience of women"(Phillips.1987:5).

In any analysis of the working class since the 1960s the concept of embourgeoisement needs to be addressed. One of the key questions for Anthony Piepe, author of Television and the Working Class(1975), was whether the British manual working class were

becoming middle class. According to research carried out by John Goldthorpe and his colleagues the process of embourgeoisement was not occurring among the more affluent British workers, but changes of lifestyle were identified. In summarising the conclusions of Goldthorpe et al, Piepe states that the three main factors were:

"the development of privatisation and home and family centredness....the decline of 'solidaristic collectivism' at the workplace.... the presence of a large 'sunken middle class' among manual workers, whose experience of middle class values and habits make them a catalyst for the lifestyle of affluent workers"(Piepe.1975:39).

A contemporary analysis of the nature of the working class must also take cognisance of the debate on whether a fundamental shift in capitalism has occurred. These debates are often complex and cannot be explored adequately within the context of this research project. However, suffice it to say that the conflicting positions arising from this debate will impact on any analysis of the working class.

According to David Harvey, around 1970 there has been a change in the way capitalism is organised. He addresses several issues which are crucial to a contemporary analysis of the working class, both nationally and internationally. These changes are reflected in the following quote:

"workers, instead of acquiring a skill for life, can now look forward to a least one if not multiple bouts of de-skilling and re-skilling in a lifetime. The accelerated destruction and reconstruction of workers' skills have been ..a central feature in the turn from Fordist to flexible modes of accumulation"
(Harvey.1989:229-230).

Scott Lash and John Urry(1986) believe that changes in the organisation of capitalism contribute in part to the:

"collapse of the material conditions for a powerful collective working-class politics"
(Cited in Harvey.1989:174).

David Harvey further argues that "three basic feature of any capitalist mode of production" still pertain. That capitalism is "growth-oriented" that "growth in real values rests on the exploitation of living labour in production" and finally that "capitalism is necessarily technologically and organisationally dynamic"(Harvey.1989:180). In terms of the "exploitation of living labour" Harvey goes on to say:

"this is not to say that labour gets little, but that growth is always predicated on a gap between what labour gets and what it creates. This implies that labour control, both in production and in the market place, is vital for the perpetuation of capitalism. Capitalism is founded, in short, on a class relation between capital and labour. Since labour control is essential to capitalist profit, so, too, is the dynamic of class struggle over labour control and market wage fundamental to the trajectory of capitalist development"(Harvey.1989:180).

So, having briefly presented some of the economic and technological factors shaping and impacting on the working class, the question of ideology and discourse as it relates to the working class will now be addressed.

(2.3) IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE

The term 'ideology' is for Jorge Larrain "perhaps one of the most equivocal and delusive concepts one can find in the social sciences". He goes on to say that when considered in its negative meaning, ideology is:

"a form of false consciousness or necessary deception which somehow distorts men's understanding of social reality".

and in its positive meaning it:

"may be conceived in positive terms as the expression of the world-view of a class". (Larrain.1979:13/14)

A wide ranging number of analyses of the nature of ideology exist, so the focus of this sub-section will be confined to some key issues of relevance to the present research.

The notion of ideology in it's "negative meaning"(Larrain) can be traced in part to a statement made by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in which they wrote that:

"the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas".(Marx & Engels.1974:64)

Writing within the Marxist tradition Antonio Gramsci argued that the ruling class maintained its power by means of coercion or consent and that the struggle to maintain that consent took the form of a constant struggle for ideological 'hegemony'. Building on Gramsci's analysis, Louis Althusser(1971) wrote that ideology plays a crucial role in incorporating the subordinate classes within a particular mode of production. Under capitalism, education had become, according to Althusser, the dominant 'ideological state apparatus'. When each of the 'ideological state apparatuses,' including the media, are considered as 'sites

of struggle,' of conflicting ideologies competing for hegemony, then the notion of a totally hermetic ideology cannot be accepted. Neither can ideology be considered as constant. In other words each ideology contains elements from other ideologies and are in a constant process of interaction. This understanding of ideology, originating in Marx's writings, has been referred to as the 'dominant ideology thesis'(Abercrombie et al.1990).

In his work on the process whereby media messages are encoded and decoded Stuart Hall(1984a) incorporates Frank Parkin's sociological analysis of social class, which he links to dominant, negotiated and oppositional "meaning systems". This analysis has close parallels with Larrain's understanding of ideology as "the expression of the world-view of a class" (Larrain.1979:13/14). Parkin's analysis is valuable in the way it addresses aspects of working class consciousness. According to Parkin each meaning system "derives from a different social source, and each promotes a different moral interpretation of class inequality". They are as follows:

1. The dominant value system.
 2. The subordinate value system.
 3. The radical value system.
- (Parkin.1985:81).

While David Morley, whose work will be discussed in the next chapter, acknowledges that Parkins' three 'meaning systems' provided a useful starting point for early work on 'decoding'" Morley has his criticisms of Parkin's analysis. The problem for Morley is the way Parkin ascribes 'meaning systems' to social classes, as Morley states:

"there are no simple meaning systems but a multiplicity of discourses in a social formation. These discourses have varied sources of origin- they cannot be attributed to classes as such"(Morley.1984:172).

Furthermore:

"there is no simple alignment between the economic, the political and the ideological in the constitution of classes".(Morley.1984:172)

Many studies of the working class have been carried out by socialist intellectuals who, as allies of that class, believed that the class had a leading role to play in the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism. The source of this 'radical value system' has been the 'mass political party'. Be it social democratic, socialist or communist, each has sought to become the political voice of the working class and its allies. The aims of these parties ranges from the reform of capitalism to socialist revolution; to varying degrees they have engaged in ideological struggle with both the 'dominant' and 'subordinate value systems'. In Ireland, where traditionally electoral support for left wing candidates has been weak, it can be argued that revolutionary nationalism and left republicanism compete with mainstream socialism/social democracy as the 'radical value system'.

In an attempt to follow the often complex debate on the relationship between social class and ideology, the concept of 'discourse,' must also be taken into account. In Theories of Discourse(1986) Diane Macdonnell states that during the late 1960s and early 1970s:

"certain shifts took place in the ways of considering how meanings are constructed"(Macdonnell.1986:12).

and:

"a crucial argument concerning discourse is that meanings are to be found only in the concrete forms of differing social and institutional practices: there can be no meaning in 'language'"(Macdonnell.1986:12).

The term discourse which frequently appears in Foucault's texts on prisons, the clinic and sexuality is, for him, intrinsically linked to power relations. According to Michel Foucault the student struggles that occurred in Paris in 1968 had challenged the aims and methods of various disciplines which in turn directed attention to the:

".. full range of hidden mechanisms through which a society conveys its knowledge and ensures its survival under the mask of knowledge: newspapers, television, technical schools, and the lycee (even more than the university)"(Cited in Macdonnell.1986:14).

In his writings on television, John Fiske also uses the term 'discourse,' arguing that it:

"generates certain ways of talking and thinking about a topic, it is not reflective of an external reality, but generative. Reality, or rather our sense of reality, is constantly produced and reproduced discursively"(Fiske.1989:170).

As with Foucault, Fiske also views the discourse/power relationship as significant and states:

"as society can only be understood in terms of power and resistances, of domination and subordination, so too can texts. Texts also contain dominant, powerful voices, and subordinate intransigent ones. Their form attempts to exert power and control over their potential meanings, but this power is resisted by other formal characteristics, their gaps and spaces, their contradictions, their irrepressible oppositional voices that must be there because of the multiaccetual nature of any sign system in a divided society. The text's struggle to control its readings is met by the oppositional struggle of its readers to make their socially pertinent readings out of its resources"(Fiske.1989:170).

However, the advocacy of 'discourse' has its critics. For example Ellen Meiksins Wood believes that the downplaying of the issue of social class as directly linked to:

"The theoretical tendency to autonomise ideology and politics is, at its most extreme, associated with a drift toward the establishment of language or 'discourse' as the dominant principle of social life, and the convergence of certain 'post-Marxist' trends with post structuralism, the ultimate disassociation of ideology and consciousness from any social and historical base"(Wood.1986:5).

James Curran links the decline of support for "the class conflict model of society" that influenced many of those associated with, for example, the CCCS and the Leicester Centre for Mass Communication Research with the influence of Michel Foucault (Curran.1990:139).

If, as Madan Sarup suggests, Foucault rejects the Marxist theory of ideology, which he believes to be reductionist and also abandons class analysis, exploring the relationship between social class, ideology and discourse based on Foucault's writings, appears to be problematic to say the least.(Sarup.1983:101) However, that does not appear to be quite the case with Foucault's contemporary Michel Pecheux. Paraphrasing an aspect of Michel Pecheux's writings on the nature of 'discourse,' Diane Macdonell states that Pecheux is following on from Louis Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses(1971)

"takes the line that the meanings of discourses are set up in what are ultimately antagonistic relations- in struggles which cut across the apparatuses of ideology, and which, if not immediately, are in the end linked to class struggle in its various economic, political and ideological forms"(Macdonnell.1986:45-46).

Therefore it can be argued that ideologies operate at the level of discourse(s), that neither are neutral and that both are intimately interwoven with class relations.

While Marxists such as Charles Bettelheim(1977) and Nicos Poulantzas(1974) have written strong critiques of the tendency towards 'economism' within the Marxist tradition, an equally limiting development in the study of ideology has been, according to Nicholas Garnham, the severing of the study of ideology from its "concrete historical moorings"(Garnham.1983:319). The clearest example of an attempt to sever that link is to be found in post-modernist writings where, in the words of Richard Collins, the superstructure becomes "decoupled" from the base, a development the writer welcomes(Collins.1990:16). Graham Murdock, who is resistant to this trend charges Jean Baudrillard, who epitomises post-modernist thinking, as putting forward "grand speculations" which: "float conveniently free of sustained empirical reference"(Murdock.1989:227).

While the 'dominant ideology thesis' has been a core theoretical position in most media and communication third level courses in the 1960s and 1970s, the thesis is not without its critics since the 1980s (Collins.1990). Notable among these are the authors of The Dominant Ideology Thesis(1980), Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, who in a subsequent publication, Dominant Ideologies(1990) reviewed the position they adopted ten years previously. According to Abercrombie et al, a dominant ideology does more to cohere the ruling class under capitalism

than it does to incorporate the working class. Drawing on the work of Karl Marx they argue that the:

"stability of capitalism rests primarily on the dull compulsion of the economic relations of everyday life"(Hill.1990:3).

While their 1980 publication focused on the relationship between the economic and the ideological, the 1990 collection of essays takes account of several gaps in the original work and addresses issues such as nationalism and popular culture. Bryan S. Turner, argues that their analysis was a contribution to the 'agency/structure' debate, stating that the:

"stronger the theory of ideology, the weaker the agent".(Turner.1990:248)

By rejecting the assumption that a social system "depended ultimately on the stupidity of the masses," Bryan S. Turner and his two colleagues avoid both the "theoretical problems of false consciousness" and the:

"implicit moral and intellectual elitism of both right-wing and left-wing criticism of working class culture and consciousness"(Turner.1990:249).

While Abercrombie et al may have over-simplified that which they opposed, Turner's view that the:

"existence of an ideology (dominant or otherwise) can never be established merely by theoretical assertion, or depending parasitically on guidelines developed in the classical Marxist literature....which were located and written in highly specific historical contexts" is pertinent to a research project such as the present one(Turner.1990:252).

Besides Abercrombie et al's critique of the 'dominant ideology thesis,' Terry Eagleton has suggested that television might be more a "form of social control than an ideological apparatus" in

so far as it can occupy peoples' time which could be otherwise used in forms of oppositional politics(Eagleton.1991:34-35).

The debate as to whether ideological or economic factors contribute more or less to the stability of capitalism will not be pursued within this thesis or a position in favour of either/or adopted. Suffice it to say that dominant ideologies do exist, that they are privileged over other ideologies and that it is in the interests of the dominant class(es) in any social formation to exclude or curtail alternative or oppositional ideologies.

(2.4) IRISH WORKING CLASS CULTURE

In this final section some perspectives are presented on the Irish working class and its culture.

Various categorisations of social classes in Ireland are in use by such organisations as the Census, Irish Marketing Surveys, Irish TAM Ltd and MRBI, however few class analyses have been undertaken. According to Micheal Peillon, while no comprehensive Marxist analysis of the class structure in the south of Ireland exists, a Weberian inspired model of class structure has been applied to the south of Ireland. By adopting Anthony Giddens's Weberian inspired approach to class structure Rottman et al(1982) arrive at the following breakdown of social classes in the south of Ireland as illustrated on the next page (Cited in Clancy et al.1986)

Table 2.1

Rottman et al's(1982) breakdown of social classes in the south of Ireland

	% of all households
Bourgeoise (Large proprietors, including large farmers-employers)	2.2
Petite bourgeoisie (Small proprietors, farmers)	25.8
Middle-class (professional, intermediate and routine non-manual)	19.2
Working-class (Manual and service workers)	43.9

Source: Micheal Peillion's "Stratification and Class" in Clancy et al. Ireland, A Sociological Profile (1986)

While Peillion questions the categories which comprise social classes in Rottman et al's analysis (Peillion.1986.110-111), there are other difficulties in the process of identifying social class in Ireland. These include the difficulty around categorising the unemployed, peoples' perceptions of their own social class and the way in which the term working class is frequently conflated with terms such as 'disadvantaged,' 'poor' 'underprivileged' (etc). Defining 'social class' by the occupation of the husband or male partner, has, according to the feminist movement, contributed to making invisible the role of women in either domestic or non-domestic labour. Occupation as the primary determining factor in the analysis of classes, fails to distinguish between class determination and class position i.e. the distinction between the place of a class in the relations of production and the role that a class, or fraction of a class plays in the struggle between classes.

The level of polarisation between the social classes in Ireland has been well documented and while occupation remains the main indicator of this divide, factors such as education, housing and health are also significant. (Clancy.1988, Lee.1989, Brunt.1988, Breen et al(1990). Analyses of the transformation the Irish working class has undergone during the past 30 years have been undertaken by Barry Brunt(1988) Micheal Peillion(1982.1986), Jim Wickham(1980/81.1980), Richard Breen et al(1990) and others. These transformations include: the opening of the economy to foreign capital and culture during the 1960s, the process of surburbanisation, increasing educational oportnities and new patterns of leisure activities. Other significant changes have been the gradual decline of Fianna Fail's hegemony among the Dublin working class, as witnessed by the results of the June 1989 and November 1992 General Elections(Gallagher & Sinnot.1989).

Besides the valuable research, reportage and fictional writing on apects of Dublin working class culture, by such individuals as Brendan Behan(1970), Alexander J Humphries(1966), Don Bennett(1984), Ronan Sheehan(1988), Dermot Bolger(1988,1990) and Roddy Doyle(1991), to my knowledge no contemporary analysis focusing exclusively on the Irish working class culture exists.

Why this should be the case can be partly explained by the following factors:

(i) The tendency to focus on working class labour/political organisations rather than what constitutes working class culture (Wickham.1980/81).

(ii) The relatively small number of individuals with a working class background entering third level education and bringing that background to bear on cultural analysis of the working class.

(Clancy.1988).

(iii) The ideological influence of the Catholic Church which has in the past resisted 'critical theory' and the ideology of Marxism at university level, as well as in the College of Industrial Relations (formerly the Catholic Worker's College) and the Dublin Institute of Adult Education (formerly the Catholic Institute of Adult Education) (Clancy et al.1986:6-8)

(iv) The tendency to be guided by research on the British working class, which despite its richness differs in many respects from the history and development of Irish working class with its context within an economically dependent, post-colonial state.

Defining what constitutes Irish working class culture, or indeed a Dublin working class culture, continues to be problematic. Because of the popularity of aspects of transnational and other indigeneous cultures among Dublin working class people it can be assumed that, as Richard Collins puts it:

"cultural communities are constituted as often horizontally, across national boundaries, as they are constituted vertically, within national boundaries"
(Collins.1990:213)

If 'culture' is understood in terms of relationships, then a contemporary analysis of Dublin working class culture must, I believe, take into account the 'horizontal' and 'vertical' aspects of Collins's formulation. Central to such an analysis is an examination of the relationship of the working class to other

classes and cultures, including transnational culture. Moreover, it also includes the often painstaking work of exploring the complex web of relationships involved in the domestic, work and leisure arenas in working class Dublin.

Such empirical research is essential in order to examine and identify the characteristics of contemporary Dublin working class culture. Whilst one researcher can only make a very limited effort in this direction the present research attempts one step towards addressing these complex issues by examining aspects of the relationship between a predominantly working class group of viewers and television.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNICATION AND TELEVISION AUDIENCE RESEARCH

"Audiences are not simply watchers of television or listeners to radio: they are members of families, households, communities and nations; they are gendered, aged and members of social classes; they are skilled and unskilled, educated and uneducated; and they watch television while doing other things and in competition with other things, at times and in places, alone and with others, in ways that mark their activity as powerfully mediated by the social, economic, political and technological systems and structures of every day life" (Silverstone.1991a:136-137).

(3.1) INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two, addressed what I consider to be the relevant aspects of the cultural studies tradition to a project such as this. This chapter will critically review and draw upon the existing body of academic knowledge and literature related to contemporary television audience research. The chapter will focus and draw upon the work of Klaus Bruhn Jensen, Karl Erik Rosengren, Hermann Bausinger, David Morley, Greg Philo, Anthony Piepe, Herbert Schiller and others.

The work of Jensen and Rosengren sets out the following five main traditions in communication research which have been particularly influential:

- (i) Effects research;
- (ii) Uses and Gratifications research;
- (iii) Literary Criticism;
- (iv) Cultural Studies;
- (v) Reception Analysis.

(Jensen & Rosengren.1990:208)

Here I take Jensen and Rosengren's formulation to provide a useful initial guideline in developing an understanding of the relationship between the viewer and that which he or she watches on the television screen.

In any attempt to grasp the multi faceted relationship between television and its audience a transdisciplinary approach is required. In Media, Technology and Daily Life(1984) Hermann Bausinger addresses a number of significant points on the integration of media technology into everyday life and provides some direction on the possible theoretical parameters for the present project. (Bausinger.1984:359-360).

In order to explore the relationship between television and its viewers in theoretical terms this chapter will organise the discussion under two headings followed by a conclusion:

(3.2) The power of the text

(3.3) Active reception

(3.4) Conclusions

(3.2) THE POWER OF THE TEXT

In developing a framework to explore and critically assess the relationship between the television viewer(s) and that which appears on the television screen, the following distinction was made by David Morley:

"The history of audience studies during the post-war period can be seen as a series of oscillations between perspectives which have stressed the power of the text(or message) over its audiences and perspectives which have stressed the barriers 'protecting' the audience from the potential effects of the

message"(Morley.1989:16).

Effects research, or more specifically media effects research is primarily concerned with examining the short or long-term effects of particular media on audiences. In summarising the "evolution" of the "theory of mass communication effects" up to the 1970s Stephen W. Littlejohn(1983) states that:

"Early in the century researchers believed in the 'magic bullet' theory of communication effects. Individuals were believed to be directly and heavily influenced by media messages. In other words media were considered to be extremely powerful in shaping public opinion. Then, during the 1950s when the two-step flow hypothesis was popular, media effects were considered to be minimal. Later, in the 1960s we discovered that the media have effects on audience members but that these effects are mediated by audience variables and are therefore only moderate in strength" (Littlejohn.1983:280).

The view that television has an effect on its audience is supported by various contemporary communication researchers. Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann(1983), Kurt R Hesse(1990) and Greg Philo(1990) are three researchers who hold such a view. According to Denis McQuail:

"the entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that there are effects from the media, and yet it seems to be the issue on which there is least certainty and least agreement"(McQuail.1987:251).

Elsewhere, Mc Quail rejects the view that the media has little or no effect and believes that this conclusion is partly due to the weaknesses of the studies supporting such a view (Cited in Philo.1990:4/5).

An integral aspect of the development of media effects research has been the changing approach to audiences and in this regard the most significant shift has been the rejection of the perspective which considered the audience as

'mass'(Piepe.1975:54). The idea of strong media effect is closely allied to the 'dominant ideology thesis', which was discussed in the previous chapter. This perspective has also been associated with the work of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School.

A research project focusing on the potential effects of television, conducted by Anthony Piepe in the early 1970s, has particular relevance to the present work. Piepe's Television and the Working Class(1975) sets out to analyse the relationship between the British working class and its patterns of viewing against a background of ongoing changes in the British class structure. Piepe starts by stating that he accepted the perspective put forward by Joseph Klapper, which was that the:

"effects of mass communication on the individual are indirect and are experienced through a complex of mediating influences"(Peipe.1975:1-4).

These "influences" may include social and occupational groups or opinion leaders to whom individuals may turn in order to crystalize attitudes and judgements. Piepe's research was based on two quantitative surveys on the use of television among working class viewers(Peipe.1975:1-4).

According to Piepe, conventional audience research had not kept pace with work on class structure. His research showed the convergence between manual and white collar lifestyle, first seen in 1950, had become stronger, more explicit, and had expanded into the field of cultural choice and behaviour. He also found that social patterns, especially in new housing estates, closely resembled those of the middle class and that privatisation marked

the transition between different styles of life(Piepe.1975:159).

In his concluding remarks, Piepe stated that:

"the political function of television has generally been to promulgate and reinforce conservative social values in a number of forms including industrial relations, race, political protest and so on" (Piepe.1975:166).

In a subsequent publication, Piepe, along with Sammy Crouch and Miles Emerson concluded that the "organs of mass communication" contributed to "cultural consensus" and "help to socialise those involved in social change". They also believed that:

"television, and possibly other media as well, also contribute to consensus through their hidden advocacy of dominant symbols, especially to those groups whose passivity and heavy exposure to television contribute to an unconscious assimilation of dissonant messages, even in circumstances where the structural supports for dominant values are weak" (Piepe et al.1979:164-165).

In distinguishing the relationship between middle class, lower middle class and what Piepe describes as 'council tenants' and the mass media they make the following points. In the case of the middle class, their:

"relative autonomy and self determination....contributes to a selective, differentiated symbolic environment in which there is a more cognitive and reflective use of mass media"(Piepe et al.1979:165)

In contrast they believe that council tenants, due to their:

"lack of autonomy and self determination, and their experience of authority as something external to them at work and in the community contributes to their pattern of media use. It is summed up in the word passivity, a heavy and non-selective use of television and radio, and escape from involvement in communal or national issues is expressed in their idiosyncratic taste for news, and their concentration upon alternative meanings and symbols which displace and transform the media as a possible representative of authority into a something benign, and yet total and enclosing" (Piepe et al.1979:165).

In between both these social categories they place the lower middle class and 'manual home buyers' who, they believe:

"are subject to similiar authority patterns as council tenants at work, but who nevertheless have achieved a degree of autonomy and self determination as home owners"(Piepe et al.1979:166).

Anthony Piepe's work and that of subsequent research with colleagues may well be criticised for their use of categories such as 'council tenants'/'manual home buyers' and the way in which audiences' world view is read off their social class position. However their research did integrate issues of social analysis and media effects in a way that still has lessons for contemporary audience research.

A more recent study conducted by Greg Philo, a founder member of the Glasgow University Media Group, showed how different groups of individuals responded to the news coverage of the year long miners' strike which began in March 1984. By asking different groups of people to write their version of the news as they remembered it, Philo found that interpretation of the news was influenced by "differences in political culture and class experience". He also found that the groups of people "could reproduce some of the key explanatory themes" while not retaining details (Philo.1990:156/175). Overall his findings:

"show that some of the media audience clearly negotiate the meaning of what they are told. However, the influence of media and especially television was central, since it established so firmly the issues that came to be associated with the strike" (Philo.1990:133).

According to Greg Philo much contemporary theory plays down the effectiveness of TV messages. In this respect he identifies the

following three bodies of research:

- (i) That which has been undertaken by Peter Collet & Roger Lamb(1985) and Colin Berry & Brian Clifford(1986).
- (ii) Micheal Tracey(1986)
- (iii) David Morley(1980,1986)

While Philo presents a critique of all three currents, his most thorough examination is of David Morley's work. Given the depth of this analysis, Philo's critique follows the presentation of the main themes of Morley's research, which appears in section (3.3) of this chapter. In breaking with the media effects tradition of research Morley embraces those perspectives that assert the active role of the audience in the process of reception and his work takes a different direction to that of Philo and Curran. These contradictory positions will now be examined.

(3.3) ACTIVE RECEPTION

The development of perspectives which highlight the active role of the audience in the process of media reception can be traced to the shift of emphasis in communication research heralded by the following statement made by Douglas Waples in 1940:

"we must not ask what do media do with people, but what people do with the mass media?"
(Cited in Noelle-Neumann.1983:160)

This basic question represented the introduction of 'uses and gratification' communication research. According to Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler and Micheal Gurevitch:

"Compared with classical effects studies, the uses and gratifications approach takes the media consumer rather than the media message as its starting point, and explores his communication behaviour in terms of his direct experience with the media. It views the members of the audience as actively utilizing media contents, rather than being passively acted upon by the media. Thus, it does not assume a direct relationship between messages and effects, but postulates instead that members of the audience put messages to use, and that such usages act as intervening variables in the process of effect"(Cited in Littlejohn.1983.388).

Denis Mc Quail lists the gratifications, satisfactions and uses audiences derive from the media under the headings information, personal identity, integration and social interaction, as well as entertainment(McQuail.1987:73). While the 'uses and gratification' research tradition considered the active role of the audience in the process of media consumption, weaknesses in the approach have been identified. In order to overcome those weaknesses, Stuart Hall working at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies(CCCS) at the University of Birmingham during the 1970s, developed his encoding/decoding model of media research. Stuart Hall(1984b) described how both encoder and decoder are embedded within a specific set of social relations, which intersect with particular frameworks of knowledge and technological infrastructures. Hall also stated that the "televisual sign" was polysemic, in that it had several possible readings, but added that that must not be mistaken for pluralism, because:

"connotative codes are not equal among themselves. Any society/culture tends, with varying degrees of closure, to impose its classifications of the social and cultural and political world. These constitute a dominant cultural order, though it is neither univocal nor uncontested"(Hall.1984b:134).

The use of the terms 'reading' and 'text,' in communication and media research, illustrates the relationship between the literary criticism tradition and communications research. According to Nicholas Garnham an interest in the mass media has existed within [British] literary studies since the work of FR Leavis during the 1920s. While on the one hand Garnham sees the strength of media studies as its oppositional perspective within education and the media industries, on the other hand he identifies its weakness as follows:

"it has carried over from its origins in literary criticism an overemphasis on textual analysis(whose equivalent within the U.S. tradition would be the study of 'effects') and, in the move to Marxism, an exaggerated concern with ideology conceptualized in a highly idealised form" (Garnham.1983:317/318).

Besides the influence of the literary criticism tradition, reception analysis/reception theories have also had their impact on the development of communication and television audience research. According to Jensen and Rosengren "cultural studies blend into reception analysis" as in the work of Ien Ang(1986), David Morley(1986) or Janice Radway(1984) (Jensen & Rosengren. 1990:212). Reception theory for Robert C. Holub refers to the shift from focusing on the author/text relationship to the text/reader relationship(Holub.1984). In terms of methodology, reception analysis (the termed favoured by communication researchers):

"can be said to perform a comparative reading of media discourses and audience discourses in order to understand the process of reception" (Jensen & Rosengren.1990:222).

According to Dr Mary Kelly, one of the most interesting research projects on television audiences as "cultural actors" in Ireland is that which has been undertaken by Dr Barbara O'Connor. In a sociological research project submitted for her PhD in 1987 on womens' responses to the television drama The Ballroom of Romance, O'Connor's findings showed that:

"preferences for different kinds of programmes, the pleasures received from these programmes, and the construction of meaning around a particular TV drama varies very significantly in terms of class, gender, generation and urban/rural location of the Irish woman viewer"(Cited in Kelly.1991:10).

In his introduction to David Morley's Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure(1986) which focused on the process of audience consumption, Stuart Hall, stated that its publication brought about the "demise of old style audience surveys" associated with the Centre. That work included: Everyday Television: 'Nationwide'(1978) by Charlotte Brunsdon and David Morley, Text, Readers Subjects(1984) and The Nationwide Audience(1980) by David Morley. These publication, according to Hall, showed the:

"influence of work on texts, readers and discourse, coding and decoding, feminist work on romance, family studies, plus mainstream work on leisure activity, time budgets and the factors which influence viewer commitment, choice and switching"(Morley.1986:8)

Morley's Family Television : Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure(1986), was based on a pilot research project funded by the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which was conducted in spring of 1985. Those interviewed were from mainly white working class families living in inner London.

Morley's central thesis in this particular project was that

patterns of television viewing could only be understood in the context of family leisure activity(Morley.1986:14). Based on this thesis Morley investigated:

"how factors such as programme type, family position and cultural background interrelate to produce the dynamics of family viewing behaviour and responses"
(Morley.1986:17).

In relation to possible readings of the television text Morley considers the difficulties that arise when conducting research with groups chosen to represent classes because oppositional reading of one programme do not necessarily carry over to others. Given that this aspect of his research has particular relevance for the present work it will be considered in some detail.

For David Morley one of the key issues in this research project was the "positioning of the subject and the contradictory nature of our subject positions" (Morley.1986:41). Morley drew on David Forgacs's analysis of Ernest Laclau and Chanteal Mouffe's Hegemony and Social Strategy, applying some of the insights he derived to his own research. According to Forgacs, Laclau and Mouffe are critical of the essentialist view that individuals and classes are coherent, unified subjects whose actions and consciousness reflect their underlying essence. Laclau and Mouffe maintain that human subjectivity, far from being the source of people's actions and social relations, is the effect of the latter. They argue that it is only in our social relations, that individuals assume "subject positions," and that, moreover, subjective identity is manufactured and "overdetermined" (Morley.1986:41). Laclau and Mouffe argue that no one of these

"subject positions" can be logically derived from any of the others. No one of them is in "essence" underlying the others. Morley's response to these views is that:

"while Laclau and Mouffe point to a very important problem, they perhaps go too far in the direction of disaggregating subjectivity- to a point where there is no coherence to be had anywhere"(Morley.1986:41).

Rather than follow this particular drift Morley argues that structural factors and the discourses available to the viewer impinge on how they interact to a particular item on television.

Further on in Family Television : Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure(1986) Morley explores how 'deep structures,' such as social class, work themselves out in particular contexts, and he tries to reinstate the notion of people actively engaging in cultural practice. In this regard Morley resists the idea that a particular individual can personify a particular social class.

In relation to the debate on 'cultural imperialism', Morley identifies the need to discover why particular groups seem to be attracted to particular types of cultural material. And in this regard Morley paraphrases Armand Mattelart by stating that:

"the idea that imperialism 'invades' the different sectors of a society in a uniform way has to be abandoned. He proposes that we substitute for that approach a more precise analysis, where particular sectors or milieux of a society favour or resist penetration by a range of different, particular ideological forms (Morley.1986:44).

Morley believes that the most significant piece of research along these lines has been the work of Phil Cohen and Kevin Robins on the popularity of Kung Fu films among British urban working class

males. According to Morley, Cohen and Robins's main argument is that:

"the genre is popular precisely to the extent that it 'fits' with the forms of cultural competence available to this group"(Morley.1986:44).

This analysis relates to the work of Pierre Bourdieu on the distribution of different forms of cultural competence within different parts of the social structure. Besides being adopted by Morley, Graham Murdock also draws on Bourdieu's work, stating how "interpretative activity" for Bourdieu:

"requires three main kinds of cultural competence: command over classification schemes that allow new objects to be located as belonging to a particular group, possession of aesthetic principles that enable cultural goods to be ranked in a hierarchy of value, and mastery of social practices entailed in different forms of consumption"(Murdock.1989:241).

Explaining Bourdieu's understanding of how competencies are produced and how their "differential possession" are "linked to social location" Murdock introduces Bourdieu's notion of "habitus". These are defined by Bourdieu as "schemes of thought, perception, appreciation and action"(Bourdieu) that, in Murdock's words, "inform concrete cultural practices". Murdock writes that Bourdieu's:

"basic argument follows socialisation theory in seeing habitus as the cumulative product of training, first, within the family, and, second, within the school system"(Murdock.1989:241/243).

David Morley's research has been at the cutting edge of television audience research since the early 1980s and his method of self critique means that his research is responsive to advances

in his own and other researchers work. For Greg Philo the:

"strength of Morley's work is that he takes his hypotheses on the ideological operations of television out of the work of talking, acting, believing subjects and contends with the problems of relating our neat theoretical systems to the real society"(Philo.1990:189)

But as was previously mentioned Philo has his criticisms of Morley's work. Based on his analysis of Morley's work, Philo concludes that:

"overall Morley is agnostic on the question of effects. His focus is on the manner in which subgroups use messages - on 'negotiations' and on 'cultural competence'. He is unhappy with traditional effects studies inasmuch as they are based on a crude stimulus-response model which cannot grasp the complexity of the decoding process" (Philo.1990:188).

Philo then goes on to state that in focusing on the process of decoding:

"we must not lose sight of the struggle to establish and legitimise meanings as the 'everyday common sense' that Morley is investigating. We must not remove from the debate the question of which interests have the most power to influence and direct the flow of information and whether such control actually makes any difference to the way in which key relationships in our society are explained and understood" (Philo.1990:188-189).

While Morley's research on media audience activity and context represents one of the leading perspectives in audience research, his work must be critically engaged with, just as he does so himself. James Curran and Greg Philo have presented their critiques as mentioned above and on foot of those points I believe that in privileging the audience Morley has downgraded the effectiveness/ideological power of television as his work progressed throughout the 1980s. Another tendency evident in his research is the way in which references to social class diminish in favour of gender. But having said that no one ought embark on

audience research without being fully aware of Morley's work and how he has problematised the relationship of the viewer to that which he or she watches.

