

Negotiating transgression in local media: the representation of travellers on ITV Midlands regional news (1965-1975)

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Since the first broadcast in 1956, regional television news has accompanied the national evening news and has been an important part of the programming schedule. While modern-day broadcast organisations emphasise the need for regional news¹, it has been relatively ignored by the academic community (Cottle 1993). Journalism research appears to have created a binary that groups together ‘non-local and serious news’ (Schramm quoted in Jensen 1999:127), therefore collapsing local news together with ‘non’ serious, ‘soft’ news that is seen to be trivialising and sensational. Despite its limited academic coverage (Cottle 1993), I argue that regional television news has continually performed a key function as it repeatedly distinguishes what is ‘acceptable’ from what is ‘unacceptable’. As a site of negotiation of the ‘ordinary’, regional news is crucial because its familiar form and tone (Cottle 1993: 62-3) appear to dismiss any strong ‘political’ function. This article aims to explore how the boundary between the normative and the transgressive was constructed in television journalism by analysing local news coverage of travelling communities in the Midlands, between 1965 and 1975.

Travellers have been the subject of transgression discourses for centuries and there are several complex ideas caught up in the simplicity of the ‘anti-traveller’ stance. Travelling lifestyles appear to transgress the ‘settled’ (Oakely 1983) way of life based in consumerism and ownership of land, the product of a capitalist society. Linked to this is a tension with government officials or members of the local community where the travellers’ temporary use of land is seen as ‘inappropriate’ – even if the land had been idle for years and was known previously as ‘wasteland’. Tim Cresswell writes that ‘The geographical setting of actions plays a central role in defining our judgement of whether actions are good or bad.’ (1996:9) Cresswell argues that the behaviour expected in a certain place, for example a railway station or park, is based upon definite ideas of normality: The actions conducted in these places (and their

¹ See the ‘Charter for the Nations and Regions’, concerning regional programming agreed between the ITC and the ITV companies
http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/press_notices/archive_2002/dcms117_2002.htm?month=June&properties=archive_2002%2C%2Fglobal%2Fpress_notices%2Farchive_2002%2F%2C [accessed 25/7/06]

attached meanings) develop geographical spaces into political ones also. My discussion of the representation of travelling communities is linked the notion of the acceptable uses of social spaces. As Cresswell states; 'Transgression...serves to foreground the mapping of ideology onto space and place and thus the margins can tell us something about 'normality'' (1996:9). This article attempts to develop the argument further and investigate how the ideas of transgression and normality concerning social spaces are rehearsed on a daily basis on the regional television news. I draw upon media studies literature on 'the everyday' to flesh out the concept of 'normality'. Frances Bonner has drawn up a vocabulary of the ordinary to highlight some kind of agreed meaning;

I use 'ordinary' as it has come to be used quite widely within the related fields of sociology, communications studies and cultural studies... It usually appears interchangeably with 'everyday', 'familiar', even 'routine' (2003:29).

Such fields of study define their versions of 'normality' and the 'ordinary' in slightly different ways, but the main body of literature focuses upon a shared notion of consensual, shared frameworks of knowledge about the world.

In the mid 1950s and 1960s a flurry of legislation attempted to deal with the 'traveller problem.' Judith Okely states that 'the increasing conflict between the sedentary society and the Travellers over encampments during the 1960s was exacerbated by, if not partly a result of, earlier legislation which entailed the widespread closure of the Travellers' independently established sites and stopping places'(1983:106). Authenticity was a central discourse during this time and prejudice against travellers was often practiced on the basis that they were not 'real' 'gypsies' or 'tinkers'. Racism against the Irish was also an element of the contemporary social climate and Irish travellers were named 'tinkers', which Oakely explains emerged in the 1960s as a term of contempt meaning 'half breed' (1983:19). Tinkers (and other ethnic groups of travellers more generally) became associated with negative ideas:

The tinker became synonymous with every unpopular or stigmatised aspect of any gypsy groups: scrap work, travelling, urban proximity, law breaking, illusiveness and independent lifestyle (Okely 1983:19).

