



# **Broadcasting the Future - Ag Craoladh na Todhchaí**

A Renewal of Public  
Service Media in  
Ireland

*A SIPTU Discussion Paper*

*April 2026*

**Organising  
for Fairness  
at Work and  
Justice in  
Society**

This document seeks to initiate an essential debate on the future of public service media in Ireland that involves workers in the sector, experts on public service media and progressive political parties. All three groups understand the importance of ensuring that our public service media remain anchored in a realisation of its role as a public good rather than merely a profit-generating mechanism.

While SIPTU supports the successful development of Ireland’s for-profit media industry across news and entertainment, it is understood that it can only truly thrive alongside a well-resourced and clearly mandated public media service. Such a mix of media organisations benefits wider society with a diversity of productions and cultural output.

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## International Context for Public Service Media

**“Ireland is now sleepwalking into the destruction of its public media institution.”**

*Dr. Eileen Culloty,  
Deputy Director DCU Institute for Media, Democracy and Society*

Ireland’s debate on public service media can no longer be understood as a narrow question of institutional reform, governance or short-term funding adjustments. It is instead situated within a rapidly changing international media environment in which democratic societies are confronting a profound restructuring of information, culture and public communication. In that wider context, the future of RTÉ is not simply a niche political and financial issue. It is a matter of national security and resilience connected to global trends.

Across the world, the media systems that once helped sustain democratic life are under severe strain. Geopolitical instability, war, democratic backsliding, technological disruption and the growing power of multinational digital platforms have combined to weaken the quality of debate in the public sphere.

Commercial and political interests increasingly shape the information environments in which citizens form opinions, access news and encounter culture. Media ownership is concentrating among a billionaire class with explicit ideological agendas which run against our own State’s republican ethos. Political views are increasingly formed through interaction on social media platforms, which exercise enormous influence over public debate with limited accountability for accuracy, safety or social harm.

For a small country such as Ireland, these global developments carry particular risks. Irish audiences operate within a globalised English-language media marketplace in which many of the largest entertainment and information providers are foreign corporations with no public obligation to support Irish democracy, Irish cultural life, the Irish language, or the needs of communities across the State. While such platforms offer convenience and scale, they are not mandated to uphold the public good. Their priority is to maximise market share, advertising revenue, shareholder value and the profitability of data. They are less concerned with cultural continuity, civic trust and social cohesion. If the mix between such commercial organisations and publicly-funded media institutions is not properly maintained, the imbalance has adverse effects throughout society.

This reality requires a clearer recognition that public service media is not a legacy model that should be downsized, but a strategic national asset. Functioning public media institutions provide forms of value that neither global streaming companies nor fragmented commercial markets can guarantee. Public media institutions offer trusted national information during periods of uncertainty and crisis. They provide a common space for public debate. They support creative production rooted in Irish experiences, identities, and places. They ensure that children, minority audiences, regional communities and speakers of Irish are not left behind by systems that privilege scale and profitability over inclusion.

International experience increasingly reinforces this point. Where public service media are weakened, democratic vulnerability tends to deepen. Where they are sustained and modernised, societies retain stronger shared reference points, greater cultural visibility and more durable civic infrastructure. In this sense, media policy must be treated with the same seriousness as other forms of national infrastructure policy. Just as states invest in transport, energy, education and health because they are foundational to collective wellbeing, so too must they recognise the information and cultural systems that underpin democratic life.

The decline of public service media has allowed space for the spread of disinformation, a fuel for increasingly divisive political movements. This issue is shared across many European countries, who have begun to understand the need for the radical reappraisal of their public service media. In response, several have undergone profound technological, financial and governance changes in recent years, such as the current ongoing public consultation concerning the BBC Charter renewal, the licence fee replaced by exchequer funding in France (2022) and Denmark (2019), Spain's RTVE discontinued commercial advertising (2010) and Germany's ARD/ZDF switched from licence fee to universal household levy (c2017).

Media as infrastructure, is important for democracy and social cohesion, is also increasingly recognised by international organisations such as the EU, UN and OECD.

The central challenge, therefore, is not whether Ireland can afford to maintain a strong public media institution. It is whether Ireland can afford not to. In an international environment defined by disinformation, the erosion of public service media represents not modernisation, but an unwise retreat. Any credible national policy framework for media in general must begin from the recognition that Ireland's public media capacity is essential to safeguarding democratic stability, cultural sovereignty and the long-term public interest.

