PUBLIC SERVICE AND COMMERCIAL NEWS

Contexts of Production,
Genre Conventions and Textual Claims
in Television

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Dedication

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Abstract

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In the sociology of mass communication, there is a gap in empirical research into how news corporations relate to professional and socially developed conventions about 'how to make news look like news'. Moreover, there is a gap in research on how public service and commercial television news services relate to such conventions, and on how such conventions, and the different productional contexts for public and commercial news, are reflected in television news programmes.

By means of a case study, the thesis sets out to address precisely these gaps in an analysis of two news services: Dagsrevyen of the Norwegian public service corporation the NRK, and International News of the Scandinavian commercial satellite channel TV3. The thesis aims to analyse how relations to the state and the market, and to the institution (or formation) of news, are reflected in the everyday news production processes and in the news programmes. Through the analytical concepts of context, genre and textual claims, the productional processes, the presented news texts, and the relations between productional and textual aspects, are examined.

More specifically, the following research issues are raised:

1. What elements constitute the production processes in the two channels?
2. What characterises the news programmes; the content, the composition/form and the presentation?
3. What are the relations between the productional aspects and the output/text of the news programmes?
4. To what extent do finance, news-policy, organisation of the news departments and the news-production processes produce similarities and differences in the two news programmes?

To analyse the above issues, methods of observation, interviews, document analysis and qualitative and quantitative text analyses are applied. The examination of productional and textual aspects shows that although the broadcasters were clearly different in regard to policies and economic resources, the activities and the presented news texts were closely related to conventions for how to 'implement' the social institution of news. The policies to establish credibility and seriousness based on conventions descending from the news institution resulted in similarities in the two programmes. The theoretical framework developed for the analysis has made it possible to look further into the dynamics producing such similarities and differences.

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PART I: INTRODUCTION
Chapter 1: Introduction.

News is a distinct feature of modern, capitalist societies, and is usually regarded as a very influential component in a democracy. The main social role of the news is historically and socially defined as providing citizens with information about public and political life. It is from this capacity that news claims its legitimacy (Habermas, 1971, 1979; Mortensen and Møller, 1976; Spröp, 1991). However, news may be seen to have a dual nature. On the one hand - according to ideals legitimating the news - it has an important role in constituting a public sphere, functioning as a 'fourth estate', and guarding the interests of the public. On the other hand, news originates from and is based within the social and economic order towards which, according to the above ideals, it should have a critical stance.

From a critical point of view, it is essential to raise the issue of whether the products produced by news organisations are properly placed within the public domain. With respect to television news, there is a public, political, professional, and academic debate on the production and presentation of news in public service and commercial television. The debate has been related to a more general sociological observation: that in Western societies there is a noticeable shift towards commercialism. Accordingly, it is observed, there is a continuous shift away from involving people in society as political citizens of nation states towards involving them as consumption units (Elliott, 1986; Thompson, 1990; Williams, 1962). There are two major stances in that debate.

Firstly, on the subject of news in commercial TV channels, it has been argued that the ultimate rationale behind broadcasting financed by advertising is to sell aggregates of viewers to advertisers. As commercial enterprises most often are motivated by profit-maximisation, it is argued that the main purpose is to grab the attention of the audience, and that in last instance they are addressed as consumers rather than as citizens (Garnham, 1983, 1986 a,b; Elliott, 1986; McQuail, 1992; Williams, ibid.).

Secondly, with respect to news in public service television, many commentators have pointed to the uneasy relationship between the state and such broadcast institutions (e.g. Garnham, 1978). However, it has also been pointed out that because public service
corporations are traditionally financed by license fees, the corporations may potentially constitute a sphere independent of the market. Such enterprises are seen by many to have a potential for establishing space for democracy rather than market based broadcasting (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991; Garnham, 1986 a,b; Golding, 1990; Scannell, 1989; Syvertsen, 1992; Thompson, 1990; Williams, 1962).

A central issue in the debate on news production in public service and commercial broadcast corporations has been the degree to which different ways of organising the broadcasting activities impinge on, or influence, the application, production and presentation of television news programmes. About this there are many arguments, but there have been very few empirical studies that have compared public service with commercial television news production.

1.1. Research issues.
This particular issue is the starting point in the present thesis, which may be regarded as a case study of an important text-producing social institution - the news. The thesis attempts to analyse the processes by which the social institution of news is 'implemented' in a public service and in a commercial broadcasting corporation. In sociology, the term institution is applied to define social practices that are regularly and continuously replaced, that are sanctioned and maintained by social norms, and which have a major significance in the social structure (Abercrombie et al., 1984). News may be seen as such a social institution developed during a social modernisation process at the time of the industrial revolution; it takes a certain organisational and textual form, has an ideal social function, and claims legitimacy according to social conventions about this ideal function.

Generally speaking, institutions as news should not be regarded as unchanging entities. Changes in social practices both modify existing institutions and create novel forms (Abercrombie et al., ibid.; Giddens, 1984). From a parallel textual perspective Todorov (1975: 6-7) suggests that:

1 Giddens (1989: 381) defines 'social institutions' as: 'the cement of social life. They provide the basic living arrangements that human beings work out in their interaction with one another and by means of which continuity is achieved across the generations.'
To include such a dynamic perspective, the news institution and the application of it in specific news organisations and news programmes may be analysed as a social and textual formation. In his book *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams (1977) holds that the relations between social institutions are very complex, but that an analysis of social processes is never a question of formally identifiable institutions, only: it is also a question of formations; i.e. the effective movements and tendencies which have significant and decisive influence on the active development of a culture.\(^2\)

Murdock (1991) has taken up Williams’ concept of formations, and writes that formations may be regarded as providing the basic raw material with which the mass media system works. During the production process, discursive formations may be seen to be arranged, inflected and recombined according to the strategies and goals of the media organisation, the professional routines and values of the producer, and the aesthetic codes governing the genres and the forms which are employed.

*The aim of this thesis is to examine and analyse how the institution and formation of news is arranged, inflected and recombined. To be more specific, the thesis attempts to examine empirically the inter-relationship between the news texts and the news production processes in a public service and a commercial satellite television channel. The analysis is a case study based on examinations of the television news departments and news programmes of the NRK and TV3.*

The NRK is the Norwegian public service institution, homotypic with the BBC, while TV3 is transmitted by the Swedish-controlled British company ScanSat, with Scandinavia - Denmark, Sweden and Norway - as one commercial market. While the NRK is financed by licence fees, TV3’s economic base is advertising, and the station may be characterised as a commercial entertainment channel (see Chapters 5 and 6).

\(^2\) About the analysis of social processes and the concept of formation, Williams (1977: 138) claims that: ‘... what is really required ... is restoration of the whole social material process, and specifically of cultural production as social and material. This is where the analysis of institutions has to be extended to analysis of formations.’ Williams’ definition of formation does also imply some kind of alternative, and not formally established, institutions. Such a dimension is not included here.
While the broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* were Norwegian, in *International News* they were of British, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian nationalities.

The focus of the analysis in this thesis is the main news programmes on week-days from November 1988 to summer 1990, *viz. Dagsrevyen* in the NRK with a duration of 30 minutes from 19.30, and *International News* in TV3 with a duration of 20 minutes from 22.00. Some of the observations referred to in the later analyses were made later, however. During the period *Dagsrevyen* occupied a central position within Norwegian public life, since on an average day approximately 50 per cent of the Norwegian population watch the programme. The audiences of *International News* varied more according to the popularity of the programmes before and after, but on average it was seen by up to 5 per cent of the Norwegian population. *Dagsrevyen* had a fairly extensive coverage of both national and international news. Within its 20 minutes format, TV3 presented mostly international, and very little Scandinavian, news.

In regard to these two cases, the issues raised are:

1. What elements constituted the production processes in the two channels?
2. What characterised the news programmes; the content, the composition/form and the presentation?
3. What were the relations between the productional aspects and the output/text of the news programmes?
4. To what extent did finance, news-policy, organisation of the news departments and the news-production processes produce similarities and differences in the two news programmes?

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3 In English translation, *The Review of the Day*. The programme is the Norwegian equivalent to the Nine O’clock News from the BBC.


5 For a further presentation and discussion of methodology, see Chapter 4.

6 These figures are according to the old audience measuring method, and not the ‘meter-method’ introduced more recently. Although the audience figures for *Dagsrevyen* have been, and are, stable, the new ‘meter-method’ shows that approximately 30 per cent of the Norwegian audience watch *Dagsrevyen* (Solvang, 1993). Traditionally *Dagsrevyen* is more trusted by the audience than any news-papers (see, for example, Lund and Rolland, 1986).
In short, what were the differences and similarities in content, form and presentation in Dagsrevyen and International News, and in what ways were they related to finance, to station and news-room policies, and to the news production processes?

In August 1990, the format of TV3 News changed. The channel then started to broadcast four short programmes of less than three minutes duration each per evening. The programme was scheduled as 3 Minutes - News, and now contains mostly Norwegian news. In contrast to the previous formats, there are now no news video items in the programme. The format of Dagsrevyen was changed slightly in January and March 1992; the news-studio deck, the structure of the programme, and the duration were changed in preparation for competition with the new commercial, terrestrial channel which started broadcasting in September 1992. Later in the thesis, the above changes are commented on to the extent they are found relevant for the overall examination.

1.2. Research approach

Sociological research on news was for a long period of time dominated by a transmission approach. From such a perspective news was seen to be bits of information transmitted from 'reality', through the news medium, and to the audience. McQuail (1987: 192), for example, observes that:

'... insofar as there is any unity in research involving media content it is provided by the question of the relation between what is represented and some external standard of reality.'

From a transmission perspective on news, the news organisation often 'distorted' - one way or the other, depending on what variables were applied - 'reality' as it was 'transported' to the audiences. Such 'distortions' were usually seen to be due to ideological, economic, commercial, organisational, etc., factors. In contrast to such a perspective, Murdock (1991: 58) thinks that:

'... the communications system operates with the discourses of modernity not as a system of transmission ... but as a system of translation or conversion. Hence, ... we need to explore how different communicative forms operate to regulate discursive struggles, by promoting or excluding certain discursive formations, by cementing or subverting their internal organisation, and by supporting or challenging their claims to legitimacy.'
In this thesis the contention is that it is important to examine what information and what images the news enterprises provide for their audiences. However, since the aim is to examine the inter-relationship between textual and productional factors in television news, and how these factors are related to the institution and formation of news, exclusive reliance on a transmission paradigm would be untenable. Let me illustrate this point.

Interviews with broadcasters in TV3 clearly indicated that there had been great concern not necessarily with the potential content of the programme, but first and foremost with its form. The main issue during TV3's establishment had been how to attain station-credibility in the eyes of advertisers, politicians and audiences through the production of programmes within the genre of news in the most audience-competitive and inexpensive manner possible.

Accordingly, the Head of News in TV3, in an interview during one period of observation, revealed that:

"... in order to help establish the credibility and seriousness of TV3 as a station it was seen that news was an integral part of the process of credibility which was required. So news has always served that political and promotional function."

Credibility strategies were, however, in no way confined to the commercially based TV3. News as a type of programme has high status with viewers as well as with broadcasters, and is also very centrally positioned in the NRK schedule. Furthermore, although they were not motivated by share market considerations, strategies for making the best possible news programme from the available resources were clearly employed when Dagsrevyen underwent changes in 1992.\

The thesis will inquire how the implementation of such strategies are related to the noticeable overall concern with the textual aspects (the form of the single news-item as well as of the single programme) in both public service and commercial broadcasting institutions. For the thesis to examine such strategies, analytical tools have to be developed. It will be argued that such tools may be found in a cultural approach to the study of the mass media. The most sustained attempts to group and organise the multiplicity of notations and conventions into specific modes may be seen to be the theory of genres or

\footnote{See Helland, 1992.}
kinds (see Williams, 1977), and the thesis attempts to combine a textual and a contextual analysis of the study of news in an application of the concept of genre. The notion of genre suggests that news is a social institution and a cultural product to which producers and audience relate. Some scholars have articulated the relationship between producers and audience as a 'social contract' (e.g. Connell, 1986). The study of genres may be taken as an intermediary step to examine how conventions affect the creation and production (Berger, 1992) as well as the reading of texts. Moreover, a genre perspective is based on a conception of the work, on an image of the work, which involves, on the one hand, a certain number of abstract properties and on the other, a certain number of norms governing the relation between these properties (Todorov, 1975).

Such properties and norms will be examined in the analysis of how the production of television news is framed by ideals; ideals of how television news is to be produced and presented according to genre conventions. It is in the examination of such conventions that the thesis attempts to analyse inter-relations between the news texts and productional practices in the two news programmes. The perspective should make it possible to analyse the following important aspect in relation to the presented news texts: that within Dagsrevyen and International News many productional, and many textual, elements were similar, while others differed. Furthermore - differences in the production apparatus and policies sometimes did give rise to the production of differences in programmes, but the different ways of producing news in the two news-rooms also resulted in uniform texts.

Consequently, the thesis sets out to examine the news production processes in the two programmes, and relate these to the institution and formation of news, to the news genre, to the methods of finance and to the policies guiding the activities of the two news programmes. A key argument is that the production processes may be regarded as procedures in which news conventions are applied to produce textual authority or textual claims descending from the news genre.

In the field of mass communication research a considerable amount of production studies has been conducted in regard to the news in television (both public service and commercial) on the contextual level. Although there have also been many studies on the textual level of television news programmes, there have been very few combining a contextual and textual approach. Perhaps more significantly, there are no major study analysing both the contextual and textual levels related to the production processes and news programmes in a
major public service and a commercial company, and definitely no major study combining a textual and contextual approach to the study of news production in a commercial satellite channel. The aim of this study is to address precisely these gaps in contemporary research.

1.3. Research outline.
The thesis is in six parts. The different parts have been motivated by the research questions outlined in this introduction. This introduction (Chapter 1) constitutes Part I.

Part II deals with Theoretical and methodological aspects. Chapter 2 contains a theoretical discussion on different approaches to communication and the study of news. The chapter is the basis of Chapter 3, which embodies further specification and definition of theoretical concepts applied in the empirical analysis. While Chapter 2 and 3 are focused on the theoretical approach and analytical concepts, Chapter 4 is concerned with research design and methodology.

Part III is called Contextual and productional aspects. It includes a description of the geographical, social and organisational framework within which the two news programmes are set (Chapter 5). The Norwegian media situation and more detailed organisational issues concerning TV3 and the NRK are discussed. Following on from this, Chapter 6 investigates the relations between Dagsrevyen and the state, and International News and the market. Chapter 6 also analyses journalists' perceptions of the manifestations of tensions and cleavages in the news-rooms produced by relations to the state and the market. In Chapter 7, the news production apparatuses and routines of the two programmes are examined.

Part IV of the thesis - Textual aspects - contains the textual analyses of the news programmes. In Chapters 8, 9 and 10 the programme content, the form of the programmes and the ways in which the programmes approach or address the audience (the structures of enunciation) are analysed, respectively. The chapters also serve as a basis for examination of productional practices in the next part.

That part, Part V - Encoding textual claims - deals with the production of news according to genre conventions (Chapter 11). Of these, the conventions of editorial and journalistic
integrity and autonomy are closely focused on, as the issue of integrity has been so central in the discussion of public service and commercial television news.