The 1959 Highways Act was aimed specifically at travellers and made it an offence for anyone in a caravan to stay on the roadside and only a year later the 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act meant that all sites, not only traveller sites, needed planning permission and many – even ones that had been owned or rented by travellers for years previously - were closed down (Okely 1983:106). In 1967 the Ministry of Housing and Local Government acknowledged that gypsies had the ‘right to follow their traditional way of life’ but this was only applicable to those seen as ‘true gypsies and romanies’ (Okely 1983:22). The 1968 Caravan Act required local authorities to make provision for a specific number of travellers, but thereafter they could evict any person ‘being a gypsy’ who was on unauthorised land. In reality, the authorities set aside inadequate areas of land, and then prosecuted the remaining travellers who could not fit onto the provided site (Okely 1983:105). In 1970 Enoch Powell called for abolition of 1968 Act, describing travellers as ‘alien’ and demanding they be dealt with as immigrants ‘through the laws of nationality and immigration’ (*The Times*, December 12, 1970 quoted in Okely 1983:19).

This article takes the form of a case study of the coverage of travelling communities in the regional news, across two decades where travellers were seen as a social problem and local communities were hostile.² I compare how the symbol of the caravan is used to differentiate between two different value systems; where one way of life, the residential luxury caravan site may be acceptable, but the other, the travellers’ caravan community is condemned. This article looks at two regional news items and analyses how ideas of transgression and ‘normality’ are negotiated at a practical level in the early evening news. In terms of methodological approach, my research into regional news is concerned with the way the news text operates, at a semiotic level, to construct meaning. This is not audience reception research, but instead focuses upon how the text itself is working.³ First, I look first at the way the journalists who worked on these news stories categorised the difference between the

² In the 1961 census there were approximately 12,000 ‘travellers’ in Great Britain (Okely 1983:22) in 2005 the figure is 15,000 (*The Guardian* Nov 26, 2005). The actual numbers of travellers is small in comparison with the total population of Britain, but their appearance on regional news in the Midlands was fairly frequent between 1960 and 1980.

³ For a discussion of this type of approach see Lassen, I., Strunck, J. and Vestergaard (ed.) 2006. *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: Ten critical studies*. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006. p8

travellers and other more ‘acceptable’ uses of the caravan. Second, the article moves on to a detailed analysis of the two contrasting news items.

Looking at the index cards: How the newsroom categorised ‘caravan stories’

The ATV⁴ index card system was used by the news team to categorise each day’s output and has two different subject categories which relate to this discussion; ‘Gypsies’ and ‘Transport, Caravans’. All travellers are categorised under the heading ‘Gypsies’, despite the fact that gypsies and Irish travellers (then referred to as ‘tinkers’), as the predominant labels used, are from different racial backgrounds. The ‘Gypsies’ category includes gypsies, who are Romany, historically from India and tinkers, the majority of whom are Irish (Okely 1983:18).

Using Levi-Strauss’ ideas of binary oppositions (see Whitten 1984: 635) to explore these index cards, clear oppositional phrases differentiate the norm – here described by the language of government and office – from the ‘transgressive’ travellers;

‘tinkers’ and ‘gypsies’ / bailiffs, police, councillors, residents

Basic differences between the two groups of people inhabiting caravans or mobile homes is revealed;

‘luxury caravan site’ / ‘waste ground’
‘temporary housing accommodation’ / ‘derelict caravan site’
‘award winning’ / filthy conditions’

It is significant that such categories have been constructed by the news teams as a way to log their news stories. According to traditional Levi-Straussian analysis it is the system of differentiation, the very fact that the two groups have been polarised, that is the important element as it emphasises the way social practice seeks to order reality and invest meaning within groups of people. Communication provides structure ‘to think with’ (Eagleton 1983:104). Binary opposition requires a positive and a negative to operate; in order to justify something as ‘normal’, the notion of ‘abnormal’ must be

⁴ ATV was the Midlands ITV broadcast company 1955-1981

clear. It is necessary to mention, as more recent criticism has acknowledged, that ‘the modelling of structures by the positioning of oppositions...is risky.’ (Whitten 1984:635) Whitten describes how modern philosopher, T.K. Seung, has drawn a distinction between binary oppositions in *analysis* and ‘*real* oppositions in social relations’ (ibid:636, emphasis added). Using examples of social conflict, Seung argues that the actual conditions of conflict, the context, and resolution in itself creates a third part to the concept of binaries (ibid). Therefore, whilst acknowledging the problems with a simplistic structural analysis I maintain that this case study, in its presentation of a social conflict with many nuanced layers of political and social performance, will benefit from the ideas provided by a structural approach in general, and binary opposition in particular.