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## Public Service Media: A Renewed Vision

**A renewed national vision for public service broadcasting must begin with a shift in emphasis towards a long-term public policy framework grounded in democratic, cultural and social need. Not how to reduce RTÉ and TG4 to purely commercial outlets, but how to equip and invest in public service media to serve the population effectively in an era defined by fragmentation, distrust and digital disinformation.**

The present debate on public service media in Ireland has been distorted by scandal, austerity thinking and institutional defensiveness. Governance failures and questions of accountability relating to RTÉ's recent past are serious and are being addressed. However, they are only one part of the larger strategic question of what kind of public media system Ireland now requires and how to fund it.

RTÉ management often cites public consultations on its New Direction strategy as evidence of support for a management-driven reform agenda. However, this process was weak: fewer than 3,000 people responded to an online questionnaire, down sharply from almost 10,000 in a similar exercise in 2022; questions were framed favourably, trade-offs were obscured and open submissions were later "electronically shredded." Staff surveys have also been referred to by management as providing cover for its sweeping changes to the functioning of the national broadcaster. Only a small minority of staff interacted with this opinion polling and many of those

who did said it consisted of confused questions, which management now selectively quotes to back its agenda. On the other hand, RTÉ staff are overwhelmingly ready and willing to embrace progressive change and modernisation, especially adapting to new technologies.

What all these surveys missed was that a public service media company cannot be evaluated solely through the language of cost reduction, market share, or organisational “rationalisation”. Its purpose is broader and more fundamental: to provide universal access to trusted information, support democratic norms, reflect the diversity of the population and sustain a distinct cultural life within an increasingly unstable information environment.

This broader purpose has become more urgent, not less. The rise of disinformation, algorithmic amplification, political polarisation and low-trust digital communication has transformed the conditions in which citizens access knowledge and participate in public life. Younger audiences in particular now encounter news, entertainment and identity formation across dispersed digital platforms shaped far more by commercial incentives rather than public values. In such an environment, public service media must not retreat. It must evolve with clarity and ambition.

That evolution requires a vision of responsiveness rather than contraction. Evidence suggests that younger people do value public service media when it reaches them in relevant forms. The challenge, therefore, is not inherent irrelevance but insufficient visibility, inadequate digital strategy and underinvestment in innovation. A modern public service media institution must be able to produce and distribute trusted, high-quality content across the platforms and formats through which contemporary audiences live their media lives. This includes not only news and current affairs, but children’s content, arts programming, documentary, drama, educational media and culturally specific storytelling and entertainment.

A renewed vision must also recognise that production capacity is a public value in itself. In-house capability is not merely an operational choice; it is part of how editorial independence, creative expertise, institutional memory and cultural continuity are maintained. It is integral to the development of a healthy media sector encompassing both for-profit and public good-focused approaches. Excessive outsourcing may support parts of the wider media ecology, but it cannot substitute for a strong public institution with the ability to originate content in the public interest, including content that may never be commercially attractive.

Finally, a credible new vision must restore public legitimacy. Public service media cannot claim a democratic mandate while treating audiences as passive consumers rather than active stakeholders. A recent petition signed by more than 50 media academics called for an evidence-based national debate reflecting the need for a wider conversation anchored in social need, not short-term expediency. Ireland now requires a model of public service media that is properly financed, digitally capable, culturally ambitious and publicly accountable. In the age of disinformation, the renewal of public service media is a democratic necessity.

## Pressures for Renewal

The current landscape of public service media reform in Ireland is defined by three primary, intertwined pressures that have converged to create a period of significant instability and transition. First, a profound crisis of trust and governance at RTÉ has dominated public discourse since 2023. This crisis, which involved several incidents of mismanagement, was exemplified by the payments controversy involving the station's highest-paid broadcaster, Ryan Tubridy and failures such as the €2.1 million loss associated with "Toy Show The Musical". The latter project reportedly proceeded without Board approval and became symbolic of deeper accountability deficits within the national broadcaster. This legitimacy shock has since directly impacted public support for RTÉ, contributing to a sharp decline in revenue from both the public paying the television licence fee and advertising.

The second strand is the already well-established structural decline of the traditional television-licence model. Fixed at €160 per annum since 2008, the licence fee has been undermined by shifting consumption habits, such as the rise of "no-TV" homes and persistent evasion. Empirical data confirms this collapse: in 2023, only 824,278 licences were issued, representing a 13% drop (123,646 licences) compared to 2022. This decline has forced a shift in the funding burden from individual licence payers to general taxpayers through emergency Exchequer interventions. Ireland has fallen further behind the European average per capita funding of public service media.