Part VI - Conclusions - incorporates later developments in the NRK/Dagsrevyen and TV3/International News. The thesis is then concluded.

1.4. A short note on quotations.
To a substantial degree, materials from documents and interviews applied in empirical analyses are in Norwegian. Where such materials are quoted, the original versions are presented in Norwegian in footnotes. In such cases the analyses are based on the original text/statements. In most instances documents and statements from TV3 in Swedish or Danish are presented in Norwegian in the footnotes. The languages are very similar, i.e. the process of translation does not easily distort the intended meaning. Furthermore, translation also secures anonymity for the individual broadcaster in the news-room in TV3. The broadcasters might otherwise have been recognised by their linguistic ideosyncracies. In order to prevent the recognition of individual broadcasters in either news-room on account of their particular vocabularies/expressions, the wording of some phrases (which potentially might be traced back to those individuals) have also been changed.
PART II: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS
Chapter 2: Perspectives on mass communication and the study of news.

The crucial role of the news-media as a source of public information has meant that the news has become one of the main research foci in mass communication research. In this research, the sociology of news has produced three quite distinct areas of inquiry: production, content and text, and audience (Adams, 1978; Dahlgren, 1989).

The aim of the present thesis is to examine why, how, and with what result television news in TV3 and the NRK was produced; i.e. to examine productional and textual aspects in International News and Dagsrevyen. This aim may be seen to involve four different levels of analysis:

1. That of the overall national, political, economic and technological context within which the two broadcast corporations are operating; issues of relations to the market, to the state, traditions, and the use of technology for broadcasting purposes.
2. That of the cultural and historical context; news as a culturally and socially defined institution and genre.
3. That of specific news-room operations and professional ideologies and conventions within an organisational context.
4. The presented news text resulting from those operations, ideologies and conventions.

While 3 and 4 above are the main focus of the examination, 1 and 2 are discussed to the extent that they are found relevant to the overall analysis of the thesis. To prepare for the examination of the above aspects in the following chapters, the present chapter will consider the concept of communication in relation to a transmission and a cultural (or ritual) dimension of the news, and in relation to the study of the news. The chapter will explore how the two dimensions are embodied in the concept as well as in (mass) communication research. Furthermore, it will focus on how news as an institution, a form and
a genre, establishes a cultural framework for news organisations and for news work. In discussing the problem of text and context, the chapter intends to approach the main issues addressed in the thesis on a theoretical level. The need for analysing news as both elements of information (from a transmission perspective) and as a cultural form constituting its own genre (from a cultural perspective) will be stressed.

While the first part of the chapter is intended to form a perspective for further analysis (section 2.1.), the second part (2.2.) more specifically discusses research on news seen to be relevant for the further analysis of text and context in public service and commercial news.  

2.1. The concept of communication and mass communication research.

The concept has been used differently at different times in history. It originates from the Latin word communis or communicare, which means to make common, and which has given its meaning to the word communicate. From the late 17th Century in Britain there was an important extension of the meaning to the means of communication (Williams, 1976). During the 18th and 19th century - the main period of developments of roads, canals and railways - the concept of communication was often applied as the abstract general term for these physical facilities. The concept was in this way also linked to the concept of transportation - physical transportation - of goods, messages and people from one place to another. With the development of the electronic distribution of texts through telegraph, radio and television, 'communication' was also linked to the concept of transmission.

From the development of new means of information following the industrial revolution, the concept of communication became a general reference to the social institutions of the media (both printed and broadcast) in the 20th Century. Accordingly, the concept of communication can be said to point to two main meanings, stemming from different historical periods: firstly, the ancient meaning implying a common base for understanding and action related to the outside world which points to a cultural dimension of communication. Secondly, there is the modern meaning of the concept - a generalisation of

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9 The thesis does not intend to cover the whole tradition of news- and news production studies. Only those found relevant to the overall perspective are discussed.
transportation of either information or goods - pointing to a transmission dimension of communication (see Carey, 1989).

The transmission perspective on communication has been the basis for much research in the tradition of mass communication within social sciences. A transmission approach made the effect of the media on the individuals and the mass audience the main focus of early research (Bauer and Bauer, 1960), resulting in a dominant underlying model for analysing the role of the media in society: that of the sender/message/receiver model of communication. The role of the mass media was conceptualised as bringing information from a source to a receiver (audience) with some kind of result (effect). To a large extent such a conception guided the further development of mass communication research, and in particular 'to whom, with what effect' became the dominant focus and paradigm. In the history of mainstream mass communication research, important contributors, such as Carl Hovland, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Joseph Klapper, worked predominantly within the transmission paradigm/framework (Hovland et al., 1949; Klapper, 1960; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944).

Influential factors in the development of the effect tradition of mass communication research include the social research tradition of mass society, the psychological tradition of behaviourism, and the commercial and administrative need for 'getting the message across'. Stuart Hall (1986b: 131) has pointed out the link between effects research and the psychological tradition of behaviourism:

"Though we know the television programme is not a behavioral input, like a tap on the knee cap, it seems to have been almost impossible for traditional researchers to conceptualise the communicative process without lapsing into one or other variant of low-flying behaviourism."

The U.S. networks, set up between 1926 and 1943, funded research projects on the effects of the media for commercial purposes. The United States Government poured money into huge research projects focusing on how to manipulate public and military attitudes towards participation in World War II (i.e. Hovland et al., 1949). This funding was crucial for

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10 This formula of the mass communication process was most strongly expressed by Lazwell (1948) as 'Who, says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect'.

11 See for example Lazarsfeld's (1941) classical article 'Administrative and Critical Communication Research'.

12 For a Norwegian analysis of such contributions, see Høyen, 1987.
establishing research institutions, and therefore, for the American mass communication research tradition. However, many of the early contributions were immensely important for the development of mass communication as a field of study. Studies by Hovland et al. (1949) and Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) were also important for the development of different kinds of methodologies within the field of mass communication. Furthermore, there were important shifts in foci of research in the American tradition during the forties, fifties and sixties, although the shifts were mostly within the paradigm of a transmission approach to communication. There were also American scholars in opposition to the 'dominant paradigm'.

A Norwegian contribution motivated from a social psychology perspective is the classic article on news factors by Galtung and Ruge (1965) - *The Structure of Foreign News*. The authors explicitly state that their study is based on such a perspective (ibid.: 65):

"The set of world events, then, is like the cacophony of sound one gets by scanning the dial of one's radio receiver, and particularly confusing if this is done quickly on the medium-wave or short-wave dials. ... Since we cannot register everything, we have to select, and the question is what will strike our attention. This is a problem in the psychology of perception ..." (my emphasis).

At the same time as Galtung and Ruge another Norwegian scholar named Østgaard, published examinations of news factors influencing the distribution and presentation of foreign news (Østgaard, 1965, 1967). His approach is also based heavily on a transmission perspective. However, in the analysis, Østgaard has replaced the social-psychological per-

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13 Gitlin (1978: 205) points this out when commenting on the study *The People's Choice* by Lazarsfeld et al. (1944), claiming that:

"... because of intellectual, ideological and institutional commitments sociologists have not put the critical questions".

Further, Gitlin (1978: 234) comments critically on what he labels the dominant paradigm of communication research:

"It's no secret that mass communication research descends directly from the development of sophisticated marketing techniques".

It is also this tradition of research which C. Wright Mills (1959), from a general sociological perspective, calls 'abstracted empiricism'. By this, he means that the interpretations of the empirical data from this kind of research were not based in social critical theory. In a somewhat cynical fashion, he states that:

'The thinness of the results is matched only by the elaboration of the methods and the care employed' (Mills, 1959: 63). See also Bennett, 1985.

14 For an extensive criticism of that particular study, see Hjarvard, 1993b.

15 Østgaard (1965) explicitly states that:

"What mainly interests us is factors which impair the 'free flow of news' ... chief attention must first be focused on what can be called the negative factors: namely those which cause the 'picture of the world' as it is presented through the news media to differ from 'what really happened'."
perspective of Galtung and Ruge with an emphasis on political and economic structures. In doing this, he explicitly states that factors foreign to the news-process (from a transmission perspective) which are nevertheless influencing this process, are largely of a political and commercial nature (Østgaard, 1965: 40). He then concludes that the news media tends to reinforce the status quo; to present the world as more conflict-laden than it 'really' is, and to reinforce the division of high and low status nations.

It was such an emphasis on political and economic factors which came to guide new trends of research in mass communication from the mid sixties. In particular, such guidance is seen in research on mass communication research in Britain, where a sociological perspective was combined with a neo-marxist theoretical approach to the production and reproduction of culture. This was most clearly articulated in two British traditions established during the sixties, which both addressed the issue of how the function of the media legitimised the status quo; who has the power to define social reality? why is this so? and how is this process of social definition maintained? One tradition had its roots in sociology and the Marxist political economy tradition. In many ways the Centre for Mass Communication Research in Leicester (CMCR) came to exemplify this. The other tradition had its roots in the Humanities, and was most strongly developed at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. Its leading scholars were Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams.

The orientation in both traditions made it theoretically relevant, and possible, to raise issues broader than those raised from a strict transmission perspective. In section 2.1.2. the implications of what has been labelled the cultural studies tradition for media research

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16 This perspective has materialised in the titles of his article 'Factors influencing the News' (1965) and of his book News for Sale (1967) (original Norwegian title: Nyheter til salgs).

17 For this reason it is surprising that Østgaard's article from 1965 'Factors influencing the Flow of News' has not reached the same international recognition as the article 'The Structure of Foreign News' by Galtung and Ruge.


19 In discussing the similarities between the two approaches, Curran (1990) states that: '... despite their rather heavily accentuated differences, both approaches had a lot in common. Both worked within a neo-Marxist model of society; both perceived a connection, whether weak or strong, between economic interests and ideological representations; and both portrayed the media as serving dominant rather than universal societal interests.'
will be dealt with. The following section will look into the British political economy tradition.

2.1.1. Mass communication and political and economic structures.

In the British political economy tradition social inequalities related to social and economic structures within which the mass media was positioned became a central focus of attention. Murdock and Golding (1977: 12), for example, claim that:

'... the sociological study of mass communications should not be seen as a self-contained professional specialism, and still less as one element in a grand multi-disciplinary approach to "communications", but as part of the overall study of social and cultural reproduction which has traditionally occupied the heartland of sociological analysis.'

Furthermore:

'In short, our argument is that the sociology of mass communication should be incorporated into the wider study of stratification and legitimation.'

From a transmission perspective, the argument illustrates that scholars of the British sociological tradition were asking 'why, who says what, in which channel, to whom, and with what result'. The focus was directed towards the media structure, the production of media output within this structure, and the resulting availability and range of different media products.

The task within this orientation was then to illustrate how structures of ideology were more or less determined by political and economic structures in society and in the media; by media ownership in the private media, and Parliamentary and Governmental control in the public service media. The privately owned media (situated within a competitive, profit-making commercial environment), as well as the public service media (financed by licence fee and not advertisements), were seen to produce manifestations of the culture of the ruling class. Some researchers explained this as an economic imperative to survive within a
market (Murdock, 1985), while others produced more instrumentalist explanations, based on the motives and intentions of those controlling the media (see Miliband, 1973).\footnote{Although such an approach was developed within the British tradition of the sociology of mass communication, the perspective was not entirely new within the field. For example, American scholars like Herbert Schiller and C. Wright Mills had also been raising such issues. It should also be noted that the British tradition mentioned was not solely an exponent of the political economy approach. This approach was, however, important for the development of an alternative to the American mainstream approach, and for the identification of an own British sociological tradition.}

One main aspect of the British sociological approach was on the extent to which the mass media was able to supply the audience with relevant information for the promotion of a democratic order within a capitalist society; the core research question asked was whether products from communication organisations could provide relevant information to the citizens. The media organisations, both public and commercial, were criticised for not being able to supply such information. The reasons for - as well as the consequences of - this apparent shortcoming then became the main concern for further analyses. Let the following statement by Murdock (1985: 119) illustrate this:

"The communications industry produce peculiar commodities. At one level they are goods and services like any others ... By providing accounts of the contemporary world and images of 'good life' they play a pivotal role in shaping social consciousness, and it is this 'special relationship' between economic and cultural power that has made the issue of their control a continuing focus of academic and political concern."

One problem with this political economy approach, however, was that issues about the audience and its relations to the media were only in focus to a very limited extent. A second problem was that the tradition did not produce qualified and nuanced accounts of the forms and specific types of content, or text, found within and across the different media (see White, 1987).

This is related to a third problem; one at a more theoretical level. The perspective defined problems of media structure as related to the economic structure of capitalist societies. In this way it helped facilitate a much needed criticism and discussion of the structures within which the mass media were operating. This was performed with reference to the relationship between economic structures and social knowledge. For this, the notion of ideology within Marxism was brought into the analyses and approached from a classical Marxist position - that of ideology as part of the superstructure being determined by base in 'the
last instance'. From such a perspective, ideology may easily be regarded as false consciousness produced by dominant social patterns of economic deep-structures; i.e. 'real knowledge' about society and class values is achieved through a materialist analysis of the economic base. In the analyses of the media, to some extent, this came to imply that the printed or transmitted content was examined according to the degree of correspondence with the social relations produced by economic deep-structures. Here, the political economy tradition in some cases tended to come close to what may be labelled 'economic determinism', and also to what has been labelled an instrumentalist approach to the media.

Although from a different perspective than previous studies from a transmission perspective, the political economy tradition would often implicitly take a transmission approach on an ideological level: the dominant ideology would often be seen as reproduced in the media by economic deep-structures produced by a capitalist society, without sufficient analysis of text production, of the texts themselves, or of processes of audience reception.

The problem in conceptualising relations between economy and ideology in the political economy tradition was the main factor producing the debates within the cultural studies tradition (see Müller, 1993). Some representatives of the political economy perspective have later revised their position in regard to 'economic determination in the last instance' significantly. Such changes were mostly attributable to the insights produced by the following events:

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31 The point of departure for this perspective was the much quoted passage from Marx' and Engels' German Ideology (1979: 98):

'The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production.'

32 The following statement by Murdock and Golding (1977: 20) may serve as an illustration of this:

'We have said that economics are not the sole determinant of media behaviour, and in this sense we are not arguing on a thesis of bald economic determinism. Nevertheless, by concentrating on the economic base, we are suggesting that control over material resources and their changing distribution are ultimately the most powerful of the many layers operating in cultural production.'

33 This problem has made Schudson (1989: 266) state about the political economy tradition:

'... the view of political ... relates the outcome of the news process to the economic structure of the news organization. Everything in between is a black box that need not be examined in order to understand the fundamental consonance between profit-seeking industry and conservative, system-maintaining news. This view appears in its most theoretically sophisticated and self-critical form in British media studies ...'

34 In an article from 1989, Murdock (1989: 229) applies a previous argument by Hall and Williams about 'economic determination' in the first instance:
cultural studies tradition. Although the political economy tradition has provided essential theoretical and practical insights about the economic and political contexts within which the media is operating, it was the cultural studies scholars who initiated new ways of analysing cultural artifacts and forms of social knowledge as texts from their revised Marxist-orientated position.