In contrast to Morley's focus on the process of media reception, Herbert Schiller has illustrated the corporate control and ownership of the media industries, as well as consistently critiquing US 'cultural imperialism'. According to Schiller:

"in the late 1980s, the control of representation and definition remains concentrated in the products and services of media-cultural combines. That control can be challenged and lessened only by political means. Theories that ignore the structure and locus of representational and definitional power and emphasise instead the individual's message transformational capability present little threat to the maintenance of the established order"(Schiller.1989:156)

Schiller argues that the idea of the 'active audience' is bound up with the arrival of new technologies and that those he describes as the "technological boosters" believe that this audience is mainly made up of:

"button pushers and channel changers, a restless crowd, creating individualised viewing packages and becoming in the process an increasingly fragmented population"(Schiller.1989:146/147).

Schiller argues that those who favour the idea of an 'active audience' have placed that audience on a par with the programme producer and that the:

"employee of the corporate cultural conglomerate- and the individual meaning producer is at least roughly equal"(Schiller.1989:148).

Schiller also charges the "active-audience theorists" with the "dismissal of class" in their research. While Schiller accepts that audiences "interpret messages variously" he also believes that:

"when they are confronted with a message incessantly repeated in all cultural conduits, issuing from the commanders of the social order, their capacities are overwhelmed"(Schiller.1989:156).

As part of an equally critical perspective of certain current trends in media/television studies Peter Golding and Graham Murdock write that the "romantic celebration of subversive consumption" associated with writers such as John Fiske is:

"clearly at odds with cultural studies' long-standing concern with the way the mass media operate ideologically, to sustain and support prevailing relations of domination"(Golding & Murdock.1991:17).

Others too are critical of the trend whereby the viewer is given apparently inordinate capacity to create meaning in the process of media consumption. In Todd Gitlin's view:

"resistance, meaning all sorts of grumbling, multiple interpretation, semiological inversion, pleasure, rage, friction, numbness, what have you- 'resistance' is accorded dignity, even glory, by stamping these not-so-great refusals with a vocabulary derived from life-threatening political work against fascism"(Gitlin.1991:336).

(3.4) CONCLUSIONS

As ought now be evident, the area of communications and television audience research is not without its contradictions. During the 1980s these divisions were most notably articulated in the Summer 1983 edition of Journal of Communication, entitled 'Ferment in the Field' and in a follow up two volume edition entitled Rethinking Communication(1989). Opposing positions within the Ferment in the Field issue were those representing the:

"critical versus administrative research perspectives, quantitative vs qualitative research methods, and humanities versus social scientific approaches to the study of communication" (Dervin et al.1989:13).

According to Anthony Giddens, not alone is there a "ferment" in the field of communication studies, but there is a crisis, which is also evident in the social sciences. Giddens argues that the 'crisis' is due in part to the "collapse of the orthodox consensus" on the nature of positivism, social causation and functionalism against the emergence of a "plurality of different theoretical perspectives". Among these he includes ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, neo marxism, phenomenology, structuralism, hermeneutics, and critical theory. It is against this background that Giddens states:

"We no longer know exactly where to situate ourselves in relation to such a plurality of perspectives" (Giddens.1989:53-54).

Given the complexity of the crisis, one dimensional analyses are obviously inadequate, either in practical or theoretical terms and have an obvious tendency in leading to one dimensional or either/or solutions. In order to take account of the main points that have emerged in this chapter and arrive at a suitable theoretical framework it is worth returning to the work of Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Karl Erik Rosengren, whose identification of five main communication research traditions informed the discussion in this chapter. According to Jensen and Rosengren contemporary audience research require three interlocking components, which include:

- (i) a theory of social structure in which media and audience are embedded;
- (ii) a theory of discourse or communication which accounts for

the nature of media representation (print, aural, visual);

(iii) a theory of socio-cultural and social-psychological dispositions with which individuals approach and interact with the media" (Jensen & Rosengren.1990:229-30).

Based on extracts from the research of Morley(1986), O'Connor(1987,1990), Piepe(1975), and Philo(1990) I have illustrated the significance of class as a factor in television audience research. While Irish researchers such as O'Connor(1987,1990) and Reynolds(1990) made reference to the issue of class, there is, to my knowledge, no qualitative audience research which focuses exclusively on the relationship between an Irish working class television audience and that which is transmitted on the television screen.

Given this lack of qualitative research vis a vis working class television audiences, recent works of Irish fiction may provide the kind of insight into the domestic context of television viewing which Hermann Bausinger's(1984) research revealed in the early 1980s. For example, in their contrasting representations of Dublin working class culture, Roddy Doyle and Dermot Bolger provide some valuable insights into the relationship between the various media and daily family life in working class homes.

In Roddy Doyle's second novel The Snapper(1990) references to television include use of the remote control, negotiation of programme selection, programme and channel preference. So perhaps, Doyle may have provided television audience researchers with some insights into the domestic context of media consumption in Dublin working class homes.

In attempting to come to terms with the broad selection of positions emerging from communication and television audience research I identified what I believe to be, the strengths and weaknesses of the perspectives that "stress the power of the text(or message) over its audience," as well as those which stress the "barriers 'protecting' the audience from the potential effects of the message"(Morley.1989:16). On foot of that identification I believe that the views of those who stress the effectiveness of television, along with those who focus on its ownership and control, represent one side of the audience research debate. The other side is made up of those who see the television text as open to multiple readings. But within that spectrum of opinion, there are those who believe that there is a level of closure at which the meaning of television is interpreted, as David Morley puts it so succinctly:

"the repertoire of discourses at the disposal of the different audiences, and the individual's position in the social formation will tend to determine which set of discourse a given subject is likely to have access to, and thus bring to their encounter with the text"(Morley.1989:20-21)

So, informed by perspectives arising from both sides of the audience research debate and avoiding a simplistic either/or approach, this research project explores specific aspects of the relationship between ten mainly working class families from Dublin and their 'encounter' with the television text.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF THE COOLOCK AREA

In order to provide the reader with a knowledge of the area in which the ten families who participated in this research project reside, the following is a concise profile of the north Dublin suburb of Coolock under the following headings:

- (4.1) Coolock: description of place and its development during the past thirty years
- (4.2) Population, class and work.
- (4.3) Education, religion and electoral politics in the Coolock area.
- (4.4) Existing amenities, services and leisure facilities in the Coolock area
- (4.5) A sense of neighbourhood and place

(4.1) COOLOCK: DESCRIPTION OF PLACE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT DURING THE PAST THIRTY YEARS

According to Douglas S. Appleyard's wide ranging account of the area prior to its suburbanisation in the 1960s, the name Coolock originates from the Irish word 'culog,' meaning 'little corner'. Other possible names stem from a derivative of 'culach', a place at the back of a hill or 'coilleach,' a woody district" (Appleyard.1985:1).

In defining contemporary Coolock as a specific geographic location a number of boundaries need to be considered. What is most notable in terms of the existing boundaries is the way in

which the area is mapped out by various local organisations, churches, state and semi-state bodies. These arbitrary and sometimes contested mental maps have a significant impact on how people in the Coolock area identify themselves, organise, engage in sporting activities, congregate for religious practices and have their welfare needs met. However, for the purpose of this dissertation the boundaries of the Coolock area are those employed by Alan Curtis and Joanie Cousins, authors of Coolock: An Area Profile (August.1989). The area chosen as designating the Coolock area covers the eight wards of Kilmore A.B.C.D. and Priorswood A.B.D and E. (See map on following page)

The principal focal point is the Northside Shopping Centre and the housing/industrial estates are virtually indistinguishable from those in other working class areas of Dublin.

While there is a strong association between the inner city of Dublin and Coolock, few written accounts exist on the overall migration to the area in the 1960s. (1) The building of Coolock and other housing 'schemes' was partly a response to the chronic housing conditions in Dublin.



For the majority of families moving to Coolock during the 1960s, their new homes represented a major advance on their previous living conditions. Within the eight wards of Kilmore A.B.C.D and Priorswood A.B.D.E Local Authority houses, flats and maisonettes are situated in the following areas.

Belcamp & Moatview (Built:1979-1982)
Bonnybrook (Built:1965-1971)
Kilmore (Built:1965-71)
Ferrycarrig (Built:1965-1971)

As to privately purchased houses, these are situated in Clonshaugh, Newbury, Riverside and Woodville. Besides corporation and privately owned housing there are two co-operative developments and a traveller settlement in the Coolock area.

The move to Coolock for many families was a reluctant one. Several factors militated against the development of a sense of social integration.

Tom Inglis and Maureen Bassett detail the experience of dislocation experienced by some of the participants in an adult education study on the move to Coolock during the 1960s. In the words of Joan, one of those who participated in the study:

"It was April 1967 that I moved out here. It was nearly twenty years ago and I was the 300th person that booked into Kilmore, now there are 1,500 houses. I came from Mountjoy Square. People came from the inner city, from Cabra. All of a sudden you were just given a house. I was twenty something and your whole life changes from being in an area where your parents were five or ten minutes away. You were just transported and plonked in the middle of nowhere. There was no community centres, absolutely nothing. It took years before a tenants' group was formed. It took years for a community centre. It took years for a clinic. For 15 years you are isolated in four walls, your kids are going to school. You mind your children. It is easy to lose any feeling of anything. You stop corresponding with people, you stop communicating with people. You must remember you

are coming from the inner city where there is a tremendous amount of camaraderie and people know each other for years. And then you are put into this box and you don't know the people beside you"
(Cited in Inglis & Bassett.1988:10).

Links with former locations took many forms and for a numbers of years after moving to Coolock many families remained attached to the areas they had moved from.

(4.2) POPULATION, CLASS and WORK

The most recent census of population for the area is the small area population statistics(S.A.P.S) of 1986. According to these statistics the totals for the eight wards were as follows:

Table 4.1

Population statistics for the Coolock area.

	Overall total	Total males	Total females
Totals:	24,927	12,550	12,379

Source: Small area population statistics(SAPS) 1986

Inglis and Bassett report that from 1971 to 1981 there was a population increase of 953% in the Coolock area, the most rapid rise in population in Dublin or the rest of the country. The "nearest contenders" were parts of Tallaght which "experienced a 700% increase in the same period"(Inglis and Bassett.1988:9).

According to Curtis and Cousins there are 5010 "family units" in the Coolock area.The Central Statistics Office define "family units," as:

- (i) A husband and wife(or couple)

(ii) A husband and wife(or couple) together with one or more single children of any age.

(iii) One parent together with one or more children of any age.

Of those 5010 "family units" "671 are one parent families" a figure that represents 13% of all family units in the area.(Curtis & Cousins.1989:14-15) However, those "one parent families" only include those that are in receipt of income support from the state and that percentage rises to 40% within several estates in the area according to Parents Alone Resource Centre(PARC).(2).

For the majority of those living in the area the family represents the primary social grouping, followed by the extended family, friends, neighbours, school and workmates. Identifying the relationship between family and social class is a complex task, given the lack of a contemporary class analysis of the Dublin city and suburbs.

Curtis and Cousins state that the area "can be said to be predominantly working class" which they link to a "high density of local authority housing" (Curtis & Cousins.1989:1). This assertion can be substantiated, in part, by an examination of the social stratification provided by the 1986 Local Population Reports.2nd series. According to these reports individuals are classified within seven categories.

Based on these figures for the eight wards the largest category is that of 'skilled manual' followed by 'semi-skilled manual,' third 'other non-manual and fourth 'un-skilled manual'. Based on

the seven categories used in the census classification it is reasonable to support Curtis and Cousin's ascertain that the majority of those living in the eight wards are "predominantly working class" (Curtis & Cousins.1989:1). For example, when taken together there are 1,831 individuals in categories one and two. However, it is also true to say that within what would be traditionally described as the 'working class' there is a diversity of employment skills, educational achievement, family income etc.

So, in concluding this section on the nature of social class in the eight wards a number of points can be made. Firstly, as Curtis and Cousins state, the Coolock area can be described as a predominantly "working class" one. Secondly, that while this is the case, all seven categories of 'social class' employed by the Census are represented within the eight wards. Thirdly, based on points made in Chapter Two, any analysis of social class is limited if it is reduced to an occupational analysis alone, does not take account of the relationship with other classes and if it excludes the role of domestic labour.

Patterns of employment of an area is a key indicator of social class and status. Levels of employment will reveal the prosperity of an area and give an overall indication of the disposable income of that community. As against that high unemployment and dependence on welfare contributes to a culture of dependency, and is ultimately demoralising for all.

Within the wards of Priorswood A.B.D.E. and Kilmore A.B.C.D. there are three Industrial Estates. The establishment of these industrial estates was linked to the process of Dublin suburbanisation and to the state's drive to attract foreign investment to Ireland.

Significant employers in the area include Cadburys, Tayto Ltd and the Northside Shopping Centre, which employs 1,000 full and part-time staff, a figure that rises to 1,300 during Christmas.

The most up to date employment analysis for the Coolock and adjoining Darndale area is contained in a report commissioned by The Northside Partnership, one of the twelve area based companies set up under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (P.E.S.P) to combat long term employment. While the Coolock/Darndale covers an area larger than the eight wards defining the Coolock area in this project, the report findings are valuable in that they represent the most up to date statistics on employment patterns in the general area. The following is a brief summary of those statistics as they appear in the report:

Total population of the Partnership area-	30,237
Total labour force in the Partnership area-	14,925
Unemployment is estimated at-	4,626 (31%)
Unemployment among women-	24.3%
Unemployment among men-	34.2%
Long-term unemployment is estimated at between of unemployed in the area.	45-55%
Employment of residents in the area is estimated to be-	40%

Based on the WRC Report, 8% of the long-term unemployed were catered for on some form of FAS provision. This is lower than the comparable figures for other areas in which PESP companies have been established (3).

While the above information gives an indication of the employment patterns in the area, it does not tell the whole story, as it fails to take into account part time work, a lot of which is done in the 'black economy'. For women this work includes cleaning, catering, sewing, knitting and childminding. And for men includes a variety of casual employment in areas such as construction, painting and decorating and gardening during the summer months.

In the Coolock area levels of disposable income vary between families earning different levels of income and those who are economically dependent on the state. Family income is a major contributing factor in determining lifestyle and the choice of leisure activities. Considerations such as these will be taken into account by those in marketing and advertising organisations who focus on television audiences as potential consumers of commodities.

(4.3) EDUCATION, RELIGION AND ELECTORAL POLITICS IN THE COOLOCK AREA

The majority of parents of families who moved to Coolock during the 1960s and 70s tended to have left school with their Primary Certificate, while many of their sons and daughters stay on at school to complete Intermediate, Group and/or Leaving Certificate. However, as previously stated "54% of those who

may also facilitate the development of a critical capacity.

Religious practice in predominantly working class communities such as Coolock is widely perceived to have seriously declined. However, the influence of the Catholic Church remains significant. Besides its role in education Catholic priests and nuns have in recent years found new ways to be involved in a wide range of community and social work activity, thereby maintaining close links with the people. For example St. Joseph's Catholic Parish in Bonnybrook is in the process of handing over a former primary school to a committee representative of the local community.

The two four seat constituencies of Dublin North-Central and Dublin North-East, partially take in the eight wards of Kilmore A,B,C,D and Priorswood A,B,D and E. Since the November 1992 General Elections four of the sitting TDs are Fianna Fail, three are Labour Party and one is Fine Gael. While Fianna Fail's historical support among the Dublin working class is partly due to the party's brand of populism, it remains to be seen whether working class voters are moving decisively to the left, given the large middle class vote which helped to make up Labour's success in the 1992 General Elections.

While many improvements in the Coolock area may be credited to local TDs and councillors, in many cases the initiatives began with local individuals or groups. However, outside the party political system there are few channels through which a local decision making process can occur. Various forms of party

political clientalism prevail, with the TD and Councillor's advice clinics the main vehicle where local issues and concerns are addressed. Writing specifically of Tony Gregory's role as a elected TD in the north inner city of Dublin, Ronan Sheehan states the running of an advice clinic, whether by politicians of the:

"left, right or centre...inevitably involves the creation of dependency relationships between constituents and public representatives, what is known as clientelist politics"(Sheehan.1988:172).

In terms of local democracy, the Coolock area does not have a community council and many estates are without resident or tenant associations. This does not represent a departure from the norm, given the centralised nature of the Irish political decision making process. As JJ Lee states:

"Ireland has almost no serious local self-government."(Lee.1989:547)

(4.4) EXISTING AMENITIES, SERVICES AND LEISURE FACILITIES IN THE COOLOCK AREA

The Northside Shopping Centre, together with the adjacent Colaiste Dhulaigh and Coolock Library, comprises one of the main focal points in the Coolock area and has superceded Coolock Village as a commercial and social centre. Other commercial services in the general area include corner shops within the various estates and mobile take-aways catering services.

Of the services based in and around the Northside Shopping Centre, the following are the most significant:

- The Coolock Community Law Centre.
- The Coolock Library.
- Beaumont Hospital.
- Parents Alone Resouce Centre(PARC).

-The Coolock Joint Care Services Committee.

The area is served by a number of bus routes with a taxi rank at the Northside Shopping Centre. Taxis are frequently hired to transport the weekly shopping to the home, either that or supermarket trolleys are hired for two pounds. While in middle class areas supermarket trolleys are used to carry shopping to the adjoining car parks, in predominantly working class areas like Coolock many who are without a means of transport hire the trolleys to transport the shopping home.

There is a wide variety of sports practiced in the area for men and boys. These include athletics, badminton, basketball, G.A.A. football and hurling, gymnastics, martial arts, pigeon racing and swimming. The main sporting venues in the area include the AMRA Athletic Club, the Kilmore Athletic Club and a number of Dublin Corporation football fields. As with all such organisations their establishment and continuing existence would not be possible without the many hours of voluntary work contributed by a large number of people.

Leisure activities for women and girls include aerobics, adult education, bingo, drama, folk singing, horticulture, Ladies Clubs, majorettes and a local writers group. In terms of Youth Clubs there is a broad variety including scouts and girl guides.

On the 2nd of August 1991 Universal Cinemas International (UCI) opened a ten screen cinema complex on the Malahide Road, Coolock. With a capacity for 2,260 people, the cinema has 322 and 202 person auditoria. UCI, which opened Ireland's first "multiplex

cinema" in the Square Tallaght in November 1990, is a Paramount/Universal Company. In addition to UCI, Phase 2 of Omni Park in Santry includes a ten screen multiplex cinema, an indoor adventure playground and bowling alley. There are five public houses in the immediate Coolock area.

(4.5) A SENSE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD AND PLACE

For those who moved to Coolock in the 1960s and 1970s there was little to latch on to. The area lacked a sense of the familiar, communication networks had yet to be built. Neighbours were strangers, not to be fully trusted. However, a feeling of isolation was slowly replaced by one of cohesion around which communities were built. Establishing sports clubs, community associations and facilities took time, effort and money. While some initiatives were successful, others failed, sometimes leading to feelings of acrimony, but soon those were forgotten and other joint projects embarked upon. Although predominantly a working class area even within that class a diversity of knowledges and/or discourses pertain.

When common needs were identified and jointly acted upon a sense of unity began to develop. Examples of how of these needs were addressed would include the efforts of a group of individuals living in the area to extend the bus service from the Malahide Road up into the estates. Even more significantly was the response of many local people to the eviction of a family from Cromcastle Court for their part in the national campaign for a unified rent scheme linked to income under the leadership of the

National Organisation of Tenants Organisations(NATO).The campaign led to a national fifteen month rent strike from April 1972 to July 1973, which ended with the successfully negotiation of a national differential rent scheme as well as a house purchase scheme with the Fine Gael/Labour Party Coalition Government. The eviction which occurred during the strike and the solidarity engendered by it played a highly significant role in the creation of a sense of unity and identity with the area (6).

An event that gave rise to a different type of unity or sharing, be it in grief, anger, pain and mourning was that of the Stardust disaster. On the night of 14th February 1981 48 young people were killed and 128 seriously injured in a fire that engulfed the Stardust Club on Kilmore Road, Artane. Many of the young people came from the Bonnybrook, Kilmore, Edenmore, and Artane area. Ten years later the memory of those who died is to be commemorated by a memorial park between the Santry River and Adare Road, Coolock.

While the area lacked essential amenities in its early stages of development and there was a tendency to rely on social workers/professionals from outside the area, the task of building neighbourhoods has been undertaken by people themselves. The story of Coolock over the past thirty years has been one in which new neighbourhoods and wider communities have developed alongside those that previously existed and where none existed. Those who moved there brought their possessions as well as their traditions, stories and lived cultures. They carried both personal and collective memories in a period in which major

transformations were occurring in both national and international cultures. While for many the move was traumatic and represented a major rift in their lives, yet those who moved to the area in the 1960s and 1970s have seen their children grow to have children of their own. While some families have suffered the effects of unemployment and other social ills they struggle to build the best life possible. Despite the often blurred lines defining the geographic area that is called Coolock, the community or communities that live there have been built by the families who lived there prior to the 1960s and those who came later to make it their place of residence.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY AND AUDIENCE RESEARCH

The methodologies adapted in audience research vary from quantitative to qualitative approaches, from ethnographic methods to questionnaire type surveys and from content analysis to time use diaries. Given that this research project draws in part on a combination of ethnographic methods and to a lesser extent time use diaries, the focus in this chapter will be on those two methods. The ethnographic method was adopted as it was the most suitable method to use when interviewing participants and a quantitative approach involving the time use diaries was used to gather statistical information such as time use patterns and television programme choice.

Ethnography was a favoured method of research at the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). In his Notes on Method (1984) Paul Willis, a member of the CCCS wrote that how the researcher was part of the research process and how the:

"'object' of our inquiry is in fact, of course, a subject and has to be understood and presented in the same mode as the researcher's own subjectivity" (Willis.1984:91).

Willis also wrote of "being 'surprised'" at "reaching knowledge not prefigured in one's starting paradigm" and argued for the "recognition of the reflexive relationship of researchers to their subjects" without transforming them into objects. (Willis.1984:92/95).

Piepe(1975) and Morley(1986), having completed a B.A. in Communications Studies at Dublin City University in September 1989 it was possible to draw on a wide range of relevant knowledge acquired in the course of three years of undergraduate studies.

At first I intended to interview two groups of five families, one from Dublin's north inner city and the other from the Coolock area. Practical reasons for the choice of Coolock and the north inner city was simply a personal familiarity with both areas. Reasons for abandoning this dual comparative approach was that two 'samples' of five families was an inadequate number to pursue a comparative study. For similiar reasons it was considered that the subsequent choice of ten families in the Coolock area was not sufficient enough to make generalisations beyond these ten families. However, their responses will, I believe, find resonances in other predominantly working class areas of Dublin.

The selection of families in the Coolock area was arrived at on the basis of discussions with the following individuals working in and/or living in the area:

Pat Ayton. Northside Reading and Writing Centre. Colaiste Dhulaigh
Brendan Butler. Northside Centre for the Unemployed.
Noreen Byrne and Carmel Clarke of Parents Alone Resource Centre.
Breda Gleeson. Senion Librarian. Coolock Library, since moved to Newbridge.

Cris Lynch. Community Officer, Dublin Corporation.

John O'Riordan. Principal of Colaiste Dhulaigh, Coolock.

My neighbours, Helen, Peter, Sarah, Teresa,

Those discussions were complemented by the study of several readings, for example, The Coolock Profile(1989) written by Alan Curtis and Joanie Cousins. This publication was recommended by

Breda Glesson, former Senior Librarian, Coolock.

A number of variables were decided upon in the process of choosing the ten families that would be broadly representative of the Coolock area. The 'family' in these cases consists of all those living in the one house.

These included:

- engagement in waged or unwaged labour
- employed/unemployed
- employed locally or not
- shift work
- rented or purchased accomadation
- marital status
- levels of education, literacy
- geographical areas within Coolock
- age
- union/management
- video ownership
- telephone
- party political affiliations

Ten families were contacted and eventually selected, having being introduced to me by the following people:

Pat Synott:Darndale Family Centre
Brendan Butler:Northside Centre for the Unemployed
Carmel, Louise,Noreen, Pauline, Parents Alone Resource Centre(PARC)
The Fingal Writers Group based in the Coolock Library
My neighbours: Claire, David, Dolores, James, Kathleen, Liam, Laura, Mandy and Paul.

None of the families were previously known to me, except in one case where I had met one of the parents socially on one occasion. Several introductions were made to families who did not eventually participate in the project. The reasons included lack of interest of one or more in the family, the arrival of a new baby and a sudden death in the family. It was also decided not to include a family whose father had stood as an independent candidate in an earlier local election.

The final choice of the ten families is listed below:

(i) The Burkes: father, mother and three children. The father is unemployed, the mother works at home and has a part-time job. One teenage boy is still at school and two of the children have completed their education and no longer live at home. The family home is rented from Dublin Corporation.

(ii) The Cransons: father, mother, the mother's father and two daughters. The father is employed, the mother works at home and the eldest daughter lives elsewhere with a child. The family home is privately owned.

(iii) The Dowlers: mother and four children, three of whom are school going children, the fourth is still at home. The mother also works part-time outside the home and the family is living in private housing.

(iv) The McIlroys: father, mother and four adult children. The father is retired. A son and daughter live at home, while another son and daughter have families of their own. The family home was purchased from Dublin Corporation.

(v) The Murphys: father, mother and five children under the age of 14. The father is employed and the mother works full time in the home.

(vi) The O'Neills: father, mother and three children. The father is unemployed, the mother works in and outside the home and all the children are still living at home, two of whom are working, while one is still at school. The family home is rented from Dublin Corporation.

(vii) The Sheridans: mother and three school going children. The family home is rented from Dublin Corporation.

(viii) The Smyths: father, mother and three children. The father is employed and the mother works in the home. The eldest boy is working while the two younger girls are still in school and college. The family home is privately owned.

(ix) The Teelings: father, mother and three boys. The father is a supervisor, the mother works full time in the home. The eldest boy is employed in office work and two other boys are still at school. The family home is privately owned.

(x) The Whelans: father, mother and seven children. The father is on sick leave from a local factory where he is employed as a shift worker. The mother works at home as well as part time outside the home. Five of the children live at home while, one with a child of her own and two others live elsewhere with families of their own. The family home is purchased from Dublin Corporation. (1)

For an extended biography of each family see Appendix No.1.

In highlighting the common and diverging factors within and across the ten families the following points emerge as of March 1991:

- All the parents of the ten families were born in Dublin, in areas other than that of Coolock. In the case of their children, some were born when their parents resided at previous addresses, while others were born after their parents moved to Coolock. Prior to living in Coolock previous addresses would include Artane, Ballybough, Ballymun, Church Street, Crumlin, Finglas, Fairview, North Wall, Santry and Sean Mc Dermott Street;

- While all the families chosen would have a working class background, social mobility within the ten families is evident. Examples of this mobility is the employment status of some of the fathers and the educational achievements of some of the children. A daughter of one of the parents achieved an Honours Leaving Certificate in 1991 and was subsequently allocated a university place in August of the same year, while another is involved in a post Leaving Computer course. While all but one of the parents left school after their Primary Certificates, some of their children have continued to complete Intermediate/Group and Leaving Certificates. The one exception was a parent who continued her education to the Intermediate Certificate stage and more recently as part of a local Adult Education project took several Leaving Certificate subjects;

- The occupations of adult family members, both employed and unemployed, would have included general and supervisory positions in catering, cleaning, confectionary, distributive, electrical, engineering, motor, pharmaceutical, plumbing, printing, publican, textile and timber industries or trades. Other sources of waged and unwaged employment included work in banking, credit control, the home, insurance, youth work and on a Social Employment Scheme;

- As to levels of employment in the two parent families, four of the fathers were employed outside the home, one was on sick leave during 1991, one retired and two were unemployed. In those eight families four of the mothers worked full time in the home, while four others in addition to working in the home had part time jobs. By October 1991 that number had increased to five. In the case of the women parenting alone, one was a full time house wife, while the other had a part time job as well;

- In terms of housing, four of the families live in the privately built estates of Riverside, Beechlawn and Newbury, four live in purchased corporation houses in Belcamp, Bunratty Road, Kilmore West and Moatview. Two families live in rented corporation houses in Belcamp and Moatview, corporation estates built in the period 1979 to 1982;

- The internal house plans and number of down stairs rooms differed in several respects from house to house. All privately owned homes had a second living room and one Dublin Corporation

built house had an extension added on to it. While some kitchens had seating arrangements several did not, so meals were either eaten in a separate dining area or in the 'living room'. In some cases a television was located in both 'living rooms' and in others instead of a television, a radio and music system and the second television was upstairs in one of the bedrooms. Therefore the question of space was a significant factor in determining how family members interacted with the process of watching television;

- Means of transport varied among the ten families. Four of the families had cars, one of which was owned by the son. One son owned a motor bike while bicycles were owned by several of the children. Other than that the 17A, 27, 27A, 27B, 42, 42C, 43, and 101 buses were the main modes of public transport which serve the area;

- In response to the question on party political affiliation in the questionnaire, only one person indicated an affiliation, in that case to Fianna Fail. In conversation both of the women parenting alone said that they normally didn't vote, but made an exception in the Presidential elections of 1991 by voting for Mary Robinson;

- Seven of the families had telephones, while three did not;

- Eight of the families owned video recorders, of the remaining two, one had been stolen while the other had been given to another family member due to lack of use;

- Four of the families had dogs;

- None of the families bought the RTE Guide, except on occasions such as Christmas. However, on the week in which the families were asked to keep a diary, two of the families had purchased copies of the RTE Guide. The fact that in the intervening period between the interviews and the keeping of the week long diary in October the RTE Guide was extended to cover all channels may well account for this change;

Initial meetings were held with participants by calling to their homes and explaining the project and what was involved. I considered it important to meet all members of the family, because otherwise one or other or both parents might have agreed to participate on behalf of the family and their children may have turned out to be less than enthusiastic. While not all the children were consulted prior to the start of the interviews, all

did in fact participate enthusiastically. Indeed all family members gave of their time generously and whole heartedly. Their hospitality and interest in the project was at all times a source of encouragement.

Each family was told that the project would involve four elements:

- (i) A relatively structured ethnographic interview, guided by an Interview Schedule (Appendix No.4). The interviews would be tape recorded.(2)
- (ii) A 'household' profile questionnaire to be filled out by each individual after the initial interview (Appendix No.5).
- (iii) Instead of being interviewed all but three of the children under 14 years of age were given A3 sheets of paper and coloured pencils and asked to write or illustrate the following:
 - (a) what they liked on television
 - (b) what they disliked on television
 - (c) what they would like to see more of on television.

A summary of the childrens responses is presented in Appendix No.3.

- (iv) A time use diary to be kept for one week during October 1991 (Appendix No.6).

I decided to do one-to-one interviews to encourage greater candour and to overcome the practical difficulty of arranging a time that would suit all members of the family for a group interview and discussion. One reason for not using a content analysis approach, similiar to that used by Greg Philo(1990), was the issue of fluency of literacy skills. In other words not all members of the families possessed the same or similiar literacy skills.

Everybody was informed that their names would not appear in the final research project, that instead fictional names would be used. This decision was made in the interest of confidentiality

and prompted by the belief that such a decision would allow individuals to feel freer to respond. In all but one case the families were consulted on the name changes. They were also informed that their involvement was on a voluntary basis, with no financial remuneration. As all the families had been introduced through a third party, I made a point of informing the interviewees of my own background, my association with the Coolock area, the nature of the research project, my address and home phone number.

The interviews were conducted over a nine week period from the 12th of February to 10th of April 1991. In all thirty three people were interviewed. Not all interviews occurred at the mutually arranged times due to such events as illness and domestic D.I.Y jobs. In those cases the interviews were simply re-scheduled. While seven of the families could be contacted by telephone the remaining three had to be visited to arrange suitable interview times. All but three interviews took place in the family home, two in my home and one in the home of the daughter of one of the ten families.

While a Pilot Interview was initially considered, I abandoned that idea because the overall research process was one of learning and self-reflexivity.

Following the interviews the families were written to and thanked as well as reminded of the second phase of the project. Then the tapes were transcribed in full. Four different women were involved in the task on a part time basis. The first woman

transcribed two tapes and provided a price estimate, both she and one of the other women were unable to continue as they were offered full time employment. All four gave some feedback on the interviewing style and pointed to a tendency towards prompting and presenting leading questions. Where this occurred the response was not included. In hindsight and in no way reflecting on those who carried out the transcribing, it would have been preferable had the one individual done the transcription. One variation in the transcripts was that some indicated pauses while others did not.

Following the interview a short 'household' profile questionnaire was left with the interviewees to be filled in and to be collected on the next visit. See Appendix No.5 for a copy of the questionnaire. The information formed the basis of the family biographies which are presented in chapter six and it was left up to each individual what information they wished to include. Again in hindsight, such a questionnaire could have been completed at the end of each interview, thereby making it easier for the participants.

Time Use Diaries were used in order to complement the interviews and were filled in approximately five months after the interviews, in October 1991. See Appendix No.5 for sample of letter and a sample of one day's diary page. Both interviews and time use diaries were completed during the winter television schedule. In addition to the week long diary each family was given a copy of the RTE Guide, (courtesy of RTE) and a number of

biros. Following the completion of the time use diaries each family was written to and thanked for their participation and at an earlier stage they were also informed that a copy of the final thesis would be made available to them if they so wished. The information arising from the diaries is presented in Chapter Six.

While time use diaries have been used in several television audience research projects, the method has its critics. In fact Oscar H.Gandy,Jr goes so far as to state that:

"personal recall of television programmes watched has always been seen as unreliable. Ratings specialists have recognised that diaries tend to be completed from memory, often on the day before they are to be returned, rather than being filled in on an hourly or daily basis. In addition most diaries tend to be filled in by one member of the household who serves as the unreliable recorder of family viewing"
(Gandy Jr.1990:173).

While noting these reservations, the response to the time use diaries in this project yielded some interesting information.

The process of interpreting the information arising from the interviews and time use diaries was ongoing and intimately related to conversations with members of the ten families and personal observations.

As with any research project there were concerns and changes in emphasis as the work progressed. These were mainly prompted by the diversity of responses from the interviewees and the process of developing a theoretical framework for the project. Chief among the concerns were those related to the process of entering the family homes and documenting aspects of their private world. In this regard an awareness of television audience research as

being potentially a form of surveillance (Gandy,Jr.1990) and voyeurism (Walkerdine.1986) was of significant value to me.