The language of the index cards is important in that it functions to construct difference between ‘travellers’ and ‘normal people’. The individual stories of the travellers become less important than their position in the binary structure. The lexical fields of the ‘Gypsies’ index cards carries negative associations, with descriptions such as ‘rubbish’ and ‘filthy conditions’, and the language of battle or violence is often employed, for example, ‘Gypsies evicted from site at Northfield where clashes occurred’ (10.7.73) and ‘Barricades blocking the road that leads to the gypsy site being knocked down by the council’ (11.2.74). Temporary caravan sites are never validated in the language used to describe them. The travellers are described as being ‘illegally camped’ on ‘scruffy sites’ or ‘laybys’. The judgement cast upon them sees no value in a travelling way of life and they are described as ‘intentionally homeless’, a phrase that communicates a hidden sense of blame. Crucially, there is an underlying ideology of power, the travellers are at the mercy of the dominant society - one card describes a news item on the ‘difficulty in finding sites where they are *allowed to stay*’ (25.2.74, emphasis added). The ‘travellers’ of the regional television news are always in conflict with the ‘residents’, or those who live in permanent housing. However, when we turn to mobile homes and luxury caravan sites, the people in those caravans are also ‘residents’. The term ‘residents’ becomes loaded with an implicit notion of social normality and conformity – the travellers who reside in caravans are never invited into the ‘residents’ club.

The 'Transport, Caravans' list is markedly different and is rooted in order, measurement and acceptability. The people in this set of cards are called 'residents', connoting belonging and a sense of justification. They are firmly annexed to a notion of normality which is communicated through the language of 'facilities', 'luxury', 'accommodation' and speaks of 'normal' methods of living which are translated into a caravan or mobile home. These residents live on 'private sites' at named locations and there are strict rules for tenants. This promotes ideas of exclusivity and therefore a sense of privilege or quality. The stories involving caravans in this set of index cards are often concerned with measurement and competition and the language centres upon racing, rallies and stunts, for example, 'Caravan Club rally starts at Silverstone with speed and stability trials' (27.3.73). The index cards constructed this group as valuable and interesting, whilst government law had been passed to deal with the unsavoury type of caravan dwellers who existed outside the private sites of privileged residents.

The News Items

i) 1965 - Symbols of deviance

Key discourses of the first news text broadcast on 29th March 1965 include the notion of 'truthfulness' and the use of children as evidence of 'deviance'. An additional theme identified in the ethnographic work of Judith Okely, which describes the travelling community's 'tradition of misleading outsiders' (1983:25) as a method of protection, adding another dimension to the discussion of 'truth'. It also highlights the possibility of communities actively withdrawing from a definition of their own identity.

The story begins with close up shot of a caravan with a number plate, white tea towels hanging on a clothes line and curtains hanging inside. These are signifiers of order and normality, but these meanings are smothered by the reporter's voiceover which details the community's hostility towards the people living in these caravans: 'the tenants are up in arms' because 'for the last few years there has been a gypsy encampment in this spot of waste ground.' As the reporter speaks the camera zooms out to a tableau shot to take in the 'waste ground', revealing other caravans and scrap metal on the earth. The images infer that gypsies are a parasite on 'normal' society because of the waste they create. But the reporter fails to mention that although there

is undoubtedly rubbish created by the camp, it was initially set up on 'waste' land, thus named because it was previously seen as unkempt and unclaimed. However, this is not addressed and the images of waste are attributed directly to the travellers.

The reporter's off-camera monologue describes how the tenants in the surrounding council residences are withholding their weekly rent because of the 'nuisance' the 'gypsy encampment' is reported to cause. The reporter aligns himself with objective journalism, his aim is to get 'both side of the story'. A high-angle shot moves the camera up and over to the right, then zooms forward to the reporter with a group of 'residents'.