2.1.2. Mass communication as culture.

A culturally based approach relates the definition of communication to social practice, as a cultural definition of communication is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship, and the possession of a common faith (Carey, 1989). In distinguishing between a transmission and a ritual perspective on communication, Carey (1989) says that a ritual view of communication is directed not towards the extension of message in space but towards the maintenance of society in time, and not towards the act of imparting information but towards the representation of shared beliefs. For him the archetypal case of communication under a transmission view is the extension of messages across geography for the purpose of control, while the archetypal case under a ritual view is the sacred ceremony that draws persons together in fellowship and community.

We can see here that the focus in a ritual or cultural21 approach to communication has shifted from the individual and social influence to the social function of the means of communications in society. In order to be able to grasp the cultural function of the mass media in the social world, it is necessary to ask questions not only about the production processes and the social and economic structures determining the mass media activities. Questions about the culture and the interpretation of culture through the media as texts have to be raised.

'This way of conceptualising the problem has the effect of encouraging a search for one-to-one relations between the economic and symbolic dimensions of communication. This is further reinforced by the conventional definition of 'determination' as a direct and unmediated effect. We can release ourselves from this analytical straitjacket and move research forward by making two simple revisions to the original formulation. The first is to say that economy determines in the first rather than the last instance, and that it is therefore a necessary starting point for analysis, but not a destination... . The second key revision is to 'revalue 'determination' towards the setting of limits and the exertion of pressure, and away from a predicted, prefigured and controlled content' ... . My position is that economic dynamics play a crucial role in structuring the social spaces within which communicative activity takes place, but that within these spaces the symbolic sphere operates according to its own rules, which establish their own independent determinations.'

21 Schudson (1989) has labelled this a 'culturological approach' to the study of news.
This is not an entirely new perspective within social research, as the issues have been raised earlier in different academic disciplines. One of the most significant contributions is probably the work by the Frankfurt-School. Their approach has been labelled critical theory. Taking a revisionist Marxist perspective, one of the main issues which was raised by these scholars was the reasons why the socialist revolution did not appear as a result of the economic crises in the late nineteen-twenties.26

However, the influence of the culture industry and the media was still conceived in term of stimulus - response in its relation to the alienated atomised individuals and the masses; from a transmission perspective aspects of the analytical approach were very close to the mainstream American effects research.

Such a limited conception of the audience, and the interaction between the audience and culture, was not to be present in the British cultural studies tradition. This body of research was developed within the area of literary criticism in Britain during the fifties: Hoggart’s Uses of Literacy, Williams’ Culture and Society and The Long Revolution, and Thompson’s The Making of the English Working Class were founding works (Hall, 1980).27

In his analysis, The Long Revolution, Williams (1965: 89) presents what may be considered as a manifesto for this tradition:

"We are seeking to define and consider one central principle: that of the essential relations, the true interaction, between patterns learned and created in the mind and patterns communicated and made active in relationships, conventions, and institutions. Culture is our name for this process and its results ...

The founded tradition of cultural studies implied a holistic and more ritual approach to the study of the media and society, as it brought a new focus to the study of culture. This

26 In their analyses of social institutions counteracting the development of such revolutionary changes, they searched for non-economic factors. Through these analyses the classical Marxist political economy position was revised, and the role of the ‘superstructure’ within the historical materialism was emphasised in the study of, among other things, the means of communication.

27 According to Stuart Hall (1986a: 17) - one of the strongest exponents of the cultural studies tradition - these scholars:

'... defined the space in which Cultural Studies emerged, defined its objectives and its agenda.'
focus was seen to be two-dimensional; the concept of culture was problematised, and there was the question of the relation of the cultural to other spheres in society.

First, the abstraction of texts from the social practices which produced them, and the institutional sites where they were elaborated, were seen to obscure how a particular ordering of culture came to be produced and sustained. Making culture problematic implied raising questions about reproduction of culture, social struggle and cultural hegemony; about the processes in which a dominant cultural order came to be preferred. Two steps were involved in these analyses: a move towards an anthropological definition of culture in which culture was defined as cultural practices. In addition, there was a move towards an historical definition of cultural practices. This further resulted in examination of concepts of social formation, cultural power, domination and regulation, resistance and struggle (Hall, 1986a).

Second, and related to the question of domination, was the question of the relation between cultural practices and the economic, political and ideological instances. The raising of this question had severe implications on a theoretical level, as a theoretical discussion on the Marxist construction of historical materialism and the problem of 'base/superstructure' was employed. In this, the cultural studies approach resulted in a revision of the classical Marxist argument of the 'determination of economy in the last instance':

"Ideologies ceased to be simply the dependent variable in social struggle: instead, ideological struggle acquired a specificity and a pertinence of its own - needing to be analysed in its own terms, and with real effects on the outcomes of particular struggles. This weakened, and finally overthrew altogether, the classic conception of ideas as wholly determined by other determining factors." (Hall, 1985: 82).

At the centre of these discussions was the Gramscian concept of hegemony. 'Hegemony' describes the general predominance of a particular class related to political and ideological interests. Although there are conflicting social interests based on class differences, the ruling class was seen to exercise hegemony in that their interests were accepted as the prevailing ones. Social and cultural conflicts were expressed as a struggle for hegemony, a

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22 In an appraisal of the British cultural studies tradition Fiske (1987: 254) claims that:
"... all the British work in cultural studies ... start from 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."

It may be argued that not many such empirical studies have been conducted.
struggle over which ideas will be recognised as the prevailing common-sense view (White, 1987).

This meant a new point of departure for a discussion of social matters in the Marxist tradition of thought. It was further significant for the theoretical development of the field of mass communication. In relation to the present study, the cultural studies tradition may be regarded as a cultural approach to the study of news. The approach makes space for reflections on the role of the news media as producers of texts formed by cultural institutions in professional settings, functioning within a specific historical and social context.  

The cultural studies tradition in this way has the potential for challenging and redirecting a transmission perspective in important matters. As the perspective of the present thesis urges for an approach to the news not only as media content, but also as an historically and culturally related institution, genre and text, insights from cultural studies will be applied in the analysis of Dagsrevyen and International News.

2.2. Text and context in research on news.

From a culturalist perspective the news may be seen as a social construction - an institutionalised genre and a cultural form functioning within a specific social context and social tradition: a genre and a form which may be identified and analysed, and on which the relationship between the news organisations and the audience is built. There is a consciousness about the generic character of news in the public. This is seldom made explicit, but may, for example, be seen as prevalent in the notion of 'silly season news': i.e. news which is not really news but which has taken the form of news for seasonal variations. Consequently, 'silly season news' is usually regarded as some kind of useless

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30 This comes close to what has been labelled cultural materialism by Williams (1977: 5): 'a theory of the specificities of material culture and literary production within historical materialism'.

31 Norwegian: agurknyheter.
information which is not really news, but has the function of helping to fill the format of news.32

A consciousness about the generic character of the news is, obviously, also prevalent in the ways the overall social news institution is 'implemented' in news corporations, and in the ways productional practices are organised. From an analytical perspective, the news programmes communicate the frames within which they are operating - frames provided by the changing social institution and genre of news; what is presented as news by producers is usually taken as news by the audience. In this way, it may be tempting to define news as what is presented in a news format and to define journalism as the work needed to fill the journalistic formats. Such definitions incorporate the notion that genre conventions as productional practices and textual forms are integral parts of the news production process and of journalistic practices. They further allow the researcher to relate conventions of the news production process to an analysis of social order and social codes, or - as will be done in the present thesis - to relate conventions to news production to the overall social institution and the formation of news.

The above definitions of news and journalism may be regarded as descriptive and tautological. More dominating in the field of news studies are normative definitions based on a transmission perspective. Altheide and Snow (1991) may be seen as representatives in their recent critical - and ahistoric - account about the development of journalism. They state that journalism is dead, and was killed by news organisations that developed formats to constitute symbolic reproductions of events in the world. They argue (ibid.: x):

"In a media world, organized journalism is dead; we are postjournalists for two reasons. First, journalistic practices, techniques and approaches are now geared to media formats rather than merely directing their craft at topics; second, the topics, organisations, and issues that journalists report about are themselves products of the media - journalistic formats and criteria."

The authors do not seem to consider that in television journalism especially, with its dependence on moving pictures, there has always been team-work and there has always been a dependence on the available pictorial material.33 News has always been presented

32 Another illustration may be April Fool Jokes presented as news, as the famous BBC joke of the spaghetti harvest from 'spaghetti trees' in Italy.

33 See Chapter 6 for an historical analysis of Dagrevyen.
in formats, into which elements of information have been encoded. As the present thesis will demonstrate, frames and formats provided by the social institution of news are continuously applied in changing ways. These ways may be critically assessed, but it is problematic to state that journalism is dead because journalism is now (and - implicitly - not previously) geared towards media formats.

From a transmission approach issues of news production have tended to be formulated as questions of the transportation of 'reality' from 'reality' itself, through the news-room, to the audience. Much research on the production and creation of news has been based on the implicit hypothesis that the 'reality' itself has been 'distorted' by the professional work, organisational resources, or the policy and the needs of the news organisation. Such an assumption is present in the title of a study by Altheide - Creating Reality: How TV News distorts Events. Altheide (1976: 174) also explicitly claims that:

"... our pictures of reality are distorted by the work which transforms events into news stories'. (my emphasis)

It can be seen that the statement assumes that it is possible to 'transport' a conceived reality all the way through the editorial process to the audience; i.e there is frequently a definite focus on the event which is transformed into news. It is not difficult to see that from an extreme transmission perspective there are dimensions of how the news production apparatus is 'implemented' which are easily excluded from such a perspective.

However, for the analysis of the economic, political and national contexts within which the news is operating, and for the analysis of relations between these contexts and media practices, insights from research which has traditionally taken a transmission approach are important: even if they have often excluded how news-rooms and news-people relate to news as a cultural form, such studies have in many instances analysed how the news-work itself is defined by the relationship to economic and political structures, and how these

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34 These should not be entirely new insights. Cf. a quotation from Lippmann (1960: 354, 1st ed. 1922) about the press: 'Every newspaper when it reaches the reader is the result of a whole series of selections as to what items shall be printed, in what position they shall be printed, how much space each shall occupy, what emphasis each shall have. There are no objective standards here. There are conventions.'

35 Some researchers have contributed to these questions in a more productive way by discussing the notion of 'objectivity'. See for example Vejrup et al. (1979) and Østbye (1989).
structures are made to be present in the production context. In the present analysis of the news production processes and the news programmes of International News and Dagsrevyen, the question of what economic and political factors form the news-process is necessarily an important part. Furthermore, it is essential to analyse how the organisational and journalistic work with the news impinge on what issues and elements of information are presented in the news programme, as these elements of information are important sources for individual and collective social consciousness.

Accordingly, insights from a transmission perspective do not necessarily need to be excluded from the analysis, because they are important for the examination of contextual aspects of International News and Dagsrevyen in this thesis. From this perspective, contextual aspects will be discussed in relation to news in section 2.2.1. Following that, insights from a cultural perspective are examined in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1. On contextual aspects.
One of the strengths of the sociological tradition of mass communication research is its commitment to the study of the news production processes within different contexts. However, from the perspective of the present study, a clear weakness of many such studies is that the relations between text and context have been insufficiently researched. From a transmission perspective the aim of the research area of news production has predominantly been to examine the mechanisms influencing and determining what news is presented. Nevertheless, in approaching the news production process in this way, mass communication researchers have developed a strong ethnographic tradition, drawing on anthropological methods and insights. In general, there has been one main focus, and two main problems discussed. The focus and the problems are related to the conception of the mass communication process as a transmission model.

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36 The distribution of the 'elements of information' are at the core of the discussion about available information in relation to the ideal of the public sphere (Habermas, 1971).

37 Tveiten (1993) distinguishes between two different meanings of the term context: context in text (how the various elements of the text are related to each other [intertextuality]), and text in context (how the various elements of the text reflect the cultural framework of its production). In the present thesis another meaning of context is also relevant - that of the context for the production of the text (for example, organizational factors, or relations to the state and to the market).
The focus has frequently been the distortion of 'reality' in the news production process. In such cases the first problem discussed has been the question of to what extent and in which direction is the representation of 'reality' distorted? The second problem, related to the first, has been who and what distorts the 'reality'; is it individual journalists or editors, are the distortions made deliberately, do they have structural causes, such as economy, technology, professionalisation etc? For the following empirical examination of contextual aspects in Part III of the thesis, it is found useful to examine the findings of news production studies from two theoretical traditions within sociology; the tradition of the industrial society and the tradition of the capitalist society. The traditions derive from a general discussion within sociology about modernity, the industrial revolution, social transformation and class divisions. The two bodies of thought have their roots in work by Saint-Simon and Karl Marx (Giddens, 1982).

Theories of industrial society are related to what is called the mainstream sociology, or a consensus perspective on social processes. In the field of mass communication research, the tradition may be seen to provide a focus on journalistic practices, on journalistic ideologies, on the news-room as a social organisation, on decision-making, and on the inter-relations between organisational and occupational routines (see Schudson, 1989). The tradition may be seen to include both functional approaches (for example found in the ideal descriptions of what is the role of the journalist and the aim of journalistic work) and more critical approaches (examining problematic issues of the relations between context, journalistic ideals, and journalistic practices).

From theories of the capitalist society the basis for the analysis on the level of news production processes has most often been the political economy tradition of Marxist thought; a conflict-orientated approach based on conceptualisation of relations to the means of production, and to class differences resulting from this. From this perspective, the outcome of the news process is related to political interests, and to economic and political structural forces: this approach has often placed the focus on the relationship between economic structures, ownership and the content, as well as the availability of different news media products.

To allow an analytical examination of how different contexts may be seen to cause the 'distortion' of news to be made, the sociological issue of power within general sociology have been addressed: what distorts the news - individual action or structural causes. As a
base for an action approach to news work is the Weberian understanding of power (Weber, 1968); power defined as the probability that a person in a social relationship will be able to carry out his/her own will in the pursuit of goals of action, regardless of resistance. From a transmission perspective such a definition may enable the researcher to focus on the ways in which journalists 'distort' the news, media owners control the news, and on how editors and news workers shape the outcome of the news through individual work.

In contrast, a sociological structural approach to power may be applied to examine how the socialisation of journalists, productional practices, as well as the choices of the news corporation, the editor and the news worker are limited by the economic and organisational structures, or the environment in which they are operating.

In the following examination of news production studies and contexts, studies which are related to the theoretical tradition of industrial society will be discussed first.

The major classical contribution from within this perspective is the sociological micro level gatekeeper study by White in 1950 (see White, 1966). The idea of the news gatekeeper is that in the production process within a transmission chain, images of 'reality' will easily be rejected - they have to be selected and to pass several gates to be presented as news. White (1966: 164) wanted to:

"... determine some preliminary ideas as to why ... wire editors selected or rejected the news stories ... and thereby gain some diagnostic notions about the general role of the 'gatekeeper' in mass communications'.

The study was based in a Lasswellian paradigm; the production and presentation of news was conceived as a chain along which images of reality were rejected or passed the judgement of the individual news gatekeeper. From this paradigm, White (1966: 164) found that:

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38 For a sociological and conceptual analysis of such aspects of power, see Bachrach and Baratz (1970) and Lakes (1974).

39 In many ways the actual notion of gatekeeper itself subscribes to a transmission perspective.
'... analyses of the reasons given by our Mr. Gates for rejecting various types of the news stories indicated how highly subjective and reliant upon value judgement based on the gatekeeper's own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations the selection of news actually is.'