Changes in theoretical emphasis were related to the positions and perspectives adopted in the course of the research. As the interviews progressed I developed an inclination towards reception analysis, particularly the work of David Morley. So by focusing on the 'audience'- the men, women and children the ten families there was a clear tendency to privilege them over that which was transmitted to them on the television. However, as the work progressed issues related to class, ideology and discourse led back to the questions of influence, as well as the thorny matter of 'effects'. When I returned to the theoretical debates the full significance of the 'retreat from class,' the shift from concern with ideology to discourse and ultimately the revisionist trend among those previously associated with the radical research tradition became clear to me. Therefore my focus shifted back to attempting to examine the relationship between viewer and television text, without necessarily adopting an either/or approach. It appeared to me that the flight from a simplistic understanding of effects research had gone too far and that some researchers were calling a halt.

There were also times when concern with the debates were in danger of overwhelming the task of interpreting the interviews and data from the time use diaries, but a measure of theoretical clarity was eventually acquired amid divergent and convergent perspectives. The final stage of the project involved a partial rewriting on foot of some valuable critiques. The basis of the

critiques were that the project had at that stage lacked a clear and concise research design elaborating on exactly which aspects of the relationship between the ten families and that which they viewed on television I was aiming to examine. Based on that and the earlier experience of conducting the research I now hold firmly to the belief that "all is flux, nothing stays the same" (Heraclitus) .

So, to summarise, the methodology employed in this dissertation was based on and influenced by a combination of the following factors:

- (i) A critical reading of existing written material on television audience research and time use diaries.
- (ii) A conscious attempt to problematise the role of the researcher and a belief that the researcher is in fact part of the process.(3)
- (iii) An incorporation of personal experience which includes conducting interviews for a BA in Communication Studies(DCU) and the North Inner City Folklore Project.(4)
- (iv) An approach which involves, respecting and listening to the interviewee. One in which the researcher works with the television audience and avoids imposing his or her voice in substitution for that of the interviewee.
- (v) An approach which involves a learning relationship as suggested by Micheal H. Adgar(1986).
- (vi) An awareness of the power relations in research methodology, particularly as identified by feminist researchers.(5).
- (vii) An acknowledgement of the value of quantitative research methods such as those employed by Irish TAM (Fahy.1985,1992).

CHAPTER SIX

TIME USE PATTERNS AND MEDIA CONSUMPTION

"Broadcast TV is a profoundly domestic phenomenon
....TV is also intimate and everyday, a part of home
life rather than any kind of special event"
(Ellis.1985:113).

(6.1) INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present and examine information gleaned from the audio taped interviews and time use diaries with the ten families on their patterns of time use, as well as programme and channel preference. Due to the fact that variations exist between both approaches and each involved a different group of family members, comparisons between the findings emerging from both approaches will be done so with caution. However, while the application of both methods of research in this project require a number of qualifications, the patterns and trends that do emerge on time use and programme/channel preference provide a detailed account of the time use budgeting and the preferences of the ten families.

This chapter comprises three sub-sections:

- (6.2) Television viewing patterns
- (6.3) Television and channel choice
- (6.4) Conclusions

(6.2) TELEVISION VIEWING PATTERNS

As with all audience research defining what 'watching television' meant was problematic. For example, when commenting on her viewing of Blind Date or Catchphrase, Bernadette Whelan said "you can kinda opt in or out of that..you can watch it for five minutes and you don't miss the thread of what's going on". And in one household the television remained switched on from 7.30 a.m to 1-2 a.m virtually everyday, irrespective of whether it was watched or not. Bearing such qualifications in mind, I will first of all summarise the information which emerged from the audio-taped interviews on the times which television was watched. This information is based on extracts from the relevant interview passages which appear in Appendix No.6.

Average weekly figures are based on thirty of the thirty three people interviewed. The reason for excluding three family members was that I neglected to ask them sufficient questions regarding their viewing time. Where information gaps appear with the remaining thirty the weekly figure is estimated on the basis of the information provided as well as my own personal observations during visits to the family homes.

Table 6.1 on the next page lists the numbers of hours spent watching television by each of the thirty family members during the period February to April 1991.

Table 6.1

Number of hours per week during which television was viewed by family members in the February to April 1991 period.

Family.	Individual	Number of hours
Burke	Claire	49
	Jack	26
	Liam	25
Cranson	Molly	45
	Hanna	42
	Dave	18
Dowler	Anne	23
McIlroy	Marie	28
	Peter	31
	Tony	10
Murphy	Thresa	31
	Thomas	38
O'Neill	Mairead	40
	Mary	20
	James	55
	Tony	25
	Dave	30
Sheridan	June	40
Smyth	Jane	40
	Lauren	15
	Sarah	-
	Des	-
	Peter	35
Teeling	Mary	14
	Joe	21
	Paul	29
	John	27
	Eamonn	25
Whelan	Josephine	15
	Bernadette	25
	Marie	30
	Matthew	30
	Joseph	-

Source: Audio-taped interviews which were conducted with the ten families between the 12th of February and the 10th of April 1991.

The average number of hours spent watching television was 29.4 per person according to information emerging from the interviews.

In order to remind the reader of the ages of family members contained in the biographies in Appendix No.1. the following is a summary chart:

Table 6.2

Summary information on the ten families.

Family name	Parents names and ages	Young adults & children's names and ages
Burke	Claire-43, Jack-43	Liam-15
Cranson	Molly-41, Dave-43,	Hanna-19, Amy-7
Dowler	Anne-32	
McIlroy	Marie-56, Peter-64	Tony-22
Murphy	Thresa-36, Thomas-35,	
O'Neill's	Mairead-46, James-50	Mary-19, Tony-22 Dave-15
Sheridan	June-34	
Smyth	Jane-45(c), Des-48,	Lauren-16, Sarah-12 Peter-20
Teeling	Mary-48, Joe-46,	Peter-23(c), John-17 Eamonn-12
Whelan	Josephine-50, Matt-52	Bernadette-27 Marie-16, Joseph-19(c)

(c) stands for approximate age

Source: Extracted from biographical information on family members presented in Appendix No.1.

The second stage of the research project was conducted during the week ending the 20th of October 1991, when the ten families were requested to fill in time use diaries for one week. Forty seven diaries were distributed, along with a covering letter explaining the information required. A copy of a diary form for one day and the accompanying letter appears in Appendix No.4.

Each person was requested to fill in the diary indicating the time spent engaged in following activities: 'Work and Travel,' 'House Work,' 'Shopping,' 'School etc,' 'Sports,' 'Religion,' 'Leisure,' 'Watching Television,' 'Watching Television and..,' 'Radio,' 'Video,' and 'Reading'. A breakdown of the number of hours spent at each of these activities is presented in Appendix No.7.

In most cases 'Work and Travel' included time spend at lunch and tea breaks. 'House work' included house decorating/DIY. 'School etc.' included attending courses and homework. A wide variety of activity was included under the heading of 'Leisure,' ranging from going to bingo or the pub, spending time with friends or relatives, playing or sleeping in front of the television. 'Watching Television and..' included watching television and doing housework, sewing, knitting or homework. The category on 'Religion' included attendance at Mass, prayer group meetings and choir singing. Despite the fact that most of those who filled in the diary made no entry for 'Religion' that does not necessarily mean that they did not attend any religious services or participate in any activity of a religious nature. The same applies for other categories such as 'radio' and 'leisure'.

The main period for family viewing was roughly between six pm and twelve midnight from Monday to Thursday, and in some cases an hour or so later on Friday nights. Irrespective of whether adult members were working the following day most retired by twelve midnight from Monday to Thursday. In most of the homes with children the television was switched on before eight am and then again after school when children viewed television before going out to play or do homework. In homes with children four to six pm was the main period in which children could choose what they wished to watch. Wednesday night and Saturday/Sunday afternoons were the main periods in which sports were watched, especially among the married men and their older sons. Weekend viewing normally commenced on Saturday morning with children's viewing, followed by sports in the afternoons by male members of the families, that pattern was broadly repeated on Sundays.

The increase from thirty three to forty seven family members was because in this instance the majority of the children were included. Of the forty seven diaries ten were not completed due to illness and three were partially completed. Two more were omitted when determining time use patterns as they were not completed during the week requested. In the final thirty two, nine were children under the age of fourteen. The times spent on various activities was raised to the nearest hour. A breakdown of the completed, partially completed and not completed diaries is presented in Appendix No.9.

Based on thirty two diaries the periods of time engaged in the ten activities listed on page eighty were as follows:

-WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME: Only eight of the thirty two family members gave sufficient information on their work outside the home. The hours for those who did furnish the information were 94,46,50,72,58,50,60 and 62, which averaged 61 hours per week. These times included travel. Others worked part-time, which included delivering newspapers and voluntary unpaid cleaning in a local parish Catholic Church.

-HOUSEWORK: 28,9,42,29,2,2,31,20,1,25,14,26 and 4. While most of the women working in the home detailed the jobs they did around the house, the men who were unemployed simply indicated that they were doing housework and did not specify the particular jobs they did. This may simply indicate the differing relationships men and women have to domestic work or that men who are unemployed have difficulty in assuming a role that includes doing at least some domestic work. The category of 'housework' included painting and decorating, which was recorded as being done by both men and women.

-SHOPPING: only one man recorded that he went shopping. However, based on the interviews several men indicated that they helped with the weekly shopping, while one man shopped for the family on a regular basis. For some women shopping was also a social activity. This does not take from the fact that most women bore the main responsibility for buying and transporting the shopping home.

-SCHOOL: 2, 21,35,35,37,33,33,32,47,29,43,40,34,43,12 and 43. These periods include homework and part time courses. In some cases homework was done while watching television

-SPORTS INVOLVEMENT: 7,2,2,4,8,11 and 8. These periods included school sports, swimming, karate, ice-skating and soccer.

-RELIGION: 1,1,11,1,1,1 and 1. While the one hour periods indicated attendance at mass, the 11 hours recorded by one family member included mass attendance, prayer group meetings and choir practice. Prayer group meetings which are convened in people's homes do in some cases impact on family viewing of television.

-LEISURE: hours listed as engaged in leisure other than the listed activities were 26,19,10,10,3,15,2,2,26,6,44,26,20,20, 20 and 8. These leisure activities included gardening, walking, listening to recorded music, making a cassette tape of Elvis Presley for a friend, going to the pub, to bingo and the bookies. It also included going to discos, going out with a boy or girlfriend, as well as visiting the new Omni Park Shopping Centre in Santry. Family members also listed visiting relatives, visiting and attending hospital, playing

computer games. A special event occurred for one family member during the week in that she attended her school's final year 'debs'. One of the mother's of another family mentioned assisting a neighbour's daughter to prepare for her 'debs'.

-RADIO: 25,19,7,8,6,3,3,4,4 and 4 hours. Listening to the radio was done in conjunction with work in and outside the home. Stations listed were 2FM with presenters Ian Dempsey, Gerry Ryan, Larry Gogan, Gareth O'Callaghan and Gerry Wilson mentioned. Radio 1, with Gay Byrne singled out. Classic Hits 98 FM and Rock 104 were also included in the entries. While Classic Hits 98 FM was listed as being played in one work place, no one mentioned which station they listened to on their car radios.

-VIDEO: periods in which videos were watched were listed as 4,3,3,3,1,2,3,6 and 2 hours. Several programmes such as the film Deadly Pursuit(UTV) were recorded by family members and played back later that evening or later in the week.

-READING: Times given as engaged in reading were 2 and 3 hours.

-TELEVISION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES: times during which television was watched while engaged in other activities were 2,3 and 2 hours. As previously mentioned 'Watching Television and..' included watching television and doing housework, sewing, knitting, baby sitting, or homework. As such it was a relationship which women/mothers mainly assumed.

-TELEVISION VIEWING: the periods in which family members watched television were 32,12,30,33,20,8,23,28,37,13,15,12,10,14,18,18,2,38,30,13,31,22,26,29,15,28,25,27,18,20, and 24.

On average the number of hours the thirty two family members spent watching television in the week from the 14th to the 20th of October 1991 was 20.7. Periods of viewing television varied from two to thirty eight hours. The figure of 20.7 hours contrasts with the average of 29.4 hours which emerged from the audio-taped interviews. As reported earlier in this chapter, one possible reason for the lower viewing figure emerging from the time use diaries was the inclusion of children under fourteen in this group, who, on average have a tendency to watch less television than adults. Therefore it can be argued that the

figure of 20.7 hours is more representative of family viewing per se.

Before any further comments are made on the information emerging from the time use diaries, a number of qualifications are required. The level of detail with which individuals filled in the diaries varied considerably. It was also evident from the handwriting that several diaries were filled in by family members on each other's behalf. Time use diaries are considered to be most informative when filled in at the end of each day or as soon as possible and this was recommended when distributing the diaries. It had been intended to personally visit each of the ten families in the course of the week to see if there were any queries and to check on progress. Unfortunately due to a heavy dose of flu this was not possible. In hindsight one or two visits to each family in the course of the week may have provided an extra encouragement in some cases. However, having said that, it should also be noted that time use diaries are demanding of people's time and energy. Furthermore they are potentially problematic in so far as they contain information on the private lives of individuals.

While time use diaries are considered by some media researchers to be somewhat unreliable, the information gleaned gives a general picture of how television use among the ten families compared to other work and leisure activities (Gandy, Jr. 1990:173). Besides providing some useful insights into time budgeting, the diaries also included the programmes watched by the families, which will be presented in 6.3. Other

information included: visits to the cinema, videos hired, newspapers and magazines purchased.

In order to gain an appreciation of the range of information emerging from the diaries alone, two examples of family time use are presented in Appendix No.8. In providing a glimpse of every day life as lived by the two families, the diaries, when read in conjunction with the relevant family biographies and the profile of Coolock in Chapter Four, further illustrates the cultural context in which viewing occurred.

In order to compare the figures of 29.4 and 20.7 hours to existing Irish and British statistical information on television viewing periods the following is a summary of three analyses:

(i) According to Tom Harper, Irish TAM's director of operations and research, television usage is high in Ireland:

"with an average of hours viewing per home per day of about seven hours in winter and six in summer".
(Harper. ADMAP [p.31] October 1989).

(ii) According to RTE's Audience Research Department average (all day) television viewing hours for October 1991 was 3.35 for individuals and 6.39 for homes. In November 1991 the figure was 3.71 for individuals and 6.83 for homes.
(Information provided by Tony Fahy, Head of Audience Research Department, RTE.

(iii) Pan European Audience Research (PETAR) state that on average Irish people spent 17.3 hours a week viewing television in 1989, which represented a decrease from 20.4 hours in the previous year (The Irish Times. May 1989).

(iv) According to Nicholas Garnham for most people in Britain twenty hours per week on average are taken up by television viewing, which accounts for between 30% and 40% of most people's available free time (Garnham.1990:158,118). According to Garnham the "two related constraints" on media and leisure consumption are time and money (Garnham.1990:49).

Levels of television viewing have also been related to class in studies conducted in Ireland. Again according to Tom Harper of Irish TAM:

"initial investigations indicate that....age, region and socio-economic groups have significantly different viewing patterns" (Harper. ADMAP.[p.33] October 1989).

Based on her research on youth exposure to the media in Ireland, Marion H Reynolds discovered that "both urban and rural male youth watched more television mid-week"(Reynolds.1990:134). Reynolds also cited Michelle Dillon's M.A.(UCD.1982) on youth culture in Ireland, where she stated that:

"working class males were the heaviest viewers spending two and a quarter hours on average viewing television each evening"(Reynolds.1990:20).

Studies conducted in Britain have also identified a higher level of television viewing among the working class (Reid.1989).

In terms of this project, the average amount of time spent watching television according to information emerging from the interviews was 29.4 hours. Based on the entries in the time use diaries it was of 20.7 hours per week, which I believe to be a more representative figure because children's viewing times were included. Therefore it can be safely said that in a very significant way television viewing 'colonised' leisure time of family members, as Conrad Lodziak puts it (Lodziak.1986:128). However, television viewing competed with a variety of other and quite different activities.

(6.3) TELEVISION PROGRAMME AND CHANNEL CHOICE

In order to determine the most popular programmes and channels among the families two approaches were adopted.

Firstly, the thirty three individuals who were interviewed were asked which were their favourite programmes, as well as being asked the channel they watched the most.

Secondly, when filling in the time use diaries they were asked to specify the television programmes they watched and on which channel the programme appeared. In this case I included all the diaries which were completed, irrespective of whether they were incomplete or filled a week in more than a week after the 20th of October 1991. This decision was made as the purpose of this particular section of the project was to determine the overall trend in programme and channel preference.

Based on these two approaches I will now present the information which emerged on programme choice.

Firstly, the replies to the interview question 'Could you tell me your favourite TV programme(s)?' are presented on the following page in Table 6.3:

Table 6.3. Favourite TV programme(s) of family members mentioned during interviews conducted between February and April 1991:

Family name	Individual.	Favourite TV programme.
Burke	Claire Jack Liam	<u>EastEnders/documentaries</u> <u>Wildlife</u> <u>Football/Tomorrow's World</u>
Cranson	Molly Hanna Dave	<u>The Late Late Show</u> <u>Cheers/EastEnders/Zig and Zag</u> <u>Soccer/boxing</u>
Dowler	Anne	<u>Soaps</u>
McIlroy	Marie Peter Tony	<u>Quizes/soaps/comedies</u> <u>Soccer/racing),</u> <u>Wise Guy/120 Minutes</u> <u>and Exposure[MTV])</u>
Murphy	Thresa Thomas	<u>Coronation Street/EastEnders/</u> <u>Brookside</u> <u>The Bill/Coronation Street/</u> <u>EastEnders</u>
O'Neill	Mairead Mary James Tony Dave	<u>The Late Late Show</u> <u>Soaps</u> <u>Glenroe/soccer/boxing</u> <u>Music/"off beat comedy"/</u> <u>current affairs</u> <u>The Simpsons/ Zig and Zag/wildlife</u>
Sheridan	June	<u>Soaps</u>
Smyth	Jane Lauren Sarah Des Peter	<u>Coronation Street/Glenroe</u> <u>Fashion</u> <u>The Simpsons/21 Jump Street/</u> <u>soaps</u> <u>Cheers/"authentic" westerns/sport</u> <u>Sport/comedy[Only Fools and Horses]</u>
Teeling	Mary Joe Peter John Eamonn	<u>Serials/EastEnders</u> <u>Wildlife/Horizon/sport</u> <u>Cheers/wildlife</u> <u>War films/Neighbours/Family Ties</u> <u>"Action films"</u>
Whelan	Josephine Bernadette Marie Matthew Joseph	<u>Drama/current affairs/comedy</u> <u>Coronation Street</u> <u>The Young Riders/21 Jump Street/</u> <u>The Simpsons</u> <u>Soccer/racing/films</u> <u>The Simpsons/comedy</u>

These replies are presented in the order they were made and in some cases individuals went on to state their overall favourites as in the case of Thomas Murphy, for example, who mentioned sports television.

In terms of programmes viewed during the week ending 20th October 1991 the list extended to almost two hundred programmes. By listing the number of times a programme was watched it was only possible to discover the ten most watched programmes on RTE1 and Network 2. Monday to Friday was chosen so that the results could be compared to the TAM top twenty figures for that week, which are published in the RTE Guide on a Monday to Friday basis.

I also decided to present a list of the ten most watched programmes on channels other than RTE, in the week ending 20th October 1991 (Table 6.6). The complete list of all programmes watched by the thirty seven family members is presented in Appendix No.10.

Based on the time use diaries the ten most watched programmes on RTE1 and Network 2 are listed below:

Table 6.4

The top ten programmes on RTE1 and Network 2 according to information recorded by family members in the time use diaries

RTE1		Viewers	Network 2		Viewers
<u>Late Late Show</u>	Sat	8	<u>Ireland v Poland</u>	Wed	15
<u>The School around</u>			<u>Ireland v Australia</u>	Sun	14
<u>the Corner</u>	Sun	8	<u>Home and Away</u>	Thurs	5
<u>Baywatch</u>	Sat	6	<u>Home and Away</u>	Mon	4
<u>Glenroe</u>	Sun	6	<u>Coronation Street</u>	Mon	4
<u>Fair City</u>	Tues	6	<u>Home and Away</u>	Tues	4
<u>Fair City</u>	Fri	5	<u>Home and Away</u>	Wed	5
<u>China Beach</u>	Mon	4	<u>Knots Landing</u>	Thurs	3
<u>Little House on</u>			<u>E.N.G</u>	Tues	2
<u>the prairie</u>	Sun	4	<u>Jo-Maxi</u>	Thurs	2
<u>Where in the World</u>	Sun	4			
<u>Secrets</u>	Sun	3			

Source: Time use diaries completed by family members in the week ending October 20th 1991.

According to Irish TAM, the Top Twenty ratings for the week ending October 20, 1991 were as follows:

Table 6.5

Irish TAM's Top Twenty ratings for the week ending October 20th 1991.

RTE1

Network 2

Day of the week and the number of viewers in thousands.				Day of the week and the number of viewers in thousands.			
1	<u>Glenroe</u>	Sun	1291	1	<u>Soccer</u> <u>Poland V Ireland</u>	Wed	806
2	<u>The Late</u> <u>Late Show</u>	Fri	1158	2	<u>Coronation</u> <u>Street</u>	Fri	716
3	<u>Where in the</u> <u>World</u>	Sun	1048	3	<u>Coronation</u> <u>Street</u>	Mon	668
4	<u>Winning Streak</u>	Fri	891	4	<u>Soccer</u> <u>England V Turkey</u>	Wed	633
5	<u>Fair City</u>	Tues	745	5	<u>Home and Away</u>	Tues	610
6	<u>Secrets</u>	Sat	734	6	<u>Home and Away</u>	Mon	588
7	<u>Kenny Live</u>	Sat	726	7	<u>Home and Away</u>	Thurs	575
8	<u>Fair City</u>	Fri	715	8	<u>Home and Away</u>	Fri	561
9	<u>School around</u> <u>the corner</u>	Sun	701	9	<u>Knots Landing</u>	Thurs	457
10	<u>Head to Toe</u>	Tues	689	10	<u>World Cup</u> <u>Rugby</u>	Sun	441
11	<u>Check-Up</u>	Tues	666	11	<u>Coronation</u> <u>Street</u>	Wed	431
12	<u>Brides of</u> <u>Christ</u>	Sat	643	12	<u>Shakin' all</u> <u>Over</u>	Thurs	314
13	<u>Guns of</u> <u>Paradise</u>	Mon	635	13	<u>E.N.G.</u>	Tues	288
14	<u>Bibi</u>	Wed	629	14	<u>Teenage Mutant</u> <u>Turtle Hero</u>	Fri	281
15	<u>Know your</u> <u>Sport</u>	Mon	575	15	<u>Fair City</u> (Omnibus Edition)	Sun	266
16	<u>Wonder Years</u>	Sun	540	16	<u>Hurling Special</u>	Sun	253
17	<u>Today Tonight</u>	Tues	531	17	<u>Girlfriends</u>	Mon	252
18	<u>Baywatch</u>	Sat	516	18	<u>Woof</u>	Fri	246
19	<u>Matlock</u>	Thurs	514	19	<u>Nighthawks</u>	Thurs	244
20	<u>Top of the</u> <u>Pops</u>	Thurs	508	20	<u>Larry Grogan's</u> <u>Golden Hour</u>	Tues	230

Source: RTE Guide 2-8 November 1991, Page 19.

Comparing the top ten programmes emerging from the time use diaries and the top twenty most watched programmes as listed by Irish TAM reveals great similiarity between both lists. While Irish TAM's first ten programmes on RTE1 were home produced, according to the time use diaries seven out of the top ten programmes on RTE1 were home produced, indicating the popularity of such programmes. When Table 6.4 and 6.5 are compared approximately 50% of the programmes listed in both lists are home produced.

Besides the ten most watched programmes emerging from the time use diaries, virtually all programmes which appear on the Irish TAM list were recorded as having being watched by the thirty seven family members (See Appendix No.10).

As for the top ten programmes on channels other than RTE and Network 2, they were as follows:

Table 6.6

The top ten programmes on non-RTE channels in the week ending 20th October 1991.

	Channel	Day	Number of Viewers
<u>Deadly Pursuit</u> [f]	(UTV)	Wed	15
<u>EastEnders</u>	(BBC1)	Tues	14
<u>EastEnders</u>	(BBC1)	Thurs	12
<u>Blind Date</u>	(UTV)	Sat	9
<u>Challenger</u> Anika	(BBC1)	Fri	8
<u>The Bill</u>	(UTV)	Tues	7
<u>Pale Rider</u> [f]	(UTV)	Sat	6
<u>A Breed Apart</u> [f]	(BBC1)	Tues	5
<u>Boom</u>	(UTV)	Tues	5
<u>Bottom</u>	(BBC2)	Tues	5

Source: Time use diaries completed by family members in the week ending October 20th 1991.

It is worth mentioning that the The Simpsons (Sky One), with five viewers, was the eleventh most watched programme.

The nature of channel preference was also evident from information emerging from the interviews and the time use diaries. According to Tony Fahy, Head of RTE's Audience Research:

"RTE holds just under 50% of peaktime viewing, but this share comes under even greater strain where satellite stations are also available" (Fahy.1992:5-6)

So in order to determine the channel preference of the thirty three family members which were interviewed, all but two were asked 'Which channel do you watch the most?'. Preferences are outlined in Table 6.7 on the next page.

Table 6.7

The most watched channels during February to April 1991.

First preference		Second preference		Third preference		Fourth preference	
BBC1	-15	UTV	-3	Net 2	-1	Sky News	-1
UTV	- 4	BBC	-2	RTE	-1		
RTE	- 3	BBC1	-2	Sky One	-1		
BBC2	- 2	BBC2	-2				
MTV	- 2	Ch 4	-2				
BBC	- 1	MTV	-1				
Ch 4	- 1	RTE	-1				
Net 2	- 1	Sky	-1				
Sky One	- 2	Super	-1				

Source: Audio-taped interviews which were conducted with the ten families between the 12th of February and the 10th of April 1991.

What is most striking about these figures is the extent to which BBC1 is ahead of the other channels (including RTE) in the first preferences of the family members.

Based on the entries in the time use diaries, channel preferences were as listed below:

Table 6.8

The most watched channels according to information recorded in the time use diaries.

UTV	40
BBC1	39
RTE1	34
Sky One	25
Network 2	22
Channel 4	18
BBC2	11
Lifestyle	2

Source: Time use diaries in the week ending October 20th 1991.

Programmes on MTV, Screensport, Sky News and the Super Channel were also mentioned as having been watched by at least one

family member. When the data in Table 6.7 is compared to that in Table 6.8 the similarities are interesting. In comparing the 'first preference' list of most watched channels emerging from the interviews (Table 6.7), to that which emerged from the time use diaries (Table 6.8), the top two channels remain the same, except in a changed order. While BBC1 was given as first preference by fifteen people and UTV by four in the interviews, both channels were recorded as watched by an almost equivalent number in the time use diaries. In the interviews 'RTE'(without specifying which channel) was listed as the third most watched channel, while in the time use diaries RTE1 emerged as the third most watched channel and Network 2 as the fifth.

(6.4) CONCLUSIONS

By combining interviews and time use diaries valuable information was gleaned on the audience activity of the ten families. This information included patterns of time use in relation to television viewing, as well as programme and channel choice. Whether it was 20.7 or 29.4 hours, television viewing was shown to be the main leisure activity of most family members. While home produced programmes were popular, both RTE1 and Network 2 were behind BBC2 and UTV in terms of channel preference. The popularity of satellite channels emerged as strongest among younger viewers.

So with this information in mind the remaining key research questions will now be addressed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESPONSES ON CULTURE AND IDENTITY

"Categories focus our thinking on similarities: people watching television are best modelled according to a multitude of difference"(Fiske.1989:56).

(7.1) INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this and the following two chapters is to examine the relationship of the ten families to television in terms of the following key research questions:

(i) What do the families' responses to drama and sport reveal about contemporary Dublin working class culture, in terms of (i) identification with representation of working class culture, (ii) images of rural Ireland and (iii) class and national identity?

(ii) What do the families' responses to actuality programmes reveal about the operation of ideology and the levels of critical awareness among the family members?

(iii) To what extent is gender and age a factor in the audience activity of the ten families?

In addressing these questions I will draw on the rich store of information in the responses of the thirty three family members. I will also be guided by the theoretical debates addressed in Chapters Two and Three.

While the process of quantifying time use and programme/channel preferences was relatively straight forward, selecting and editing interview extracts was more problematic. My guiding principle in this case involved selecting the the most

representative interview extracts which I believed best articulated the dominant trends. I also included extracts which in my opinion expressed interesting and/or divergent points of view.

In addressing question (i) on contemporary Dublin working class culture the participants' responses will be examined under the following headings within this chapter:

- (7.2) How the family members identified with television representations of working class life.
- (7.3) How the participants identified with representations of rural Ireland in RTE programmes.
- (7.4) Some responses on 'Irishness' and national identity.
- (7.5) Conclusions

(7.2) HOW THE FAMILY MEMBERS IDENTIFIED WITH TELEVISION REPRESENTATIONS OF WORKING CLASS WAY OF LIFE

Given that Fair City is RTE's only urban based soap since Tolka Row (1963-1968) and is situated in a mainly north Dublin working class suburb, I decided to present a broad selection of the interviewee responses on Fair City?

Marie McIlroy, (*) spoke of how she could relate to the people in Fair City because her husband came from Cabra. According to Marie "the way they go on.... was....like his mother's neighbours....I could say that's like Mrs So and So that lived next door to his mother y'know?". Teresa Murphy, Joseph Murphy, Dave O'Neill and Marie Whelan also spoke favourably of the serial in terms of its humour, sense of realism and community.

(*) See Table 6.2 in Chapter Six for information on the ten families.

The concept of 'community' has been prominent in Fair City since it began in September 1989. Indeed Fintan O'Toole has remarked that

"in the first 20 minutes of its first episode Fair City mentions the word community at least 20 times....The whole thing is so self-conscious about the idea of community that you can't help thinking that the idea itself is in dire trouble"(The Irish Times.21/9/89).

O'Toole then poses the question

"if we've got real communities, what do we need synthetic communities of soap for?"
(The Irish Times.21/9/89)

The term 'community' is frequently used as a euphemism for working class neighbourhoods and writers such as Raymond Williams have highlighted the importance of these social relationships (Williams.1989a:111-119,1989b). Writing on "working class soaps" the English writer Ken Warpole states that soaps serve the:

"function of those lost 'organic' or 'close-knit' communities, in which our parents and grandparents may or may not have lived and yet which, ironically, we continue to regret the loss of and thus wish to resurrect"(Warpole.1987:81).

According to Fintan O'Toole, Fair City is set in a corporation estate in Drumcondra, which was established in the 1930s, but like Tolka Row is set in "something of a time-warp". But for people from the old suburbs Fair City will, according to O'Toole, "look like direct realism" (The Irish Times. 21/9/89). That point may partly explain Marie McIlroy's identification with the sense of community that pervades the serial and her memory of Cabra. Irrespective of the interviewees' opinions of Fair City a strong desire for community was evident in the responses of several of the interviewees.

While several spoke favourably of the soap, others were critical of the accents, the standard of acting, and what they perceived to be a tendency towards dullness, lack of character and a sense of unreality. The lack of unemployment and financial hardship prompted Marie Whelan to remark that "they are all doing really well for themselves". Of these criticisms the issue of accent gave rise to the most negative comments. According to Mrs Josephine Whelan Fair City was "hopeless..it is not true to life at all, it is not Dublin, and the kind of rough voice, we don't speak like that at all, I don't know where that came from.... It doesn't work for me at all.... it gives you that impression, people has the idea that Dublin people are like that..it annoys me. I don't know their names..there is a fella on a motor bike I think, you know blah blah blah, I say 'Mother of God'..even the tough youngsters wouldn't go on like that..I hate the accent, because Dublin people haven't got that accent..I cannot stick it".

In the course of the interviews Fair City was geographically located in a number of areas, mostly on the southside of Dublin. June Sheridan "couldn't see it in Coolock. I'd say it is in Crumlin. They are a different breed of people, they are all different. My sister in law is from Crumlin and they are much different then the northside". And Joseph Whelan said "I'd say it is in the southside there are a few you know 'la de das' and there is a few lads you know, the usual".

By remarking that the accents were alien to their 'speech community,' and by situating the soap in an area removed from

their own community, highlights the manner in which the majority of interviewees distanced themselves from the representation of Dublin working class life portrayed in Fair City. As Matthew Whelan said "the reality or something is not there, like the difference of Strumpet City and the Boys from the Blackstuff..I'd say it would be in one of the estates, I don't know where I'd put it, it doesn't seem to fit, there is something false about it".

For Matthew Whelan those two serials stand out in terms of excellence and he particularly remembers the scene in Boys from the Blackstuff "when they were taking the kids away from Yosser, the coppers came, the real pigs, they were.. you'd associate yourself with that too, because that goes on as well(laughs)". According to Matt Strumpet City "showed poverty in the times that was there in Dublin. You could associate yourself with the strikes. Fellas having to bow down to get a job, to get a days work.. that is happening now.. every day of the week....Rashers was a real Dublin character, he was going around years ago, even when I was a kid. There was loads of characters like that in nearly every area".

Evidence of an ease of identification with representations of a English working class culture emerged in several of the responses. This can be linked to the wider appeal among Dublin working class families for aspects of English popular culture and sport. For example, there is a tradition in many Dublin working class homes of buying English daily and Sunday newspapers as well as supporting English soccer teams. In terms of this project,

twenty of the thirty three interviewees mentioned Only Fools and Horses amongst their favourite comedies, thus making it one of the most popular programmes among the ten families. While this identification can be linked to emigration and the subsequent family associations, other possible reasons may prevail. Chief among those may be the similarity of experience between Irish and English working class city dwellers, which is in turn reflected in popular culture. That similarity was captured by Brendan Behan in a passage from The Borstal Boy(1970), where he described feeling closer to the English working class prisoners than to a particular middle class English prisoner. According to Behan:

"I had the same rearing as most of them, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, London. All our mothers had done the pawn-pledging on Monday, releasing on Saturday. We all knew the chip shop and the picture house and the fourpenny rush of a Saturday afternoon, and the summer swimming in the canal and being chased along the railways by the cops"(Behan.1970:241-242).