The 'residents' are middle-aged housewives wearing white aprons, the uniform of domesticity and a symbol of cleanliness and the institution of the family. The 'ladies in the houses' complain that the rubbish and the 'fouls' (faeces) in the chapel are filthy and they object to the unleashed dogs barking. They claim that the travellers come for water 'all the while' (there are no facilities for running water on the site). The travellers are accused of using the chapel as a toilet and the women complain that it smells. There are two children in the background, but camera does not focus upon them – we only later realise that the boy in shot is actually from the travellers site as he runs over and appears when the travellers are interviewed. Children are used as symbols of dirtiness and deviance against the travellers, but in this interview with the women the children are not acknowledged.

A cut is made to a close-up of a small girl sitting on the ground with a dirty face, smiling up at the camera. There is no voice over to this shot and no explanation, but the implicit meaning conveys a sense of distaste that the travellers allow their children to wander around unkempt and seemingly unwashed. The camera tilts upward as the reporter walks by and states his intention to talk to 'the people against which they're making the claim'. Throughout the report the journalist is careful not label either group as far as possible, thereby maintaining an appeal to objectivity. The men from the wasteground seem to echo the negative associations that Okely described previously, concerning 'scrap work, travelling, urban proximity, law breaking, illusiveness and independent lifestyle' (Okely 1983:19): The men are dressed in shabby suits and stand in line as if for an identity parade. They are Irish, they mumble

and most give very short answers to the questions asked by the reporter. They squint in the sunlight and the first man interviewed has front teeth missing. The reporter outlines the allegations that the travellers are messy, they have barking dogs and children making a noise: 'Its rubbish'. The reporter persists, 'Is there not some sort of truth in this?' The theme of truth versus lies is more overt in this section. The men say that the residents are ashamed of the travellers (they label themselves) and do not want them in the local area. When questioned about the resident's complaints about their dogs, the men state that the animals are tied up and that the noise is from other dogs not on the site.

The reporter asks how long they have been on the site and each of the men reply that they have been living on the site for no more than four weeks. This jars with a period of four years that the residents had previously stated. When asked what work they do the reporter receives the short reply, 'scrap'. This feeds into a traditional discourse of Irish travellers working with scrap metal, often leaving waste scrap when they move on. 'Tinker' was originally an occupational title meaning 'tinsmith' but was then applied broadly to all travellers, many of whom did work with tin (Court 1985:2). The truthfulness of the travellers' account is questioned as the reporter asks first about the allegations of mess in the chapel and one travellers tells him, 'it's all lies.' The reporter says 'so you don't let your dogs bark?'

'No.'

In the background a dog is barking loudly. This direct juxtaposition of what the audience hears and what the Irish men say about the dogs brings their other answers regarding the chapel into question.

The next man to be interviewed argues that the dispute is only a recent hiccup. He tries to diffuse the divisions between traveller and resident and constructs a new divide by claiming, 'it's a woman's argument...I never see any of the blokes saying anything.' As he talks the camera tilts down to look at the same child again, with a dirty face and messy hair. He states that the male council residents in the pub cause 'no trouble' and 'they seem like very nice people...' The reporter asks, 'so you're all friends?' The traveller replies, 'yeah, we're all friends.' This statement is untrue as the residents have gone so far as to withhold rent in protest against the travellers. One of the previous interviewees had alleged that the residents were ashamed of the travellers

and didn't want them around. The complexity in this interview and the distortion of truth serves to throw the travellers' account into question and seems to affirm to the audience the common conception of untrustworthy travellers. It is important to consider, however, whether the news item's representation of the travellers or the travellers' own presentation of themselves is more negative. I would argue that to condemn the news item entirely is too limited an explanation; the news item does indeed rely heavily upon familiar visual cues of dishevelled-looking children and wandering dogs, which have come to negatively signify travelling communities, but, the travellers themselves continue this discourse by refusing to communicate openly with the reporter. Whilst I would argue that the regional news supports a stereotypical and unsympathetic position, which is evidenced by the focus on conflict, I would also call for a consideration of the travellers' own role in their portrayal.