However, interestingly White (1966: 171) presents a phrase which, to some degree, has been neglected by scholars commenting on the classical gatekeeper study, and which implicitly points to a potential difference from that of a social psychological perspective of White:

'It is a well known fact in individual psychology that people tend to perceive as true only those happenings which fit into their own beliefs concerning what is likely to happen. It begins to appear that in his position as 'gatekeeper' the newspaper editor sees to it (even though he may never be consciously aware of it) that the community shall hear as a fact only those events which the newsman, as the representative of his culture, believes to be true.' (Emphasis mine).

White finds the gatekeeper's values to be based on subjective values. He also argues that the choices of the gatekeeper are (more or less) consciously based. Here the main limitation in White's perspective is seen; because of a focus on subjective evaluation in the study of gatekeeping, White ends up with an argument which in an unnecessary way limits his own conclusions about his findings. The concept of culture is utilised for social/cultural background, but he neglects to comment further on one important aspect covered in the study; that the gatekeeper is operating within two cultures. That is, his own social culture, related to general, social background and experiences, and the professional culture he is socialised into as a news worker with editorial responsibilities.

This lack of analytical distinction makes it conceptually difficult for White to put the news worker into an ideological, professional and organisational context and draw conclusions from this. This may be regarded as the main limitation of White's adopted approach. However, the significance of the study is that in the research literature it represents a shift within the Lasswellian paradigm from questions of 'with what effect' to questions of 'how, who, says what'; a shift from studies of the effects of the media to the study of production processes.40

40 Gibber (1964) does to some extent take account of the problems commented on in White's gatekeeper study.
Another classical news study is that of Lang and Lang (1984). In one of the first event-centred studies they made an analysis of televisial distortion and transformation in a live television coverage: that of the dismissed, homecoming General MacArthur (previous head of American military forces in Asia) in a rally in Chicago in 1951. Lang and Lang found a clear discrepancy between personal experience from the rally, and the television coverage.41

"When we compared the various observer's reports, it became strongly evident that the MacArthur Day reported by persons on the scene was rather different from the MacArthur Day as it appeared to the televiwer" (Lang and Lang, 1984: 31-32).

The study raised issues about what professional and contextual factors influenced television coverage, and was followed up by a British case study of the news selection and presentation of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in 1968 (Halloran, Elliott and Murdock, 1970). One of the premises for that study was the standard justification for a free press, radio and television in a democratic society; that of providing access to a variety of sources of news and presentation. In the case of the anti-Vietnam demonstration, Halloran et al. (1970) conclude that there was almost no variation in the news coverage of the demonstration. Viewers and readers were not presented with a variety of interpretations focusing on different aspects of the same event: from the study they conclude that in fact, most of the media coverage focused on one minor episode of violence. According to the researchers, the focus on the episode was produced by the expectations of the professionals, and the tendency for the news media to focus on conflicts. In this, the study takes a perspective which was not present in White's gatekeeper study; that of the relations between professional norms and perceived content needs. Halloran et al. (ibid.: 301) contend that:

"... events were not so much deliberately distorted or otherwise falsified by presentation, as selected and interpreted for their relevance to the basic and predetermined news issue. Over the period covered by this study, the single negative image built up for the demonstration story was the only image made widely available to the public by press and television news." (Halloran et al., 1970: 301).

41 Because video technology for recording broadcast material was not available, several research assistants were involved to observe relations between the event and the media coverage.
The authors claim that the selection and presentation of news is not simply a function of conscious attitudes and deliberate policies, as it springs from an underlying frame of mind which itself is related to occupational and institutional arrangements. Furthermore, they claim that what is needed first of all is a sustained, thorough and comprehensive examination of 'the underlying frame of mind', together with the related occupational and institutional arrangements (Halloran et al., 1970: 318).

Here, Halloran et al. point to a problem within the research tradition of news production studies. The related occupational and institutional arrangements have been looked into. However, what has been scarcely examined is the 'underlying frame of mind' and its relation to institutional frameworks, journalistic practice and the news as a cultural and a social product.

As mentioned, studies on news may to some extent be seen to take an explicit, and implicit, transmission approach. Often in such studies, there is the ideal that 'reality' should be presented 'undistorted' for the audience by the journalists or the news organisation. One of the most influential studies of news organisations carrying such an assumption is the Epstein study (1973) *News from Nowhere*:

"The main finding of this study is that the pictures of society that are shown on television as national news are largely - though not entirely - performed and shaped by organisational considerations". (Epstein, 1973: 258).

The considerations are, for Epstein, economic, legal and social imperatives of the news organisation and the networks. The working assumption for Epstein's study (1973: xiv) was that members of news organisations modify their own personal values in accordance to the requisites of the organisation. Therefore, the key to explain the particular outputs of news organisations was seen to lay in defining the basic requirements which a given organisation needs to maintain itself.

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This was one of the first of a range of studies which argued that the needs of the organisation 'distort' the news. The perspective, as well as the study itself, had an immense influence on later research in the field.⁴³

The organisational explanation of the news distortion, as pursued by Epstein, has its obvious shortcomings, although in relation to the present thesis it does give insights into organisational practices. From an analytical point of view, the main shortcoming is the concept of organisational needs. The application of the concept easily results in a circular argument where the 'needs' of the organisation becomes a very vague analytical concept whereby most aspects of the news may be explained.⁴⁴

In line with this, Adams (1974) states that the term organisational theory, as applied to network news, has been used indiscriminately in research. He further states that apart from conscious imposition of personal political values on news content, any explanation that takes news to be a distorted reflection of reality can acquire the organisation-theory label: the catch all vagueness of the concept has eroded its utility.

Such a vagueness is, however, representative for many studies with an organisational focus. For Altheide (1976: 112), studying the news production process of local network affiliates:

'... news is the product of an organized process which entails a practical way of looking at events in order to tie them together, make simple and direct statements about their relationship, and do this in an entertaining way'.

Altheide (ibid.) argues that this simplifies the meaning of events, and that the foundations of a powerful bias comes from commercialism, scheduling, technology and competition. According to Altheide, his ethnographic material illustrates how these constraints are filtered into the daily affairs of news personnel. In pointing to this, Altheide puts the news

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⁴³ Robinson (1978: 197), argues that:
'... Epstein ... has so thoroughly dominated professional thinking about television that social scientists have 'overlearned' the thesis in News from Nowhere. Too many of us have ignored other interpretations of network news, and have grown insensitive to the idea that network news may be more than, or even less than, Epstein once argued.'

⁴⁴ Parallels to such a criticism are discussions about 'functionalism' within sociology (see Martinussen, 1984) and about the 'uses and gratifications' tradition within mass communication (see Elliott, 1974).
into a context wider than that of the news organisation itself, as he establishes a relationship between constraints and professional activities.

A British study with a heavy focus on the news organisation as such is *Putting 'Reality' Together* by Philip Schlesinger (1987) in an analysis of news construction in the BBC radio and television departments, and of how the programmes resulted in the presentation of specific version of reality, Schlesinger very meticulously draws a picture of how the news-work in the BBC was organised. Among others, he examines how control of the news content in the public service corporation is mediated through the editorial system and corporate ideology. As is the case with most of the organisational studies, the resulting news content or text is not systematically researched.

In line with Epstein and Altheide, Schlesinger (1987: 47) claims that:

"The news we receive on any given day is not as unpredictable as much journalistic mythology would have us to believe. Rather, the doings of the world are tamed to meet the needs of a production system in many respects bureaucratically organised."

However, his analysis goes far beyond an 'organisational distortion' perspective:

"The routines of production have definite consequences in structuring news. To delineate their main features goes some way towards providing a rational understanding of an important form of work."

From the perspective of the present thesis, Schlesinger points to something very different than 'an important form of work'. Albeit in quite general terms, he comments on how a social institution and a textual form - that of news - has materialised in a production apparatus as well as in productional practices within the context of a public service corporation. In doing this, Schlesinger makes a very detailed analysis of the routines of production. His analysis does not, however, employ a genre perspective which explicitly analyses the news as an institution, a form and a genre.

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46 It could also have been relevant to comment on this study from a conflict perspective. However, it may be argued that it belongs in a tradition of organisation studies.
Nevertheless, the analysis may be read as a study of how the routines of production are materialised from an understanding of news as a cultural form within a specific context.\(^\text{47}\) Schlesinger points out that within this context (that of a public service corporation), certain productional and textual practices have developed - such as that of impartiality:

"Like any other ideology, the one espoused in the BBC provides a cognitive orientation to the world, which, while it contains lacunae and contradictions, does, nonetheless provide solutions to most practical problems encountered" (Schlesinger, ibid.: 163).

From this perspective, the study may also be seen to analyse how the BBC organises the news production processes to produce programmes according to norms related to the genre of news - a genre which, to a large extent, was developed by the BBC itself. The main point in relation to the present thesis is that Schlesinger's contribution is important as an analysis of how the institutional and professional understanding of the genre of news in a public service context has taken its form in the radio and television news departments. From such a perspective, the main value of the study is the mapping and the organisational consequences of these institutionalised arrangements.

Another important study partly rejecting a 'distortion' perspective, based on a phenomenological approach, is Making News - A Study of the Construction of Reality by Tuchman. According to the writer, this is a study of 'how newsworkers determine facts and frame events and debates pertinent to our shared civic life' (Tuchman, 1978: 14). Tuchman particularly focuses on how the news organisation's activities form what she calls a 'news net', to catch the news internally wanted by the news department (Tuchman, ibid.: 37):

"One may conclude that the news net not only excludes some occurrences from consideration as news because of a pattern of centralisation at legitimated institutions; it also orders priorities by which sort of employee or service produced an item, reporter or stringer, staff or Associated Press reporter. Additionally, the news net is anchored through complex overlapping responsibilities, ordered by a bureaucratic editorial hierarchy. In the act of judging the relative value of diverse items caught in the news net, the editors perpetually create and recreate negotiated standards of judgement."

\(^{47}\) Cf. the treatment of the time factor (Schlesinger, ibid., pp 47-106).
Tuchman's overall conclusion, related to her empirical analysis on coverage on the women's movement, is that through its routine practices and the claims of news professionals to arbitrate knowledge and to present factual accounts, news legitimates the status quo (Tuchman, 1978). Here we can see that the focus is directed towards the journalist her/himself, within a professional - but also within a specific social - context.

Issues of not only context, but also, more explicitly, of relations between the context and the presented text have been raised in three different Norwegian studies (Siverts, 1983; Klausen, 1986; Puijk, 1990). They all represent an anthropological approach to the study of media organisations, discussing the relationship between journalistic roles, the news institution and the product these institutions present. Siverts (1982, 1983) analysed the relationship between journalistic ideology and structural changes within a regional broadsheet newspaper, while Klausen examined (1986) the transformation process of the Norwegian liberal and intellectual Dagbladet from broadsheet to tabloid format. Klausen focused on the development of the press as a commercial industry, on journalistic ideology and commercial pressure, and on relations between the visual form and the content (Klausen, 1986). The study may be seen to lack a certain critical distance to the issues analysed, but does illustrate inter-relations between policy considerations, change in format, and changes in form and content.

An even more relevant study for the discussion in the present thesis is that of Puijk (1990). In a study of the 'Department of Informational Programmes' in the NRK, he produces a 'thick description' of how such programmes are produced. In doing this, he importantly examines how the 'real world' represented in the programmes may be seen as 'a model of reality'. According to the analysis made by Puijk (1990: 334), televisual techniques are employed to reflect reality, by creating a 'perfect televisual illusion of reality'.

Such a mediation perspective, pointing far beyond a transmission perspective, has also been present in studies on television news programmes. The study Deciding What's News by Gans (1979) does include such perspectives, as Gans (ibid.: 312) states that the primary purpose of the news derives from the journalists' functions as constructors of nation and society, and as managers of the symbolic arena. Gans also contends that the most

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48 For a criticism of the quantitative content analysis applied in the study, see Hillesund, 1989.
49 Norwegian: Opplysningsavdelingen.
important purpose of the news is to provide the symbolic arena, and the citizenry, with comprehensive and representative images (or constructs) of nation and society. Despite a broad perspective, he does not explicitly include the central focus in the present study; relations between production apparatuses, genre conventions and the news text.

This is done to a greater extent by Ericson et. al (1987, 1989, 1991), who state that in order to make news, journalists must interpret reality and tell stories, as opposed to simply reflecting reality or gathering facts (1987). They argue that:

'Journalists must also operate within the prevailing institutionalised formats of the news-media. It is news media formats that contribute substantially to the structural framework of the knowledge society. It is through the established news communication formats that the knowledge structure is shaped, organized, presented, recognized and acted upon by authorized knowers. (Ericson et al., 1989: 396) (emphasis mine).

An even more explicit approach to news as genre is taken by Cottle (1990, 1993). In a productional and textual study of regional ITV television news coverage of inner city riots, Cottle is concerned with how the news favours a conservative understanding of such events. He concludes that such a conservative explanation:

'... has occurred ... through the interpretative resources, relating to keywords, narrative structures, agenda of riot issues and concerns, and visual images informing the portrayal across an extensive period of time. Together such resources have been found to prefer a particular interpretation of the riots, their background, causation, involved participants and necessary prescriptions and response.'(Cottle, 1993: 198).

From this perspective Cottle is combining a political economy approach with a culturalist approach. In the context of the present thesis, however, it has been found relevant to link his contribution to scholars who have been concerned with news room practices and the mediation of events, and who have mainly been informed by theories of industrial society.

A different approach to news from that is the tradition of theories of the capitalist society. If the latter theoretical perspective is related to the Weberian concept of power used for examining news production processes, there is the argument that power is related
to overall decisions on policy. What may further be focused from this perspective is personal and vested interests (related to, for example, class background which influence the editorial line and the content (see Murdock, 1985).

In his writings, Ralph Miliband may be seen as an exponent for this approach (which is also sometimes labelled a 'conspiracy approach'), arguing that media owners force their vested interests through. One of Miliband’s (1973: 204) arguments is that:

"... newspaper proprietors have often not only owned their newspapers but closely controlled their editorial and political line as well, and turned them, by constant and even daily intervention, into vehicles of their personal view."

In the depressing, but also amusing, book on the rise and the fall of The Sun, Chippindale and Horrie (1990) from a similar perspective convincingly examine Rupert Murdoch’s policy as a newspaper proprietor, and describes how he is able to change the editorial line of The Sun. They state that Murdoch has always been a hands on proprietor, involving himself in every aspect of the business, shaping his papers down to the last detail and even appearing on editorial floors to read proofs and sub pages.

The argument about the media mogul being able to violate pluralism in press and broadcasting and to get news presented according to his/her own ideology, is also an important issue in relation to new forms of transnational ownership. Such a perspective is regarded as a 'great man theory of the press' by Elliott and Golding (1979: 7), who claim that 'the trouble with the great man theory is that there is an awful lot of history and not many great men'. However, it is important to analyse both the space and intentions these 'great men' with such a huge influence on the policy behind such a range of media products have for putting forward their views and interest. It is beyond doubt that Rupert Murdoch has, very consciously, changed the editorial line in some of the broadcast companies and papers he has overtaken.