The third strand is a major policy "reset" driven by the state-commissioned Report of the Future of Media Commission (2022). The Commission recommended a radical departure from the status quo, advocating for the total replacement of the licence fee with a purely Exchequer-based model starting in 2024, alongside the expansion of contestable funding to support public service content across a wider media ecosystem. The Commission's findings remain the most authoritative analysis of the current situation, its causes, and possible solutions. They should be the "centre of gravity" for all political debate on the matter.

However, while the Government has committed to implementing 49 of the 50 recommendations of the Report, it has rejected its core recommendation on funding, instead opting for a multi-annual hybrid model as of July 2024. This is arguably removing the cornerstone of the whole report as without the requisite funding certainty, the whole structure collapses. By not committing to a new funding structure, public service media is kept in a constant state of looking over its shoulder at the government, on whom it is dependent for piecemeal, short-term funding for its continued existence. This is fatal to its ability to maintain independence.

The Broadcasting (Amendment) Bill, which is currently passing through the Houses of the Oireachtas, will revise the Broadcasting Act of 2009. It copper-fastens much of the Report of the Future of Media Commission recommendations but fails to address the politically thorny issue of funding. The Bill needs to be amended to address this issue before it passes into law. As it currently stands, the Bill is insufficient and must be opposed.

Across the political spectrum, particularly among Left parties, there is a foundational agreement that public service media must be multi-annually funded to protect editorial independence and that the ecosystem must be "platform-neutral". It is also important to ensure public support is not exclusively confined to RTÉ. The solution to these issues lies in greater professional oversight and a more democratic restructuring of the entire institution. For example, the RTÉ Board should be required to include more representatives of workers and civil society. This would assist in the necessary move away from RTÉ's recently increased managerialism and commercialisation.

However, the premier measure which would result in a better management culture within RTÉ would be a clearer enunciation of the broadcaster's remit and agenda, which reaffirms its clear commitment to providing a public service media within a mixed public and for-profit sector.

## Out-Sourcing is Not the Answer

The debate surrounding the future of RTÉ frequently centres on the balance between in-house production and the reliance on external contractors. Some current labour practices and outsourcing models are detrimental to the sector. The employee bogus self-employment scandal within RTÉ, which ran concurrently but separately to the other misgovernance issues within the organisation, is perhaps the clearest indication of the damage which can be done to workers, public trust in the institution and the quality of output from a failure to clearly demarcate between the for-profit and public service model.

The prevalence of “bogus self-employment” and precarious contracts within the media industry as a whole is an issue which must be tackled by ensuring that employee rights are a central concern in both the public and for-profit media sectors. There is a need to ensure the enforcement of a statutory presumption of employment status for long-term contractors to ensure they receive proper benefits and protections, as well as public procurement conditionality, where recipients of state funding or contracts would be legally required to recognise trade unions and engage in collective bargaining. This will necessitate a tendering process which includes a positive weighting for firms that engage in collective bargaining and recognise union representation for collective purposes.

To enforce these standards, it is proposed that funding be used as an industrial-relations lever. For example, the Sound & Vision fund could be expanded to include mandatory requirements for trade union recognition and collective bargaining as a condition for receiving support. Additionally, in the screen-production sector, the receipt of Section 481 tax relief must be conditional on certified and audited compliance with collective agreements in the industry.

By ending the reliance on precarious external contracts and strengthening in-house worker protections, these proposals aim to stabilise the media workforce. While Ireland has a thriving independent production sector, precarity is an ongoing problem for many of its workers. Among the other tools that must be maintained at RTÉ are pay caps to eliminate excessive executive and presenter salaries, redirecting resources toward the broader workforce and civil society representation. This shift represents a move toward treating the national broadcaster as a democratic and inclusive institution rather than a commercial entity that prioritises outsourced production over institutional stability.

Additionally, it should be recognised that in-house production is vitally important to public service media and its role in fostering social cohesion. RTÉ must remain and return to being primarily an in-house production company across its departments rather than merely a clearing house for outsourced productions.

## Funding Options

The Future of Media Commission and Ireland's political parties have proposed several distinct pathways for financing the next era of public service media, ranging from moderate reforms to total fiscal overhauls.

**The Exchequer-Based Model:** Recommended by the Future of Media Commission, this model would phase out the TV licence entirely in favour of funding derived from non-hypothecated tax revenues. Sinn Féin champions this approach, proposing the immediate abolition of the licence fee, an amnesty for non-payers and the replacement of public funding through direct Exchequer allocations. Sinn Féin estimates this would require an additional €140 million annually, plus €12.5 million to compensate An Post for lost collection commissions.