Distance from the locations of English based soaps may also be a contributing factor in the enjoyment of these soaps for a mainly Dublin working class audience.

The criticisms of the accent of some of the characters in Fair City was interesting in that it was apparently bound up with the viewer's own sense of identity. Also of interest, was the fact that the majority of family members located the serial on the southside, which in Dublin has class connotations. However, even though it was located on the southside, the areas mentioned were all mainly working class. According to June Sheridan she

"couldn't see it in Coolock. I'd say it is in Crumlin. They are a different breed of people, they are all different. My sister-in-law is from Crumlin and they are much different then the northside". Such sentiments articulate a form of distancing by the viewer i.e., that the representation portrayed does not match their experience of day to day life in a predominantly working class area of north Dublin.

When asked if the fact that EastEnders was based in London had any impact on her enjoyment of the soap, Marie Mc Ilroy said it didn't and that parts of it related to her own childhood. Referring specifically to the Fowler family in the soap she said "I remember my dad going out to work like that and my mother like was taking over the worry of everyone's problems kind of y'know.. parts of that now I'd kind of relate to," [the sense of Albert Square?] "well it was an avenue like you know..we had actually a little square in it too..we were a very close knit unit..something similar to it.. it was Drumcondra..they were..two up and one down y'know?". The fact that EastEnders is situated in London wasn't an issue for Claire Burke either, because as she said "I can see the same problems here in Dublin although they're not out in the open enough".

Peter McIlroy, a retired barman, said that his favourite character in Coronation Street is "Jack,[Duckworth] he is a great laugh, he keeps pigeons....I used to keep pigeons as well, I gave them up a good while ago, well before I got married, it was a good pastime". When asked what she most enjoys about soaps such as Coronation Street and Brookside June Sheridan said "the

lifestyle, the troubles they go through, and the problems they have. You are just kind of living in them, you know....Yes, they are fairly true to life. Brookside is anyway, you know the things that happen, the troubles and the sorrows and happiness and the fights".

What Anne Dowler most enjoys about Coronation Street is that: "It's just down to earth..it's just life y'know..it's life on the street..I suppose it's like life everywhere else..it's down to earth and it's kinda real".[Why do you like that idea of life on the street?] "It just kinda brings things home to you y'know you sorta see these somewhere..I done that or that could be me in so many years ..y'know it sorta brings reality home to you".Joseph Murphy said that he liked the portrayal of "everyday life" in Coronation Street, which he had been watching for "years and years and years. It was always on even at home, you got into these programmes". Asked what it was about these programmes Joseph said "we are talking about people, like ourselves, on the street, we all live on a street to a certain extent..it is more or less down to earth, the characters are very good". The writer Ken Worpole, who considers English soaps the "most enjoyable and interesting television on view" believes that the "promotion of working-class populism is politically questionable and potentially even dangerous". The form of populism he is most critical of in the English soaps is that which has:

"portrayed middle-class people uniformly as the enemy, and one has really to search one's memory for examples of sympathetic middle-class characters in any of the series"(Warpole.1987:83/84).

Several family members spoke of the importance of getting a

balance between entertainment and the dramatic presentation of 'issues, '. While Josephine Whelan disapproved of the "doom and gloom" of EastEnders, she still felt that in terms of Irish television there were a lot of subjects that were taboo. As she said "you never heard a mention of AIDS, nobody has AIDS..you never hear of people in trouble, money problems or a battered wife or husband, these things don't happen in our little place. I think they should".

For Helena Sheehan, the author of Irish Television Drama: A Society and its Stories(1987):

"the importance of Tolka Row was that it touched on so many basic human experiences in terms of the concrete conditions of everyday working class life. It showed how so many basic human desires found specific forms of fulfilment, or specific obstacles to fulfilment, within the particular parameters of a particular time and place"(Sheehan.1987:123).

But Sheehan also had her criticism of the serial, as did Luke Gibbons(1984) and Martin Mc Loone(1984). One of the key criticisms Sheehan had to make of Tolka Row was that:

"it was as if it was beyond the comprehension of the working class to understand their condition"
(Sheehan.1987:124).

While the story of the inhabitants of Carrigtown will continue to use similiar conventions to those used in Tolka Row, Fair City will succeed if, to quote Helena Sheehan's words again, it touches on "so many basic human experiences in terms of the concrete conditions of everyday working class life" and as such does so with courage and imagination(Sheehan.1987:123).

When asked how long she has been watching soccer Bernadette Whelan said "well, from listening to me father..we were all watching soccer when we were babies..so whether you like it or not y'know when there's a match on you say 'ah..I'll stick it on and have a look' and see what the story is y'know?". [Favourite team ?] "Well, I've favourite teams since I was a child..y'know we all had a favourite team..we're all Liverpool supporters here in this house..no Leeds United traitors and Man. United traitors allowed. We're all basically Liverpool supporters and I'd watch their matches, but I mean if it's coming towards the end of the season and there's a lot of good matches going on..specially on a Sunday..the FA Cup and the League Cup and that you'd be kinda saying 'ah, I'll watch and see what the story is'..especially if your own team has been knocked out like ours has, y'know..in the FA Cup..you say 'ah..I'll watch and see what goes on anyway' so..you kinda watch it anyway whether you like it or not..even if you've no great love for it really..if it's on and there's eight people screaming in the one room..people like that have just kinda come in and get into it as well..go on! go on! y'know. It's like a little mini Lansdowne Road in your sitting room".

The significance of the success of the Irish soccer team was summed up by Des Smyth, a former soccer player and now a local club trainer, when he responded to a question whether there were good role models for children on TV. His reply was "the biggest one of them all now is Dempsey's Den..ah listen it's fantastic, do you watch it yourself ?" [I do, yeah] "the way things have changed around in the last couple of years for me anyway

right..being involved with football..all your heroes were over there.. they were all English or they were Scotch or Welsh or whatever they were.. right.. and the kids here were all emulating them over there.. now all the kids are emulating all our own guys..they're all in green jerseys now rather than being in red ones or blue ones or pink ones y'know..and suddenly now.. we have this ourselves.. this is ours and the kids relate to that.. all over the country.. now with Dempsey's Den the same thing happened..all the kids I believe.. I would imagine.. I know a lot of kids from the city are anyway..I think listening to it ..all the kids all over the country..instead of being into something on ITV or into something on BBC1..yes, I think that's top of the tree".

Des Smyth's remarks tally with a point made by Micheal R. Real, who states that the World Cup soccer competitions:

"provide central rallying points for national identity and pride, just as soccer and football teams feed local, regional and national loyalties at all levels"(Real.1989:202).

While various sports were mentioned in the reponses to questions on the subject, soccer headed the list. In Ireland the game of soccer has had strong working class connections. From an early age boys get involved in the game of soccer and aspire to play for clubs like Liverpool, Manchester United or the London based first division clubs, areas to which the Irish have emigrated to. Those who are sucessful are considered as heros and their careers in British teams followed with great interest, especially in the original home area of the particular player.

Despite the male orientation of much of television sport, it is

worth noting the popularity of the Irish soccer team among women viewers during the 1990 World Cup. It has been confirmed by Irish TAM figures that despite the fact that many men watched the televised games outside the home, more women than men were recorded as watching the Ireland V Romania match in the home (The Sunday Tribune. 29/7/1990).

For those who watched the World Cup in venues other than their homes the viewing experience took on the form of a communal leisure activity and was for many a memorable occasion in which certain social conventions were cast aside. The experience contrasts sharply with the condition described by Raymond Williams as "mobile privatisation" whereby people live in "restricted privacies"(Williams.1983b:188).

According to the responses, the experience of watching the 1990 World Cup in large groups outside the home was memorable due to the following factors: the success of the Irish team, the collective atmosphere, the sense of safety and togetherness, the wearing of the national symbols, alcohol and the feelings of euphoria. The communal aspect of the viewing experience which extended beyond the viewing location and the subsequent festival atmosphere in celebration of victories all marked a departure from the usual experience of viewing sports on television. As James O'Neill said "they were all dressed in green shirts and hats, everybody was in green and singing and cheering. There was a great atmosphere in the pubs, it would make think you were at the matches....taking part and supporting them".

The sense of camaraderie around the games was unique in so far as it was national in scale and local in expression. While it was national it also had a class aspect in that the players were mainly working class and their successes were celebrated in a particular way in working class areas. At the same time the support and identification crossed classes in a way that hadn't happened following victories of the Irish rugby teams, for example. Shared feelings created new bonds, however temporary. It was as if the distinction between being at the matches and watching them collectively on television had vanished. There was a pride in how the team played as well as how the supporters behaved. Working class areas of Dublin marked the occasion with spontaneous and at times euphoric celebration. The festival atmosphere was especially evident at the welcoming home of the team where the centre of the city was taken over in such numbers as had not been seen since the 1979 P.A.Y.E march and Stephen Roche's victory in the Tour de France.

(7.3) HOW THE PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFIED WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF RURAL IRELAND IN RTE PROGRAMMES

Explaining why she didn't watch Fair City, Jane Smyth remarked "maybe it is because it refers to your own type of life" adding that it was "dull, nothing seems to be happening, even in Glenroe there is laughing and joking ..you know?". What emerged most clearly from the responses of those who enjoyed Glenroe was the popularity of Dinny, Miley and Biddy, as well as the humour of the programme.

Joseph Murphy's favourite characters in Glenroe were Miley and Dinny. [What is it about Miley?] "he is the fool for himself, well he acts the fool, but I don't think he is. And the father is a character, the hand behind the arm, and when you are around the country you do see fellas going around like that"(laughs). [Do you have any connections with the country?] "originally my grand father is from Edenderry, that is in County Offaly". [What is it about Glenroe?] "well the country life in general, I think is very easy going. The Riordans that was another programme we watched for years".

When asked what it was she enjoyed about Glenroe Josephine Whelan, who grew up in the city centre of Dublin and had strong criticism to make of Fair City said "It reminds me of when I was a kid and coming out of mass and everybody chatting, nobody rushed ..everybody knew everybody's business. It was like that at one time in the city..and it reminds me a lot of when I was growing up, there were no farms or anything.... there was no closed doors, it was so open..it is just that feeling about it, we used to go to Wicklow or we would go to Meath, but that was not on a regular basis, and I hadn't got a regular contact with the country, it was just the way they walk out of mass and go in and talk in the street, I remember it like that in the city, that is why. That is the way it is for me, a memory..it is easy, you sit down and you enjoy it there is no big effort to try and understand what they are up to it is so simple".

Tony O'Neill, who was also critical of Fair City said that he wouldn't miss Glenroe "for the world, just the whole way of life is interesting to me and different..Miley Byrne, his whole attitude, the way he goes on, typical Wicklow man. The girl I am going out with is from Wicklow, so I spend a lot of time up there and it is true to life, the way they go on. It is very good.. I can relate to that because I spend a lot of time down there". In contrast to Tony, Joseph Whelan, who is also around twenty years of age described Glenroe as "real bog land like, I mean this is 1991, it's like they are living in Tir na N'og or something, you know they are way back. It's way out you know they're not with it. I don't know I was never in a Wicklow village, there is just not enough of young people in it. Well Miley is funny, even the way he talks, he is funny. It's very distant". Dave Burke also disliked Glenroe, but like Joseph Whelan he said that Miley was "..good, he is funny".

According to Dr Barbara O'Connor's research on Irish audience response to Dallas and Glenroe the:

"most striking aspect of the audience response to Glenroe was that the main sources of pleasure were based on a mixture of humour and characterisation" (O'Connor.1990:15).

In terms of popularity her research also found that Dinny, Miley and Biddy were the three most favoured characters. While the responses of at least five of the interviewees run parallel to those of O'Connor's research, the ease with which some members of the ten families identified with dramatic representations of Irish rural life may also be partly explained by the following suggestion made by O'Connor, where she states that Glenroe:

"seems to provide what the audience regards as a cultural mirror in which they can gaze on the 'realistic' and wryly humorous depictions of Irish rural life"(O'Connor.1990:15).

The distance between the majority of the ten families and the day to day realities of rural Irish life may contribute to the enjoyment of Glenroe. Not having direct experience of a rural way of life will perhaps leave viewers more susceptible to an idealised representation. While in contrast, having direct day to day experience of life in a mainly working class community will give each viewer a more critical expertise, so to speak, in their consumption of soap operas based in working class communities in Dublin, Liverpool, London or Birmingham. This might partly explain the more critical drift of these viewers reactions to the perceived lack of realism in Fair City.

(7.4) SOME RESPONSES ON 'IRISHNESS' AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In order to explore the interviewee's perceptions of the relationship between 'Irishness' and Dublin working class culture, the replies to the question 'which programmes do you think are particularly Irish' are revealing in several respects. First of all, Glenroe was the programme most mentioned, followed by Today Tonight, The Late Late Show, Nighthawks, Fair City, Bibi and finally the Irish language programmes. My Left Foot was also mentioned, as was Number One. However, in the case of the latter that was considered "very Irish," because according to the interviewee "the set seems to be very cheap" (laughs).

So, in order to capture the drift of the responses to the question of which programmes were considered particularly Irish, the following is a representative selection of how members of the ten families answered the question. When asked, Bernadette Whelan replied by saying "I think that Glenroe is typical because I mean there's farms not far from here....The fact that I live in a city doesn't take my enjoyment of Glenroe away..d'you know I don't feel that Glenroe is rural....it's more or less like a little further out than Coolock y'know..like Glenroe is only outside Bray..and y'know Bray's not that far..Bray's a suburb now..it's no longer County Wicklow y'know it's kind of basically just a suburb of Dublin now..it's kind of spread out so much. Glenroe is more real to me having lived all my life in the city than Fair City..and Fair City is supposed to be kind of an urban soap opera..and I would rather have Glenroe because Glenroe, I think, is more realistic. I lived in the country for two years so I mean.." [Glenroe rural..Irish?] "I think Glenroe is particularly Irish 'cos I mean everybody knows someone like Stephen who hates the tinkers..y'know everybody knows someone like him..the local bigot..it's not so much where it's placed y'know be it rural or urban, it's the realism of the characters and the characters in Glenroe are more real than the characters in Fair City, I would feel so therefore the whole soap takes on a more real appearance than Fair City would..for me anyway".

Teresa Murphy considered Glenroe to be particularly Irish because of the "the talk I suppose..the culchie type of talking.. the humour also". For Hanna Cranson it was "very Irish" because it

was "out in the country, that is about it". According to Hanna "Irishness is down the country....I don't think there is much Irishness in Dublin. I just think Irish to me is more celtic...I think really, Irishness to me is muck, the fiddle, the cap and a pint of Guinness and that kind of thing, where as in Dublin, it's just like any other city really, like London or any where else, there is nothing Irish about it. Like you could go down a street, right, and there is an Aran wool shop or something like that, but that is all really".

In contrast to those who believed that Glenroe was particularly Irish, Molly Cranson considered Fair City to be "definitely Irish" but added that she was "not very much into Irishness so unless it was something we had been told was pretty good, I wouldn't watch a play.. I'm not into Irish plays at all, I wouldn't watch a play em some Irish films are OK like My Left Foot, that was brilliant, really..but you mightn't get a good film like that on RTE". Rather than select one or other of the home produced serials Lauren Smyth, Marie and Joseph Whelan mentioned that both "Glenroe and Fair City were particularly Irish".

The fact that most interviewees gave Glenroe as an example of what they considered a particularly Irish programme and that as a young Irish woman 'Irishness' for Hanna Cranson meant "muck, the fiddle, the cap and a pint of Guinness and that kind of thing" and that she felt that there was nothing Irish about Dublin, raises interesting points about Irish and indeed

contemporary working class culture.

The reasons why a predominantly working class group of individuals living in north Dublin would give as an example of what they considered to be a particularly Irish programme the rural based serial Glenroe can be explained in several ways, none of which may capture why one particular individual might hold such a view. It may well be related to the fact that notions of Irish 'national culture' have traditionally being related to often idealised representations of rural Ireland or the fact that, as Martin McLoone puts it, the "discourse of the city" has been marginalised in Irish culture(McLoone.1984:61). It may also be explained by the part land plays in the collective consciousness and memory of many Irish people. Other explanations may be due to the fact that those living in working class communities of north Dublin, are, as John Waters states, "outsiders in their own city" and as such do not share a common identity in a city that is deeply divided along lines of class. So, perhaps in the absence of many positive cultural representations of Dublin working class life, there is a tendency to look elsewhere and identify with representation of rural life, where, for example, in the idealised world of Teasy's bar the social classes intermingle and virtually all are employed (Waters.1991:104-105).

In order to widen the discussion and to take into account what other family members considered to be particularly Irish programmes, the following are a representative sample of those responses. According to Mary Teeling "Live at Three is very much

an Irish programme and Today Tonight, although..it is very well done". Thomas Murphy also mentioned Today Tonight and for him it brought "home to you everything about Ireland. It tells us everything, different nights, different subjects, different things that are going on".

Tony McIlroy had a different reason for suggesting that Today Tonight was particularly Irish. The reason Tony gave was that "everybody is over forty five, stiff collared. Lots of Irish politics. I think they concentrate too much on what's going on in the Dail. I think there's a lot of airheads in youth as well, but maybe they could get together and sort something out. If you take this recent thing we had the condom affair. It suddenly became as big as the Gulf you know. Now, you have a lot of old people in that situation, now the likelihood of some of those bloody politicians even using the condom was out you know? Where does their thoughts lie? What kind of price do they put on a life? Right enough religion isn't into it - the church wouldn't be into it, are they willing to risk a life for the embarrassment of selling a condom? It's like going back to 21 Jump Street - there was a crime committed but it saved someone you know? Is it really a crime? The youth are much more open today, and there's pros and cons to that," [the cons?] "The youth are very easily influenced - especially by the media, a lot of stuff is sold through the media, their looks and all you know? A lot of their formed views they get from the media, whereas if it was an open debate - pros and cons of everything - they'd get a better chance to use their own minds".(1)

When asked which programmes were unique to Ireland, unmistakably Irish, Des Smyth replied by saying "well, obviously The Late Late[Show] is the best I suppose..what else could there be..the one that Bibi Baskin[Bibi]is doing now at the moment on her shows is very Irish.. I don't know how far it's gonna go or how widespread it's gonna be..that's pretty good..some of that show y'know where she has a mix of Irish musicians or..be it footballers or whoever they may be y'know..she had the Dublin team on there the other week..the whole Dublin team..that was a bit of a laugh..that was a great night..all the folk singers were on. I thought that was terrific.. yeah that's a good mix of a show y'know..that's I think uniquely Irish".

According to Peter Teeling: The Late Late Show was "definitely Irish without a doubt" and so too was Nighthawks "it uses a certain American flavour, but the wit..would make it Irish. But I don't find it that appealing". In response to the question Josephine Whelan said that "Nighthawks, that is good, some weeks it is bad and some weeks it is excellent. The children's programmes they do, Zig and Zag are great, I love that myself, I always try to get a bit of that myself, I love Dustin, I think Dustin is very funny..and not only that it is topical, it is always topical..they are very good at that, a little joke about ourselves..but I think they are a bit yuppy, to me, that is my opinion, Dustin is totally different..'yer only man'!"

John Teeling answered by saying Dempsey's Den, adding that "I don't watch them[Irish programmes] at all". [You don't identify with an Irish programme?] "I never really thought about it

before, I suppose it is a bit of depressing. It makes you wonder why, you'd like to see them. I suppose the only thing I identify is the Beat Box, Winning Streak, I'd sit down and watch that..I think such a big amount of money even in this thing Winning Streak, you'd win a lot more money than you would in the American game shows, and it's so underdone, and I suppose looking at the American shows are so over, over this and over that, are so over done, you know I wouldn't like to see that really over done, but a bit more enthusiasm, a bigger audience in it or something like that. I'd actually prefer something I could relate to on an Irish programme, because I'd actually like to say, well that's Irish, you know and it's a great thing to watch, you know, The Beat Box is the only thing".

Due perhaps to a failure on my part to clarify the nature of the question, three of the interviewees thought I was referring to programmes in the Irish language, or may indeed have thought that programmes in the Irish language were particularly Irish given the fact that the Irish language is often seen as one of the main hallmark of Irish national culture. So, given that proviso the following were the replies. Jane Smyth picking up on the possible ambiguity of the question said laughingly "I suppose Irish speaking programmes are particularly Irish, I can't give you a few names here". James O'Neill having mentioned "Glenroe corrected himself and said "no, I don't speak Irish so I would watch the Irish programmes..I can't think". And then Joe Teeling said "I find when RTE take time out to study a subject and then present it, they do it very well, I'd put them ahead of some of

the British broadcasters. It is very relaxed presentation..I love Irish, I often think of trying to learn it again".

When all the opinions of what the family members considered to be particularly Irish programmes are taken into account, defining what constitutes 'Irishness,' or Irish national identity becomes problematic.

According to Philip Schlesinger:

"All identities are constituted within a system of social relations and require the reciprocal recognition of others. Identity...is not to be considered a 'thing' but rather a 'system of relations and representations'...the maintenance of an agent's identity is...a continual process of recomposition rather than a given one, in which the two constitutive dimensions of self-identification and affirmation or difference are continually locked...identity is seen as a dynamic emergent aspect of collective action" (Cited in Morley & Robins.1990:15).

If identity is considered to be a 'system of relations and representations' then Thomas Murphy's opinion of Today Tonight as being particularly Irish in that it covers "everything about Ireland" is indeed a perceptive response. Peter Teeling's suggestion of Nighthawks with its combination of a "certain American flavour" and "Irish wit," could well be understood as the "two constitutive dimensions of self-identification and affirmation or difference" which are, in the words of Schlesinger "continually locked"(Cited in Morley & Robins.1990:15).

Peter Teeling also believed The Late Late Show to be "definitely Irish without a doubt" and so it can be argued that the show encompasses a "reciprocal recognition of others" and is also in

a "continual process of recomposition".(Cited in Morley & Robins. 1990:15).

The "reciprocal recognition of others" on television demands an equality of representation. However, in the case of some family members this was not perceived to be the case in terms of RTE's programming. For example, Josephine Whelan said that "there is a lot of things going on in communities....that they could cover, they cover more stuff in the country than they do in Dublin". (Cited in Morley & Robins.1990:15).

Such an understanding partly concurs with with an analysis of Irish television made in the early 1980s by Gearoid O' Tuathaigh when he stated that Irish television had not "come to grips with the social realities of the Irish urban experience" and that RTE's soaps and drama had in the main focused on rural Ireland rather than the "contemporary reality of Dublin Central or any comparable segment of the Irish urban landscape". He also made the point that while RTE broadcasts agriculturally related programmes, there has been no "special programme on or for trade unionists"(O'Tuaghaigh.1984:100)

(7.5) Conclusions

In any discussion of what constitutes culture or identity, relations of power, privilege and/or hierarchy must be taken into account, otherwise the debate remains at the level of difference. As long as certain voices are either marginalised or virtually excluded, the likelihood is that those who have that experience will look elsewhere for validation and self-identification. Such

a lack of representation can also reinforce a sense of isolation already experienced by many in a class divided society such as Ireland.

Despite criticism of Fair City the demand for more drama was clearly stated by family members, in fact drama headed the list of programmes types that they would wish to see more of on the RTE channels. For example, while Jack Burke praised such RTE productions as Strumpet City and felt that "we have the best actors in the world," he also believed that "there should be more plays" and that RTE should "branch out and make films". Josephine Whelan expressed a desire for "more plays, more drama, because we have it there. We are very talented here..drama students, there is load of things we could do for that group".

Expressing a disappointment with RTE's programming in general, Matthew Whelan went on to say "I don't know if its the money..it is always money isn't it?. But the Irish actors are great....You can't take that away from them. There are some great characters..they don't seem to be getting the break, you know".

The reason RTE broadcasts so little home produced drama is a concern, particularly given the high level of imported programmes and the increasing availability of other channels. Home produced drama and indeed other home produced programming can provide valuable cultural reference points for a variety of cultures and sub-cultures within Ireland. Television drama is a means whereby the best of Irish drama can be brought to those who do not, for financial or cultural reasons, attend the theatre.

CHAPTER EIGHT

QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY AND CRITICAL AWARENESS

(8.1) INTRODUCTION

In addressing the question 'What do the responses of the families to actuality programmes reveal about the operation of ideology and the levels of critical awareness?' this chapter will focus on the participants responses to questions listed in the Interview Schedule on news, current affairs and documentaries. The chapter will also take into account the families' responses to the questions 'Do any TV programmes provoke discussions or arguments?' and 'Do you detect any bias in television programmes?', which are also listed in the Interview Schedule (See Appendix No.3).

While Chapter Seven highlighted some of the discourses that viewers brought to their readings of the television text, this chapter will link into to the debates surrounding ideology, discourse and media effects in Chapter Two and Three. As such it will attempt to ascertain to what extent the participants in this research project are influenced by the dominant messages contained in specific actuality programmes. By choosing to address the question of ideology and critical awareness in terms of actuality programmes does not imply an elevation of those programmes to a higher status than other genres on television. Like Chapter Seven, this chapter will also cross over from the private to the public domain, taking account of both the domestic and the local, as well as the national and international.

So in addressing the question 'What do the responses of the families to actuality programmes reveal about the operation of ideology and the levels of critical awareness?,' this chapter is divided into two sections:

(8.2) The families' responses to news, current affairs and documentaries;

(8.3) Topics which provoked discussion and were perceived as biased by family members.

(8.4) Conclusions

(8.2) THE FAMILIES' RESPONSES TO NEWS, CURRENT AFFAIRS AND DOCUMENTARIES

Edward Said has stated that the news is a:

"a euphemism for ideological images of the world that determine the political reality for a vast majority of the world's population,"(Said.1987:157)

Thus investigating how the interviewees interpreted the news on television may, or may not, illustrate the way in which ideology operates. Responses to the coverage of the Gulf War will be dealt with in some detail, because it was the main news story in the period between 12/2/1991 and 10/4/1991, when the interviews were conducted.

RTE channel's Six One and The Nine O'Clock News were watched in each of the ten families. However, patterns of viewing varied from the few who watched the whole programme to those who just watched the headlines and then turned over to some other channel.

Several teenagers mentioned that they would only watch the news if they knew that a major news story was being covered. At tea time, programmes such as Jo-Maxi (Network Two) at 6.05 p.m. and Home and Away (Network 2) at 6.30 p.m. would be possible alternatives to watching the news. Among the over 20s Tony O'Neill (*) said that he watched the "Irish news, the six o'clock. Sometimes the whole hour, it varies, I would switch on the headlines and if there isn't anything that is interesting on to me...but world events, like the war and Tienanmen Square in China, I would watch that and Russia". Bernadette Whelan mentioned that she likes "the BBC because..for world news they're about the best, but I do always watch RTE 'cos you have to know what's going on in your own little corner of the country".

When asked did he watch the news, Matthew Whelan said "Yes, I like looking at the news....I always try to look at our own one, to see what is going on here, but I would look at mostly BBC. I'd watch it anytime".[What you think of the news coverage ?] "I don't think you ever really get the truth, you know, you have to think to yourself, I think there is always something missing".

Given the fact that the Gulf War occurred in the period in which the interviews were conducted the following extracts, which are mostly from men, give an indication of the range of views expressed.

(*)See Table 6.2 in Chapter Six for information on family members

Peter Smyth said he stayed up two nights to see what was happening when RTE were taking the CNN coverage "I came home from training one night at half eleven and I found myself sitting there till about half one. And I went to bed..and I've a small portable in my room..and then I was knocking on the portable and watching it for another couple of hours to see what was happening. I thought it was unbelievable". [Just when they were going in, was it?] "No, it was the time when the scud..the first scud attacks would have been happening on Israel and it was early on into the war now and they were giving coverage from Israel and the fellas were standing in front of the window and yer man was saying 'well, we have our masks on and we're waiting on the missile to hit,' it was unbelievable". [It was a strange feeling?] "Yeah, actually the silence..I was sitting there in the silence y'know and I was kinda waiting on the bomb to hit. The explosion". [Why did it have that effect?] "I don't..you were just sitting there and yer man was talking to him and 'hold on we'll stick the camera out the window' and you're saying 'jaye, don't stick that out the window' and you were just waiting on the bomb. They were looking up in the sky and there was no commentary and you were just..'where's the bomb? where's it gonna hit?' Gripping.. and they say it was a television war..it was the first one ever y'know?". [First one you remember?] "The first..the Falklands..in terms of really..yeah, that would have been this one". [What did you think overall of the coverage?] "Em..I thought..you never really knew what to believe..you were watching the BBC news and you were saying to yourself 'but they're British' and the British are involved so they're just

gonna to be giving you their side of it. Now if you were in Iraq, you'd be only hearing Iraq's side of it so..so where is the medium I was saying to meself..I don't know where the medium is between them, who is telling the truth, who is lying. I suppose I would rather read the papers during the thing. I would read The Irish Independent and The Times rather than watch the news because I think the journalists would put over a better side of it..an Irish journalist rather than a British journalist..might put over a different side..because they'd be outside it, yeah". [What about the maps and effects?] "Yeah, it did show you the war..it gave you a picture of the battlefield and what was happening or what was supposedly happening..em..I suppose it was like a film..really watching it was like watching a film". [Was it slightly unreal?] "Well, you always knew it was real because there was bullets firing but eh..it did, it seemed, but as I was saying, it seemed to be like you were watching a film on the television the way they were going on..they had so many pictures and so many reports..so sometimes it did get out of proportion". [You're descriptions are interesting?] "Silence and you were waiting in the pit of your stomach for something to hit. It was unbelievable".

When asked if he found a difference between BBC and Sky news Peter Teeling said "Yes, I do, BBC gives a much more detailed outlook, Sky for some reason, I get this picture that I am reading a tabloid newspaper. I find I would be careful about taking in things that they would say".

Talking about the news in general, Tony McIlroy had some critical comments to make "if we take the instance of the Gulf, the news people and people in general made a fortune from someone else's loss, from tragedy. You have the likes of Sky News putting out the same news on the hour every hour and all it is is bad nonsense. I think as well that the press does glorify things in certain ways. Makes things a little bit worse than they are.

Matthew Whelan's remark that he didn't think "you ever really get the truth" from watching television and that something was missing was echoed in several of the responses on the war. However, opinions differed as to the information gaps.

While Dave O'Neill thought that the coverage "wasn't that good because the Iraqis were censoring the pictures and we weren't seeing the full story," Matthew Whelan said that "you got very little from the Iraqi side". It is unclear why Dave expressed that view given that it would have been in the Iraqis's interests to transmit images of the effects of Allied bombing of non-military targets.

The media organisations came in for criticism. Besides charges of profiteering at the expense of others, the dramatisation of the war was remarked upon. According to Peter Smyth "it was like watching a film" and for Peter Teeeling the coverage was very "glamourised....the war was like a TV show more than a war".

What transpires from the above interview extracts is that all the respondents made some critical remarks. There was awareness that what they were viewing was one particular interpretation. As for

ideological effect, all that can be said on the basis of these extracts is that the interpretation of the news coverage of the war depended to a certain extent on the level of critical consciousness of the particular viewer. Identifying the possible sources of that critical consciousness was partly explored in Chapters Two and Four. It can also be said that none of the respondents appeared to have access to alternative news sources to that of mainstream print and broadcasting media. Therefore it can be argued that despite not having access to alternative news sources most of the viewers articulated a level of critical distance from the dominant view reported on television, i.e., that which favoured the Allied intervention in Iraq. But having said that it cannot be surmised from the foregoing interview extracts that television reporting of the war had no influence on the interviewees.

As with news, interest in current affairs programmes varied. Virtually all family members expressed an interest in particular issues covered by current affairs programmes. An exception was June Sheridan who said "I'd never watch documentaries, never, or Today Tonight, politics, things like that I would never watch".

Of all the current affairs programmes mentioned, Today Tonight was the most regularly watched among the parents of the ten families. In most cases it tended to be when reports on specific events or stories were featured. For example, programmes on how families were coping with unemployment, the Budget or a special report on the alleged Dublin crime boss, known as the General.

The question of the relevance of specific current affairs programmes was also an issue for younger viewers. For example, when asked did certain stories interest her, Bernadette Whelan said "Well, at the moment I'm kinda..it's a bit like a soap opera really the condom debate that's going on at the moment. It's hilarious, it's absolutely hilarious. Y'know last week Charlie said 'okay..sixteen' this week he says 'well, I think seventeen is a better age'..y'know I mean you can get married at sixteen..so I mean if you're going to get married, for God's sake, and you don't want to have a baby at seventeen, the obvious thing to do is to go out and buy condoms, but you can't because you're under age. And anyway I think the law states that to have sexual encounters with anyone under eighteen is an offence anyway because 18 is the age of majority for...y'know. So it's a bit ridiculous it's kind of..it seems to be pretty stupid. Why not standardise everything and say 'well okay, eighteen'..you can get married at eighteen, you can vote at eighteen, you can buy condoms at eighteen..rather than say you can..well you can go to war at sixteen..well you can join the army at sixteen but you can't buy a condom y'know. it's a bit ridiculous. So I think that public money is wasted on this stupid debate and every half-baked archbishsop or priest in the country is jumping up in the pub and having their say..it's totally ridiculous..I still follow it to see what goes on and who says what and who really has guts at the end of the day..who sticks to what they say and I remember when the election comes round which is better again!".

In contrast to Bernadette Whelan, Dave O'Neill said he didn't watch current affairs programmes because he just found them boring "they are dealing with the real people..it is just not active enough". His older sister Mary said that she didn't watch current affairs programmes either.

As in the responses to questions in other areas, several interviewees expressed a critical attitude toward Irish politicians. For example, as part of her reply to the question 'which programmes do you consider to be educational ?' Jane Smyth said that she found Question Time (BBC1) more interesting than Questions and Answers(RTE1) "I do honestly believe that our own politicians either don't answer questions, or have a certain set of words..they use the same words, they are not very truthful at all".