Schudson (1989: 266), commenting on the political economy tradition, claims that it too uncritically relates the outcome of the news processes to the economic and political

31 Cf. discussions about the companies run by Murdoch, the late Maxwell and Bertelsmann. The International Federation of Journalists reports concern about how this concentration of ownership on the hands of few men affects the policy and the content of the news media (Journalisten, 1990, no. 4).
structures. This criticism has been raised towards the *Bad News* volumes of the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980). Here, the analysis and overall understanding of journalistic practices within this approach is limited in the sense that the focus of analysis is located in the capitalist social structure. The overall concern is on how the space for ideologically 'sound' journalistic work is limited by professional conventions as a result of most media being privately or publicly controlled, constrained by political institutions and competing within a capitalist social and economic structure.

The focus outside the media is problematic when analysing journalistic practices on an everyday level if the organisational level is not properly integrated in the analysis. However, the perspective does provide an important contribution for the analysis of what content, formats and range of media products are available.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) criticise an 'autonomous journalist perspective'. They focus on forces outside the newsroom when news-to-be is filtered prior to presentation. They claim that:

'... [the mass media] serve to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity, and ... their choices, emphases and omissions can often be understood best, and sometimes with striking clarity and insights, by analysing them in such terms. Perhaps this is an obvious point, but the democratic postulate is that the media are independent and committed to discovering and reporting the truth ... Leaders of the media claim that their news choices rest on unbiased professional and objective criteria ... If, however, the powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to decide what general populace is allowed to see, hear and think about, and to 'manage' public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns, the standard view of how the system works is at serious odds with reality.' (Herman and Chomsky, 1988: xi).

This position raises several essential issues about the role of the journalist within the news context. In the sociology of news production the focus has mostly been towards the journalistic work, and towards editorial and institutional practices to a lesser degree.

In an argument about literature, which also may be seen as relevant for journalism, Williams argues that there are two tendencies within Marxism to address the relationship between form and author, the political economy of writing, and the figure of the individual author. In support of the political economy approach he states that:
"The weakness of the bourgeois concept of 'the author', as of 'the individual', is its naivety, which in its own ways, and especially in the market, can become in practice cruel and malign. Any version of individual autonomy which fails to recognise, or which radically displaces, the social conditions inherent in any practical individuality ... can lead at best to self-contradiction, at worst to hypocrisy or despair.'

Harris (1977) may be seen to include the above statement in his analyses when he develops an argument about economic forces determining the journalistic work in an analysis of commodity exclusivity. Commenting from a political economy position, he is able to show how textual norms result in productional practices. In discussing the concept of commodity exclusivity he points out that it is based on two related features of the production process - speed and originality. The competition for markets and the speed with which a product is manufactured, as well as distributed, becomes all-important; such competitive processes inevitably increase the pressure on the organisation. Harris points out that in news media production speed has become one of the major tenets of the news media, resulting in an imperative to supply the audience with information ahead of competitors. The necessity of gathering, processing and distributing information as quickly as possible has implications for the type of commodity produced.

Harris (ibid.) points out that just as in the manufacturing industries, the originality of news is a source of advantage in competition. It is the aim of every news media organisation to produce exclusive news stories. Harris therefore maintains that commodity exclusivity as a combination of speed and originality, is central to the news production process. In arguing this, he points out how professional ideals for how to present the news text are reflected in productional practices.

The concept of commodity exclusivity seems very relevant to what could be observed in the news coverage during the Gulf War during the first months of 1991. Because CNN was able to transmit live television pictures from the most crucial events during the war, CNN coverage had a major influence on the coverage of other television news stations. In this way, CNN set new standards for live reporting.°

° The way in which the reporting of CNN influenced and set news standards for the news reports of Dagsrevyen during the Gulf crisis in 1990/91 will be discussed later.
Issues of commodity exclusivity and the news are overall important issues which may make it possible to reach knowledge of how such practices are related to the everyday editorial and journalistic work and the outcome of this work. However, from a political economy perspective, the journalists are easily seen as the mediating agents of economic interests and dominant ideas, only.

An illustration of this, taking Rupert Murdoch as an example, is given by Pauly (1980: 255):

"Murdoch's behaviour also calls into question the ideal of professional ideology - editorial independence. ... Murdoch's unapologetic behaviour exposes once again the fragile economic underpinnings of newworker's claims of autonomy. ... Murdoch's behaviour lays bare the larger economic assumptions that have historically undergirded the myth of editorial autonomy."

This is where there are both strengths and limitations in the political economy approach to news production. It is essential to be concerned about what information on what level of analysis does a political economy approach provide. On one level of examination it may be regarded as highly relevant to observe how journalistic practices are constrained by the political and economic rationales of media corporations. Thereby one may focus on the economic and political influences in a meaningful way without perpetual reference to internal media processes; i.e. the focus may be shifted onto what may by some scholars be seen as the 'root-cause' for ideological values in news reporting. However, for the study of the dynamics of news production such an approach will easily be very limited in that the answers will often be given beforehand.

So far, some relevant sociological approaches to the study of news and news production processes have been presented and discussed. These dimensions stem from general

53 Otherwise, the approach may be turned down as 'structural capitalist conspiracy theory', as done by Connell (1986: 39) in a critical comment:

"In a wide variety of studies the pictures and definitions constructed by journalistic practices are said to provide 'biased' or 'distorted' accounts of an independent and objective reality; they are 'biased' or 'distorted' because they are informed by a body of ruling and dominant ideas, which are said to 'belong', in a simple way, to ruling political or economic groups. In short, television journalism is made to appear to be a kind of megaphone by which ruling ideas are amplified and generalised across all sectors of the social formation."

54 An interesting observation illustrating this is that when journalists among themselves are discussing the issue of ownership and influence, they talk very explicitly about the content being changed by new ownership. On the other hand, they are not, generally speaking, very able to perceive themselves as the profession mediating these kind of changes. If an argument about journalists mediating the interests of the owner comes up in a public discussion, the journalists tend to be very quick to defend themselves and their practices.
theories, as well as from perspectives on power within sociology: theories of capitalism, theories of the industrial society, and the Weberian and structural concepts of power. The argument in this thesis is that most of the studies presented are in some ways related to a transmission perspective to the mediation of news. The journalists or the news institution in the discussed contributions are seen to have a crucial role in distorting, or in some instances, re-presenting the news.

2.2.2. On textual aspects.

Within the cultural studies tradition, there was a significant potential for a break with a transmission perspective on mass communicated texts. The potential materialised in a conceptualisation presented by Hall (1986b) of the relations between mediated texts and the audience; the encoding - decoding model of communication. In applying this model, Hall linked the reading of the media product to social and cultural practices, and to the overall social structures.55 He argues that different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organised into dominant or preferred meanings. There are, according to Hall, three hypothetical positions from which decodings of a televisual discourse are constructed; a dominant, a negotiated and an oppositional code.56 The different codes may be seen as read according to the reader's own background, experiences and social variables like class, gender, nation, age groups, religion, occupation etc. In a follow-up of Hall's argument, Morley (1980), in an analysis of the audience's reception of a television programme, finds that different discourses with the audience may not easily be found (Morley, 1980). In this way, he further highlights the polysemic nature of the texts in relation to the minds of the audience. From such a

55 Within the same tradition, Morley (1980, 1986) defines the reading a televisual text as that moment when the discourse of the reader meets the discourse of the text.

56 The concepts and ideas of Hall were not entirely new. Although they were previously not a part of the mass communication research tradition, they were present in research in socio-linguistics. Hall takes the concepts from Parkin (1972), who analysed how differently situated social groups develop different meaning systems. The concepts also go back to Bernstein (1973, 1975), who examined different language codes used by different social classes (see also Hartley, 1982). About using the concept of codes, Williams (1977: 169) has argued: "Code" has a further irony, in that it implies, somewhere, the existence of the same message "in clear". But this, even as a formal account of language, is radically wrong, and the simple notion of 'decoding' the message of others is then a privileged fantasy."
position, the text is seen as a potential of meanings which can be activated in a number of ways.\(^7\)

The concepts of encoding and decoding raised further questions for analysing important factors in the production and reproduction of texts. Through the concepts, as well as through the notion of 'text' itself, aspects regarding the link to deeper patterns of social practices, codes and conventions could be researched. In this way, the cultural studies tradition breaks with the problematic assumption that the media message and the news media are transparent media for the dissemination of information (see Connell and Mills, 1985), or of a dominant ideology.

In this break, both the development of semiotics and structuralism have been significant. Central to the analysis of news in this connection are the concepts of conventions, signs, codes, and social and cultural domination. Semiotics studies the way signs communicate, and the rules that govern their use (Seiter, 1987). A semiotic approach to news may therefore require the analysis of how cultural conventions are the basis of social understanding, communication and language. Take for instance a news programme. As Hartley (1982) demonstrates, news may be analysed as 'language-in-use'. The important point here is that news is not the newsworthy event itself, but rather the report or an account of an event.

The news programme is constituted by signs. A sign is everything which, on the grounds of a previously established social convention, can be taken as representing something else (Eco, 1979). The sign is constituted by the image, object or sound by which it represents itself (signifier), and by the concept it represents (signified). The value of the sign is not its degree of congruence with some pre-existing entity or concept (Hartley, 1982). It is determined by relationships with other signs through conventions. Hence, according to Hartley, it follows that these values are socially defined - they are a result of social conventions. Language is a 'social fact' and meanings are the products of socially recognised (conventional) differences.

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\(^7\) According to Fløke (1987), the text in its 'meeting' with the audience, does not so much enforce a particular meaningful interpretation as delimit the arena of the struggle for that meaning by marking the terrain within which its variety of readings can be negotiated.
As the news-item is made up of signs and produced codes, it should not be regarded as a transparent window on the world; the news may be seen to imply a specific definition of what is signified - a definition of 'reality' from a 'conventional' angle. This angle gains authority by the impression that it 'represents' 'reality'. Seiter (1987) gives an example of this when pointing to stand-up shots of reporters on location. According to her, TV places an enormous stress on the connection between the image and this location as it exists in real time and space - it makes an impression of 'the real'. The strength of semiotics in relation to research on news is therefore the emphasis on the idea that signifiers produced by TV are related to the signifieds by convention.

In the next instance this insight makes it relevant to raise the question of whose meanings are present in these conventions. From a class perspective the answer will be that these definitions are a site of ideological domination and struggle. As claimed by Stuart Hall (1983: 59):

"By ideology I mean the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works."

In the case of news it is apparent that even if some specific position or opinion is not supported, news often presupposes these positions by implicit definitions of social processes.

For the study of news production processes, these insights represent a change in the perspective away from questions of objectivity and distortion, towards questions of construction, representation and reproduction related to social, cultural and economic relations, as well as on domination based on such relations. The idea that the meanings of language, or representation, reflect reality, or correspond to the intentions of a mind or consciousness, may in this way be rejected: it may be replaced by a more sophisticated account which sees meanings as the product of specific, socially determined practices of signification (see Connell and Mills, 1985: 36).

Furthermore, the focus of the analysis of the media may thereby be relocated and linked to a wider series of questions concerning the overall ideological, cultural and political significance of media institutions in relation to the social formation as a whole (ibid.). This also
implies that the social and institutional practices producing the texts are a part of the construction of meaning. Such social and institutional practices are intimately bound up with forms of understanding regulated by institutional ideologies and professional commonsense. Hence, an important result of a convergence between media analysis and theories of signification and representation is to problematise the relation of the text to the practices which produce it and to problematise the relation of the institutions to social formations and conventions (Connell and Mills, 1985: 37).

In regard to questions of news production, these are profoundly important insights. The structural political economy approach has not neglected a broad economic and political orientation. However, the focus of analysis has mostly been outside the medium, on macro economic factors 'in the last instance'. The problem with this approach is the uneasy combination of the actors and structures of the dominant ideology and the seemingly unproblematic reproduction of such an ideology in the media. To avoid this problem, it is also necessary to focus on the dynamics and the factors producing the text at an organisational level, within the editorial and professional setting where the specific text is produced.58

Hall et al. (1978) intended to include such aspects about news and news production in their empirical study Policing the Crisis.59 The overall focus of the study was on why and how the themes of race, crime and youth - condensed into the image of 'mugging' in the media - came to serve as the articulator of a social crisis where social democratic practices had been eroded. The analysis has become an important contribution in academic discussion about the Thatcher Era in Britain, and is a significant piece of work. As part of the study, Hall et al. set out to explain how ideologies were constructed during news-production processes.

58 Cottle (1993: 9) has argued that many of the studies within the cultural studies tradition
'... fails to interrogate the manner in which news has been professionally and practically produced and mediated, not just in terms of unconsciously held dominant assumptions, but purposefully according to the known parameters and requirements of an established programme form'.

59 See Hall et al. (1978: 57):
'... we want to account for the 'fit' between dominant ideas and professional media ideologies and practices. This cannot be simply attributed - as it sometimes is in simple conspiracy theories - to the fact that the media are in large part capitalist-owned (though that structure of ownership is widespread), since this would be to ignore the day-to-day 'relative autonomy' of the journalist and news producers from direct economic control. Instead we want to draw attention to the more routine structures of news production to see how the media come, in fact in the 'last instance', to reproduce the definitions of the powerful, without being, in a simple sense, in their pay. Here we must insist on a crucial distinction between primary and secondary definers of social events.'
The study is significant in its use of theoretical perspectives developed in the cultural studies tradition. However, the study is broad, trying to grasp many aspects of the reproduction of dominant ideology. Accordingly, it may be argued that the analysis is not very developed in some areas. It may even be argued that Hall et al. do not draw on insights which they themselves have developed in previous writings. One such area is that of news production. When explaining how a dominant ideology is reproduced during the news production process, there are limitations in the perspective. The study places much emphasis on how the journalistic news-production process involves the preferential treatment of certain pieces of information about mugging, and on how this results in a position of structured subordination to the 'primary definers'. In a critical assessment of this from a source-perspective, Schlesinger (1990: 65) has commented on the perspective on primary definers. Schlesinger argues that Hall et al.'s study 'offers a very clear instance of the way in which adherence to a theory of dominance may entail some crucial blind spots'. Furthermore, Schlesinger directs his criticism towards five more or less implicit assumptions regarding media access and primary definers.60

From a genre perspective, Hall et al. mention certain pre-conditions for the access of the 'primary definers'. These pre-conditions point to other problems with the argument than those commented by Schlesinger, although the problem with 'blind spots' is parallel. According to the study by Hall et al., there are two aspects of news production which produce the systematically structured 'over-accessing' to the media of powerful and privileged persons and institutions ('primary definers') (Hall et al., 1978: 58):

"These two aspects of news production - the practical pressures of constantly working against the clock and the professional demands of impartiality and objectivity - combine to produce a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions. The media thus tend, faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order."

Hall et al. (ibid. 59) explicitly state that 'The media ... do not simply 'create' the news; nor do they simply transmit the ideology of the 'ruling class' in a conspiratorial fashion. However, the paragraph quoted above comes close to a transmission view of the news production process: i.e. that lack of time and professional demands for objectivity and

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60 See also Elide, 1993.
impartiality should result in a problematic representation of definers in the news which then results in a reproduction of a dominant ideology.