**The Three-Stranded Model:** The Social Democrats advocate for a more diversified funding architecture to avoid the risks of political interference associated with a pure Exchequer model. Their proposal includes: (1) multi-annual Exchequer support; (2) a rebranded "public service journalism charge" (a lower-rate, device-independent household fee); and (3) a specific levy on social media companies to fund public service journalism and combat disinformation.

**Targeted Corporate and Digital Levies:** To create a more robust funding stream, the Labour Party proposes an Audiovisual Media Services (AVMS) content levy of at least 5% on on-demand services, ring-fenced for domestic and Irish-language production. People Before Profit (PBP) takes this further, proposing a "Big Tech" profit tax and ICT corporate levies designed to raise €1 billion. This revenue would be split equally, with €500 million for RTÉ and €500 million for a wider ecosystem including print, local radio and digital media.

**The Advertising Debate:** A major point of contention is whether to retain commercial revenue. PBP demands an immediate ban on all advertising and sponsorship on RTÉ to restore its integrity. Conversely, Sinn Féin argues for maintaining the hybrid model, warning that removing the roughly €150 million in annual commercial revenue would be "too onerous" for the public purse. A potential compromise involves phased de-commercialisation, starting with bans on high-carbon advertising and gradually reducing advertising minutes as new levies come online.

The decision on which is the best mix of these options must fully consider how it might be implemented, taking into account the risks of revenue volatility and the legal complexity of international digital levies, which Coimisiún na Meán would be tasked with navigating through its existing regulatory machinery.

## Forward-facing Public Service Broadcasting

Below are some of the elements that might be incorporated into public service media so it can better achieve its remit. It draws and develops progressive elements within RTÉ's *A New Direction: Statement of Strategy (2025-2029)*, which is seen as a start of a discussion on programme and production proposal for a fit-for-purpose public service media.

### 1. Restoration of the In-House Documentary Unit

Reversing the controversial 2025 closure of the TV Documentary unit is essential for preserving institutional knowledge. Restoring in-house production for high-impact documentary series ensures that challenging, courageous public service content remains at the broadcaster's core, protecting against the creative "dumbing down" and precarity often associated with total outsourcing.

### 2. "Aurora" Public Archive Access

RTÉ should utilise the 'Aurora' decentralised storage platform to digitise and open its vast 60 year archive to the public. This internet option would allow citizens to explore historical footage via a searchable digital portal, turning a "locked" asset into a vital educational resource for schools and researchers. Where images are used, compliance with all relevant copyright legislation must be adhered to.

### 3. AI-Driven Content Personalisation

Leveraging its new data strategy, RTÉ should implement AI-powered recommendation engines across all digital platforms. Signed-in users should receive hyper-personalised feeds on the News and Player apps, ensuring that diverse archival material and new commissions are discoverable, thereby increasing public value and audience retention.

### 4. Podcast-First Original Commissioning

RTÉ must pivot from "radio-on-demand" to commissioning high-end, digital-exclusive podcast series. Following the 43% growth in Irish adult podcast listenership, this strategy targets younger demographics with investigative true crime, niche history and comedy, ensuring content is developed for IP-based platforms first, rather than as linear radio catch-up.

### 5. Seamless RTÉ Audio Ecosystem

With the 2025 launch of the RTÉ Audio app, the broadcaster should integrate smart speaker and in-car functionality. This internet option must provide a unified experience, allowing users to transition a podcast seamlessly from mobile to home devices, utilising IP infrastructure to replace defunct digital radio services like DAB.

### 6. RTÉ Player "Next-Gen" UI Overhaul

To address long-standing reliability complaints, RTÉ must complete its redesign of the RTÉ Player. This includes "Live Restart" features and a 4K-ready interface optimised for smart TVs, transforming the Player into a primary viewing destination with a vast on-demand catalogue that rivals global streamers in performance. RTÉ should also be exporting programming more and/or establishing streaming outside Ireland in key markets, initially UK, US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

## 7. Accessibility to All

Public service broadcasters must embed accessibility and access services within their core strategy to ensure all audiences can engage with content, regardless of ability. This supports inclusion, democratic participation, and compliance with legal obligations, while also improving the overall user experience. Prioritising accessibility ultimately strengthens public value and ensures services remain relevant in an increasingly digital media landscape.

## 8. High-Resilience “Orion” IP Backbone

Investing in the ‘Orion’ ST 2110 IP-based media network is vital for future-proofing live streaming. This infrastructure upgrade allows RTÉ to scale its live digital broadcasts for major national events without buffering, providing a robust backbone that supports the transition away from traditional linear broadcast TV toward a digital-first future.