In terms of documentaries watched, these tended to be once off programmes on a wide range of topics. These included the Romanian orphans, the Irish traveller community, the Hillsborough soccer disaster and the case of Simon Westbury, the British soldier who received severe burns in the Malvinas/Falklands war. Who Bombed Birmingham?, the Granada television documentary on the Birmingham Six, was mentioned by several people. So too were the documentaries on the assassination of Micheal Collins, the Guildford Four and Death on the Rock. Others mentioned wildlife and items which featured in Tomorrow's World, Beyond 2000 and Horizon.

Programmes such as Who Bombed Birmingham? and special reports featured in current affairs programmes, were both considered as documentaries. In terms of distinguishing between documentaries and the news, Matthew Whelan made an interesting point when he said "I like documentaries, I'd look at any, because you are mostly getting the true story with them, so they are always interesting". This view contrasts with Matthew's previously stated opinion of television news, where he said "I don't think you ever really get the truth".

Matthew Whelan's view on documentaries was partially echoed in Tony McIlroy's remarks on the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four. While Tony felt that drama-documentaries make the issue "very emotional," he thought the producers were "probably using that to get across to people the size of the injustice that was done. It was just barefaced truth really. I had no knowledge of either until about two years ago when it was all brought to light because of those documentaries.. I wouldn't like taking leaflets because they'll all advertise their cause to you from their side, but I prefer to see things from a more independent middle man point of view. It's all very well supporting the Birmingham Six, but a lot of paramilitaries supported them as well and I don't support them. It kind of gave it to me from a neutral position. This is the truth, this is what it is, it's not coming from one side or the other. There was no actual side getting it across to you".

Tony McIlroy suggested that some documentaries are produced by independent television programme makers who set out to investigate an issue of existing public interest with no apparent vested interest. He believed that this gives them a credibility, which news and current affairs coverage lacks. Tony McIlroy's concept of documentaries as presenting "barefaced truth" and coming from a "neutral position" suggests that they have a greater potential to influence this particular viewer.

The impact of Who Bombed Birmingham? was also referred to by Josephine Whelan who said she was about nine years of age when those convicted of the Birmingham bombings went to prison. Remarking on the information sources on the case she said "what you learn is through newspapers, television..so..you don't get a balanced view of course all the time but I mean if you've a bit of sense you can say, well maybe they are innocent after all. Or maybe they're not and you can kind of make up your own mind where it's not given down as fact..there's a lot of literature on the subject and there's been various programmes made over the years about it".[Role of media in the Winchester 3 case?] "Oh yeah, the power of the media is absolutely amazing..its the most potent force at the moment," [so trial by media is not a cliché?] "oh no, it's not a cliché..it does definately happen. I mean in America the outcome of trials basically depend on what the most popular newspaper of the day has to say..it's getting to be that way here as well".

If, as Bernadette Whelan said, "the power of the media is absolutely amazing..it's the most potent force at the moment" then, based on the extracts in this section, it does not necessarily follow that when one perspective is privileged, it is accepted by the viewer as given. This is so even when alternative or oppositional perspectives are absent.

While there can be little doubt that the power relations within 'society' are reflected or reproduced within the discourses of televisions; the interview extracts concerning the Birmingham Six case clearly indicate that television can also accomodate alternative views and analyses, which can in turn influence the viewer.

The reasons why certain viewers will reject dominant or privileged perspectives are complex. Some of the sources of an enlightened or critical consciousness within a predominantly working class community or culture have been discussed in Chapters Two and Four. However, without having to remind the reader of those points, it can be said that irrespective of the potential of television to set agendas and/or favour one or other perspective, viewers response will depend to a large extent on his or her own life experience and knowledge, or "a bit of sense" as Bernadette Whelan put it. In the case of a working class audience the range of discourses available to the viewer will determine, to some extent at least, how television is negotiated.

(8.3) TOPICS WHICH PROVOKED DISCUSSION IN THE HOME AND WERE PERCEIVED TO BE BIASED BY FAMILY MEMBERS

The topics which interviewees mentioned as provoking discussion and which were considered biased provide a further opportunity to assess the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness. In this case the topics were those which the interviewees referred to voluntarily in their responses.

Topics which provoked discussion among family members ranged from the immediate concerns of family life such as child birth, gender, employment, health and education, to social, cultural and political issues, both national and international. Reference to perceived bias on television included that which favoured the rich and was directed against women, youth, Protestants and blacks in America. The stereotyping of Italians, Puerto Ricans, the Irish and London's eastenders was also considered a form of bias. Bias was also identified in sports television commentaries.

The Late Late Show provided the spark for several discussions among the interviewees, particularly on family affairs. For example, Mary Teeling referred to an item on the show about "women having babies, and labour and all that, we ended up having a big discussion about that and the night it happened then. They were absolutely fascinated, because it is something that you wouldn't normally go into, so they [her three sons] were asking me what it was like when I had them and did I think it was as bad as that, and I said yes, every bit....like those conversations would have never come up unless they were on the television".

According to Jack Burke there was a bias on television "on the question of abortion or this messing around with embryos, and what have you. I cannot stand to see male politicians on the panel discussing these things. I have very strong views about birth control, I think it is a woman's issue, I cannot see where a male should get involved in these things..they should steer clear of it. If there is groups to be set up to discuss it, they should be all female. I hate to see male politicians on the panels discussing these things, who are we to say?. Like if the girl across the road wanted to have an abortion, if she had it or not, it would not change my opinion of her, it is a very personal thing, it is up to herself. I feel I would have no right to interfere or make any sort of a comment".

Jack Burke also said that programmes "that would cover things like AIDS, alcoholism and things like drug taking.... would start a conversation between myself and my wife, that we would normally wouldn't discuss unless we were stimulated by the programme. And when the programme would be over we would probably talk about people we knew that were affected by the thing that was on". According to Claire Burke television programmes would "not very often" provoke discussions or arguments and when they do it is normally between herself and her husband Jack. She finds "a lot of the issues that I pick up on now are more to do with the kids I'm dealing with in work..and I'm not sure whether it's because of that, that I'm more interested in that type of programme or that I'm more inclined to listen and take in what's being said..y'know, where before that a lot of it might have gone over

me head..because I wasn't involved..whereas today I feel it's important to me to know..like information on AIDS or whatever that at least you know where you're coming from when you're discussing it with the kids". [Claire is employed on a city centre youth project].

Lauren Smyth mentioned that a discussion around International Women's Day had provoked an argument in the home and later on in the interview she responded to a question on perceived bias on television by stating "you always get sexist remarks, but that is everywhere". When asked if topics on The Late Late Show gave rise to discussions in the home, her father, Des Smyth said: "male versus female I would imagine.. and the rights of the females and..something like that...I can't really remember Des to be honest with you," [what position would you end up taking?] "oh, it all depends on whose rights were being..male or female". On the same topic Joe Teeling said that he "could never sit down and listen to a thing about women's right because I always believed that everybody was equal.... it is not that I disagreed about what women wanted to do or become, as far as I am concerned they can become what they like, I have an objection to the fact as putting them there as a body, and taken them out and highlighting it, where as the whole situation should be highlighted rather than take them out of it. Mary had a few things to say about it at the time, but after further discussion we were even going in to friends about it".

When asked which issues would have sparked discussion Teresa Murphy said "maybe they come on about unemployment em..like there's not much work and things like with the hospitals..the health.. things like that y'know .. the charging and things like that in the hospital and y'know I might have views like well em I think it's wrong that they charge y'know ..and people that mightn't even have ten pound..they'd maybe be thinking twice about bringing their children to the hospital if they had an accident and things like that y'know..there's certain topics really like em.. a lot on the homeless and things like that y'know".

Joe Teeling referred to the issue of the Leaving Certificate and "the method that they used to award points, that only a certain few, no matter how good they were would achieve only a certain grade, to the number of points that they were prepared to hand out because they hadn't got enough places in the colleges and they were done that so many would get to the college and so many would be held back, because their points wouldn't be good enough. In practice their marks would have been good. That brought out a fair amount of discussion in the house".

In response to the same question June Sheridan referred to the representation of violence on television: "Mark now, the oldest, he watches these detective programmes, Hunter, he loves the violence in them and I'd say, you shouldn't be watching that. He'd say, 'ah ma I am old enough' you know..even the cartoons, they are taking off what they are doing, you know".[Would you discuss issues that would come up] "No, they wouldn't bother,

I'd say they are too young". When asked if issues arising in 21 Jump Street were discussed with her children Anne Dowler said "yeah, if there was something connected with drugs or..[something controversial] "yeah..well we'd just say like well now that's the typical lifestyle over there and that's the way they go on and..,"[any other issues?] "no..just the violence, y'know.. no.. wouldn't really be discussed..I'd just kind of say well that's the way they go on and y'know it's not a very nice lifestyle".

As for broader cultural, political and social issues June Sheridan said there was a bias "in favour of the rich..they have no worries, I mean they are sitting there watching telly and we have nothing," [in terms of Irish television, is that the case?] "yes..I don't know, sometimes I watch Live at Three.. the way they go on, they show you holidays and this and that, and there is thousands that can't afford it".

As for perceived bias in RTE programmes, Molly Cranson said that despite her liking for Gay Byrne she thought him to be "definitely anti- Protestant". As a Protestant herself she felt that "there's been occasions on that show [The Late Late Show] when he has had panels discussing various things..you'd never see a Church of Ireland minister on, there is always priests on it..you know going around saying he'd a good Catholic, I'm not bigoted in anyway because I was brought up in both religions, my parents were mixed religion and I'm married to a Catholic so I'm not biased....it should be more open, you know he should be more..you know he should be more open, you know in

discusssion..[non-sectarian ?] non-sectarian and I think he is definately anti- Protestantism".

Josephine's daughter, Bernadette detected bias in other areas of television which she in turn linked to stereotyping. She started by stating "yeah, there is bias..in American programmes in particular..like most of the detective shows and the cop shows still in 1991 most of the perpetrators of crime are black which isn't always the case y'know..I mean there's a very small proportion of..you know we'll say you take the likes of eh..what'll I take for an example..like say Hill Street Blues y'know..there are very few black actors that are chief of police or police commissioner or things like that y'know..okay they're detectives and that. but I mean they're not so far up the ladder that they're going to be commissioner...y'know things like that..little niggly things like that..same with the Puerto Ricans y'know..it's the same and the assumption that all Italians are members of the mafia..and that all Irish are members of the IRA or UDA or UVF or whatever..y'know..yeah, there's an awful lot of stereotypes in television..it's like everybody in EastEnders I mean are supposed to eat tripe 'n onions that they eat in the east end of London".

Mairead O'Neill mentioned that after watching a programme on Irish travellers with her daughter Mary they "sat and talked about it". Mairead agreed with some of the points made in the programme such as the criticism of "having their labour on a completely separate day to the ordinary people". Discussing how travellers wanted to be treated as equals one of the O'Neills

was saying 'but they're not like us,' and I agreed with them because they have their own culture and still they want to be treated the same". Mairead disagreed about the way travellers are not served in some pubs: "That happened in Glenroe, they weren't allowed into the pub for a drink, and they say 'we see you sitting at your caravans drinking' and he [a traveller] said 'well where else can we drink?'. I never looked at it like that before".

As for the 'North' and cases of British injustice, Bernadette Whelan mentioned the "couple of documentaries that were made about the Guildford Four..or the Maguire Seven or the Birmingham Six..and Death on the Rock..about the IRA cell that was shot in Gibraltar....there was rows over that, y'know..'they bloody knew what they were doing'..'they shot them in cold blood'..'you wouldn't kill a dog like that' y'know this type of thing..so there'd be quite a bit of discussion over things like that, y'know..and over the Romanian orphanages and that y'know..things like that".

In response to a question on perceived bias on television, Bernadette's mother, Josephine said that "when something happens with the IRA or The Birmingham Six we are a bit uptight about coming out with it, that is what I find. I think there is a restriction there, you know and there is a lot of things that have happened there, that really RTE didn't give a shit. It just went by and there was nothing said or done. BBC is better, like I said before". Josephine claimed that a programme like Who

Bombed Birmingham? just wouldn't be produced in Ireland "we are inclined to sweep things under the carpet, I don't know, that we are not allowed to show..a free country a free state, you know..the others are more open, there is more coverage and there is less bias, I think".

While Tony McIlroy criticised the IRA, when asked his opinion of the use of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Authority Act, he said it was wrong: "It's like the system using itself. They'll get their point across. I think everybody has the right to free speech, no matter how way out it is .. without damaging anyone else, or hurting anyone else or offending anyone, everyone has the right to get their point across. Then again there's sections of Sinn Fein and they can't get a say because they're libel for this and that. I don't think it's denying me information I think it's just denying someone the right of free speech".

The point made by Tony McIlroy on the Broadcasting Authority Act 1960 (Section 31) Orders 1990 and 1991 highlighted the denial of Sinn Fein and other censored organisations to have their point of view evaluated.

Against a background in which radio and television is relied upon by 75% of the south's population as the most credible source of news, Dr Mary Kelly believes that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act has "fundamentally undermined" the right of the Souths' citizens to be informed and enabled to make informed decisions (Kelly.1991:7).

While cases of British injustice were singled out by the

interviewees as issues of concern to them, a more general criticism was made of perceived anti-Irishness by British news and sports commentators. For example, Tony O'Neill remarked that when Harry Carpenter is giving a commentary on a match "he says, if he is winning he is an English man, and if he is losing he is Irish, that sort of thing, bugs me..there is no need for it". Taking up the same issue Joe Teeling said "The English news I consider to be quite biased, some more so than others. The BBC isn't bad.. if you watch them closely you can detect their political view, how biased they are, the BBC's broadcast is very along the lines of the Tories. ITN is more liberal, but it is still British bias. Sky is all over the place..I find their sports very biased. You'll always hear the complaint of the British commentators claiming the Irish to be British when they win and Irish when they lose.. It is not so much as to what they say as to the way they say it.. I noticed that a lot with the football, during the World Cup".

But when Joe Teeling's son, John, referred to bias in sports commentaries he stated that "it depends on some of the matches, you get a bit of bias on the Irish side and a bit of bias on the English, I think the English are pretty bad towards any team. I find them a bit biased you know, on UTV, they are not biased at all. Well RTE, are biased as well, I find that..against the English team".

(8.4) CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contained references to a broad range of interests and concerns among the family members, as well as their identification of perceived bias on television. While comments on unemployment, medical charges and bias towards the rich articulated a class perspective or consciousness, comments of a more general nature were related to discourses other than that of class. Therefore to argue that an understanding of a particular topic is influenced by class determination alone would be incorrect given that the foregoing interview extracts were also mediated by discourses of gender, age and nationality.

This research confirms that those who participated in this project create their own meanings within a nexus of social and cultural relationships, of which the relationship to television is but one. While some of those meanings will be accommodating to the dominant perspectives, others have an oppositional or more negotiable thrust due to class or national consciousness, alternative ideologies and/or critical awareness.

CHAPTER NINE

GENDER, AGE AND TELEVISION

(9.1) INTRODUCTION

Gender and age were key factors in virtually all the responses to the Interview Schedule and the entries in the time use diaries. Differences in response between men and women was less to do with genre preference than with the manner of engagement with the particular genre. In other words, men and women tended to express their enjoyment and interest in soaps, serials, sport, news, current affairs and documentaries in different ways.

There was also a marked distinction between the audience activity of both men and women. While the boundaries between work and leisure is clearly demarcated for most men, that is not the case for many women. For them the distinction between domestic and/or paid work and that of leisure time is blurred. Therefore defining women's leisure hours is problematic and results in women having a different engagement with the television viewing experience to that of men. One feature of women's viewing patterns in this project related to the way some women combined housework with television viewing. For example, Teresa Murphy(*) spoke of watching TV-AM and The Time and the Place when she was doing housework in the morning with "one eye on the telly and one eye on the housework".

(*)See Table 6.2 in Chapter Six for information on family members

This practice tallies with a point made by Tina Modleski, who in arguing against Raymond Williams's notion of 'flow' states that:

"flow within soap operas and other programming units reinforces the very principle of interruptability crucial to the proper functioning of women in the home. In other words, what Williams call 'the central television experience' is a profoundly decentring experience"(Modleski.1984:100).

Raymond Williams has argued that television could no longer be conceived as separate programmes interrupted by breaks, but as a sequence which he described as '"flow" where a:

"series of differently related units in which the timing though real, is undeclared, and in which the real internal organisation is something other than the declared organisation"(Williams.1979:86).(1)

This chapter will present the information emerging from the interviews on the themes of gender and age under the following headings:

(9.2) Gender differences in response to television genres.

(9.3) Gender differences in audience activity

(9.4) Age as a factor in audience response and activity.

(9.2) GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSE TO TELEVISION GENRES

While most research on soaps has been conducted on women's response (Ang.1986, Hobson.1984.1989, Modleski.1984, Press.1989), the genre is also popular among men. With 22,566 words of transcribed interviews, the category of 'soaps and serials' was the largest in terms of interviewee response to questions listed in the Interview Schedule (Appendix No.3). All the women and girls expressed enjoyment of soaps. Of the men who spoke

favourably of soaps, Coronation Street and Glenroe were the favourites, while among the young men and boys Neighbours and Home and Away headed the list. While some spoke unreservedly of their their enjoyment of soaps, others qualified their remarks. For example, Coronation Street always struck Joseph Whelan as a "mammy's programme", so he wouldn't watch it. However, when his former girlfriend asked if she could watch Coronation Street when visiting his home, he started to enjoy it. As he said "when you sit down and actually watch it, it's realistic.... its good, that's the reason why I watch it".

In stark contrast to those who enjoyed watching soaps, several men replied by stating how they disliked or even "hated" them. Tony McIlroy said that he never watched soap operas as he has "no real time for them, English, American and Australian....They're so fictional, they've got nothing really relevant to life situations that I would be involved in..they're just so overblown you know, they're really ridiculous. Coronation Street is so predictable, there's always an affair going, they're always in the pub.... No, I'd never take them that seriously at all. I must admit to watching Coronation Street for a couple of episodes to see how the plot turned out".

When asked which programmes he would never watch Joe Teeling said "most of the soaps" and later in the interview said that he thought that soaps like Neighbours were unsuitable for children, because "they get nothing from it, they just get a story line straight out of the agony columns, I don't think it is giving

them much of an idea, I think at times they try to relate to some of the people, characters in the show, as to how they would feel if something that happened in the show happened to them, maybe it is something, I think they have enough of their own worrying to do and their own problems..they could take an attitude of someone in a soap that is totally false..it is script". Joe said he would watch Coronation Street sometimes and Glenroe every week.

In terms of the response of women in the ten families to questions on soaps, it was notable how the portrayal of family matters relating to their own personal experiences, were singled out. For example, episodes which involved marital separation, home ownership and teenage pregnancy had a particular resonance for several women.

Asked if certain stories made her cry, Anne Dowler mentioned an incident in Home and Away when Pippa's husband was in a car crash and died. "That was sad because she was going to be on her own with the kids and.... was kinda liable to lose.... the caravan park...it was like my situation..as regards my house..y'know I was saying 'will she be left or will she keep it,' I was thinking of it in real life and then I was saying it's only a film y'know..you kinda get lost in it".

In response to the question 'which stories or characters would you identify with or feel close to?' Molly Cranson said "Oh God, that's a hard one.. Well I suppose having the experience of having the grandchild and the daughter not married I'd say the young one like that in Fair City. Eh problems, we all have

marriage problems, that's happening in Coronation Street".

Various reasons have been presented to explain the difference between female and male responses to soaps. For example, in her ethnographic research on viewers of Crossroads Dorothy Hobson quotes one viewer as stating:

"men are not supposed to show their emotions and so if they watch Crossroads....they think it's stupid and unrealistic because they are not brought up to accept emotional situations"(Cited in Moores.1990:20).

But 'emotions' are not the whole story. For social and cultural reasons a sense of identity, for most men, is bound up with their occupation and so negotiating the domestic sphere and local community can be difficult. For men who have been working for a number of years and become unemployed, the experience can be traumatic. It can mean a change in lifestyle and sense of purpose. To date it has been mainly women who have engaged in domestic labour and community based activities. And while women have developed their own networks of support men have yet to do so.

There was also a marked difference between men and women's responses to the way in which 'issues' were dealt with in soaps. For example, while Claire Burke enjoyed EastEnders mainly because of the way it dealt with issues, for her husband Jack the soap was "crap" for that very reason. According to him "it is too heavy I think altogether. I think it deals with subjects that should be dealt with separately. It deals with abortion, drugs, and at the moment it has an AIDS situation. I think it should be entertaining, light hearted. That is why I think

Coronation Street outweighs it.... I think EastEnders falls down in entertainment value, I know they say that this is the real world, there are people having abortions and dying of AIDS. But at that time of the evening..the programmes should entertain rather than shock. You don't want that at that time in the evening". This response tallies with existing research which identifies a resistance among among male viewers to the exploration of 'issues' within the format of a soap, preferring to see the issue addressed within a news or current affairs context (Tulloch.1990).

There was an even more pronounced difference of response between men and women in replies to questions on American soaps. When asked what she most enjoyed about US soaps Molly Cranson said tongue-in-cheek: "Well having such a dull and ordinary life, sitting there being just an ordinary housewife, I could look like that if I had their money and it's a bit of adventure and stuff that you'll know you'll never have yourself. Being a woman I love to see the style. In the back of my mind I am saying that cost about five or six [thousand] pounds you know..cars..yeah I like cars..swimming pool in the back garden..the house is gorgeous..I wouldn't be into having maids or anything like that, but I like the house and the clothes and there is always money rolling in. No matter how bad the business is, they are still talking in millions, there is always millions, it wouldn't be the money end of things, it would mainly be the lifestyle, it would be a nice change. I don't dream about ever being like that, but I like sitting there watching it and watching this dress and that dress

and goin' out to eat all the time. They never seem to eat at home in Dallas".

When Jane Smyth watched Dallas and Falcon Crest she loved the clothes the women wore "I always watch the clothes, I mean they change for night, every night, beautiful. I do like the clothes in it. And the hairstyles and the make up..but the story lines do go stupid..we don't do that in Ireland, we don't put all our good looking people on like that, probably haven't got enough of them". And then laughingly she said "I have often said I would love to live down in Glenroe, because they have affairs and all sorts of things going on down there. Nothing happens to me at all, I have no toy boy or anything like that".

While Marie McIlroy found soaps like Dallas "too glittery," she enjoyed the "fantasy" of Neighbours. Contrasting what was for her the realism of EastEnders to Neighbours, she said that the latter was "too pat.. all the houses are beautiful.. everything is perfect.. you never see dirty washing around.. you never seen a house untidy really when you go into it.. y'know where in EastEnders now you'd see a dirty dishcloth lying there..you'd see dishes on the table.. now in Neighbours they're always preparing a meal and the beautiful table always laid out....I suppose it kinda gives me a bit of a lift looking at it.. I'd love to live in those circumstances! With a big swimming pool in the back and the beautiful weather y'know?".

However, there were other differences of response to American soaps among the women interviewees. For example, when asked about the American soaps, Anne Dowler said she didn't watch them. [why?] "I don't like the way Larry Hagman goes on..all different women and..like when he's married..the novelty's there for a while and then she's cast aside and somebody else new and..no..every time you'd be looking at him with somebody new..course he has the money to go with it y'know..like to give her all she wants and all this". Despite enjoying the glamour of Knots Landing and Another World, June Sheridan said "it would depress you sometimes. You'd come home and expect to have a life like that. The clothes and everything..I do say it is not fair. The money".(laughs)

The one man who acknowledged watching and enjoying the American soaps, gave as his reason the physical appearance of the women portrayed in the programme. According to Dave Cranson "I like looking at them y'know.. I think there's some beautiful women in it (laughs). Similiar expressions of sensual or physical pleasure were also expressed by at least one woman. According to Bernadette Whelan, she and her sister Marie watched the late night showing of The Young Riders "for the talent rather than the acting ability..he's lovely! That's what we watch for really. Oh isn't he gorgeous! We get a laugh out of that y'know rather than the script or whatever".

The responses of both men and women interviewed was in broad agreement with information emerging from relevant existing research. For example, in replies to a questionnaire survey of 52 British viewers of television soap operas (37 women and 15 men) Sonia Livingstone found that "the major categories of viewing explanation were, in order of frequency of mention" escapism, realism, relationship with character, critical response, problem-solving, role in viewers life, emotional experience and entertainment (Livingstone.1988:66).

Summing up her findings Livingstone states that:

"viewers generally considered soap opera, especially British programmes, to be highly realistic, and it plays an important role in their lives: they recognised the situations, felt they learnt from problem solving and became involved in characters. Certain viewers showed some critical distance from the genre. There were marked differences in responses to British and American soap opera: the former is watched more for its realism and character involvement: the latter for its escapism and fantasy"(Livingstone.1988:66/78).

In her research on audience response to Glenroe and Dallas among Irish television viewers, Barbara O'Connor found that while little variation existed between men and women in their responses to Glenroe, there was a marked difference when it came to Dallas. According to O'Connor both working and middle class women "enjoyed the fantasy, the escapist aspects, the clothes and the glamour" of Dallas, while the response of men from the same social classes was "one of distancing and dismissal"(O'Connor.1990:26/6).

In terms of their engagement with television series, there was also a distinct difference of engagement between men and women. For example, what Claire Burke most enjoyed about the series Cagney and Lacey was the "relationship the two seemed to have, y'know in their job..again, it was down to some of the issues they dealt with..they dealt with..a wife..she was a victim of violence in her home and turned out of it was a police officer she was married to and ..eh..that was one programme which dealt with that. They dealt with child abuse too and em..I think it was just the easy going relationship that the two of them had appealed to me". [Which was which?] "em..now you have me," [one interested in fashion?] "yeah, and she wasn't married..they kind of had a balance because was eh..she was really out going, out for a good time and whatever and the other one was married with a family and had family ties. So there was kind of..there was a lot of clashes in their opinions, but the two of them, y'know it kind of worked out in the end of the day and they could work it out between them. That appealed to me, yeah".

Claire's enjoyment of Cagney and Lacey appears to concur with what Julie D'Acci has written on the series. According to D'Acci:

"the representation of friendship between Cagney and Lacey, their conversations and arguments in the women's room, the locker room and the squad car, opens up spaces of women's culture and women's communities and offers moments of well- documented pleasures for women's viewers. And the series itself, at various points in its history, has functioned to test the limits and define the conditions of possibility for the representation of 'women on television' (D'Acci.1987:223).

Claire's engagement with Cagney and Lacey differs from that of several of the male viewers' responses. For example, the main reason that Peter Teeling enjoyed the detective series Wiseguy was that "the plot evolved in each episode, but yet it was a different story. That is what I found interesting, that is what kept me looking at it. I hate saying it, but it was almost like a soap. (laughs). It dealt with a certain amount of people and it went all the way through". As for a favourite character, Peter said "yes, Wiseguy himself had a boss, the guy with the glasses, I took to him right away. The thing I liked about him was, he was a bit stereotyped, was a character that was a real hard nut, he didn't take any crap or anything like that, at the same time he was alright, you know. He was tough and fair". So, while personal relationships and the addressing of "issues" was significant for Claire Burke, storyline and character were the principal factors for Peter Teeling.

While it would be misleading to make any hard and fast assumptions on so few extracts from the responses on series, certain tendencies were in evidence. When taking all the responses to questions on serials into account, women interviewees expressed an overall preference for programmes which explored human relationships, while men, again in general, expressed a preference for programmes with an emphasis on action.

The issue of gender difference was again to the fore in the response on current affairs. For example, Theresa Murphy's highlighted some interesting points on women's response to news and current affairs in general. In her reply to the question 'Do you watch current affairs programmes?' Teresa said "Not really..he does really like y'know..if it's a thing of interest I will..but if it doesn't hold my interest I won't".[What would interest you ?] "Well..if it was a topic to do with families, schools, eh..anything at all like..".[Like Today Tonight?] "Like Today Tonight now..if they have any specials on about facilities and things like that like for children. There was a programme on there only a couple of weeks ago about people in Tallaght and how hard the living was for some of them and the unemployed and things like that and they based it on families....programmes like that".[You don't like 'political programmes'..what do you mean by a 'political programme'?] "Things like..there'd be Questions and Answers on..now my husband likes to get into all of these y'know Questions and Answers..[and] there's a couple more and they have the politicians on or TDs on and that y'know..it doesn't really hold my interest at all..but he likes it,"[what don't you like ?] "I've just no interest yeah". Based on this and other responses it transpired that women tended to take a greater interest in news and current affairs programmes which dealt with issues that related to themselves and their immediate families. While men tended to take a greater interest in the global issues, women tended to have a greater interest in local and family issues. As with many such statements within this thesis there were exceptions in the cases of both men and women.

While the foregoing tendencies can be identified in the responses, it is important to avoid an essentialist perspective.

As Ien Ang and Joke Hermes state:

"we cannot presume a priori that in any particular instance of media consumption gender will be a basic determining factor" (Ang & Hermes.1991:321).

This research confirms that under patriarchy gender differences remain an important factor in virtually all social or cultural analysis. But having said that, a viewer's gender does not necessarily presuppose a gendered response, just as viewer's class background does not automatically determine his or her response. One of the values of contemporary qualitative television audience is that crude reductionist perspectives on class and gender are rejected.

(9.3) GENDER DIFFERENCES IN AUDIENCE ACTIVITY

The negotiation of TV programme choice involves a complex process whereby decisions are made within what Sean Cubitt has described as "the politics of the living-room"(Moores.1990:22). As such the process is bound up with power relations, which are manifested in, for example, the use of the remote control. While power relations were evident across age and gender on issues such as programme and channel selection among the ten families, a high degree of negotiation was evident in the responses.

In response to the question 'who gets to use the remote control the most?' it emerged that it was mostly used by male members of the families. In the one exception, Molly Cranson acknowledged

her frequent use of the remote control, adding that she was a "television addict". However, her husband Dave admitted to using it the most when family members were watching television together.

According to Theresa Murphy, her husband Thomas will "switch over just to see if there's anything else on or the way you get fed up looking at the ads...and I'd be saying to him 'oh put it back now' and he'd be 'yeah, in a minute..it won't be back yet' and you'd be waiting til it's nearly five minutes and I'd say 'would you switch it back'..sometimes..now it doesn't happen a lot y'know ?".

While Mary O'Neill acknowledged that she had been a frequent user of the remote control before it was stolen along with the VCR, she said that her older brother Tony "is a devil at switching the television [both with the remote control and manually]. He'd switch the telly ten times before he'd settle on something".

While Matthew Whelan said "we are all about the same" when it comes to using the remote control, that view was contradicted by his wife and daughter, Josephine and Bernadette. According to Josephine "when Matthew does that, there is a big argument, I do walk out and be childish". Like her mother, Bernadette believes that her father uses it the most "he's a nuisance..pressing on and off...he's desperate. [next after him?] "after that the kids [Anthony and Thomas] really....if I come into the sitting room and they're watching something I wouldn't dream of turning it off on them....Anthony and Thomas come in and

maybe it'll be on the mantelpiece..the remote control..and they just take it up and change the station and it drives me mad. It's very annoying"

This strong tendency towards male monopoly of the remote control concurs with David Morley's findings of how gender relations are ultimately bound up with relations of power. According to Morley:

"Men feel OK about imposing their choice of viewing on the whole family, the women do not"(Morley.1986:150).

While several of the men were willing to acknowledge their dominant position vis a vis use of the remote control, few appeared to fully recognise its impact on other members of the family.

When one or more in the family want to watch different programmes on the same television set various solutions were arrived at, involving either argument or compromise. While the possession of more than one television and a video recorder appeared to lessen the possibility of tension arising from the conflicting preferences of family members, it didn't solve the problem entirely. Those who had to give way would in some cases have to watch television on an inferior set in either the kitchen or bedroom, where comfort and heat seldom matched the sitting room. If the solution involved the use of the video recorder, that depended on the availability of blank tapes, which were frequently unavailable.

While a large degree of negotiation was evident in terms of programme and channel choice, a hierarchy of power along lines of

gender was clearly evident. The responses of the ten families highlighted the fact that programme choice and selection frequently occurs within a web of family dynamics and power relations, which although played out differently in each family, had common traits. Some conflicts over the control of the television were more an expression of tension and conflict between family members than to do with conflicting viewing preferences.

(9.4) AGE AS A FACTOR IN AUDIENCE RESPONSE AND ACTIVITY

The main distinction between younger members of the family over the age of fourteen and their parents was along lines of television programme choice and topic of interest. A summary of the responses of those under fourteen years of age is presented in Appendix No.2.

The key factors in terms of audience activity among younger family members were related to issues of parental authority and access to television and video. Playing computer games was an alternative form of leisure activity for the younger members in six of the ten families and access was negotiated among themselves.

As for the programme preferences of the younger family members over the age of fourteen the list included music programmes, fashion, 'alternative' comedy, martial arts, American wrestling, programmes aimed at teenagers, war and action films. The following extracts highlight the nature of some of the responses.

The attraction of 21 Jump Street for Tony McIlroy was that "it deals with problems that you'd read in the news, rape, drug abuse, incest, stuff that goes on in schools you know, it's not all cops and robbers stuff....There was one about rape. There was a girl in it called Judy, and she had been raped, but the amazing thing was that she had actually come back into contact with the rapist and he didn't even know what he had done, he didn't think he had done anything wrong. He said 'ah she gave me the eyes,' she was explaining that if you have sexual intercourse with someone and it's against their will it is rape, no matter what way they dress, what eyes they flash at you, unless they say, 'yeah this is cool' then it's rape. And alot of guys wouldn't think like that".

Tony McIlroy also gave 21 Jump Street as an example of a television programme which provoked arguments or discussion in the home. Speaking about the controversial nature of the programme Tony said that "when there's any difference of opinion - especially between young and old - the young people are always found guilty". [Topics of argument with parents?] "The government, the north, drugs, the system itself, school etc. If there was something going on at school and someone was having a hard time, my parents would see it from one point of view and I would see it from another, because I was in school more recently, it's a long time since they were at school, totally different set up".