The camera zooms in to the reporter as he draws the item to a close by making claims of objectivity and neutrality; 'So there you have both sides of the story, it's a social problem which is difficult to resolve', back to the studio. This statement further supports the construction of two 'sides' in conflict and sees the travellers as a social problem, not a part of society as a whole. A tilt shot moves down the men's legs and a dog is seen wandering around. A man's voice in the background is telling someone to take the dog away. They are clearly being untruthful about the issue of having dogs tied up and thus. The visual proof of wandering dogs (despite the men's assurances to the contrary) brings the rest of their account of the conflict with the residents into question. This discourse supports the idea of the transgressive traveller, with dodgy deals, questionable morals and dirty children. This news text also ties into a larger ideological notion of the role of the camera, which is privileged as fact finder. What is seen on screen seems in direct contrast to what the travellers actually say. The role of news appears as justified, it is finding the 'truth' and provides the regional audience with information that strengthens a shared knowledge and discourse about dirty and untrustworthy travellers.

ii) 1973 - A 'luxury caravan site' and the 'shame wagon' rule of law

The homes in this news item from 2nd October 1973 are static mobile homes but are categorised in the index cards under 'Transport, Caravans'. The central themes are order, appearance, conformity and middle-class exclusivity. This site is a miniature

society, run by a fatherly dictator who professes a 'soft spot' for his elderly or semi-retired residents. Outward appearance is all that matters here, residents are expected to conform or they are excluded⁵. There are neat gardens, contracts to sign and if troublemakers fail to tidy their gardens the 'shame wagon' is used.

An establishing sequence of shots reveal close up shots of flowers and smart looking mobile homes small lawns and paths between flowerbeds. A cat sits on the lawn near a clothes dryer. These images serve as markers of cleanliness and domesticity. The camera cuts back to the main path where the site owner, Mr Gardener, and a female reporter are walking down the path. The overall tone of the news item is light-hearted, although it conveys fixed notions of conformity and control in domestic spaces. The reporter's questions are directed to portray the site owner as slightly eccentric: 'Mr Gardener everything here is in apple-pie order, does that mean that you need to keep everybody in order?' He replies, 'no I find that most of the people here take a pride in their site and they are annoyed with those who will not keep up to the right standard.' He appeals to the idea of residents policing themselves.

Mr Gardener explains how he instructs his new residents;

Well, they have to sign an agreement to maintain it [their garden] to good conditions, they're brought round before being accepted they're all brought round and shown the standard to which I expected it to be maintained.

While he is speaking the camera focuses on individual flowers and then long shots of gardens. The camera cuts to the reporter and Mr Gardener standing at the front of a large vehicle. The reporter enquires, 'and if you get one rotten one, if you pick badly, or one slips through the net, what do you do?' This introduces a theme that features in the background of this piece, the idea of punishment. In this miniature society the rules are strict and if not obeyed the culprits are publicly shamed;

Mr Gardener: Well I go and call on them several times to tidy the garden and then I do the Sunday morning call with our shame wagon, which is our old friend here.

⁵ In contrast, Okely's ethnographic work on gypsies suggests that the outward appearance of caravans is not important, but the inside is kept immaculately (1983:87).

Reporter: Do you really call it a 'shame wagon'?

Mr Gardener: Well, it's left by their front doors until they tidy their front garden and then occasionally it's left running on a Sunday morning for them and they don't usually manage to sleep through it for very long. And I find that after about three Sunday mornings calling about eight o'clock they usually decide they're rather do the garden than lay in bed and, shall we say, be got at.

Appearance is all-important here and untidy gardens are punished with small scale, constant irritation and embarrassment until the residents comply with Mr Gardeners' wishes. There is a puritan sense that residents should be up working in the garden on a Sunday morning, not lazing in bed. But, it seems, the residents would not change the situation.

A vox pops section of footage presents some residents' views. An elderly man with a Midlands regional accent says 'he's a decent fella, if you keep to what he wants, which is quite reasonable, the site keeps to how it is.' Another male resident of retirement age agrees; 'Couldn't wish for a better boss, no doubt about that. He is strict, but if you keep the garden tidy he doesn't bother you.' Both men use colloquialisms, 'fella' and 'boss,' and indicate that Mr Gardener is a figure of authority whom they respect, but also a sense of warmth and familiarity is communicated. The majority of residents here are retired or semi-retired and this may explain their approval of a strict site, their need for security and as Mr Gardener later puts it, a bit of 'peace and quiet'.

The vox pops continues with a middle-aged female resident who speaks with Received Pronunciation; 'well, I can't image living anywhere else, I love it up here.' The reporter presses her,

'you're never tempted to move to a house?'

'No, no, we wouldn't change if we could help it. I'd love this place to stay open forever really.'