There is a lack of explanatory force in this. The argument implies that limits to time and demands for objectivity distort the news during the production process, and furthermore, that this results in a certain mis-representation of 'definers': i.e. a systematic selection of those engaged to comment on, and thereby define, social problems. From a genre perspective this argument is problematic for three reasons; first, for the issue of relations between dominant ideology and the producers of news, second, for the relations between news, the news genre, time and professional practices, and third, for more general issues related to how the power to define the coverage of news items is executed in an everyday productional context.

First, lack of time and professional demands for impartiality and objectivity, is considered to be the main factors for the over-representation of primary definers. It may look like Hall et al.'s argument about how a dominant ideology is structured and restructured is exclusively based on these two factors, of which that of time is quite 'neutral' in the way that it does constitute a certain constraint, but does not, in itself, produce ideology.

Second, from a genre perspective, it is plausible to argue that time constraints and demands for objectivity do not themselves produce over-access, but have contributed to certain conventions for the genre of news, which then may tend to result in a certain mis-representation. There are genre conventions effectively prescribing how news should be portrayed, as well as how news-items should be made. There are also conventions about whom to interview about different issues. It may be that Hall et al. wanted to 'cover' such conventions with the notion of 'professional demands for impartiality and objectivity'. Nevertheless, to state that over-access by certain 'primary definers' in an every-day production-context are due to the lack of time and demands of impartiality and objectivity is quite problematic.

From a genre perspective it is more plausible to argue that it is adherence to conventions, in a situation where possibilities and time are limited (as they will always be in a productional context), which results in the mis-representation discussed by Hall et. al.: the news could have been reported in other ways, but because of certain textual conventions related to the news production processes they are often not. From such a perspective the
genre conventions, which are constituted by much more than time and demands about impartiality and objectivity, may be seen to limit, but also to provide, the possibilities for producing and presenting news-texts. It is not necessarily the case that a news text would be very much different in representing 'definers' if journalists had more time for each assignment, or if they were not working according to specific generic and institutional demands for impartiality and objectivity. Within the genre of news, there are certainly different ways of reporting. The important point here, however, is that the argument by Hall et al. fails to take sufficient account of the fact that television news is, very importantly, a genre with its own genre conventions.

This leads to the third problem with Hall et al.'s argument: because they do not discuss generic aspects of the news more generally, they are not able to infer in what situations dominant ideologies are promoted (by the primary definers), and in what situations they are not. In this way, it may look like the factors of time and professional demands for objectivity are constituted as missing links always promoting 'the dominant voices'. On the level of news production processes it seems like ideology has been considered as the independent as well as the dependent variable in a situation where the dynamics of production have not been sufficiently researched. Hence, the problem often attributed to a political economy perspective in relation to the study of news production processes may also be attributed to Policing the Crisis: that of the news-room and news-room practices becoming a 'black box' in the overall study of ideology.

From the above discussion, one may say that the change of perspective provided by a cultural studies approach represents a great potential in the study of news-production processes. The possibilities for combining the insights of cultural studies with the ethnographic tradition of research in the tradition of news production studies have not yet been fully exploited. The study by Hall et al. on these aspects of the news production process may be seen to illustrate this point. The fact of the matter is that contributions in the field from this perspective are scarce (cf. Schudson, 1989). A quite recent study by Cottle (1990, 1993), commented on previously in this chapter, includes such dimensions in the examination of production and presentation of regional television news. A comparative study of the relations between news production and news texts in a public service and a

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41 For an illustration of this point, see the Seal Case and the Surveillance Case in section 6.1.3. in the present thesis.
commercial television channel utilising insights from the cultural studies tradition has not yet been conducted.

2.3. Summary.
This chapter set out to form a perspective for further analysis, and to discuss relevant research on news more specifically. In a discussion of the concept of communication, the chapter drew an analytical distinction between a transmission approach and a ritual (or cultural) approach to mass communication research. From these two dimensions, theoretical approaches as well as empirical studies of mass communication and news have been examined. The two Marxist-orientated British traditions of political economy and cultural studies have been found to provide a basis for the empirical analysis of this thesis, as they may be combined to research issues of context and text. In this way, the discussion has highlighted problems and potentials for the analysis of contextual aspects, for productional and organisational aspects, and for textual aspects, as well as for relations between textual and productional aspects.
Chapter 3: Analytical approach to commercial and public service news.

In the present chapter, insights from the discussion in the previous chapter will be used in conjunction with other contributions to provide an eclectic analysis of the objects pertinent to this study: the news programmes and the production processes in the commercial Scandinavian satellite television channel, TV3, and the Norwegian public service television channel, the NRK. Section 3.1. will focus on the research issue, and present a basic assumption about International News and Dagsrevyen which will guide the further examination. The following section presents concepts and models for approaching the contextual level of the news production processes. Section 3.3. further examines the concept of genre to prepare for the empirical analysis of the news texts, while section 3.4. is concerned with the news as text, and will discuss a model and a conception of the relations between text production and text conventions. This problem is addressed further in section 3.5., which explicitly discusses the analytical concepts of news conventions and of textual claims.

3.1. Public and commercial news - basic assumption.

The present study is an analysis of the organisation of the news departments, the news production processes and the resulting news texts in a public service and a commercial satellite television channel. The two television companies involved are very different in terms of policy, resources and methods of finance, and this is partly reflected in the organisation and the activities of the news departments.

TV3 is financed by advertisements. The TV3 News Department was a low-budget department set up to give the impression of seriousness for the television channel, and thereby generate an image of credibility towards politicians, advertisers and the audience. Strategies were employed to generate this credibility although the resources were quite limited. The NRK is financed by licence fee. The NRK Television News Department,  

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61 See statement by the Head of News in Chapter 1.
Dagsrevyen, is seen as the most important national news institution in Norway, both by those working there and by the Norwegian population. Obviously, the department wants more resources for their programme activities, but it has a news apparatus which in terms of resources and capabilities is very different from the news department of TV3.

According to these differences, it may on the one hand be claimed that the news and the news production processes of TV3 and the NRK-Television cannot be compared, as a comparison ideally should have been carried out on news departments having more equal resources. On the other hand, such a one-dimensional comparison is not what this research project is aiming at.

The aim is to study the two channels involved as cases to raise the issues of how the similarities and the differences in the presented television news programmes in the NRK and TV3 can be seen as results of the 'implementation' of the news formation and the news genre in the organisation of the news departments, as well as in the editorial and journalistic practices in the news-rooms. More specifically - what exactly are the background and the mechanisms, including economic factors, producing these similarities and differences?

In this way, the study is more of an analysis of the cultural institution of news, news production processes and news texts within different contexts, rather than a comparison between two news departments and their outputs. Accordingly, the fact that many of the contextual elements differ adds an extra dimension to the analysis.

During the seventies, public service institutions were quite heavily criticised from a Marxist perspective for their relationship to the state. Later, as the deregulation process of the telecommunication industry increased during the late seventies and eighties, this critique changed. Many scholars came to perceive public service broadcasting as constituting a sphere independent of commercial considerations. In this context, Habermas' examination of the public sphere was applied to illustrate the relevance of this perspective. For the analysis of broadcasting, the perspective has come to imply very strongly
that because the activities of public service companies are based on license fees, the content of programmes produced and presented by these companies are different from programmes produced within a commercial framework.  

Unfortunately, assumptions about the nature of public service and commercial broadcasting were only to limited extents based on empirical evidence of production processes and the resulting news texts, and, accordingly, had a very general character. There have been no comprehensive comparative analyses of the content in commercial and public service television. Studies of Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980) and Schlesinger et al. (1983) touch upon the questions, but from very narrow angles.

In the present study there are research questions to be answered. They were presented in Chapter 1; what elements constituted the production processes in the two channels, what characterised the news programmes, what were the relations between the elements of the production process and the news output, and to what extent may the overall policy, the ways of finance and the organisation of the news departments be said to produce similarities and differences in the two news programmes?

When the present project started, the aim was to examine how the news production processes and the news text were related to differences in finance, policy and contexts in the two programmes. In an initiating phase there was an implicit hypothesis for further examinations: because the two news-rooms were operating in a public service and a commercial context, and because of general differences in policy and in economic resources, the news programmes and their content would also be quite different. These assumptions were, to some extent, based on a transmission approach to communications: i.e. that economic and political factors influencing the news policy could be seen as the main cause of different ways of representing 'reality' in the news in the two programmes. Later in the research process, the word influence was found inadequate because it so clearly indicates a transmission perspective. It has been interchanged with reflected in, in the following basic assumption for the research project:

commercial and political interests. He points out how the distinction between the private and the public disappeared as private and commercial interests became more prominent than the ideal public arguments and the rational discourses. Habermas calls these structural changes a feudalisation of the public sphere.

⁵³ For both the Marxist critical perspectives during the late seventies and the public sphere argument, see Gurnham, 1978, 1983, 1986. The changes in perspectives illustrate the changes in both broadcast structures and academic theoretical climate during the late seventies and early eighties. This is partly discussed in Helland, 1988.
Basic assumption:

Relations to the state, to the market, to ways of finance, as well as to the overall social news institutions are reflected in: (1) the overall news policy; (2) the ways in which the news production apparatuses were organised; (3) the selection and construction of news; and (4) the textual presentation of the news.

The assumption is linked to the research questions raised previously, and related to three different levels of analysis which are examined in the three different parts of the thesis; that of the context of organisation and production (Part III: Contextual and productional aspects), that of the text (Part IV: Textual aspects), and that of inter-relations between the text and productional practices (Part V: Encoding textual claims). During the first period of fieldwork this basic assumption had to be developed, but was still found to be relevant as a working hypothesis.

In the case of TV3, there was great concern with the form of the news programme, as the inclusion of a news-department as part of the overall broadcast-organisation was a result of the intention to win credibility for the company as a whole. In this way, if TV3 could produce programmes in accordance to norms for the genre of news, credibility was seen to be gained in the eyes of advertisers, audience and politicians. In press releases from TV3 prior to commencement of transmissions, the news programmes were heavily emphasised. It is clear that the news was seen to have a legitimising role in establishing TV3 as a credible viewing choice.

The strategy from TV3 illustrates the overall status and function of news programmes within broadcast institutions. Moreover, it illustrates a concern about the form of news programmes: a concern about how to make a news programme, and through form, format and content gain credibility with politicians, advertisers and audience. The concern in TV3 seemed to be more on the overall form than on the content, as will be further examined later.

The credibility strategies in TV3 were paralleled by similar strategies in Dagsrevyen, as the news had a very important legitimising and identification functions for the NRK in relation to the political and public spheres. In Dagsrevyen, this may be seen to have
resulted in a conceived obligation of complete coverage by the broadcasters. This was a particular way of conceiving the news coverage which will be further examined in Chapter 6.

The mentioned aspects demand analytical concepts to approach and analyse the news programmes other than those to be found in the tradition of a transmission view of communication. We shall return to the issue of how credibility strategies were 'implemented' later. The concern here is on how to combine an analysis of the form, the style and the content of the specific news programmes with analyses of the frameworks for production and the actual editorial and journalistic production processes within these frameworks. Such a perspective is needed to answer the research questions raised in the present thesis.

The perspective will be developed by combining insights from a contextual and textual approach to news texts and to news production processes. Relevant to such an approach is Murdock's (1980) discussion of the problem of actors and structures in the production of television drama. He argues that notions of authorship and organisation often enjoy an uneasy and problematic relationship. This is because the tension between them is frequently resolved by stressing one term over the other, so that the issue is posed as one of creativity versus control, individual expression versus structural constraint. However, one should neither liquidate the idea of authorship, nor read off the forms and contents of television drama directly from the dynamics of production, Murdock argues.  

From such a perspective, one may explore the way in which notions of authorship operate as both an ideology and a practice in different types of production, and unravel their reciprocal relationship to textual forms, to organisational forms and to the pressures which shape them - to the context. To find answers to the research questions of this project, the relationship between action and structure needs to be addressed according to the above perspective. Furthermore, it is important to examine the relationships among news as a culture and institution, the organisational, professional and economic structures, the editorial work, the news programme, and the programme's form and elements of information.

See also van Dijk (1988), who argues that if journalists are studied only as social actors who deal with other social actors, or with institutions, the analysis will only give a picture of the social microstructures or macrostructures of newsmaking.
In the case of the NRK and TV3, the nature of the differences and similarities and the dynamics which produce them must be established. In order to appreciate such a detailed account of both textual structures and cognitive processing, it is important to explain how news is actually made. From a comparative perspective, then, the central question which must be answered in order to understand why television news is processed as it is by journalists within different institutional and editorial contexts, will be the following: what are the relations between the practices and ideologies of newsmaking and organisational imperatives, and how do these interact with policies and economic frameworks of the broadcasting organisations? Moreover, in what ways do such relations materialise textually in the news programmes?

The following section will discuss a model for examining relations between the productional context and the overall news policy, the news production processes and the selection and construction of news. Following that, aspects concerning the textual genre of news will be discussed.

3.2. Contextual and productional aspects - a model and assumptions.

For further empirical examinations of production processes and contexts in International News and Dagsrevyen, the theoretical dimensions of industrialism and capitalism and of a structuralist and an instrumentalist approach to power will be applied. These dimensions were discussed in the previous chapter, and may usefully be combined in the following figure.\(^{45}\)

\(^{45}\)The main dimensions of this figure - those of power and theoretical traditions - are also used by Murdock (1985).
These main approaches to the study of the news production processes and context are here labelled (1) News Work - Selectivity (2) News Work - Vested Interests (3) News Work - Norms and Organisational Contexts (4) News Work - Determinism. From a transmission perspective, the four different approaches may be applied to examine how the news (as a dependent variable) is distorted by contextual aspects (independent variables). As has already been suggested, in much sociological research into news there is the implicit assumption that 'distorted news' can be replaced by 'undistorted' news. From this position, news is seen as 'distorted' in some way or another during its 'transportation' through the news department. A question frequently asked from such a perspective has been who or what distorts the news.

However, as discussed previously, such a perspective is problematic. In relation to the overall issues addressed by the thesis, it is more relevant to use the above model in an analysis of how the context is related to, or reflected in the news and the news production process. In this way, the model may be applied to explore how external factors constitute -
and are conceived to do so by the broadcasters - the *every day working contexts* in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*.

In this way, on the level of the news organisation the thesis intends to examine how factors like relations to the state and the market, privileges, obligations, control structures and ways of finance may be seen to have materialised in specific news-room practices.66 The nature of these will be analysed in relation to the following assumptions:

**Assumptions about productional aspects:**

1. **Assumptions about News Work - Selectivity:**
   a. Because of its nature as a news programme in a commercial channel, news in *International News* is selected and constructed for commercial purposes; (i) to attract audience; (ii) to promote the interests of commercial actors.
   b. Because of its nature as a news programme in a public service channel, news in *Dagsrevyen* is selected and constructed for 'information' purposes.

2. **Assumptions about News Work - Vested Interests:**
   a. Commercial owner interests are reflected in the news of *International News* in that such interests influence the presentation of the news.
   b. Relations to the state are reflected in the news of *Dagsrevyen* in that state matters influence the production of the news.

3. **Assumption about News Work - Norms and Organisational Contexts:**
   a. The relations to the market and to the state are reflected in journalistic work, and in a *discrepancy* between professional work ideals and actual news work practices.

4. **Assumptions about News Work - Determinism:**
   a. The market situation of *International News* constrains the news production process because of the restrictions on the available production resources.