Later when Tony was asked about possible bias on television he said that there was "lots! Lots!" of bias on TV, "it is full of it and that's the main turn-off for me. Like I just said, there's a major .. it's not relevant for them to be talking about condoms 'cos they won't use them. All you ever hear is that youth are bad .. they're all festered by drug dealers, you only ever see one point of view, but if you had a youth saying 'look this is what's going on! When you're at school it's like this, peer pressure etc. etc.,' It'd be very different. Programme makers in RTE are not in touch with what is going on. Take for example all the different cultures there are around Dublin, it's a crazy place Dublin with all the subcultures it has .. its a whole kind of community of young people, living a culture that you have to leave behind when you're twenty you know? That's what's good about [21]Jump Street, it's alternative, it's not all cops and robbers, sometimes the person isn't even caught, sometimes there isn't even a crime, you know".

While Marie Whelan enjoys 21 Jump Street she also mentioned Grange Hill and The Press Gang "I'd watch them. The English seem to have a lot of stuff for teenagers on".[What is it about Grange Hill?] "Well it is very true to life, you know, it's good, it is always interesting".

According to Hanna Cranson she has "an awful different taste" compared to the rest of her family and that can lead to arguments. She can "always remember the one about Timothy Leary, 'do you remember him during Woodstock?' that was on and I was dug into it and no one else couldn't see the point of watching that.

My argument was that you [her parents] were actually there then, and I wasn't even born and it's not even interesting you and he was going on about his dropping out .. and the drugs and every thing else, I was been told I was interested in drugs and dropping out of school and all that just because I was watching it. So an argument came up and I was trying to say it just interests me, anything to do with the sixties does anyway, but it doesn't mean I'm going to go around with banners telling children to drop out of school and take drugs, no, but that's the way it turned around, why should I be interested in that.. a heated argument, yes. A lot of religious programmes came up, because my mum and I are Church of Ireland and my dad's a Catholic, mostly an atheist really, religion is nothing to him. I'm very interested in other religions around the world and I'd like to find out more about them, and if somethings are on I'd watch it. But my dad, it's, sort of, religion out the window. My mum would be, you should be interested in your own religion and that's it. 'Why would you want to know about that,' they think I'm going to go off and become a Hari Khrishna or something. With everyboby I think religion causes a lot of arguments".

Indications of parental authority was evident in a number of the interview responses. For example, Anne Dowler said that she insists on silence from the children, all of whom were under the age of fourteen, when she is watching her favourite programme. If one or more of Anne Dowler's children, want to watch different programmes and if it leads to rows her policy is to "knock the telly off....I have the final say". James O'Neill said that it

sometimes annoys him when he is watching a programme and someone else switches channels, but as he said "not that it would happen that often, I'd tell them that I am watching something". While Joe Teeling expressed a worry over the suitability of soaps for his youngest son, both Molly Cranson and Mairead O'Neill considered the portrayal of certain sexually related issues in soaps and rented video to be too explicit for younger viewers.

When asked how family members resolved the problem of one or more people wanting to watch different programmes Peter Teeling's response highlighted the way in which gender and age together were a factor. Peter said that the process of negotiation "usually goes by hierarchy, age. My mother usually gives in first. So in general we all watch the same thing.. She does have quite different tastes than us. After that Eamonn would have to give in. But there is usually a good fight between me and John. Dad gets the main choice".

Peter Teeling's contribution clearly illustrates how age and gender can intersect in terms of programme choice and audience activity in certain domestic situations. However, the overall tendency to emerge from the responses of the ten families to virtually all the questions in the Interview Schedule was that men and women tended to engage differently to television genres, which highlighted the different culture/discourse of men and women. Generational differences intersected with those of gender with younger viewers voicing their own specific preferences and opinions.

CHAPTER TEN

ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This thesis began by considering the extent to which the Irish working class story has been told on Irish television and how the telling of that story was essential if RTE's public service remit was to be fulfilled. It was then argued that if that story was to be given status corresponding to the actual size of the class, it was a basic prerequisite that more information on the attributes and features of the working class television audience be known.

I argued that Irish television programme makers have had difficulties in coming to grips with the Dublin working class experience and that there was a dearth of available research on that section of the national audience. I presented a review of elements of the international communication research literature which were relevant to my key research questions. In order to address those questions I conducted audio taped interviews with ten families from the predominantly working class suburb of Coolock in north Dublin and requested them to fill in time use diaries.

My key research questions were:

- (i) What are the patterns of time use and media consumption among the ten families?
- (ii) What do the families' responses to drama and sports on television tell us about Dublin working class culture in terms of

the following: (i) identification with representations of urban working class culture, (ii) images of rural Ireland and (iii) class and national identity?

(iii) What do the families' responses to actuality programmes (news, current affairs and documentaries) reveal about the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness?

(iv) To what extent is gender and age a factor in the audience activity and response of this group of families?

Besides those research questions I also queried whether the decline of the working class vote for Fianna Fail in the 1989 and 1992 General Elections represented a realignment in Irish politics which might find its cultural expression in an increasing identification with transnational culture as opposed to an identification with forms of cultural nationalism.

While facilitating the expression of the preferences and views of that small sample of television viewers was one of my primary aims, I also believed that those responses would reveal some information on the attributes and features of a wider Dublin working class audience. I also believed that this research would provide some insights to the academic debate on 'effects' and audiences. So, bearing such research questions and aims in mind, the following is a summary of my findings in relation to both the theoretical and empirical sections of the thesis.

In many respects the responses of the ten families concurred with the findings of previous television research, both in Ireland and elsewhere. These included: Irish viewers' particular enjoyment

of Glenroe's humour and characterisation (O'Connor.1990), the appeal of realism in the representation of English soaps (Livingstone 1987), women's pleasurable engagement with the fantasy and escapism of American soaps (Ang.1986, Modleski.1984, Livingstone.1987), the importance of class, gender and age differences in viewer response (O'Connor.1987,1990, Reynolds.1990, ADMAP.October 1989) and the identification of power relations which mediate channel and programme selection along lines of gender (Morley.1986).

I will now review and summarise the key elements of each chapter and discuss their implications. Starting with Chapter Two, I presented some contributions from cultural studies, sociology and Marxism on what constitutes a particular working class and its culture, I then examined some central issues in the debate around ideology and discourse. By identifying aspects of the changing role of the working class within capitalism and its relationship to other classes, I illustrated how such relationships, whether of power or not, were crucial in any understanding of working class culture. In terms of Dublin working class people and their culture, I illustrated that while some fine research has been conducted on labour history and aspects of lived culture, there are, to my knowledge no significant analyses of contemporary Dublin working class culture. Due to the paucity of Irish sociological/cultural studies I tended to rely on research conducted in England, where the working class experience is considerably different. I also had to contend with the fact that there has been a considerable

retreat on the question of class throughout the 1980s within academia and that class differentiation is seldom referred to within contemporary communications/television audience research.

Chapter Three presented a theoretical review of communications and television audience research which were considered relevant to this thesis. Based on a combination of the theoretical issues presented in Chapters Three, along with the experience of having conducted this project, I believe that however 'active' the viewer engages with television, there are a number of general qualifications that need to be made.

Firstly, the television media production companies in the English speaking world are increasingly controlled by a small number of transnational corporations (Locksley.1988). The interests of those who own and/or control the large media organisations are ultimately reflected in what is privileged and what is marginalised or excluded. Irrespective of the space provided for oppositional or resistant voices, capitalism can, as David Tetzlaff puts it: "easily suffer those struggles that fail to address the social relations of profit accumulation"(Tetzlaff.1992:63)

Secondly, critics of 'cultural imperialism' have performed an important role in identifying international media flows and patterns of media ownership, irrespectives of the debates surrounding the process of media reception (Roach.1990).

Thirdly, while there can be little doubt that measuring or quantifying media effects by way of television is a complex process, there is a need to resist the retreat from media effects perspectives as James Curran(1990) has suggested. At a time when viewer autonomy and active engagement with television is celebrated within the field of television audience research; media effects researchers are faced with the challenge of developing new ways of measuring these effects. This challenge involves ways of somehow isolating the television message from those of other media and interpersonal communications. It also involves conducting focused empirical research with viewers on specific themes, such as Greg Philo's research on viewer response to the television of the 1984/5 miners strike in Britain (Philo.1990).

Fourthly, while reception analysis researchers, based in a cultural studies/sociological tradition, have made a major contribution in illustrating what viewers bring to their encounter with the television text, there is a level of closure at which the meaning of television is interpreted. As David Morley puts it so succinctly:

"the repertoire of discourses at the disposal of different audiences, and the individual's position in the social formation will tend to determine which sets of discourses a given subject is likely to have access to, and thus bring to their encounter with the text"
(Morley.1989:20-21)

Chapter Four comprises an outline profile of the Coolock area in order to provide the geographical, social and cultural context in which the families reside. The thinking behind the chapter was

that the television viewing experience cannot be divorced from everyday life and that an intimate knowledge of the specific socio-economic and cultural context of the viewer is a prerequisite for 'audience centred' research.

Chapter Five presented and in some cases problematised aspects of the methodology employed in television audience research. By making my role as researcher visible, I drew attention to some of the issues and difficulties which I believe need to be resolved. For example, I expressed several reservations about the feasibility of time use diaries, both in general and in terms of my own research. With the benefit of hindsight I would have made some modifications to their operation and design. I would have made them more straight forward to complete, with clear abbreviations representing the various activities (See Appendix No.5). I would also have visited each family at least once during the week in question. Furthermore, I would reverse the order in which the project was conducted, in other words I would start with the time use diaries and based on the information which emerged, then draw up a shorter and more focused Interview Schedule in order to further explore a number of specific questions.

Despite those reservations, the time use diaries did, I believe, reveal a detailed map of cultural tastes and practices among the ten families, complementing the information which emerged from the audio taped interviews.

The next four chapters examined the responses of family members to questions contained in the Interview Schedule and entries in the time use diaries, which were relevant to the key research questions. Given that these four chapters formed the empirical centrepiece of the dissertation, I will now present and discuss what I consider to be the most pertinent points of information to have emerged.

Starting with the families' time use patterns and media consumption, the findings were as follows. Based on audio taped interviews conducted in the period from February to April 1991, the average number of hours spent watching television by family members was 29.4 hours per week. In the week ending 20th of October 1991, when the time use diaries were completed, the average number of hours was 20.9. The figure of 20.9 hours was considered by me to be the more representative of the two figures, because it included the childrens' viewing times. This average weekly figure of 20.9 indicated that television viewing accounted for the largest share of leisure activity among the ten families. However, it was also revealed that that figure was broadly comparable to the national trends and in fact below the average weekly television viewing hours for October 1991, which according to RTE's Audience Research Department was 23.45 hours.

According to the interviewees, soaps, sport and comedy were the most popular genres. Based on a list of almost 200 television programmes listed in the time use diaries, the ten most watched programmes on the RTE channels tallied broadly with those listed in Irish TAM's top twenty ratings for the same week. However,

such information only represented the dominant trend in viewer programme preference and has to be seen in the light of the almost 200 programmes listed in Appendix No.10.

BBC1 and UTV were ahead of both RTE channels in terms of the families' channel preference. Levels of viewer satisfaction with the RTE channels tended to divide equally between those who spoke favourably, as against those who expressed dissatisfaction. Some family members expressed a desire for more comedy, films and programmes for teenagers, while others wished to see longer broadcasting hours. When asked what type of programme they would like to see more of on RTE, drama headed the list of responses.

Besides the popularity of the Children's Channel and MTV, among children and teenagers, I found no evidence of a significant shift towards an identification with transnational culture available via the satellite channels. What transpired was that viewers selected programmes across the range of available channels, with BBC1 and UTV emerging as the most popular channels ahead of RTE. This pattern of selecting from the spectrum of programmes available was enhanced by the use of remote control devices, which also contributed to an overall decline in channel loyalty, particularly among younger viewers. Given that both RTE channels include programmes which are examples of transnational culture, it is not necessarily a question of the popularity of RTE versus the satellite channels, but more a question of how home produced programmes rate with viewers vis a vis imported programme material.

Chapter Seven details the families's responses to questions on soaps and sport, which related to the themes of culture and identity. The responses highlighted a high level of engagement with representation of working class culture portrayed in Irish and English soaps. They also revealed a variety of opinions in regard to representations of rural Ireland and national identity.

While five family members spoke positively about Fair City in terms of its humour, realism and sense of community, the majority expressed a low level of viewer satisfaction. This was expressed in terms of the portrayal of accent, location, levels of employment, as well as lack of correspondence matching their own experience of Dublin working class life. Such views confirmed the belief that while:

"there is nothing natural about realism.... it does correspond to the way we currently perceive the world" (Fiske & John Hartley.1985:160).

Having an urban based Irish soap which broadly represents the working class experience provides a potentially valuable cultural reference point for those living in the city, as well as providing an insight into urban life for those of other class backgrounds and geographical location. Such representations can either enhance or subvert potential stereotypes. However, based on the responses of the majority of family members it can be stated that Fair City did not realise this potential.

The ease of identification with representations of English working class culture in television drama and sport illustrated the similarity of experience shared by many Irish and English

urban working class people. For example, when commenting on Coronation Street, Thomas Murphy said "we are talking about people like ourselves," and according to Matthew Whelan(*) The Boys of the Blackstuff represented "real life....it was real close to us, the same way of life".

The interviewees remarks on Glenroe, while confirming Barbara O'Connor's (1990) findings on the importance of characterisation, humour and the depiction of rural life, also revealed how the programme provided an insight into rural life and a level of urban/rural antipathy.

Although family members sought entertainment when watching soaps, several also spoke about their interest in the coverage of 'issues,' with some perceiving a reluctance by Irish soaps to tackle potentially controversial issues.

As for television sport, it was shown how during the 1990 World Cup soccer became increasingly popular with women and was associated with expressions of national identity and local community togetherness.

The responses to the question 'which programmes do you consider to be particularly Irish?' raised some interesting points on aspects of class and national identity. The fact that Glenroe headed the list of answers to the question revealed how some family members saw 'Irishness' in rural terms and thereby, it could be argued, felt excluded. However, others considered

(*)See Table 6.2 in Chapter Six for information on family members

programmes such as Live at Three, Today, Tonight, The Late Late Show, Bibi, Nightwawks, The Den and My Left Foot as being particularly Irish, which further illustrated the complexity of identifying a clear understanding of what constitutes 'Irishness'.

Chapter Eight investigated the operation of ideology and levels of critical awareness in the responses of the families to actuality programmes; programmes which provoked discussions and those which were considered to be biased.

If, as Bernadette Whelan said "the power of the media is absolutely amazing..its the most potent force at the moment" measuring or quantifying the extent of that influence was a difficult research task. In terms of interview extracts on the Gulf War, several male respondents questioned the veracity of the news coverage and indicated that they were quite aware that what was presented was but one among several possible interpretations. While perspectives opposing the Allied intervention were given coverage on television, a critical position did not necessarily depend on a familiarity with those positions.

The responses to questions on current affairs revealed how Today Tonight was the most regularly watched current affairs programme and that the coverage of issues of direct relevance to family life headed the list. Exceptions to this trend were special reports, such as those which dealt with the alleged Dublin crime boss known as the General.

Documentaries were perceived to have a greater level of credibility than the news. This was most clearly illustrated in responses on documentaries dealing with the case of the Birmingham Six. In this regard it was apparent that the evidence of the men's innocence presented in the documentaries was a significant factor in convincing several viewers that the six men ought to be released.

Topics which provoked discussion in the home varied considerably and gave an insight into the concerns and interests of the family members. It was shown how programmes such as The Late Late Show prompted discussions on issues which might not normally have been discussed. In that respect television was seen to influence the course of family conversation. For example, boys were afforded the opportunity to discuss childbirth with their mother and a young woman expressed her opinions about sexism in the context of a television related discussion. Responses on perceived bias illustrated how the discourses of class intersect with those of nationality, patriarchy and religion.

Chapter Nine illustrated to what extent gender and age were factors in viewer response and activity. While gender and age difference were articulated in terms of programme choice and audience activity, it was at the level of engagement with the various genres that men and women differed most.

The way in which men described their relationship to soaps, was in sharp contrast to that of women. While identification with character and narrative were features which attracted some men

to soaps, the 'emotional realism' with which personal and family issues were dealt was one of the main appeals for women. Several women spoke openly of the way issues raised in soaps connected in a direct and personal way to some of their own life experiences. Women also enjoyed the escapist and fantasy aspects of soaps such as Dallas and Neighbours.

It was also shown that while men preferred to see social issues dealt with in actuality programmes, women identified with the way in which such issues were dealt with in soaps. Exceptions to this trend was the way in which Tony McIlroy spoke of 21 Jump Street's ability to deal with the issue of rape.

Based on responses to a number of questions on the process of negotiating television channel and programme selection among family members, it emerged that the selection process occurred within the context of domestic power relations, with the clearest distinction along lines of gender. I also found that men and boys tended to monopolise the use of the remote control.

In making the television viewer visible this thesis has revealed how forty seven individuals from ten predominantly working class families living in north Dublin negotiate aspects of their relationship to television. By presenting the television viewing experience in a cultural context I have shown how their relationship to television is bound up with the complexity of everyday life. Guided by what can be described as an 'audience centred' research perspective, I have illustrated the diversity of discourses, competences and levels of awareness/consciousness

which the family members brought to their encounter with television. Their responses reveal how the discourses of class intersect with those of gender, age, nationality and religion.

So having summarised the main findings I will now conclude the thesis with some points on the implications of the research in terms of a wider Dublin working class audience, the telling of the working class story and further audience research.

(1) The total number of participants in this research project were a relatively small sample. It may be that the life experience of the ten families will match those of many Dublin working class people. But there is ample scope for additional research along similiar lines to ascertain how far the discourses(etc) that they brought to their reading of the television texts will correspond to that of a wider Dublin working class audience.

(2) While RTE has had some major successes in facilitating the telling of the Dublin working class story, as acknowledged by the family members, there is an apparent lack in RTE's drama and current affairs programmes when it comes to aspects of Dublin inner city and suburban working class life. This was most clearly articulated by Josephine Whelan when she said "I think there is a lot of things going on in communities and that, that they [RTE] could cover, they cover more stuff in the country than they do in Dublin". Tony McIlroy expressed a similiar reservation from a youth's point of view when he said "programme makers in RTE are not in touch with what is going on. Take for example all the

different cultures there are around Dublin, its a crazy place Dublin with all the subcultures it has, cultures that you have to leave behind when you're twenty".

RTE's neglect in this regard is, I believe, a reflection of a dominant ethos in Ireland which has its political expression in successive conservative governments. That dominant ethos has ensured that certain stories, in the broadest sense of the word, get told and retold, while others do not. In order that the concept of public service broadcasting does not become an empty ikon, there must, I believe, be a political will to frequently resist that dominant ethos and ensure that stories other than the dominant ones get told. Where and how that political will emerges is difficult to foresee, but perhaps a shift in Dublin voting patterns will result in working class people having their story told more frequently on Irish television.

While home produced television drama is an expensive commodity, the importance of such programmes as points of cultural reference has been illustrated by the responses of the participants in this research project. I believe that if there was a political will to halt the decline in the production of Irish television drama in and out of RTE, then the means would be found whereby television screen writers, actors, directors and technical operators could create a cultural product which addresses the Dublin working class experience, as well as that of other classes, cultures and subcultures in Ireland.

(3) As for further research, I would recommend that the following theoretical/empirical issues and questions be considered.

(i) The development of a detailed profile of the Dublin working class audience, so that television programme makers adequately respond to the real interests and needs of that section of the national audience.

(ii) Irish TAM audience data ought to be more readily available for research purposes, so that ongoing quantitative and qualitative research complement each other.

(iii) A cross-class comparative study on viewer response to Fair City, which could also take into account the urban/rural divide.

(iv) A study of working class viewers' relationship to transnational culture, comparing those with access to RTE channels only to those with access to all available channels.

(v) Television audience research could be complemented by sociologically based cultural studies to further tease out some of the themes addressed in this thesis. For example: the reasons why Irish television makers have difficulty in telling the urban working class story, the identification among Dublin working class people with English cultural references, the association of notions of Irishness and national identity with rural Ireland for some Dublin working class people.

(vi) An investigation into the nature of contemporary Dublin

working class culture, which takes account the impact of suburbanisation.

I believe that the pursuance of the such recommendations would deepen existing knowledge on the Dublin working class television audience and would enhance the ability of television programme makers to respond to the realities of Dublin working class life. In turn, that would contribute towards the creation of a broader and more representative programme mix on Irish television.

CHAPTER REFERENCES

Chapter One

- (1) What's in the Box? RTE1 31/10/1991.

Produced by Colum Kenny, Presented Barry Cowan.

Chapter Four

- (1) For an overview of Dublin suburbanisation see "The Dublin Region, 1880-1982: An overview on its development and planning," by Arnold Horner in The Emergence of Irish Planning (1880-1920) Edited by Micheal J. Bannon. Turoe Press. Dublin. 1985

- (2) Parents Alone Resource Centre (PARC) Annual Report 1990

- (3) Work Research Centre Report on Combatting Long Term Unemployment in Coolock/Darndale: A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Issues. Commissioned by The Northside Partnership. December 1991. pages 4/3

- (4) Work Research Centre Report on Combatting Long Term Unemployment in Coolock/Darndale: A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Issues. Commissioned by The Northside Partnership. December 1991. page 4

- (5) Work Research Centre Report on Combatting Long Term Unemployment in Coolock/Darndale: A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Issues. Commissioned by The Northside Partnership. December 1991. page 4

- (6) Information based on a telephone call with Matt Larkin, National Association of Tenants Organisations (NATO)

Chapter Five

- (1) The fathers position is privileged in this brief outline, and the subsequent family biographies in Appendix No.1, as their position in most cases determine the social class of a family.

- (2) While it was found that in most cases C60 audio tapes were adequate for the parents of the ten families, one C90s or two C60s were required for the teenagers and those in their 20s. In other words most of the young adults gave more extensive answers to the questions.

(3) As for my own viewing habits, I have a black and white Teletone TV and only receive RTE and Network 2 via rabbits ears. The set has no remote control. In the course of the research for this project I watched many of the programmes mentioned in the interviews and time use diaries in a friend's house, which is connected to Cablelink. During that time the point was made to me by two women in the household that I had a tendency to dominate the use of the remote control. In the past I have enjoyed viewing The Arts Show, The Boys of the Blackstuff, Darina Allen, Faulty Towers, The Flight of the Condor, The Late Late Show, Nighthawks, Rockford Files, The Professionals, Shannon's Deal and the The South Bank Show, I have cried during an episode of Little House on the Prairie and Strumpet City. I can't abide McGyver. I will read TV schedules in paper and make a mental note of programmes I wish to see. The Irish Times, The Independent and The Sunday Tribune would be the papers I would be most likely to buy. I listen to RTE Radio 1 on a daily basis and enjoy Marianne Finucane and The Arts Show In music The Cajun Kings, Miles Davis, Dolores Keane, Christy Moore, Peter Gabriel, The Pogues and Sharon Shannon would be favourites. In films, Cinema Paradiso The Commitments Dead Poet's Society, The Fisher King he Godfather 1-3, The Magnificent Seven, Missouri Breaks, Thelma and Louise and Zapata come to mind.

(4) The North Inner City Folklore Project was a Social Employment Scheme sponsored by the Alliance for Work Forum in October 1989 to gather stories and histories of those living in the north inner city of Dublin. In 1991 the project published Living in the City, the first of several publications, which presented an edited selection of extracts from taped interviews.

(5) Feminist Audience Theory and Research. A Round Table Discussion. Feminist Scholarship Group. International Communication Association. June 24-29, Dublin, Ireland. Mary Ellen Brown, Andrea Press and Cathy Schwichtenberg. pp 5/6

Chapter Seven

(1) Tony McIlroy's remark that Today Tonight was particularly Irish in the sense that "everybody is over forty five, stiff collared" strikes a chord with what television producer Peter Feeney has stated. According to Feeney "if you look at the Today Tonight team, there aren't nearly enough hungry young people in their twenties. There are a lot of people in their late thirties and forties, who have been at the same game for twenty years, have got older, more interested in their food, quieter, less radical than they were before. What RTE needs now is an infusion of new blood; what Ray Burke's Bill has done, more than anything else, is ensure that there will be no infusion of new blood in the foreseeable future"

(John Waters. The Irish Times. 20/10/1990).

Chapter Nine

(9.2)(1) Raymond William's notion of 'flow' has also been critiqued by John Ellis(1985:117)

APPENDIX NO.1.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE 10 FAMILIES

-The Burkes, Jack, Claire and Liam.

Jack, Claire and Liam have lived in their rented terraced corporation house since 1986, when they moved from a corporation flats complex, also in the Coolock area. Prior to that they lived in the Finglas area. At the time of the interview Jack, aged forty three, was unemployed having recently ended a one year Social Employment Scheme (SES). His previous employment was in the motor trade. At the time of the interview much of his spare time was taken up attending meetings to do with his health. When at home he enjoyed the Gerry Ryan and Larry Gogan Shows on 2FM. Jack and Claire would have regularly gone to the cinema when they were younger, but Jack said "it is 85p each way into town and then it 3 pound 50 a head, which is far too expensive to go see a film".(*) He was glad the new UCI cinema complex was opening in Coolock and said that he would use it.

Claire, aged 43, was an instructor on a Youth Reach programme and at the time of the interview had just returned from a youth exchange in which Dublin youth visited Belfast. Her leisure activities included two or three evenings at bingo and playing table tennis at work. She preferred the Gerry Ryan radio show(2FM) to Gay Byrne on Radio 1.

Their eldest son and daughter lived away from home, while Liam, aged 15, was still at school. In terms of sport, he enjoyed dirt track cycling and on radio he too enjoyed Gerry Ryan, as well as Gerry Wilson. He bought Your Sinclair and Spectrum computer magazines regularly and cited The Silver Sword and Christmas Carol as books he had enjoyed.

The Burkes bought The Irish Independent and The Evening Press.

The Burkes had one television, which was located in the living room. It recieved RTE 1, Network Two, BBC 1&2, ITV and Channel Four via an aerial.

(*) In 1992/93 a one way adult bus ticket from Coolock to the city centre cost 95 pence.

-The Cranstons, Dave, Molly, Hanna and Amy.

Molly and Dave Cranston moved from Santry to a privately owned house in the Coolock area in 1978 with their daughter Hanna. Since then Amy, aged seven, and Molly's father have joined the household. Due to poor sight Molly's father did not participate in the project, however, in the course of conversations with him and family members it transpired that he enjoyed the Blockbusters quiz show, Blind Date and Dad's Army, which was a particular favourite of his prior to his virtual loss of sight. Molly's father was born in England and according to her, he had "no time" for soap operas. He listened to a lot of radio, particularly BBC 4, which was his favourite radio station.

Dave, aged forty three worked as a credit controller in a dairy company. His leisure activities included horse racing and bringing his daughter and grandson for a drive in the country during the summer. On radio he listened to The Gay Byrne Show and sometimes The Pat Kenny Show.

Molly, who was aged forty one, worked full time in the home. She was a member of a Ladies Club, played badminton and had some of her poetry and short stories published through a local writers group. While Dave left school after his Primary Certificate, Molly continued at school until her Intermediate Certificate. As part of an adult education course, she did Leaving Certificate English and History. While Molly and Hanna belong to the Church of Ireland, Dave, like all of the other interviewees, was a member of the Catholic church.

As Hanna, aged 19, and her two year old son John, were staying at the family home at the time of interviews, she agreed to participate in the project, despite the fact that she was no longer a permanent member of the household. Since July 1990 she had lived in the south east of Ireland, however by September 1990 she had returned to live close by her parents home. As a lone parent one of her main roles is that of mother. In her spare time she is involved in a drama group and learning French. Hanna also enjoyed horse riding when living in the south east.

Amy, aged seven, was in third class at primary school in the Raheny area. According to Amy some of the first words she remembered Josh, Hanna's two year old son, speaking were 'turtle' and that he enjoyed Zig and Zag.

Molly and Dave bought The News of the World on Sundays and during the week The Evening Press or The Evening Herald. They had two televisions which are located in the living room and kitchen. Since the first week in October 1990 they were connected to Cablelink. Prior to that they received RTE One, Network Two, BBC1, BBC2, UTV and Channel Four via an aerial. This was the channel selection available to the family at the time of the audio taped interviews. The extra channels offered via Cablelink

were available during the period in which family members kept a diary. Based on two weeks television viewing with the wider channel selection Molly expressed disappointment, but along with Dave was pleased with the improved reception, especially for Channel Four, which had been poor when received via the aerial. The family also has a VCR, four radios, three tape recorders and a record player.

-The Dowlers, Anne, Garry, David, Trish and Daniellle

Anne Dowler had lived in Coolock since the early 1980s. She lived in a privately owned terraced house with her children Garry (aged 15), David (aged 13), Trish (aged 11) and Danielle (aged 2). Anne, who was aged 32, had been parenting alone for the previous five and half years. During 1991 she participated in a management training course in preparation for involvement in running a local resource centre for one parent families. She also had a part time cleaning job. On Wednesday evenings she went to a Ladies Club where sometimes bingo is played or a video is watched. The week prior to the interview, Shirley Valentine was shown - "everybody enjoyed that..that it was very good..talking to the walls and all she was y'know..ah it was comical..it was good". Anne described radio as her "lifeline" and how she wakened to the clock radio and went down to the kitchen where she "just switch it on and you get all the call-up calls and joking about radio.. 'thousand pound cash calls' y'know, all the likes of that and then later on then switch it to Gerry Ryan".

The Dowlers have one television which is located in the living room.

-The McElroys, Marie, Peter and Tony

The Mc Elroy family had lived in the Coolock area for twenty five years, having previously lived in the city centre of Dublin. As previous tenants they had purchased their five roomed terraced house from Dublin Corporation. Peter McElroy, aged 64, was a retired barman. As a younger man he played soccer and still retained a keen interest in the game. During fine weather he enjoyed gardening and read "cowboy books now and again".

Mrs Marie McElroy, aged 56, along with her husband had raised a family of four. She too has an active interest in gardening. Marie listened to the Gerry Ryan 2FM and her favourite novelist was Catherine Cookson. On average Marie and Peter Mc Elroy spent approximately twenty pounds a week on leisure activities. Marie recalled the lack of community spirit when first they moved to Coolock, but in later years experienced a strong sense of community among her neighbours. Both Peter and Marie were Fianna

Fail supporters and felt that there ought to be organised recreational activities for retired members of the Coolock area, especially during the winter months. Marie believed that compared to areas like Finglas and Ballyfermot, Coolock was poorly catered for in that respect.

Their eldest girl continued her education by travelling back to her city centre school for three years after the family moved to Coolock. She now lived within five minutes walk of the family home with her young son, who was looked after by her parents while she was at work. Their eldest son also had a family and lived outside Dublin, while the second daughter Joan and son Tony, still lived at home. Both Joan and Tony were employed in supervisory roles in their respective places of work. Due to the fact that Joan worked late in the evening and spent most of her weekends out of Dublin, it was not convenient for her to be interviewed. (*) Tony, who was born in Coolock in 1969, spent on average 60 pounds on leisure activities a week. He owned his own motor bike and bought Performance, Bike and Q magazines.

On Sundays the family bought The Sunday World, The People and The News of the World, and during the week The Star and The Evening Herald.

There were three televisions in the house, at least one of which was connected to Cablelink, providing them with a selection of twelve channels. They used to have a VCR. They had a telephone.

-The Murphys, Thomas, Teresa, Sean, David, Patrick, Martin, Pauline and Margaret

Thomas and Teresa Murphy grew up in the Ballybough and North Wall districts of Dublin and had lived in Coolock since 1969. Thomas, who was aged 35, worked as a crane driver. He liked to "go and watch football, I'm not a very sporty person, anything in general, I'd go up to watch the football on a Sunday and on an odd Sunday to see David [his son] playing. I don't always go out at weekends".

Teresa, aged 36, saw herself herself as a full-time mother/houseworker. Both she and Thomas had six children, two girls and four boys, all under the age of fifteen. She went regularly go to bingo on Fridays and Saturdays. Both left school after completing their Primary Certificates. She and Thomas, would, "every so often" go out for a drink in Coolock village. An "odd time" she reads Women's Weekly or Bella.

Teresa recalled how in her childhood the area of Dublin north of Fairview was unknown to her. However both she and Thomas then had members of their immediate families living in the Coolock area.

All the family were members of the local Coolock library. Some of the children made use of an Atari computer in the home. They seldom bought a paper as one of the boys did an evening paper run in the locality.

They had two televisions, one in the living room and a portable colour set upstairs in one of the bedrooms. The Murphy's had a telephone.

-The O'Neills, James, Mairead, Tony, Mary and Dave

The O'Neill family had lived in the Coolock area since 1982, having moved from Ballymun, where they lived for twelve years. Theirs was a rented Dublin Corporation dwelling built in the early 1980s and as such one of the most recent corporation housing developments in the area. James, who was aged fifty, grew up in the Pearse Street area of Dublin and was a fettler by occupation, however, at the time of the interview was unemployed. James was a member of a pitch and putt club and went "walking for an hour or two most days". Mairead, aged 46, described herself as a "housewife", but also worked part-time outside the home during week-day afternoons. She was actively involved in an all women Catholic prayer group, the Faith Friends for Baptism and the local church choir. She went to bingo on Thursday evenings with a group of four or five of her friends, "I'd never

win, but I would enjoy it anyway. It is a bit of company, and we'd chat about different things as well".

Tony, their eldest boy, was 22 and a plumber by trade, having been awarded a Senior Trade Certificate. Although unemployed at the time of the interview, he was later in 1991 to be re-employed. According to Tony "possibly 90% of all my spare time is dedicated to writing songs and music production." He was a regular buyer of Hot Press, Keyboard Magazine as well as Home and Studio. On average he spent between thirty and fifty pounds a week on leisure activities.

Mary, who was aged nineteen, left school with an honours Leaving Certificate and worked as a bank clerk. She did aerobics during the week and normally went out with her boyfriend at the weekends. She bought Woman and Woman's Way. Mary spent about thirty pounds a week on average on leisure activity.