The question concerning moving to a house is phrased very differently here compared to similar questions directed at travellers in other news items of the 1960s and 1970s.

This commonly asked question suggests that living in a house is the 'normal' way to behave and that the travellers are transgressive or morally deficient for not living in a house. Here, however, the emphasis is different. The reporter enquires whether the woman could be 'tempted', the notion that she already has a pleasant home and would require something additional to want to move. This caravan site is coded as acceptable by mainstream ideology as it borrows heavily from social living 'norms' – tidy gardens, strict rules, a 'boss' in charge.

The reporter says,

A lot of people would think this [resident contracts] is extremely pompous, extremely autocratic of you and they would hate to live here. Do you see it that way?

Mr Gardener smiles,

No, because all the rest of the people are very proud of their site, and there's a great deal who want to come and join our quiet site.

Mr Gardener tries dispel any idea of authoritarianism. He describes it as 'our site' and again evokes the notion of exclusivity, that the residents are envied by others.

A cut is made back to a close up of an elderly lady resident. 'Are you not a bit frightened of him really?' asks the reporter in a light-hearted tone. 'Oh no! Not at all, not at all' exclaims the resident, smiling. The reporter asks, 'do you think he's fair then in the people that he suddenly decides to...um...?' The action that Mr Gardener takes is never verbalised. The woman replies, 'definitely, because you see he's got such a nice crowd on here. We're just like one big happy family.' Again this constructs the site as one with a nice 'type' of person, unlike the travellers often seen on the news. Although there is no overt class statement made, the 'type' of person here is clearly seen as higher class than the travellers. Mr Gardener's handpicked residents are like exclusive club members. Drawing the piece to a close the camera cuts back to a medium shot of Mr Gardener and the reporter at the shame wagon. 'Do you see yourself rather like a fatherly dictator here over the caravan site?' asks the reporter. Mr Gardener's feeling about the question is not clear, but he answers quite

seriously, 'no, I've got a soft spot for the elderly and the semi-retired and retired people and I like them all to be able to enjoy peace and quiet.' The final cut is made to a close up of the windscreen of the shame wagon. Mr Gardener gets in and starts up the vehicle with a roar.

Summary

Regional news plays an intricate role in its negotiation of the boundary between 'normality' and transgression. The familial tone and 'role of moral guardian' (Cottle 1993: 61) that informed the approach of many regional news stories can be seen in the way that ATV approached the issue of travellers. While the first news item from 1965 operated to reinforce common discourses that run throughout the piece - filthy caravan sites, dirty children and roaming dogs - it is also important to acknowledge that the travellers withdraw from an attempt to construct their own identity. They confuse the discussion and provide conflicting information to the reporter. However, general discourses of deviance seen in this story are reflected in regional news coverage across these two decades and beyond.

In terms of news value (Fowler 1991), this story focused upon the action taken by the residents in withholding their rent – the *action* was 'news worthy'; however, the second item from 1973 was a 'human interest' piece, a feature that was not 'news worthy' in the same terms used to judge political or 'hard news'. The ideology of this piece focuses on order, conformity and exclusivity, and reveals how an 'acceptable' site is run. These ideas are in opposition to what is represented of the travellers' site and although broadcast eight years apart, the wider discourses serves to strengthen the notion that the travellers are abnormal. However, here, also, a nuanced approach is necessary: whilst ideologically supporting a certain way of life, this story does treat Mr Gardener with gentle mockery. The reporter's questions begin in a light hearted tone with the use of colloquial phrases ('Mr Gardener everything here is in *apple-pie order*, does that mean that you need to keep everybody in order?') but even when the questions become more direct about his behaviour, Mr Gardener is not condemned or excluded in the same way as the travellers: he is an eccentric whose values of tidiness and appearance are shared by his residents.

A common discourse throughout the 1960s and 1970s was the 'normalisation' of gypsies and there was a constant pull from the dominant society that was unsettled by a group that lives outside 'normal' conditions and their wish to assimilate the travellers, to place them in 'proper' housing with the 'necessary conveniences'. The regional news items and index cards rarely accord value to the travelling way of life and view it either with pity or hostility. In broader terms, whilst regional news appears to focus on trivial human interest stories, it is in fact creating much larger and significant discourses concerning acceptability, transgression and the normative narrative of social life.

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<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/american/films/mace/>

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