66 From such a perspective Hall (1988: 357) claims that:

'I do not mean to deny specific instances of pressure, influence and censorship to which broadcasting has been subject. Nor do I mean to deny the relative autonomy of broadcasting in its day-to-day practice. Nevertheless, the real relation between broadcasting, power, and ideology is thoroughly mystified by such a model.'

For a similar argument, see Hall, 1979a, Schlesinger (1987), and Curran (1980b).
b. Relations to the state constrain the news production process in *Dagsrevyen* because of its dependency on the licence fee.

In examining the above assumptions, the thesis intends to provide an insight into how external forces are reflected in certain productional climates in the two programmes. To bridge the gap between external factors and every day working practices, the concept of *cleavages* will be applied as an analytical tool. The application of the concept is meant to give insights into how reporters (or groups of reporters) who are differently positioned in relation to relevant external forces hold different *opinions* towards delicate issues. To illustrate with an example: one such much-debated issue in *Dagsrevyen* was the coverage provided by the section for political domestic affairs. The coverage tended to be controversial among the other reporters for several reasons. One of the reasons most salient to the present context is that many of the other reporters perceived the coverage to be too uncritical towards the members of Parliament and towards the Government representatives. Through qualitative interviews with broadcasters with different views (often corresponding with their positions in *Dagsrevyen*), it is possible to map how external factors are perceived - and tackled - within the news-room. When combined with a mapping of external factors, analysis of news room practices and examination of the news text the application of the concept of *cleavages* should, in this way, constitute a relevant analytical tool.

In the field of mass communication research, those who have performed *textual* analyses of news have tended to exclude *contextual* elements on organisational and cultural level in the production process and vice versa. To analytically combine aspects of text and context, the thesis will adopt the concepts of *form* and *genre*. *Form* contains a significant ambiguity. From its development in Latin, which was repeated in English, it acquired two major meanings: a visible or outward shape, and an inherent shaping impulse (Williams 1977: 186). The concept of form points both to the actual shaping subject, and to the ideological framework - the rules and conventions for creative work.

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67 The concept of cleavages has been used for analytical purposes by Lipset and Rokkan (1967) to examine problems related to nation building. In relation to news several authors have pointed to cleavages in news-rooms without applying the actual concept. See, for example, Koch, 1990; Kroenemark, 1989; Mortensen and Nordahl Svendsen; Tracey, 1977.

68 Lyrgaard (1961) conducted such an analysis in his examination of how workers related to superiors in a factory.
To approach a text from a genre perspective may be seen as a way of grouping and organising notations and conventions into specific modes of literary practices (1977):

'No man is the author of himself ... As a physical individual he is of course specific, though within a determining genetic inheritance. As a social individual he is also specific, but within the social forms of his time and place. The crucial argument then turns on the nature of this specificity and these forms, and on the relations between them.' (Williams, 1977: 192).

The question of how to combine an analysis of production context and productional action with the analysis of form will be discussed next, utilising the concept of genre.

3.3. News as genre - assumptions.

Traditionally, the concept of genre refers to different categories of literature; for example, the three classical genres of drama, lyrics and epics. In this section, four different dimensions of the genre which may be seen relevant for the analysis of media texts will be discussed.10

- The aesthetic dimension
- The ritual dimension
- The cultural institutional dimension
- The ideological dimension.

From one perspective, generic studies can be said to deal with the ways in which a work may be considered to belong to a class of related works. From such an understanding, genre may be defined in terms of a system of conventions that allow for a certain expression. This is what may be called an aesthetic dimension of genre.

From another perspective, 'genre' may be seen as a codification of procedures in relation to responses (Scholes, 1975). Such a view is in line with Neale's (1981) suggestion that genres are not to be seen as forms of textual codification, but as systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject. In this way, a genre establishes a mode of communication, or more narrowly, a communicative

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10 Feuer (1987) makes a distinction between three dimensions of genre, only: the aesthetic, the ritual and the ideological approaches. From the perspective in the present thesis, a cultural institutional approach should also be included.
situation, between the addresser and the addressee (Jensen, 1986). Todorov makes the following statement about such a perspective (1990: 17-18):

'... the recurrence of certain discursive properties is institutionalised, and individual texts are produced and perceived in relation to the norm constituted by that codification. A genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties.'

This second perspective on genre may be labelled the ritual dimension (see Feuer, 1987: 119). This means that genre may be applied to analyse the exchange between industry and audience. From such a perspective, Altheide and Snow (1979) interestingly argue that the logic of media formats have been so taken for granted by both communicator and receiver that it has been overlooked as an important factor in understanding media.71

From a third perspective, the rules and codes for the exchange between industry and audience are historically and culturally developed into specific manifestations. Accordingly, the third dimension of the concept of genre in relation to the study of the media will be a cultural institutional dimension. From this perspective, media texts (as news) may also be analysed as a genre developed in, and related to, a specific social and historical context.72

In regard to news, the exchange between the production apparatus and the audience is culturally and historically moulded by the news as an institution.

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70 From a reception point of view, Corner (1991) holds that:

'Genre is a principal factor in the directing of audience choice and of audience expectations ... and in the organizing of the subsets of cultural competencies and dispositions appropriate for listening to and reading different kind of things.'

71 McQuail (1987: 200) states that the genre, from such a point of view, can be considered as a practical device for helping the mass media to produce news consistently and efficiently and to relate its productions to the expectations of its customers.

72 Jensen (1986: 31) points to this when commenting that:

'News is a social construction or form, in the sense that it grows out of a particular socio-economic formation and serves a number of crucial functions for that formation. In abstract terms, we may label news as a social institution, whose task it is to make information publicly available.'

Carey (1989: 21) also argues that news is an historic reality. He sees it as a form of culture invented by a particular class at a particular point in history - by the middle class in industrial societies largely in the eighteenth century. Carey maintains that like any invented cultural form, the news reflects a social development and a form based on this. The news is historically grounded in the changing styles and fortunes of the middle class. It does not, according to Carey, represent a universal taste or necessarily legitimate form of knowledge. Furthermore, Carey (1974: 5), discussing journalism, contends that culture is the organization of social experience in the consciousness of men manifested in symbolic action. Journalism is a particular symbolic form, a highly particular type of consciousness, and a particular organization of social experience.
From a fourth perspective it may also be argued that the news is moulded by market forces and by political interests as expressed in legislation, and that this is contrary to the self-conception of the news institution which emphasises neutrality and objectivity. That argument points to the fourth dimension of the genre - the ideological dimension (see Feuer, 1987; Hartley 1982). From such a perspective, the news genre may be seen as an instrument of control over the symbolic environment; or as an important institution contributing to the struggle of defining the social.\(^7\)

Whether television news represents a separate genre or not, or whether or not news and different forms of news are specific forms under the epic genre, may be debatable issues. In relation to the perspective of the present thesis, the debate would not account for the reasons for employing the notion of genre for the analysis of television news programmes.

In this study, what is relevant is that news, as a form, or a genre, functions like a code of understanding, established between the producers of news and the audience which receives it. The editors, journalists and camera-people know how to produce their contributions within the genre of news. They also know, consciously or unconsciously, the limits and possibilities the genre imposes on these contributions.\(^4\)

From a research point of view, the television news departments, in presenting a news programme, are mediating the nature and the codes of the genre within which they are operating. Moreover, the rules and codes within which the news departments operate, as well as the ways in which the news departments are organised to operate according to these rules and codes, may be systematically researched.

The news genre affects not only the editorial and journalistic personnel’s understanding of how to produce: it also affects the audience’s ‘reading’ of the news programme (see Dubrow, 1982: 32). When they see the news programme, the audience will ‘read’ it according to their competence as readers - a ‘reading’ which will usually be quite different.

\(^7\) Feuer (ibid.) states, that in relation to such a dimension genres are ideological on the textual level insofar as they serve to reproduce the dominant ideology of the capitalist system.

\(^4\) Ettema and Whitney (1982: 7) point out that individual creativity is developed within the bounds of complex media organizations which may thereby function as an inspiration for creative work: 'the demands of television production routines and the necessary compromises in organizational politics did not so much compromise as energize the producer’s creative activities. The constraints on the design of the programs were pieces of a puzzle which the producer as creator was called upon to solve.'
from that of a soap opera, for example (Hagen, 1992). In the empirical parts of this study, the main focus will be on the ritual and the aesthetic dimensions of news. The cultural, institutional and the ideological dimensions will also be present, but in more implicit ways, as in many aspects they constitute the analytical perspective of the study.

Analyses of both the aesthetic and ritual dimension of news have been conducted. Furthermore, important studies of news as a cultural and historically developed social institution and of the news institution have been done from an ideological point of view (e.g. Habermas, 1971, 1989; Williams 1965). However, in the field of mass communication research, there is a lack of studies on how these socially developed conventions are made to be present in the actual news programmes in relation to production process, to text and to form.

Furthermore, there is a clear gap in the research into the organised application of these socially developed conventions within the media institutions from a comparative perspective: when setting up a television news service, what strategy does a television company employ to optimise the use of the allocated economic resources in such a way as to fulfil these conventions and present a 'proper' news output? Also, what is the result - the programme as analysed - of this strategy?

It is essential to raise these questions, as they address important issues about the organisation of news departments, about motives for making news programmes, and about economic resources and income revenue, as well as about editors and journalists in action. Furthermore, they address the issues of how everyday practices in the news institutions is a part of an historical, social and professional cultural climate.

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55 Here, employing the concepts of Hall (1986b) one may find different reading competencies and attitudes: dominant, negotiated and oppositional. The problem related to news, as other kinds of information, however, is often that of getting relevant information. A person with oppositional reading competencies will have problems with going beyond the actual text within the news programme to deconstruct the text. This is the problem with Fiske’s (1989) position, when implying that oppositional reading makes the reader able to deconstruct the text, and through some kind of ‘reconstruction’ constitute what Fiske himself has labelled a ‘semiotic democracy’ (see also Curran, 1990a).

56 See Kulset (1985) ‘Dagsrevyen som soapopera’ [Dagsrevyen as Soap] where he makes a point of reading the NRK News differently from the genre conventions - as a soap opera. The reading is not uninteresting, but it is irrelevant as a common sense reading of a news programme.
Some of the elements of the news genre in the two channels involved in this project are similar, whereas some are different. More importantly, the variations which result in the production of different programmes are, to some extent, economically motivated, although not entirely so. The differences and similarities between the genre elements, and the differences and similarities in the programmes, are therefore not accidental.

To approach *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* analytically from the above perspectives, a conceptual operationalisation of the notion of genre is needed. Hence, the discussion must now address the problem of how to give analytic validity to the notion of genre: how can this loose concept be conceptually operationalised? The present study will draw on the definition by Raymond Williams (1977). In the field of mass communication this has previously been used by Jensen (1986) in his study of audience reception, by Cottle (1990, 1993) in a study of regional television news and the portrayals of riots and the inner city problems in Britain, and by Hagen (1992) in her study of the audience’s reception of *Dagsrevyen*.

Williams (1977: 183) breaks the notion of genre up into three basic components which should not be seen as mutually exclusive: *stance, mode of formal composition* and *appropriate subject matter.*

He defines *stance* as:

’a mode of basic (social organisation) which determines a particular kind of presentation - the
telling of a story, the presentation of an action through characters, univocal expression and so on.
These can be reasonably taken as general and distinct (though at times in practice associated) forms
of composition and address.’

The social organisation which determines the presentation of news is the news genre, which is related to the news institution. This institution is historically and socially defined through its role as a medium for the public sphere. The stance of a genre can be taken as involving a particular form of social relationship between the addressee and the addressee. In this way, all texts involve a specific stance in relation to both the subject matter and the reader (Cottle, 1990). For a specific stance to be produced in an everyday news context,
the presentation of news, as well as the production, is based on conventions allowing for that to be done.

In the case of news, the stance is very characteristic. It stresses the independence, the authority and the authenticity of the news reader, the institution s/he represents, and the news, in order to gain credibility with the audience. The viewer is posited as the recipient of reliable, factual and relevant information (Jensen, 1986). It may be argued that television news has generic qualities which makes it very different from other forms to which the notion of genre may be applied. For example, as opposed to fictional genres, news claims to be objective referential information. However, because news is such an integrated part of everyday social reality, its relation to the world is often seen to be of an unproblematic representative nature (Davidsen-Nilsen and Bredegaard, 1992). A relevant perspective for a characterisation of news as texts is that of Nichols (1991). In an analysis of documentary films, which is also relevant to the news, Nichols distinguishes between four modes of textual representation; the expository, the observational, the interactive and the reflexive. These modes may be considered as related to different traditions within documentary film, and are also basic ways of organising texts in relation to recurrent features or conventions. The different modes may be applied to characterise dimensions in the news texts in relation to other texts.

While the expository mode may, from a transmission perspective, be seen to implicitly claim the authority of being able to present reality in an undistorted way, the observational mode stresses a non-intervention approach (ibid.). While the interactive mode is characterised by interaction between the film-maker and the person(s) recorded (as for example in interviews), the reflexive mode has a reflexiveness about conventions of representation built into it, and, in this way, claims a very different kind of authority from that of the expository mode.  

Television news with its anchor-person(s) and ways of presenting the news may in particular be seen to exemplify the expository dimension of the news, although it also contains aspects of the other modes. The stance of the news genre is related to the ritual dimension, the cultural historical dimension and the ideological dimension of the news.

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78 For discussion about different kinds of authorities produced by different kinds of conventions, see Gripsrud, 1989.
genre. How the image of 'reality' is constituted during the production process and in the presentation of the news programmes through a certain stance, will be examined in an analysis of the production process and an analysis of the structure and practice of enunciation in the news programmes involved.79

The mode of formal composition of the genre concerns the forms and the formats in which the texts are presented. These forms and formats may, in relation to a news programme, be approached on different levels; on the scheduling level, on the programme level, on the level of presentation, and on the level of individual news-items. The mode of formal composition is most strongly related to the aesthetic dimension of the news genre, but also intimately linked to the stance, as forms of presentations are not independent of what is said. It is in this way the mode of formal composition is also related to the stance, and vice-versa. In the present thesis, examinations of the mode of formal composition will be conducted in respect to the two news programmes on the scheduling level, the programme level, the level of presentation and the level of individual news-items.

Appropriate subject matter concerns the range of relevant subject matter which may be presented in the form and from the stance of news; the themes presented in the news programme. Some subjects are seen to be 'appropriate' to include, and some are not.80 The appropriate subject matter should therefore not be seen to be included by accident.

From an analytical point of view, the appropriate subject matter within a genre may be difficult to examine, as it may be seen as related to productional criteria, as well as to textual criteria. Also, when analysing the relations between productional practices and presented news, it is not only a question of what matters are perceived by the broadcasters to be 'appropriate'. It is also a question of what subject matter (or themes) are made (by changing genre conventions) to be 'appropriate'. In this way news items may be seen to be included in programmes even if they are not perceived by the broadcasters to be 'appropriate' in the first instance.

79 Williams' concept of stance is rooted in the British tradition of literary criticism, while the term enunciation coes is used in French semiology, narratology and structural linguistics (see Hagen, 1992; Larsen, 1989).