Dave, at fifteen was the youngest member of the family and sat and passed his Intermediate Certificate in 1991. In school sports he ran and played badminton. During the summer holidays he played pitch and putt, and tennis. Dave bought computer magazines and on average week would have had about three pounds pocket money.

The O'Neills had two televisions, a colour set in the living room and a black and white set in the kitchen. Both their VCR and TV remote control had been stolen from the house.

The family bought The Sunday Press and The People on Sunday and The Evening Herald during the week.

-The Sheridans, June, Mark, Patricia, and Alan.

June Sheridan had lived in a rented Corporation house in the Coolock area since 1986, when she moved from Clontarf, having previously just moved from Finglas. She left school after her Primary Certificate. While June was 34 her three children, which she rearing alone, were aged thirteen, ten and seven. As a lone parent she said she was constantly under pressure to 'make ends meet' and had recently returned a VCR which she could no longer afford to rent. While she spoke well of her immediate neighbours she was not content living in Coolock. She felt that while "people were tough in Finglas, people looked out for each other" a feeling she didn't get in her present neighbourhood.

The Sheridans had one television set, which was situated in the living room. Bernadette bought The Sunday World on the "odd Sunday" and stated that she never bought a daily paper.

-The Smyths, Des, Jane, Peter, Lauren and Sarah.

Des and Jane Smyth were married in Coolock Catholic parish church and lived in Artane before moving to Coolock in 1969. Their family consisted of one boy and two girls. Des, aged forty eight, worked in the clothing trade as did their eldest son Peter, who was aged twenty. Both he and his father were keen soccer enthusiasts. Des trained and Peter played with a team that was originally based in the north inner city of Dublin, where Des grew up. Des also played golf. Des listed Frederick Forsyth, Stephen King, Ed McBain, Walter Macken, Wilber Smith, Bram Stoker and Tolkien as his favourite novelists.

Jane grew up in the vicinity of Coolock village and since her marriage had devoted most of her energy to the task of raising a family and working in the home. In late 1991 she started a part time job outside the home.

The eldest girl Lauren, who was aged 16, expressed a keen interest in fashion design and was in August 1991 awarded a university place. Sarah, the youngest member of the family at twelve years of age, was still at school. Her favourite sports were basketball and running. She also enjoyed watching American wrestling on television.

The Smyths had three televisions, one each in the two living rooms and one of the bedrooms. They also had a VCR, four radios, two record players, three tape recorders and a CD player. The Smyths also had a telephone.

-The Teelings, Joe, Mary, Peter, John and Eamonn.

Joe and Mary Teeling moved to Coolock in March 1970, having previously lived with Mary's parents in Crumlin since their marriage. They had three boys. Joe, aged forty six, was employed in a supervisory role in a pharmaceutical company based in the south side of Dublin. He enjoyed reading and listening to music.

Mary, who was aged forty eight, described herself as a housewife and worked part time outside the home. She enjoyed walking and spent on average fifteen pounds a week on leisure activities.

Peter, the eldest son, worked as an administrative assistant in a city centre insurance company. At the time of the interview he was doing a computer course. On average he spent 80 pounds a week on leisure activities. During the week he would sometimes buy The Guardian, The European, The London Times, The Irish Times or The Independent.

John, aged seventeen, completed his Leaving Certificate and was doing a FAS course in basic engineering. He was interested in war planes and had a collection of magazines on the subject. Eamonn, aged twelve, was still attending school. He played soccer and his pocket money amounted to under two pounds a week.

The family normally bought The Sunday World and The Sunday Independent and during the week The Evening Herald.

The Teelings had two televisions (one with teletext). While one was located in one of the living rooms, the other was in one of the bedrooms. They also had a VCR, five radios, as well as at least one record player, tape recorder and CD player.

-The Whelans, Josephine, Matthew, Bernadette, Joseph, Marie, Anthony and Thomas

Josephine and Matthew Whelan had lived in Coolock since 1967, where they raised seven children, three of whom then had children of their own. Theirs is an open, hospitable six roomed house, which was purchased from the Corporation in the mid 1970s.

During the course of the interviews Matthew was on sick leave, he normally worked night shift in a local factory. Born in September 1939, Matthew played soccer semi-professionally as a young man and was a longtime supporter of Liverpool. He enjoyed a pint and on average, he would spend 25 pounds a week on leisure activities.

Josephine who was born in March 1941 described herself as a former "townie," having grown up in the Sean McDermot Street area of Dublin. She recalled the night when she and her husband Matthew joined the celebration outside the Gresham Hotel on O'Connell Street, for the launch of Radio Telefis Eireann(RTE) in 1961. Josephine was employed part-time in the catering trade and expressed a strong belief in the need for trade unions. She had played an active role in her local Community Association, Summer Projects (etc) and actively supported the 1972/73 rent strike in Coolock. In the early 1980s she supported the campaign for political status for republican prisoners in the north of Ireland. Twelve pounds would be the weekly average amount she spent on leisure activities, such as bingo and books. She described herself as a "bookaholic".

Bernadette, the eldest of the children living at home, was three when the family moved to Coolock from the Church Street area of Dublin, where she was born and where her father grew up. She worked as a part time sales assistant and had a three year old son named Christopher. For five years Bernadette was involved in a local community radio station. She was angered by the fact that the Irish Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) had not recognised the years of voluntary work many like herself had contributed to genuine community radio.

Joseph like his father and brothers had a keen interest in sports. He was former national brake dance champion and did karate and kick boxing. He neither drank nor smoked. Marie, aged sixteen, was during the interview on a vocational training course. Marie was also involved in the Dublin Youth Theatre and had some poems published in the Free Press, a local community magazine. She liked heavy metal music, "bands like Faith No More, Red Hot Chillie Peppers, Slayer" she said that "people talk about heavy metal as devil worshipping and all that, it is all stupid, it doesn't influence people at all. Like if you are going to do something, you'll do it anyway". Marie also enjoyed horror books and comics, Stephen King and horror comics sold in The Forbidden Planet[Dawson Street], but Marie felt that the "horror ones are very expensive".

Anthony, aged 12, and Thomas, aged 11, were both skate board enthusiasts. According to Anthony's father he was turning out to be a skilled soccer player, possibly following in his father's foot steps.

The Whelans had two television sets, one in the living room and the second one in one of the bedrooms. They also had a VCR, seven radios, two record players, five tape recorders and a CD player.

They bought The Evening Herald and The Sunday Independent.

APPENDIX NO.2.

A SUMMARY OF THE RESPONSES OF THE UNDER 14s

Children under the age of 14 in the 10 families were requested to list or illustrate the following:

- (i) What they liked on television
- (ii) What they disliked on television
- (iii) What they'd like to see more of on television

Two of the children were not consulted as they were unavailable.

Below are their responses:

- The Cransons, Amy

Amy Cranson's favourite programmes were The Simpsons, Popeye, The Fruities, The Turtles and Motormouth on Saturday mornings. She disliked Jo-Maxi, Kenny Live, the nine o'clock news "all about the Gulf". She would like more television programmes featuring Bosco, Mighty Mouse and Friends, puppets, drawing and "how to make things..clowns and stuff".

-The Dowlers, Trish

When asked her favourite television programmes Trish, who was aged 11, listed twenty programmes. Top of the list included The Turtles, My Little Pony and Neighbours. She would like to see more of The Simpsons, Quintin Mincle, Tom and Gerry, The Chip Monks, Love Boat and programmes about roller skating. Trish's dislikes were wrestling, Eastenders, Coronation Street, soap operas, snooker, darts and horse riding. Neither Garry nor David Dowler were available to give their responses.

-The Murphys, Sean, David, Patrick, Pauline, Martin, and Margaret.

Sean's the eldest at 14, listed his favourite channels as MTV, Sky One and Eurosport. He'd like to see more films on "real life and what's happening around the world". He doesn't "like films that are repeated nearly every week and good films are only shown on any holiday weekends and around Christmas". His favourite bands are MC Hammer, Tecnotronic and Snap.

David, aged eleven, listed nine favourite television programmes. These were The Simpsons, 21 Jump Street, The School Around the Corner, football("I follow Liverpool and Ireland"), The Secret

Video Show, The New Steve and Danny Show, Neighbours and Home and Away. He also listed MTV as a favourite channel. Programmes that he disliked were those on basketball and golf, as well as Wise Guy, Fair City and EastEnders. When asked what he would like to see more of he listed four of his favourites as The Simpsons, The Secret Video Show, football, and The New Steve and Danny Show.

Patrick, who is aged ten, said that he "loves The Simpsons, the only thing I don't like that he's always the bad boy". Other favourites include Home and Away, Fair City, Wise Guy, V, EastEnders, Strike it Lucky, The School Around the Corner. He likes "music" and basketball.

Pauline, aged seven, gave The Simpsons and The Den as her favourite programmes, she also listed Neighbours, Strike it Lucky, The Turtles, School around the Corner, Star Trek and The New Steve and Danny Show. She listed BBC1 as one of her 'likes'. In terms of her dislikes she listed football, music, the news, "baby stuff," Home and Away and "monster films".

Martin, aged six, stated that his favourite television programmes were The Simpsons, He Man, The New Steve and Danny Show and Freddie. He listed the Children's Channel as one of his favourites. Martin said he didn't like the news, football, MTV, and monster films.

According to Teresa Murphy, the childrens mother, Margaret who is one year old likes the cartoons on the Childrens Channel and anything with dogs in it, she's "doggie mad". Other favourites are The School Around the Corner and The Simpsons.

-The Sheridans, Mark, Patricia and Alan

Mark, aged thirteen, is in the first year of secondary school and is on the school's hurling and Gaelic football teams. He also plays soccer and fishes in Howth. His favourite TV channel is MTV and thinks BBC1 is best for "good films"(such as Die Hard, Lethal Weapon) He said that he "hates" Brookside and EastEnders.

Patricia, who is aged ten, listed as her favourite bands/singers New Kids on the Block, Technacronic, Vanilla Ice, and MC Hammer. Patricia likes The Simpsons, V, Zig and Zag, The Childrens Channel, Coronation Street, Brookside, Neighbours, Home and Away, The Golden Girls, Rosanne, Cheers, Shera, Love at First Sight, DJ Cat Show. When asked about her dislikes she mentioned Today Tonight.

Alan, who is seven, wrote with an eye over his sister's shoulder, that he liked The Simpsons, The Turtles, V, Zig and Zag, The DJ Cat Show, Shera, Love at First Sight, Rosanne and He-Man. His favourite music was Bart Simpson's 'Do the Bart Man' and Micheal Jackson.

-The Whelans, Anthony and Thomas

Anthony, aged 12, gave as his favourite television programmes The Simpsons and The Turtles as well as programmes about skateboarding and motorcycling. He disliked Home and Away ("that's stupid") and Chips ("two policemen on bikes, think they're two macho men and can clean up the whole town".) Anthony would like to see more cartoons and films on television as well as series like MacGyver and The A-Team. Thomas who also dislikes Bosco, Jack in the Box and horse racing, thinks there ought to be more programmes about skate boarding as well as information as to when these programmes are on.

APPENDIX NO.3.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AS OF 26/2/1991

OPENERS

Could you tell me your favourite TV programme(s)?
Do you have a regular favourite(s) that you watch?
Are there programmes that you would never watch?
Are there programmes that you would find boring?
Which channel do you watch the most?
Which in your opinion is the best channel?
Which British made TV programmes would you like best?
Which US made TV programmes would you like best?
Which Irish made TV programmes would you like best?

SERIALS AND SOAPS

Do you follow a serial or a soap?
How long have you been following it?
What do you most enjoy about these programmes?
Why do you think you watch it/them?
Do you have favourite characters in these soaps or serials?
Do you think they are true to life?
What do you think of the portrayal of women in soaps?
Do any of the characters upset or annoy you?
Do any of the situations or stories make you cry?
Do you watch Fair City?
Do you always get to see your favourite programme

COMEDY

Do you watch any comedy programmes?
Which ones?
What do you like about them?

SPORT

Do you watch any sports programmes?
Which ones?
Which is your favourite sport?
Which channel do you watch sport on?
When?
With whom do you watch it?

EDUCATIONAL

Which programmes do you consider to be educational?
Do you watch any of these regularly?

NEWS AND CURRENT AFFAIRS

Do you watch the news?
If so, which one?
Do you watch current affairs programmes?
If so, which one?
Do you watch documentaries?

ADULTS AND CHILDREN'S [at primary school level] VIEWING

What do the children watch?

How much do they watch?

TIME SPENT IN FRONT OF THE TELEVISION

How early in the day is the television switched on?

Who switches it on?

When would you start watching?

Do you watch breakfast television?

When is the television on during the day?

When would you watch it during the day?

How late would you watch TV until?

During the week?

At the weekend?

On average during the winter how many hours do you watch television:

(i) On a week day?

(ii) During the weekend?

Is the TV ever left on when nobody is in the room?

Would you plan your viewing?

Do you check to see whats on in the paper?

Do you have teletext?

Do you use it?

INDIVIDUAL/GROUP VIEWING

Do you watch television alone?

When do you watch it alone?

Which programmes do you watch with others?

When would that be?

Do you watch television in places other than in your home?

POWER AND TELEVISION

Do you switch from one channel to another during the ads?

Where is the remote control left when the TV is on?

Who gets to use the remote control the most?

Does it annoy you when someone else uses the remote control when you are watching television?

Does talk or noise upset you during your favourite programme?

If one or more people want to watch different programmes, how does that get sorted out?

Are there ever rows about people not getting to watch a particular programmes?

Are there particular seating arrangements when members of the 'household' are watching television?

POSSIBLE POINTS OF RESISTANCE

Do any TV programmes provoke discussions or arguments?
Do you discuss what you have seen on television with others?
Are you satisfied with the selection of programmes on RTE/Network Two?
What type of programme would you like to see more of?
Which in your opinion have been the best RTE programmes?
Which programmes do you think are particularly Irish?
Do you detect any bias in television programmes?

VCR

Do you record TV programmes?
If so, which ones do you record?
How often would you watch these recorded programmes?
When would you get to watch them?
Which ones would you keep?
How many programmes have you recorded?
Do you hire videos?
How often do you hire videos?
From where?
Are you a member of a video club?
Whose name is the video club membership in?
How would you choose a video?
Who in the household would normally rent the video?
How many videos would you hire at a time?
When would you hire a video?
Do you swap videos with friends or neighbours?
Which is your favourite type of video?
During the past month which rented videos can you remember watching?
Do you use computer games?

OTHER LEISURE ACTIVITY

Besides watching television, how else do you spend your leisure time?
Do you listen to the radio?
What station(s)?
What programmes?
Are you a cinema goer?
Which cinema(s)?
Could you name some of the films that you have seen during the last six months?
With whom do you go to the cinema?
Do you read books or magazines?
If so, which ones?

The following questions were included in the first few interviews, but were omitted in subsequent interviews because they were considered to be unsuitable.

Do you think there are good role models for children on television?

Which programmes do you think are suitable for children?

Which programmes do you think are unsuitable for children?

Is television ever used to reward children?

Do you think RTE/Network Two presents a true picture of Irish society?

Do you ever disagree with the way things are presented on RTE/Network Two?

APPENDIX No.4.

FAMILY PROFILE QUESTIONNAIRE

[confidential information]

First name:

Date of birth:

When did you move to your present address?

What is the location of your previous address?

Date of Interview:

Married, single, divorced or separated:

Occupation.

Highest educational qualification achieved to date:

Present educational involvement:

Do you live in rented or purchased accomodation.

Number of rooms in the house.

Religion.

Do you, or have you had, an involvement with trade unions?

Are you involved in any organisations? [Community Associations ETC]

Do you belong to any sports clubs or organisations?

Are you a member of a library?

Do you have any party political connections?

What is the weekly average amount of money that you spend on leisure activities?

How many televisions do you have in the house?

Is your house connected to Cablelink?

Which television channels do you have access to:

RTE 1/Network 2/UTV/Channel Four/BBC1/BBC2/Sky One/Sky News
Eurosport/Screen Sport/The Children's Channel/Super/Lifestyle.

Does the television(s) have a remote control?

Is there a video recorder in the house?

Are there computer games in the house?

Does the television(s) have Teletext?

Is the RTE guide ever purchased?

How many radios are in the house?

Is there a record player in the house?

Is there a tape recorder in the house?

Is there a CD player in the house?

Which Sunday paper(s) are bought?

Which Daily papers are bought?

Which magazines do you buy?

Other relevant points:

Points not covered in the interview:

APPENDIX NO.5.

LETTER AND ACCOMPANYING DIARY FORM

Original on Dublin City University headed note paper with college and home telephone number included

Dear

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your participation in this project and to let you know that your taped interview/drawing turned out very well.

For the final part of the project I am asking you to keep a diary for one week, from Friday 11th to Thursday 17th of October, which is a slight change of date from what I originally suggested. In general, what I am asking for is an account of your daily routine during this particular week.

On the enclosed forms for each day you'll see that the day has been divided into twenty four hourly slots on both sides of each of the seven pages. Starting on Friday morning I would like you to keep a diary of your week by writing the information into the relevant slots. While it is completely up to you to write down what you wish, I would appreciate information on the following: when you rise and go to bed, details of housework, school, work outside the home, shopping, religious observances, sports, bingo, play, leisure, community activity. In terms of television I would request that you write down the following information: when the television is switched on, the programmes you watch and on which channel. At the end of the form for each day I would like you to write down the favourite programme that you watched within the previous 24 hours.

Could you also include information on newspapers bought/read, radio programmes/stations listened to, music played or listened to, videos recorded/watched/hired, use of computer, films seen in cinemas and books/magazines/comics bought/read.

As with the previous information all details recorded will be treated in a confidential manner. Please let me know if you have any questions or problems in relation to the diary.

Best wishes,

Des Mc Guinness

To cut down on writing I request that you write the following letters in the relevant slots, when you are involved in the following activities:

Circled A for housework
Circled F for shopping
Circled B for work outside the home and travel
Circled C for school, homework and courses
Circled E for leisure (play, bingo, pub, cinema etc.)
Circled D for sports

Then for each day I would also like you to remember to include the following information:

Which programmes did you watch and on which channel did you watch them, for example: "Glenroe (RTE1)"
Which videos did you watch/hire/ borrow and/or record.
Which radio programmes did you listen to.
Which films did you see in the cinema
Which computer games did you use.

Which newspapers did you buy and/or read.
Which books/magazines/comics did you buy and/or read.

Also could you please include the times you rise and go to bed

Once again thanks for your co-operation.

NAME _____ DAY _____

A for housework...F for shopping...B for work outside the home and travel...C for school, homework and courses...E for leisure (play, bingo, pub, cinema etc.) ...D for sports.
Information on TV programmes and channel...videos... radio programmes...films(cinema)...computer games...newspapers...books /magazines/comics...rise and go to bed

6-7AM

12-1PM

7-8AM

1-2PM

8-9AM

2-3PM

9-10AM

3-4PM

10-11AM

4-5PM

11-12AM

5-6PM

6-7PM

12-1PM

7-8PM

1-2AM

8-9PM

2-3AM

9-10PM

3-4AM

10-11PM

4-5AM

11-12PM

5-6AM

Favourite TV programme
watched in this 24 hours

APPENDIX NO.6.

THE TIME PERIODS FAMILY MEMBERS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION

(Based on interview extracts)

-The Burkes

When at home from Monday to Friday(M-F) Claire would watch the BBC 1 o'clock news and in the afternoon an odd film". Normally Jack, who was unemployed during the period of his participation in the project, would not watch television until the evening, except for some race meetings and golf competitions. Liam would first watch after school at 4.30 pm. While Claire said she would "sit up all night" watching television. However, when she is working outside the home she usually retires between 11 and 12 midnight Monday to Thursday, then on Friday it could be 1.00 am. For Jack 11.30 to 12 midnight would be usual, while 10.30 for Liam. As for hours watched M-F, Claire said it would be 6 to 8 hours if she was in. From M-F Jack would watch 4,2,6,6,2 hours respectively. Liam would average 3 to 4 hours in the same period. On Saturdays the television was normally on from 8am until 2am the following day. When at home at the weekend Claire would watch 6 to 8 hours while Jack said 3 hours on each day. Liam said 2 to 3 hours on Saturday and four and half approximately on Sunday.

-The Cransons

According to Molly from M-F the television is on from 1 o'clock to 12 midnight. Molly would first watch the RTE television news at 1 o'clock followed by Neighbours at 1.30p. When she is at home Hanna's first programme would also be Neighbours, while Dave would normally commence viewing at the 6 o'clock news, unless he was working nights and in that case he would watch breakfast television before going to bed. From M-F Molly would tend to watch television from tea time to 11 o'clock and given that she watches it prior to that it would be reasonable to surmise that she watches approximately 6-7 hours a day in that period. Hanna would watch that amount or more as she sometimes stayed up during the week to view horror movies. According to Dave he would watch about 2 hours a night M-F, possibly more on a Wednesday when he usually stays up until 12.30 to see the sports coverage. At the weekends Molly said the television would be on from 9 o'clock on Saturday and on Sunday from 10 o'clock. As Hanna would be away from home on both these days, her viewing would average 2 to 3 hours, while Dave would tend to watch 5-6 hours of mainly sports coverage on Saturday.

-The Dowlers

The television is switched on at 7.30am by one of the Dowler children and it is switched back off at 9 o'clock when they go to school. It is back on at 3 o'clock when they return. The last of the children go to bed at 10 o'clock and if Anne is tired she retires at 11 o'clock. On average from M-F Anne would watch 3 hours a day "at the most, on Saturday she would go shopping and on Sunday she would watch 5-6 hours.

-The McIlroys

According to Marie the television is continuously on from 3 in the afternoon to 11.30 at night from M-F. Both Marie and Peter said that if the weather was fine during the winter months both would be out gardening. Marie and Peter would first watch television at 11 or 12 o'clock and that would normally be just for Sky News. The earliest Tony would watch would be 4.30pm on his return from work. While Marie would usually have retired by 11 o'clock, Peter would stay up until 11.30 or so and when Tony is in he would stay up until 12-12.30am. Marie said she would watch about 4 hours M-F, Peter 4 1/2 hours and Tony 10 hours for the whole week, as he said "TV is not a major thing for me, music is". On Saturday the television is on from 8 o'clock in the morning.

-The Murphys

Teresa or one of the children switch on the downstairs television at 7.30 in the morning. While it is switched off for a while after the children go to school, Teresa would put it back on and would be watching it as she was working "one eye on the telly, one eye on the housework". She also has her youngest child to mind. Thomas would usually start watching when he returns from work at tea time. Both would cease watching between 11.30 and 11.45pm. While Teresa would average 5 hours of television M-F, for Thomas it would be 4 hours approximately. Teresa would view less on Saturday as she is busy with shopping, involved in childrens' sports activities and going to bingo that night. On Sunday television viewing tended to be confined to the evening, unless she watched the afternoon soccer match. On Saturday Thomas would watch 6-10 hours of television, staying up until 1 or 1.30am. Sunday "would be the longest day" in terms of watching television, starting at 12 noon.

-The O'Neills

When at home Mairead would frequently watch TV-AM followed by American Gameshows on Lifestyle. Her daughter Mary would first watch TV-AM at 7.30am if she was working, if not at 12 noon, when she would watch one of the American soaps on Sky One. Dave, the youngest in the family, would first watch television with his sister Mary at 7.45am, before going to school. James, who was unemployed in the period in which he participated in the project,

would first watch the television at 1 o'clock for the news. Tony, the eldest boy, would start by watching The Den at 3pm if at home. Mairead would watch 6 hours M-F, Mary 3 hours, James 9-10 hours, Tony 4-5 hours, and Dave 4 hours. As for weekend viewing Mairead would watch 6 hours on Saturday and less on Sunday "because of the sports". James would watch sports on Saturday and maybe a film as well as a quiz. On Sunday he would watch less as he would go out that evening. Mary and Tony tend to be out at the weekend and Dave would watch 5-6 hours on Saturday and on Sunday "maybe 3 hours".

-The Sheridans

The television is switched on from 7.30 - 8.30am by the Sheridan children. June would first watch Sally Jessy Raphael at noon on the Lifestyle channel. M-F she would watch 7 hours a day. On Saturday she would only watch television in the evening and on Sunday morning maybe for 2 hours with the children before mass.

-The Smyths

Jane would first watch the television for a while at 3pm when Sarah came home from school. Lauren's first programme could have been as late as 9 or 9.30pm after doing her homework, as during the period of the interviews she was studying for her Leaving Cert. During the Gulf War Des watched breakfast television, but stopped after the war ended. Since then he normally started watching television at tea time after work. Peter said sometimes he and his father came home for lunch and Neighbours is watched while eating lunch. From M-F Jane would retire at 11.30pm, at 11 pm if "there was nothing on", Lauren about 10pm, and Peter between 11 and 11.30pm. Jane would watch about 5 hours television each evening M-F, Lauren from 1 hour to 1 1/2 hours and Peter 4 to 4 1/2 when he is in for the evening. At the weekend Jane would only tend to watch in the evening as sports are frequently watched by Des and/or Peter from noon until tea time. The same goes for Lauren, who on Sunday evening would watch The Clothes Show, The Antique Road Show, The Cosby Show, The Wonder Years, 21 Jump Street and Glenroe on a regular basis. Peter would tend to watch between 6 and 7 hours of television on Saturday, which sometimes included watching Going Live! on Saturday morning. Peter would normally watch more than 7 hours on Sunday.

-The Teelings

The television was normally not switched on in the Teelings until Eamonn came home after school. However if John had no school he would switch it on when he came down stairs. If John was watching Neighbours at 1.30pm Mary would join him, otherwise she watched it at 6.30pm. From M-F Mary said that she wouldn't watch television after midnight, Joe tended to retire by 11.30pm, Peter around 11-11.30pm, John also around midnight and Eamonn around 11pm at the latest. M-F Mary would watch about 2 hours each day, Joe 3-4 hours on "an extended evening," Peter up to 5 hours, John 3-4 hours, Eamonn 3 1/2 hours. At the weekends Mary wouldn't watch "much more" than 2 hours on each day, Joe would watch about 6 hours of mainly sports coverage on Saturday. Peter tended to go out socialising at the weekend and would usually miss the sports on Saturday. However, he said some of his favourite programmes were on Sunday evening. John would tend to watch from 5 to 6 hours on television on Saturday and Sunday, some of which he watches in a friend's house. On Saturday Eamonn would watch 4-5 hours and less on Sunday as he went out with his friends.

-The Whelans

The television was switched on at 7 or 7.30am by Josephine, Thomas or Marie and it doesn't normally go off until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. When at home Josephine would first watch Sky News at 11am. Bernadette was at home some days of the week and while doing house work "I'd watch maybe 15 minutes of this and 10 minutes of that and while I'm in and out I'd kinda look and see what's going on". Marie would first watch TV-AM, Matthew would first watch as he is having his breakfast and Joseph would normally not sit down to watch until tea time when he returns from work. Josephine said she would watch "about an hour and a half" M-F, Bernadette would average 3 to 4 hours, Marie 4 or 5 hours, Matthew, "a couple of hours a day, at least". At the weekends Josephine would watch from 4 to 6 hours.

APPENDIX NO.7.

The following figures represent the number of hours family members engaged in a list of 11 activities during the week in which the time use diaries were filled in.

-The Burkes	Claire	Jack	Liam
(i) Work and Travel	29		28
(ii) House Work	28	9	
(iii) Shopping	4		
(iv) School etc	2	21	35
(v) Sports			12
(vi) Religion			
(vii) Leisure		26	19
(viii) Watching Television	13	32	12
(iix) Watching Television and..			
(ix) Radio	25	19	7
(x) Video			
(xi) Reading		2	3

-The Cransons		Molly	Hanna	Amy	Dave
(i)	Work and Travel	18			94
(ii)	House Work	42	29	2	
(iii)	Shopping	5	9		
(iv)	School	2		31	
(v)	Sports				
(vi)	Religion				
(vii)	Leisure				10
(viii)	Watching Television	30	33	20	8
(iix)	Watching Television and..			2	
(ix)	Radio	8			
(x)	Video	4		3	
(xi)	Reading				

-The McIlroys	Marie (Mon- Wed)	Peter
(i) Work and Travel		
(ii) House Work	7	2
(iii) Shopping	13	
(iv) Educational		
(v) Sports		
(vi) Religion		
(vii) Leisure		10 (Gardening)
(viii) Watching Television	23	23
(ix) Watching Television and..	3	
(ix) Radio		
(x) Video		
(xi) Reading		

-The Murphys Teresa Thomas Stephen Brian Paul Garry Linda

(i)	Work and Travel		46		6		7					
(ii)	House Work	31										
(iii)	Shopping	6										
(iv)	School etc.	2			35	37	33	33		32		
(v)	Sports				7	2		2				
(vi)	Religion				1			1				
(vii)	Leisure	3	15				2	2				
(viii)	Watching Television	28	37		13	15	12	10		14		
(ix)	Watching Television and..	3								1		
(ix)	Radio			(at work)								
(x)	Video	3	3									
(xi)	Reading											

-The O'Neills	Mairead	Lisa	James (Mon-Fri)	Peter	Dave
(i) Work and Travel	15	50		72	
(ii) House Work	20		7		1
(iii) Shopping	7	1	6		
(iv) School etc					47
(v) Sports					
(vi) Religion	11				1
(vii) Leisure			18	26	6
(viii) Watching Television	18	18	20	2	38
(iix) Watching Television and..					
(ix) Radio					
(x) Video				1	
(xi) Reading					

-The Sheridans		June (Mon-Wed)	Mary	Chris	Patrick
(i)	Work and Travel				
(ii)	House Work	17			
(iii)	Shopping	2			
(iv)	School		29	43	40
(v)	Sports				
(vi)	Religion				
(vii)	Leisure			44	23
(viii)	Watching Television	9	30	13	31
(iix)	Watching Television and..				
(ix)	Radio				
(x)	Video				
(xi)	Reading				

-The Smyths	Jane	Lauren	Sarah	Des	Peter
(i) Work and Travel	18			58	50
(ii) House Work	25			14	
(iii) Shopping	2				
(iv) School	9	34	43		
(v) Sports			4	8	11
(vi) Religion	1	1	1		
(vii) Leisure	20	20	20		
(viii) Watching Television	22	26	29	15	28
(iix) Watching Television and.	2				
(ix) Radio	6	3		3	
(x) Video	2				
(xi) Reading					

-The Teelings		Lily	Joe	Peter	Joseph	Eamonn
(i)	Work and Travel		60	61	44	
(ii)	House Work	26	4			
(iii)	Shopping	7	2			
(iv)	School				12	43
(v)	Sports					8
(vi)	Religion	1				
(vii)	Leisure		8 (music)			
(viii)	Watching Television	25	27	18	20	24
(iix)	Watching Television and..					
(ix)	Radio	4	4	4		
(x)	Video	3			6	2
(xi)	Reading					

The Whelans	Marie	Joseph
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(i)	Work and Travel		53
(ii)	House Work		
(iii)	Shopping		
(iv)	School etc.		
(v)	Sports		2
(vi)	Religion		
(vii)	Leisure		11
(viii)	Watching Television	15	
(ix)	Watching Television and..		
(ix)	Radio	5	
(x)	Video	5	
(xi)	Reading		

APPENDIX NO.8.

EXAMPLES OF THE INFORMATION EMERGING FROM TWO OF THE FAMILIES WHO FILLED IN THE TIME USE DIARIES

In order to gain an appreciation of the information emerging from the interviews, the responses of two families are presented below in detailed narrative form. The time engaged in various activities is raised to the nearest hour, unless otherwise stated.

The Burkes and the Smyth families were chosen for different reasons, other than that their diaries were well completed. In contrast to the Smyths, whose television was connected to Cablelink, the Burke's received by way of aerial, RTE1, Network 2, UTV, BBC1, BBC2 and Channel 4. Jack Burke was unemployed at the time, while Des Smyth had been in constant employment. The Burkes rented their home from the Corporation while the Smyth's owned their own home. The week long diary of the two families was as follows:

The Burkes

(Monday) Claire Burke rose at 6.45 a.m. and switched on 2FM. Between that and 8.10a.m. washed, dressed, had breakfast, called Liam, made lunches, pressed some clothes, washed breakfast delph and put washing in the machine. At 8.10 a.m. left for work (outside the home) on a Youth-Reach project. Returned home between 6-7p.m. made dinner, listened to FM 104 and read The Evening Herald. At 7.30 p.m. switched on television and watched Coronation Street(Network 2). Between 9-9p.m. watched Telly Addicts(BBC1) and finished reading The Evening Herald. In the period between 9-10 p.m. watched the RTE1 news and Panorama(BBC1), the subject being the sleeping drug 'Halicon'. At 10.20 watched Questions and Answers(RTE1) until the end of the programme at 11.25 p.m. At 11.30 watched The Victorian Kitchen(BBC1), followed by Skillshop on the same station. Retired to bed at 12.45a.m. Favourite programmes: Panorama and Questions and Answers

(Tuesday) On Tuesday morning vacuumed and polished the house and attended a 'Budget Cookery Course' where the dish was chicken curry and rice. On return from work she listened to 2FM while preparing dinner in the kitchen between 5-6p.m., sat down to dinner at 6.30 p.m. with 2FM on in the background and then read The Evening Press. At 7.30 watched EastEnders(BBC1) followed by the British Fashion Awards 1991, on the same station. At 8.30 p.m. went to bingo, returning home between 10-11 p.m. not having won! Watched Private Lives(RTE1) at 10.35 p.m. and after it finished at 11.05 p.m. filled in the diary and went to bed at 11.45p.m. Favourite programme: EastEnders.

(Wednesday) Claire's schedule on Wednesday morning was virtually the same as Monday. Having got the bus home from work prepared dinner between 5-6 p.m. and then prior to 8 o'clock eat dinner, read The Evening Press and listened to 2FM. Then before nine went to bed early.