## 9. Regional Production Hub Expansion

To diversify content, RTÉ must follow through on planned content hubs in Cork, Limerick, and Galway. By moving production away from Dublin, RTÉ can create more authentic regional documentary series and digital content that reflects the multicultural reality of modern Ireland, supported by a 50% increase in regional commissioning.

## 10. Interactive News and Short-Form Content

The 2025 RTÉ News app must evolve to include interactive, “bite-sized” vertical video formats for social media integration. This strategy targets the 18–34 demographic, providing verified public service journalism in the formats where they primarily consume information, countering digital disinformation with high-quality, trusted investigative reports.

## 11. Digital-Only Gaeilge and Niche Channels

Between 2027 and 2029, RTÉ should launch specialised online channels, including *RTÉ as Gaeilge* and a dedicated Audio Description Online channel. These internet-only options provide tailored services for minority audiences that are no longer viable on linear TV, fulfilling RTÉ’s public service remit within a more cost-effective, IP-based streaming framework.

## 12. Open the RTÉ Archive to the Public and Documentary Makers

The broadcaster sees the selling of archive footage as a developing revenue stream. This is restricting the use of a national archive and also hampering the documentary sector in Ireland and its international reach. The RTÉ archive is a national resource which assists the public in understanding our history and, as such, must be made available for use in a manner which prioritises its use rather than as an income stream but also ensures that artists’ copyright is protected and they are properly remunerated in line with international guidelines.

## 13. The RTÉ Concert Orchestra

The RTÉ Concert Orchestra broadcasts regularly to a significant number of listeners across all RTÉ stations, as well as live concert performances. Investment is needed to ensure the orchestra’s broadcasting home of Studio 1 in the radio centre is brought up to state-of-the-art technical standards and that staffing levels in the orchestra are raised to enable education programming and regional and international touring. There is also a wealth of archive recordings of the orchestra, which should be available to the Irish public.

#### **14. Supporting Artistic Endeavour**

The for-profit agenda in RTÉ is incompatible with many of the aims of public service media. The primary metric in radio is the JNLR (Joint National Listenership Research) figures. The focus on these leads to a leavening out of content and a fearfulness of tackling programme areas which are seen as niche. The percentage of RTÉ's budget which is spent on sport is rising year on year, while the number of programmes in areas like the arts continues to diminish. RTÉ should be the media home and incubator for Irish artists, musicians, writers and composers, but too often it fails to take any note of them until they are recognised elsewhere. Such a cautious approach is in the long run, self-defeating and highlights the need for programming decisions that are not merely driven by viewership statistics.

#### **15. Proper Engagement on the Use of Artificial Intelligence**

Artificial Intelligence (AI) will increasingly impact media production; there must be detailed engagement on its use in all sectors to ensure artistic and production integrity while fully utilising the possibilities offered by new technologies.

### **TG4 renewal to include:**

#### **1. "Ar an gCéad Dul Síos" Digital News Integration**

Following the 28% growth in TG4 Player streams in 2025, the broadcaster must accelerate its "Digital First" (Ar an gCéad Dul Síos) strategy by launching a unified, multiplatform news service in 2026. This initiative will move beyond traditional linear news bulletins to provide real-time, short-form Irish-language journalism across social and IP-based platforms. By prioritising "platform-neutral" content delivery particularly for sports and current affairs, TG4 will ensure its relevance to under-35 demographics while maintaining its unique cultural remit in a globalised digital landscape.

#### **2. Strategic Independent Sector "Catalyst" Fund**

To bolster the domestic creative economy, TG4 should deploy its €11 million 2026 investment fund specifically to nurture emerging production companies and new voices within the Gaeltacht. This "Catalyst" strategy aims to scale the independent sector by moving toward multi-annual output contracts and high-end international co-productions. By 2027, this initiative will focus on high-impact scripted drama and "Next-Gen" animation, ensuring that Irish-language content remains commercially viable on the global market while providing a sustainable career pipeline for creative professionals outside of Dublin.

# A Way Forward

## 2026

### May/June:

Discussion involving media workers, experts and progressive political parties on a joint agenda for public service media in Ireland.

### Late Summer:

The commissioning of a document to outline proposed measures to protect and develop public sector media based on the earlier discussions.

### Autumn:

The launch of a comprehensive set of agreed proposals supported by a wide progressive platform, which will progress them through parliamentary and industrial approaches.

## 2027

The policy document and public service media renewal are part of a progressive electoral platform presented to the Irish public.

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