(Thursday) Got out of bed at 7.15 p.m., made lunches, had breakfast, listened to 2FM and cleaned kitchen prior to 9 o'clock. Between 9-10 a.m. travelled to the Unemployment Office to sign on for the two days she does not work, then during the next hour went to her work place for "what is called non-contact time". Between 11 and 2 p.m. went shopping and collected a passport for her son. After 1 o'clock she did more shopping in Dunnes and then returned to work to see her boss. In the hour from 1-2 p.m. planned the next week's work and discussed how the training was progressing. Arrived home after five and having put the shopping away and prepared dinner had a lie down for one hour. Dinner was served and eaten between 6-7 o'clock and then at 7.05 took a bus to a meeting. Arrived home after nine o'clock and watched Counterpoint (UTV) where the subject for discussion was the Haughey leadership crisis. Next Claire watched Oireachtas Report (Network 2), after which she went to bed at 12.45 a.m.

(Friday) Claire got up at 7.45 a.m. called her son Liam, as well as her daughter who stayed overnight and does not normally live at the family home. Up to one o'clock Claire made lunches, had breakfast, cleaned kitchen, collected washing, put a wash in the machine, vacuumed and polished downstairs, cleaned bathroom and vacuumed upstairs, took in washing and hung out some more. 2FM was on in the background. After lunch went to the Northside Shopping Centre "rambled around Centre looking for fish, ended up in Superquinns, have not shopped there for months. It was a pleasure, so different from Dunnes Stores. Between 5-6p.m. prepared fish and chips for dinner while listening to 2FM. With 2FM still on, had dinner, a "quick look" at The Evening Press and then at 8 o'clock left the house to go to bingo. Returned home after ten and watched The Late Late Show (RTE1). Before twelve she read The Evening Press again and then at 11.40 watched a film called The Friends of Eddie Coyle (BBC1) Claire went to bed between 1-2 o'clock.

(Saturday) Claire got up at 10 o'clock, had breakfast and listened to the The Saturday Give-Away Show presented by Ian Dempsey (2FM). From 11 to 3 o'clock Claire vacuumed and polished downstairs, cleaned the kitchen, put washing in machine, hung out clothes, listened to Radio 2FM, "pottered around" kitchen, served dinner washed up, took in washing and hung out some more. Then at 4.30 p.m. she took a "nap". After 6 she prepared and served the tea, then read the paper while 2FM was on. She was out of the house for sometime between 8 and 10 o'clock and 10 and 12 o'clock watched snooker, but was not too interested in it. Retired at 12.45 p.m. Favourite programme(s): not included.

(Sunday) Claire was up at 9.45, listened to 2FM, had breakfast, cleaned up kitchen and vacuumed downstairs. Then between 11 and 12 o'clock "soaked in bath" for a half an hour and then dressed. After 12 noon she prepared dinner and baked a cake while listening to 2FM. While working in the kitchen was "in and out" of the front room to see the Ireland V Australia rugby match. After the match she served dinner and had a "nap" sometime before 6 o'clock. Then from 6 to 8 p.m. read The Sunday Independent, had tea, listened to 2FM, washed up and got ready to go out. From 8-10 p.m. was out of the house for a meeting and when she arrived home after ten she filled in the diary and covered some school books before going to bed.

Favourite programme(s): not included.

Jack Burke

(Monday) Having got up between 8-9 p.m. Jack did some jobs in the home and again from 3-5 o'clock did some more day to day housework, followed by an "afternoon nap". From 6-8 p.m. he listened to 2FM and had a meal. At 8 p.m. he watched Telly Addicts(BBC1), followed by Sea Trek, also on BBC1. At 9 p.m. he watched the RTE1 News and then Panorama(BBC1). By 11 o'clock he had retired having read a book for a while.

Favourite programme(s): Telly Addicts.

(Tuesday) Jack listened to 2FM while doing housework between 10-12 o'clock. After 1 p.m. he listened to Larry Gogan(2FM) and then read a book for a while. From 3-4 o'clock he did more housework and after 4 p.m. listened to Garreth O'Callaghan(2FM) At 6.30 p.m. he watched Home and Away(Network 2), followed by Every Second Counts(BBC1) After 8 o'clock he went out to go to a meeting and when he returned home before 11 o'clock he retired to bed. Favourite programme(s): Every Second Counts(BBC1)

(Wednesday) Having risen before 8 o'clock Jack listened to 2FM and occupied his time by doing jobs around the house and from 4 to 5 o'clock doing household chores. Between 5 and 6 o'clock he watched the Ireland V Poland soccer match on Network 2. After that he had a bath and at 8 p.m. watched Look Here(RTE1). Later he watched the England V Turkey soccer match and some of Deadly Pursuit(UTV) He retired sometime between 10 and 11 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): Ireland V Poland soccer match(Network 2)

(Thursday) After getting up sometime before 9 o'clock Jack listened to Gerry Ryan(2FM) between 9 and 12 o'clock while doing housework. From 12 to 1 p.m. he listened to The Golden Hour(2FM) presented by Larry Gogan and then went for a walk. On his return he again listened to Larry Gogan and then Gareth O'Callaghan on 2FM. Between 4 and 6 o'clock he relaxed and then watched the Six-One news on RTE1. That evening he watched Top of the Pops, EastEnders, 'Allo'Allo!, Waiting for God and the Nine O'Clock News all on BBC1. After 10 o'clock he listened to 2FM and retired at 10.30 p.m. Favourite programme(s): 'Allo'Allo!(BBC1)

(Friday) On Friday Jack, as his custom, listened to 2FM during the morning and afternoon while in the house doing housework or 'taking it easy'. At 7 o'clock he went to a meeting and upon returning watched The Late Late Show(RTE1) and retired before twelve. Favourite programme(s): The Late Late Show.

(Saturday) Rising between 10 and 11 o'clock Jack listened to 2FM and read The Star. During the afternoon from 12 to 5 p.m. he watched Saint and Grevies and sport on Network 2, which included World Cup Rugby. He watched the Western Samoa v Scotland as well as the France v England matches. After having a nap he watched the Generation Game and had his tea between 6 and 7 p.m. From 7 to after 12 o'clock midnight Jack watched Challenge Anneka(BBC1), Birds of a Feather(BBC1), The House of Elliot(BBC1), Saturday Night Clive(BBC1) and finally the film The Big Sleep(BBC1) after which he retired.

(Sunday) Having got up by 9 o'clock, Jack listened to Gerry Wilson on 2FM and sometime between 11 and 1 o'clock watched The Beat Box(Network 2). From 1 to 5 p.m. he watched sports, the highlight being the Ireland V Australia rugby international on Network 2. In the evening he watched The Cosby Show(Channel 4) and The Wonder Years(RTE1). Jack then went to a meeting and on his return did not watch television before going to bed. Favourite programme(s): Ireland V Australia rugby international match.

Liam Burke

(Monday) Between school, lunch break and homework Liam was occupied during the morning and afternoon of each day from Monday to Friday. For Monday he did not record watching any television as he was at work outside the home, however, at tea time he listened to 2FM and Rock 104.

(Tuesday) After school and homework Liam played football and between 8 and 9 o'clock watched Larry Gogan's Golden Hour(Network 2) until 8.30 p.m. and then turned over to Mr Bean Goes to Town(UTV). At 9 p.m. he watched Bottom and then Think of England. Between 10 and 11 he listened to some records and 2FM.

(Wednesday) Liam had a half day at school on Wednesday and returning home after 1 p.m. read a computer magazine and listened to 98 FM before going out on his mountain bike. Between and 4.30 approximately he played football and then returned home and watched The Den and the Ireland V Poland soccer match on Network 2. At 7 o'clock he watch Wogan(BBC1) and then returned to Network 2 to watch the England V Turkey soccer match. From 9-10 p.m. he continued to watch the match and also part of Deadly Pursuit(UTV). At 10.30 p.m. watched Sportsnight from Northern Ireland(BBC1).

(Thursday) Besides watching Top of the Pops(RTE1) at 7 p.m. Liam watched no other programmes on Thursday as he was working outside the home.

(Friday) After school Liam read, listened to the radio and records from 4 to 6 o'clock. Then after his dinner he went out working again, without viewing any television that evening.

(Saturday) Having got up sometime between 10 and 11 o'clock Liam had breakfast and then watched UTV between 11 and 1 o'clock, possibly watching Motormouth, the ITV Chart Show, and Saint and Greavie. From sometime between 3 and 4 o'clock and 8 o'clock he was involved in sports. At 7.30 p.m. he watched Have I got news for you?(BBC2) and then was involved in more sports activity. At 9.50 p.m. he watched Saturday Night Clive(BBC1) staying with the station until he went to bed before 11 p.m.

(Sunday) Sunday was taken up by sports and work outside the home.

The Smyths

(Monday) Jane Smyth rose at 7.30 p.m. and prior to 6 o'clock did approximately six hours of work outside the home, three hours of house work and one hour of shopping. After tea she watched Home and Away(Network 2) at 6.30 p.m. Coronation Street(Network 2) at 7.30 p.m. and from 8 to 9 did some sewing while the television was on in the background. At 9.30 p.m. Jane watched China Beach(RTE1) and went to bed sometime between 11 and 12 o'clock.

(Tuesday) Having risen at 7.50 a.m. Jane did under four hours of housework, over three hours of sewing, two hours of leisure and one hour of shopping prior to 6 o'clock. As for television, at 7 o'clock she watched Emmerdale Farm(UTV) at 7, EastEnders(BBC1) at 7.30, The Bill(UTV) at 8, E.N.G.(Network 2) at 9.30, A Breed Apart(BBC1) at 10.50 p.m. Between 9 and 11 o'clock did some housework, sewing and ironing while watching television. At 12.10 a.m. Jane went to bed.

(Wednesday) From 9 until 5 o'clock Jane was working part time outside the home. On returning home she did housework and at 6 o'clock watched the news and then Neighbours(BBC1). At 7 o'clock she watched Coronation Street and for the rest of the evening was involved in other leisure activities. She retired at 1.15 a.m.

(Thursday) Jane listened to Radio 1 and 2FM while doing housework during the morning and afternoon. From 6 to 7 o'clock she was working while Home and Away(Network 2) was on. Later that evening Jane watched Emmerdale(UTV) at 7pm, EastEnders(BBC1) at 7.30pm, The Bill(UTV) at 8.30pm, China Beach(Sky One) at 9pm, Knots Landing(Network 2) at 9.30pm and St Elsewhere(Sky One) at 11pm.

(Friday) According to the entries in her diary Jane spent 9 hours involved in 'homework'/'courses,' 6 in leisure activity and 2 at housework.

(Saturday) Jane got up between 6 and 7 o'clock and having done 2 hours of housework and three hours of work outside the home relaxed from 12 to 2 pm. Between 2-3 pm she sat down to watch television, but found nothing that interested her. According to Jane she watched "fashion television on Sky" after 3 o'clock and having started to watch a video after 4pm visitors arrived in the house. After tea she did some housework and some time between 8 and 10 o'clock watched a video of the film Deadly Pursuit(UTV) which had been recorded from the television the previous Wednesday. Jane went to bed before 11 o'clock.

Lauren Smyth

(Monday) Lauren was in her final year of secondary school when she was asked to fill out the diary. On Monday she rose before 8 a.m. and left for school after 9 a.m. returning home for lunch between 12 to 1 o'clock and then back at school for the afternoon. When she returned home again she listened to Barry Lang on 2FM. After 6 o'clock she had dinner and watched Home and Away(Network 2), then studied until 7.30 p.m. when she went out. On her return she watched a half hour of China Beach(RTE1) up to 10.20 p.m. and then went to bed.
Favourite programme(s): China Beach

(Tuesday) On Tuesday morning and afternoon Lauren followed the same routine as Monday. Again between 6 and 7 p.m. she watched Home and Away(Network 2) and then at 7.30 p.m. EastEnders. From 8 to 10 o'clock she did her homework and was in bed by 11 p.m.

(Wednesday) As Wednesday was a half day at school Lauren was free from lunch time and went to an exhibition at the Chester Beatty Library, after which she went shopping in town. That evening all she watched was Home and Away(Network 2) as she spent three hours doing homework and study.

(Thursday) Thursday morning and afternoon had a similar routine as Monday and Tuesday. That evening her only television viewing was Home and Away and later that evening after nine she read The Silence of the Lambs in bed.

(Friday) As Lauren was going to her 'debs' on Friday evening she had the day off school. So rather than getting up before 8 a.m. she stayed in bed reading and listening to "a bit of" Gerry Ryan(2FM) up until 12 o'clock. Then she did an essay and some homework until 4 p.m. when she watched some of Zig and Zag on The Den(Network 2). Between 5 and 9 o'clock she was getting ready to go out. From 9 o'clock she was at her 'debs' and the party went well into the night! Favourite programme(s): Zig and Zag

(Saturday) Lauren didn't get up until between 1 and 2 o'clock on Saturday. Having gone out she bought Looks magazine and returning home watched some of Deadly Pursuits(UTV) which had been recorded the Wednesday before. Then she watched part of Catchphrase(UTV), some of Bruce Forsyth's Generation Game(BBC1) which started at 6.15 p.m. followed by "some of" Baywatch(Network 2) and Challenge

Anneka(BBC1). Lauren went to bed after 9 o'clock and read for a while.

(Sunday) Lauren was up before 10 o'clock on Sunday and between 11 and 12 noon went to Mass. During the afternoon she watched some of the Ireland V Australia rugby match and had dinner after 2 p.m. Between 4 and 5 she "looked at old magazines" such as ME and Looks. At 5.25 p.m. she watched Head to Toe(Network 2) and at 6 o'clock watched The Clothes Show(BBC1) and then for two hours she did homework and study before going to bed.

Sarah Burke

(Monday) Sarah had left home to go to school by 9 o'clock, returning home for lunch and then back to school for the afternoon. After school she did some homework and went out to play. At 6.30 p.m. she watched The Wonder Years(Channel 4) followed by Home and Away(Network 2). Sarah then did some more homework and then watched some unspecified television between 8 and 9 o'clock. At 9.30 p.m. she watched China Beach and was in bed by 11 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): China Beach

(Tuesday) Sarah followed the same morning and afternoon routine as she had done on Monday, except after school she played sports. At 5 p.m. she watched Diff'rent Strokes(Sky One) and went back out. That evening she watched My Two Dads(Channel 4) at 6 p.m., Home and Away(Network 2) at 6.30, EastEnders(BBC1) at 7.30, The Bill(UTV) at 8 p.m., Mr Bean goes to Town(UTV) at 8.30 p.m. and Bottom(BBC2) at 9 p.m. Sarah went to bed between 10 and 11 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): Mr Bean goes to Town

(Wednesday) Sarah played sports again after school and between 5 and 6 o'clock did her homework or watched television. She recorded watching two programmes that evening. These were: Family Ties(Sky One) and Home and Away(Network 2).

(Thursday) After school Sarah watched Diff'rent Strokes(Sky One) at 5 o'clock, Family Ties(Sky One) at 6 p.m., Home and Away(Network 2) at 6.30, Growing Pains(Sky One) at 7.30 p.m. followed by Full House, Murphy Brown and China Beach, all on Sky One at 8, 8.30 and 9 p.m. respectively. Sarah went to bed between 10 and 11 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): Growing Pains

(Friday) After school on Friday Sarah watched The Den(Network 2) followed by Diff'rent Strokes and Bewitched on Sky One at 5 and 5.30 p.m. At 6 o'clock she watched Family Ties(Sky One) followed by Home and Away(Network 2) at 6.30 p.m. Later at 9.30 to 10.20 p.m. she watched Casualty(BBC1) followed by WWF Wrestling(Sky One) from 10.30 to 11 p.m. after which she went to bed.

(Saturday) Having got up before 8 o'clock Sarah watched Going Live!(BBC1) for at least two hours before going out. On returning to the house she watched WWF Wrestling Challenge(Sky One) between 2 and 3 o'clock. From then until bed time she engaged in leisure activity other than that of television viewing and went to bed between 11 and 12 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): WWF Wrestling

(Sunday) According to Sarah's entries into her week's diary she watched Police Academy between 8 and 9 o'clock on Sunday morning and went to Mass between 10 and 11 o'clock. Having spent two hours doing homework she watched All American Wrestling(Sky One) between 2 and 3 p.m. and then went out for the rest of the afternoon. Having watched Head to Toe(RTE1) and The Clothes Show(BBC1). Sarah then watched The Simpson(Sky One) at 6.30 p.m., The Wonder Years(RTE1) at 7 p.m. and the second half of 21 Jump Street(Sky One) which also started at 7 o'clock but is an hour long programme unlike The Wonder Years which runs for a half an hour. Later on Sunday evening Sarah watched Where in the World and Glenroe(Both RTE1) and having done some homework went to bed before 10 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): 21 Jump Street

Des Smyth

(Monday) On Monday morning Des got up at 7.30 p.m. and between 8 and 9 o'clock left for work. Returning home between 6 and 7 p.m. he then watched Coronation Street(Network 2) and from 8-9 o'clock read The Evening Herald and a book with the title The Magician. Des went to bed sometime between 10 and 11 o'clock. Favourite programme(s): Coronation Street

(Tuesday) Tuesday had a similiar routine for Des except that in the evening he was engaged in soccer training. On his return home he read The Evening Herald and went to bed before 12 o'clock.

(Wednesday) After work at 5 o'clock Des watched the Ireland V Poland soccer match(Network 2) which had started at 4.35 and ran to 7 p.m. He then watched Coronation Street. After that he did two hours of housework a before watching Sportsnight from Northern Ireland(BBC1) and Rugby World Cup(UTV) from 10 to 12 midnight, after which Des retired. Favourite programme(s): "football matches"

(Thursday) On Thursday Des had a soccer training session after work and having returned relaxed for awhile before retiring between 11 and 12 midnight.

(Friday) After work on Friday Des spent the evening doing unspecified work in the house and gave no record of watching television.

(Saturday) Des went to work on Saturday and when he returned watched rugby on BBC and RTE from 4 to 5 o'clock. He then did two hours of housework and then watched a David Attenborough nature programme and then between 8 and 10 o'clock he watched Deadly Pursuit(UTV) a film which had been recorded from the television the previous Wednesday. Between 10 and 11 o'clock Des watched soccer on UTV prior to retiring. Favourite programme(s):Deadly Pursuit

(Sunday) Des got up at 9 o'clock and having done an hour of work in the home, spent 3 hours with his soccer club either playing or training. Between 1 and 3 he watched the Ireland V Australia rugby match and having done another hour of housework went to visit someone in hospital. Then between 5 and 6 p.m. he read The Sunday Independent and The Sunday Mirror before going to Mass, between 6 and 7 o'clock. From about 7 to 8.30 p.m. he did more housework and then watched Glenroe(RTE1) followed by London's Burning(UTV), An Eye on the Music(RRE1), Hale and Pace(UTV) and Rich Tea and Sympathy(RTE1).

Favourite programme(s): Rugby football.

Peter Smyth

(Monday) Peter got up at 8 p.m and left the house for work at 8.30 p.m where Classic Hits 98FM was on in the factory and at his morning break read The Daily Star and The Sun. At 5.15 he left work and returned home for dinner and having washed the dishes after the meal watched The Word (Channel 4) on at 6.30 p.m. and Know your Sport(RTE1) at 7 o'clock. He then listened to some music, mentioning specifically Bryan Adams 'Waking up the Neighbours'. He then watched Major League Baseball(Network 2) after 8, then "a programme on pools winners" which he recorded as been on BBC2 before the "news at nine". However this appears to be a mistake and may have been a programme entitled Winning Fortunes on Channel 4 at 10.30 p.m. although Peter did state that he went to bed between 10 and 11 o'clock where he read The Sun
Favourite programme(s): The Word(Channel 4)

(Tuesday) At morning and lunch breaks Peter read The Daily Star, The Evening Herald and did The Irish Times crossword. Between 6 and 7 o'clock Peter had dinner and watched Jo-Maxi at 6.05 p.m. Home and Away at 6.30 p.m., both on Network 2. He then went training with his soccer club and had a drink afterwards. On returning home he watched E.N.G.(Network 2) which started at 9.30 p.m. and went to bed at 11 o'clock where he read for awhile.
Favourite programme(s): E.N.G.(Network 2)

(Wednesday) After work Peter apparently watched the Ireland V Poland soccer match on Network 2 while having a drink in a pub. At 7.30 he watched Coronation Street(UTV) and then the England V Turkey soccer match on Network 2 which started at 7.45 p.m. After the match which ended at 10 o'clock he watched Ceefax for the sports results. At 9 o'clock he recorded the film Deadly Pursuits(UTV).
Favourite programme(s): Ireland V Poland soccer match.

(Thursday) Work was similiar in routine to the previous days and on returning home Peter watched The Oprah Winfrey Show(Channel 4) and The Den(Network 2). He then watched Jo-Maxi at 6.05 Home and Away at 6.30 both on Network 2. Peter then went soccer training and had a drink afterwards. Favourite programme(s): Jo-Maxi

(Friday) Peter finished work at 3 o'clock and went into town for a while. On returning home he watched he watched Wogan(BBC1) at 7 p.m., Coronation Street(UTV) at 7.30. At 9 o'clock he went to the pub and on his return after 11 p.m. had a meal and listen to FM 104 and read Q Magazine retiring sometime between 1 and 2 a.m. Favourite programme(s): Coronation Street(UTV)

(Saturday) Peter went to work from 8.30 a.m. to lunch time and then in the afternoon either played or watched a soccer match, after which he went to the pub. Back at home he viewed Bruce Forsyth's Generation Game(BBC1) AT 6.15 p.m. followed by Baywatch(RTE1) at 7.05. Then at 9 o'clock he watched the news and sports on BBC2, and then Kenny Live(RTE1) Between 11 and 12 midnight he watched a soccer match on UTV.

(Sunday) Having got up at 9.15 a.m. Peter went to a soccer match between 10 and 1 o'clock. He then watched the Ireland V Australia rugby international followed by the World Match Play Championship on BBC2. Between 5 and 8 p.m. Peter watched Head to Toe(RTE1), The Clothes Show(BBC1), The Simpsons(Sky One), The Wonder Years(RTE1) and 21 Jump Street(Sky One) There are no entries for after 8 o'clock.

APPENDIX NO.9.

A breakdown on the number of time use diaries distributed, completed, partially completed, returned late and not completed.

		Completed	Partially completed	Completed late	Not completed
Burkes	(3)	3			
Cransons	(4)	4			
Dowlers	(4)				4
McIlroys	(3)	1	1		1
Murphys	(7)	7			
O'Neillls	(5)	4	1		
Sheridans	(4)	3	1		
Smyths	(5)	5			
Teelings	(5)	5			
Whelans	(7)			2	5
Totals	(47)	32	3	2	10

APPENDIX NO.10.

A complete list of all the programmes viewed during the week ending 20th October 1991, in which the time use diaries were filled in. Each line contains information on the number of times a programme was watched, the name of the programme, the channel on which it was watched and in most cases the day on which the programme was broadcast. [f] indicates a film title.

[1]	<u>Allo allo</u> (BBC1)		thurs		
[1]	<u>Almost Grown</u> (UTV)			sat	
[1]	American football(Channel 4)				
[2]	<u>American Gameshows</u> (Lifestyle)	tues			
[3]	<u>An Eye on the Music</u> (RTE1)				
[2]	<u>Another World</u> (Sky One)				
[1]	Baseball(Nework 2)				
[6]	<u>Baywatch</u> (RTE1)			sat	
[1]	<u>Baywatch</u> (UTV)				
[1]	<u>Beat Box</u> (Network 2)				sun1
[8]	<u>Bewitched</u> (Sky One)	mon1	tues3	thurs2	fri2
[1]	<u>Bibi</u> (RTE1)		wed		
[1]	<u>The Big Sleep</u> [f](BBC1)				sat1
[11]	<u>The Bill</u> (UTV)		tues7	thurs4	
[1]	<u>Birds of a Feather</u> (BBC1)				sat1
[9]	<u>Blind Date</u> (UTV)				sat
[4]	<u>Blind Date 'Wedding of the Year'</u> (UTV)				sun
[2]	<u>Blockbusters</u> (UTV)		wed1	thurs1	
[5]	<u>Boom</u> (UTV)	tues5			
[5]	<u>Bottom</u> (BBC2)	tues5			
[1]	Boxing on Super Channel				

[2]	<u>The Brady Bunch</u> (Sky One)	tues2		
[5]	<u>A Breed Apart</u> [f](BBC1)			
[1]	<u>Brides of Christ</u> (RTE1)			
[3]	<u>British Fashion Awards</u> (BBC1)			
[10]	<u>Brookside</u> (Channel 4)	mon4	wed4	fril
[1]	<u>Bugs Bunny</u> (RTE1)			
[3]	<u>Bullseye</u> (UTV)			sun3
[1]	<u>Cartoon Time</u> (UTV)		fril	
[1]	<u>Casualty</u> (BBC1)			
[2]	<u>Catchphrase</u> (UTV)			sat2
[8]	<u>Challenging Anneka</u> (BBC)		fri	
[1]	<u>Charlie Chase</u> (Network 2)			sun
[1]	<u>Check Up</u> (RTE1)			
[2]	<u>Cheers</u> (Channel 4)		fri2	
[4]	<u>China Beach</u> (RTE1)	mon4		
[2]	<u>China Beach</u> (Sky)		thurs2	
[3]	<u>The Clothes Show</u> (BBC1)			sun3
[1]	<u>Combat</u> (Sky One)			
[5]	<u>Coronation Street</u> (Network 2)	mon4	wed1	
[11]	<u>Coronation Street</u> (UTV)	mon4	wed6	fri3
[8]	<u>Coronation Street</u> (Unspecified)			
[2]	<u>The Cosby Show</u> (Channel 4)			
[1]	<u>Counterpoint</u> (UTV)		thurs	
[2]	<u>Country Practice</u> (RTE1)			
[1]	<u>Danger Bay</u> (Sky One)			

[15] Deadly Pursuit[f](UTV) wed11
(4 of whom watched later on video)

[6] The Den(Network 2) mon2 wed1 thurs2 fri2

[1] Des O'Connor(UTV)

[1] Did you see?(BBC2)

[26] Diff'rent Strokes(Sky One) mon5 tues6 wed2 thurs7 fri4 sat1 sun1

[1] Designing Woman(Sky One)

[10] DJ Cat Show
(Sky One) mon2 tues4 wed thurs2 fri1 sun1

[1] Dooby's Duck Truck(BBC1) wed1

[29] EastEnders(BBC1) tues14 thurs12 sun2

[2] Emmerdale Farm(UTV) thurs2

[2] E.N.G
(Network 2) tues2

[7] England V Turkey(Network 2)

[1] Entertainment Tonight(Sky One) sun1

[1] Every second counts (BBC1) tues1

[11] Fair City(RTE1) tues6 fri5 sun

[22] Family Ties mon9 tues2 wed2 thurs5 fri4
(Sky One)

[4] Farewell Miss Freedom[f](Channel 4) tues4

[1] Fifteen to One(Channel 4) thurs1

[1] Film 91(BBC1)mon1

[2] Four Square(BBC1)mon2

[3] France V England rugby(Network 2) sat

[1] The Friends of Eddie Coyle[f](BBC1) fri

[1] Full House(Sky One) thurs1

[1] Fun Factory(Sky One)
 [4] Generation Game(BBC1) sat
 [1] Girlfriends[f](Network 2) mon
 [1] Give us a Clue(UTV) fri1
 [6] Glenroe(RTE1) sun6
 [1] Glenroe(UTV) fri1
 [1] Golf(BBC2)
 [1] Golf on Screensport
 [3] Going Live!(BBC1) sat3
 [1] Growing Pains(Sky One)
 [3] Hale & Pace(UTV) sun3
 [1] Happy Days(Channel 4) tues1
 [3] Head to Toe(RTE1) sun3
 [1] Head to Toe(RTE1) tues
 [14] Home and Away(Network 2) mon4 tues4 wed2 thurs5 fri1
 [3] Home and Away(UTV) wed3
 [1] The House of Elliot(BBC1) sat1
 [1] Inspector Morse(Channel 4)
 [14] Ireland V Australia rugby(Network 2)
 [15] Ireland V Poland soccer (Network 2)
 [1] James Whale(UTV) sat
 [1] Japanese Grand Prix(BBC2) sun
 [7] Jo-Maxi(Network 2) mon1 tues2 wed1 thurs2 fri
 [1] Just Like a Woman[f](UTV)
 [1] Kate and Allie(Channel 4)
 [1] Kenny Live(RTE1) sat
 [3] Know Your

	<u>Sport</u> (RTE1)	mon					
[3]	<u>Knots Landing</u> (Network 2)					thurs3	
[3]	<u>Krypton Factor</u> (UTV)	tues3					
[2]	<u>Larry's Golden Hour</u> (Network 2)	tues2					
[8]	<u>The Late Late Show</u> (RTE1)						
[1]	<u>Life with Father</u> (BBC1)					fril	
[4]	<u>Little House</u> <u>on the Prarie</u> (RTE1)						
[2]	<u>Little House</u> <u>on the Prarie</u> (Channel 4)						
[4]	<u>Live at Three</u> (RTE1)	mon2		thurs1		fril	
[2]	<u>London's Burning</u> (UTV)						sun2
[1]	<u>The Lone Ranger</u> (Channel 4)						sun
[1]	<u>Long Time Gone</u> (BBC2)						
[1]	<u>Look Here</u> (RTE1)		wed1				
[7]	<u>Love at</u> <u>First Sight</u> (Sky One)	mon2	wed1	thurs2	fril		sun1
[1]	<u>The Love Boat</u> (RTE1)			thurs1			
[1]	<u>The Love Boat</u> (Sky One)						sun
[6]	<u>Mr Bean</u> (UTV)	tues6					
[2]	<u>Matlock</u> (RTE1)			thurs2			
[1]	<u>Major Dad</u> (RTE1)					fril	
[1]	<u>Making Out</u> (BBC1)	mon					
[2]	<u>Minder</u> (UTV)		wed2				
[1]	<u>Motor Fair '91</u> (BBC1)						sun
[13]	MTV						
[2]	<u>Murphy Brown</u> (Network 2)					thurs1	
[1]	<u>Murphy Brown</u> (Sky One)						
[1]	<u>My Two Dads</u> (Channel 4)	tues1					

[16] Neighbours mon6 tues5 wed2 thurs2 fri1
 (BBC1) lunch
 [13] Neighbours mon5 tues2 wed3 thurs2 fri1
 (BBC1) 6.30p.m.
 -The NEWS-
 [1] Channel 4 News
 [4] One O'Clock News(BBC1) [2] Six O'Clock News(BBC1)
 [4] Nine O'Clock News(BBC1)
 [8] Six-One(RTE1) [10] The Nine O'Clock News(RTE1)
 [3] Sky News [5] TV- AM
 [2] Nighthawks tues1 thurs1
 (Network 2)
 [1] North and South(Sky One) mon
 [1] Only Fools and Horses(BBC1) sat
 [1] Opening Nights(RTE1) tues1
 [1] Oprah Winfrey(Channel 4) thurs
 [1] Oireachtas Report(Network 2) thurs1
 [6] Pale Rider(UTV) sat6
 [4] Panorama(BBC1)
 [1] Prisoner Cell Block H(Channel 4)
 [1] Private Lives
 (RTE1) mon1
 [1] Prototype[f](BBC2) tues
 [1] Questions & Answers(RTE1)
 [2] Question of Sport(BBC1)
 [1] The Raggy Dolls(UTV) fri1
 [1] Raw Power(UTV) sat
 [3] Rich Tea and Sympathy(RTE1) sun2
 [1] Robin of Sherwood(Sky One)
 [1] Runaway Bay (Network 2) thurs1
 [1] Russ Abbott Show(BBC1) fri2

[1] Saturday Night Clive(BBC1) sat1
 [2] St Elsewhere(Sky One) thurs2
 [3] Saint and Grevsei(UTV)
 [3] Sally Jessy
Raphael(Lifestyle) mon2 tues2
 [8] The School around the Corner(RTE1)
 [1] Scratch Saturday(RTE1)
 [2] Sea Trek(BBC1)
 [3] Secrets(RTE1) sat
 [5] The Simpsons(Sky One) sun5
 [1] Skillshop(BBC1)mon1
 [2] Smith and Jones(BBC1) thurs2
 [1] Soccer on UTV sat
 [1] Some thing is out there(Sky One)
 [2] Sons and
Daughters(UTV) mon1 wed1
 [1] Son of Pale Face[f](BBC2)
 [1] Sportsnight(BBC1)
 [1] Spotlight(BBC1)
 [1] Starsky & Hutch(BBC1) wed1
 [2] Strike it Lucky
 (UTV) mon2
 [1] Take the High Road(UTV) tues
 [2] Telly Addicts(BBC2)
 [2] Think of England(BBC2) tues2
 [1] The Time and the Place(UTV)
 [2] Today Tonight(RTE1) tues2
 [2] Top Gear(BBC2) thurs2
 [1] Top of Pops(RTE1)

[4]	<u>Top of Pops</u> (BBC1)		
[2]	<u>The Trials of Life</u> (Network 2)		
[2]	<u>21 Jump Street</u> (Sky One)		sun2
[2]	<u>You Bet</u> (UTV)	fri2	
[1]	<u>The Victorian Kitchen</u> (BBC1) mon1		
[2]	<u>Waiting for God</u> (BBC1)	thurs2	
[2]	<u>Western Samoa V Scotland rugby</u> (Network 2)		sat2
[4]	<u>Where in the World</u> (RTE1)		
[1]	<u>Who's minding the store</u> [f](RTE1)		sat
[1]	<u>The Wild One</u> [f](Channel 4)		sun
[1]	<u>Winning Fortune</u> (Channel 4)		
[2]	<u>Winning Streak</u> (RTE1)		
[2]	<u>Wogan</u> (BBC1)	wed1	fril
[1]	<u>Wonder Woman</u> (Sky One)		sun
[4]	<u>The Wonder Years</u> (RTE1)		sun
[1]	<u>Woof</u> (Network 2)		fril
[1]	<u>The Word</u> (Channel 4)		
[1]	<u>World in Action</u> (UTV)		
[1]	<u>World Matchplay Golf</u> (BBC2)		
[1]	<u>Wrestling</u> (UTV)		
[1]	<u>Wrestling</u> (Sky One)		

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