80 In the literature, this issue is also discussed in relation to what is called news values, since news values have been applied to analyse underlying criteria for the selection of the news during the editorial process as well as patterns which may be read out of the news content. These criteria and patterns may be more or less stable, but they are also relative according to what editors would call the overall 'news picture' (e.g. Lindh, 1984; see also Galtung and Ruge, 1965).
What themes are regarded as 'appropriate' by the broadcasters will in the present thesis be dealt with partly in relation to more general issues about policy and productional practices (see Part III). In the text analysis in Part IV, the aspects which are operationalised as subject matter will be analysed quantitatively in terms of what elements of information (themes) are presented in the items in the two news programmes. These elements of information constitute an important source from which people watching the different news programmes may draw knowledge.

In section 3.1. a basic assumption was formulated. For the analysis of the presented news programmes in International News and Dagsrevyen, the following assumptions about subject matter, mode of formal composition and stance may be formulated.

Assumptions about textual aspects:

1. Assumptions about subject matters:
   a. Because of its nature as a news programme in a commercial channel, International News includes more 'entertaining' news-items to attract audience than Dagsrevyen.
   b. Because the lower level of resources, the news coverage of International News is more restricted in regard to the presented issues, events, actors and geographic origins than that of Dagsrevyen.
   c. Because of its role as a news programme in a public service channel, Dagsrevyen has a broader coverage of national and international politics than has International News.  

2. Assumption about mode of formal composition:
   Because of different news policies as well as differences in resources, there will be differences in composition on; (i) programme level; and (ii) on the level of individual news-items - i.e. in the application of different sub-genres.

3. Assumptions about stance:

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81 Such differences have previously been pointed out on programming in general by Blumler and Nossiter (1991: 411) in a large-scale comparative study on programming and finance. They find that: 'More generally, the evidence of this international comparison suggests that broadcasting systems which are most dependent on advertising also schedule the narrowest range of programming'. 
a. Because of their different natures as news programmes in a commercial and a public service news channel, respectively, the news in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* will differ in the way they approach the audience textually in regard to the presentation of the news programme.

b. Because both programmes relate to ideals descending from the institution (or formation) of news, *textual conventions* guiding the presentation of the news-items will be similar in the two programmes.

The above assumptions are formulated as working hypotheses, and concepts for further approaching the issues will be discussed both in this chapter, and in the following chapter on methodology. From assumption 2, it can be seen that in the empirical analysis of mode of formal composition, the thesis will distinguish between genre on programme level, and on the level of individual items (sub-genre).

Another aspect of composition which is related to how news programmes are organised in *time* should also be commented on. Time is decisive for broadcasting in several ways. The overall *schedule*, the *individual programmes*, and the *sequences and segments* within the programmes, are organised in time slots of different characters and durations; television consists of textual segments on different levels. Its main characteristic is that it is, at the same time, segmented and continuous (Browne, 1984; Jensen, 1991; Williams, 1975). To be able to grasp similarities and differences in the composition of the news programmes, the sequences, as organised in time, will be examined more closely here.

Ellis (1982: 112) contends the following about sequences in television:

> 'Broadcast TV has developed a distinctive aesthetic form. Instead of the single, coherent text that is characteristic of entertainment cinema, broadcast TV offers relatively discrete segments: small sequential unities of images and sounds, whose maximum duration seems to be about five minutes. These segments are organised into groups which are either simply cumulative, like news broadcast items and advertisements, or have some kind of repetitive or sequential connection, like the groups of segments that make up the serial or series. Broadcast narration takes place across these segments.'

This contribution by Ellis is of help in comprehending how television programmes are organised *in time* and *over time*. He further states that (ibid.):
"TV news and current affairs have adopted this segmentalisation: in a news bulletin the standard approach is for each item to be separated from all others. ... The news segment is characteristically isolated within a context of its likeness: each a particular report, discursively organised to present a totalling view."

Although he contends that in one sense, news and current affairs magazine programmes provide the most obvious examples of the segmental aspects of television (Ellis ibid.) he does not clearly establish what is the empirically analytical distinction between a sequence and a segment.

Sequences and segments should not be defined in rigid ways, as they only make sense when empirically based. In this analysis, the term sequence is defined as a pre-existing slot which, on a programme level together with other sequences, constitutes a sequential structure. The sequence is occupied, or to be occupied, by segments. The individual news programme, according to this, may be defined as a sequential structure consisting of sequences, and the news-item may be seen as a typical segment within a sequence. More specifically, news-items may be defined as a segment about a news issue within a news programme which constitutes a story in its own right. The news-item is also taken to include the introduction by the anchorperson(s). In theory, it could be difficult to distinguish one item from the other, if there were, for example, several items on a single news issue. In the empirical analysis, there was no problem in making distinctions in such cases, as the single news-item would still constitute its own story by the voice of the reporter, the pictorial material applied, the studio situation, etc. If the anchor presents a short item with no further comments, audial or visual, that segment is treated analytically as an item in its own right. If there is a following news report, the introduction is defined as part of that news-item. This is also the case with 'end of item comments' by the anchor; they are defined as part of the previous item.

The notion of genre has now been examined conceptually as well as in relation to the aim of this research project. This exploration will partly form the basis for the analysis of production processes and the news presentation in the television programmes of TV3 and NRK; in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 the three different aspects of the concept of genre will be analysed. However, for a further analysis of aspects of stance, and relations between the presented news text, conventions about how to produce the texts, and productional practices, a conceptual model will be presented in the following section.
3.4. News as text - a model and assumptions.

Of the three classic categories of genre - poetic, epics and drama - the news is most closely related to the epic tradition (Chatman, 1978; Sarbø, 1991). A central dimension for distinguishing between the three is how the story is 'told', i.e. how the narrative is constituted.

Concepts for approaching this issue can be found in analyses of narrative structures in linguistics and literary criticism. From such points of view, the text may be seen as consisting of two components; story and discourse (Chatman, 1978; Culler, 1981; Larsen, 1989; Pietilä, 1992). While story may be defined as the contents, or chains of events, discourse may be defined as the means by which the content is communicated; i.e. the story is the what in a narrative, and discourse is the how. Or; story is the content of the narrative expression, while discourse is the form of that expression (Chatman, 1992).

The concept of discourse, or of how the text is told, necessitates a further analysis of the narrative elements of the text in news programmes. In the present thesis this will be further discussed to focus on the author, the narrator and the reader instances within a news text.

A narrative text is a communication which presupposes two parties; A sender and a receiver. Each party may be seen to entail three different instances. On the sending end are the real author, the implied author, and the narrator. On the receiving end are the real readers (the viewer), the implied readers and the narratee. A given type of a text always presupposes a given type of an author. The real author (RA) and the real readers (RR) communicate through their implied counterparts. The implied author (IA) designates that version of the author which may be deduced from the text (Chatman, 1978; Pietilä, 1992; Tammi, 1985).

The implied author is, by Chatman (1990), regarded as the source of a narrative text's whole structure of meaning. In this way, the implied reader may be regarded as an inscribed principle of invention and intent, which at the same time is the reader's source of instruction about how to read a text, and how to account for the selection and ordering of its components (ibid.). From such a perspective it may be seen that the implied author (IA) also presupposes an implied reader (IR), who may be abstracted from the text. The implied reader may, accordingly, be seen as an hypothetical reader whose decoding abilities,
cultural background, or general world view has been taken into account when producing
the news (see Tammi, ibid.).

Furthermore, from a narrative point of view, in the same way as a text presupposes an
implied reader who is abstractable from the text, it may also presuppose a narrator (N). N
refers to a fictive person, or persons, on the one hand. On the other hand, N may also be
regarded as a structural category, or a set of devices applied within the confines of certain
rules to produce a narrative text. In this way, the narrator instance may, in effect, be
regarded as a strategy of presentation which presupposes a corresponding narratee\(^2\) (Ne)
(Pietilä, 1992). In addition to the mentioned instances, one or two more should be added:
first, the embedded narrator (N'). S/he is the character in a narrative who tells the
narrative. Second, the characters who are receiving may be defined as embedded narratees
(Ne').

What has been described here is a model based on structural linguistics for analysing
literature. When it comes to the analysis of television news three different factors should
be pointed out. First, a news text implies that it is the result of someone producing the
news according to conventions for the institution and genre of news. Here, certain
normative and ideological dimensions are involved, as the genre of news in addition to
aesthetic norms, also describes the news text's ideal and ethical norm system.

Second, the term 'real author' should be modified. In relation to television news it is found
relevant to operate with one author instance and one narrator instance of the news text.
This is because both reporters and presenters are present presenting the news during
broadcast. On the one hand, the different texts are selected, edited and presented by the
news organisations of the broadcast companies. Because different techniques are applied
during the processing and presentation of news, the different texts (for example, on pro­
gramme level and item level) are presented as one singular text. On the other hand, it is
'told' by two different author/narrator instances. Hence, the term 'real author' in the model
will be interchanged with real journalist and with real presenter.

Third, the role of the presenter is central in television news. The presenter is an author in
the sense that s/he and the journalists write and present introductions and news-items.

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\(^2\) These are often stereotyped in news rooms.
More importantly, however, the presenter is a narrative instance in the way that s/he represents certain presentational strategies.\(^3\)

As regards television news, then, the relationship between the news genre, the author instances, the audience instances and the narrative instances may be illustrated in the following way. The circle illustrates the news genre, to which the editor, the real journalists and the real presenters (the anchor - or in the news report the reporter) relate in the selection, production and presentation of news:\(^4\)

FIGURE 3.4.1. NEWS AS TEXT - AUTHOR, NARRATOR AND READER INSTANCES:

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\(^3\) Chatman (1990: 113) clearly distinguishes between a presenter instance and an author instance:

'If we are to say that both telling and showing can transmit stories, and in any combination, we need a term that can refer to either or both indifferently. If 'to narrate' is too fraught with vocal overtones, we might adopt 'to present' as a useful subordinate. Thus we can say that the implied author presents the story through a teller or a shower or some combination of both.'

\(^4\) This illustration partly draws on Pietilä (1992: 45). For a discussion, see also Genette (1980, 1988).
The presented model represents a way of conceptualising the relationship between the news broadcasters, the news genre and the audience. In relation to the previous discussion of dimensions in the concept of genre, it can be seen that the ritual and cultural institutional dimensions are clearly present. The model further highlights the significance of analysing the 'news programmes as presented' in relation to 'the news programmes as produced'; it makes it possible to further examine how the individual presentation and production in International News and Dagsrevyen are related to the genre of news, and to analyse the textual manifestations of this. Since both programmes are produced to look like news programmes for the 'implied reader', it is particularly relevant to examine what the producers and presenters of the news programmes do to conform to the implied author position; i.e. to conform to the genre of news. Hence, the mode of formal composition of the news programmes and the news-items will be examined and some textual implications, or the resulting textual claims of these forms employed by the news organisations will be analysed. Such issues have given rise to the following assumption about relations between productional and textual aspects:

**Assumption about relations between productional and textual aspects:**

*Norms prescribing how to present the programmes as well as the individual news items according to genre conventions, will, in important ways, guide the production of the news text so that it conforms to such norms.*

In order to analyse this assumption, the thesis will draw on the concept of enunciation. The concept is partly related to the stance of a text, and may be defined as the elements in the text which constitute a relationship between the sender and the receiver. Better still, it may be defined as the communicative relationship from the author/presentation instances towards the reader instances. To analyse this positioning of the programme in relation to the audience it may further be useful to distinguish between *enunciation* (from French énonciation) and *announcement* (from French énoncé) (Brandt, 1974; Larsen, 1974; Aarli, 1991). The term 'enunciation' points to the circumstance that each *announcement* is a particular case of language-in-use, and furthermore, that the announcement may be analysed in relation to the system of language used:
"During the act of enunciation, textual announcements are produced every time during the concrete situation of communication. The most important instances in addition to the announcement are the sender and the receiver." (Larsen, 1974: 280).

Larsen (ibid.) states that for all texts the implicit structure of enunciation is related to conventions. These conventions frame what may be presented and expressed in a text, as well as the manners of presentation. According to Larsen, an enunciation analysis may follow one of two approaches: the first is to analyse how the structures of enunciation influence the choice of narrative elements. The other is to ask the question of why the particular structure of enunciation is chosen, i.e. what social relations make this particular structure relevant? From the perspective of the present thesis, there is a third relevant approach, however: to analyse the structure of enunciation and relate this to the production process in order to raise the issue of how the structure of enunciation is reproduced according to enunciative conventions.

In summary, it should be noted that the analysis of the structures of enunciation of a television programme from this perspective may be seen as a way of inferring the 'implicit reader' from a text. Eco (1980) labels this implicit reader a Model Reader; a reader who decodes the text according to 'preferred' ways of 'reading' from the author's (or broadcaster's) point of view (see also Hall, 1986b; Aarli 1991). However, an analysis of the 'enunciation' of the news text may include more than direct addresses from a 'real journalist' or a 'real presenter' to an explicit viewer (real reader or audience). From the perspective of the present thesis, an equally relevant aspect about the 'implied reader' is that it represents a way of inferring how the actual producers of the news produce the news programmes according to more or less institutionalised conventions about creating an image of the 'implied author'. From such a perspective, the news producers may be seen to actively reproduce the 'implied author' of the news (and of the news institution) during each news programme.

These aspects will be empirically examined in Parts IV and V. To further prepare for such an examination, the concepts of news conventions and textual claims are addressed in the following section.

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65 See also Chatman (1978, 1990).
66 For a similar argument, developed in relation to the concept of genre, see Gripsrud (1991).
3.5. News conventions and textual claims.

Originally, the meaning of convention was an assembly or an agreement. However, 'convention' also came to mean an old rule, or somebody else's rule, which it was proper and often necessary to disregard (Williams, 1977). This duality in the concept of convention - on the one hand agreement, on the other hand, the rules of another - in many ways cover the most central aspects of concern related to news and representation. The model presented in the previous section illustrates that in the application of conventions about how to best present the news, an implied author may be seen to be constructed during the production process. This 'implied author' is, according to the same conventions, expected to produce the news in deference to norms and ideals for journalistic work with the news. Expectations and norms related to ideals from the social institution of news may be labelled 'the social contract of news' (see Connell, 1986; Stigel, 1990; Kjørup, 1993).

Furthermore, news conventions may be seen as related to what, in this thesis, is labelled textual claims - i.e. textual codes for implying that the news is produced according to conventions for how do so. Typical textual claims in (television) news are those of independence and impartiality, immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity.

In regard to the authenticity in news it may, for example, be claimed that the guarantee of authenticity one may feel from a text is a guarantee born of one's own complicity with the claims of the text. During production of the text, conventions and techniques may be seen to be combined to provide the basis for an inference, or assumption, that an image is authentic (see Nichols, 1981, 1987, 1991). Hence Nichols (1991: 151) states that:

'There is no other guarantee than the inference we ourselves make, based, often, on very good evidence such as the similarity between the photographic image we see and others of the same subject (for public figures and well-known places and events), on explicit assurances of authenticity by the film itself, and on our familiarity with everyday conduct and how it differs from fictional representations.'

Following Nichols' argument, the textual claims inherent in the news genre may be regarded as constructed 'illusions' if the guarantee is not fulfilled; 'illusions' encoded during production to correspond with the ideals which govern news presentation according to established genre conventions, and for how to best 'construct' an implied author. The key issue here is that of presentation and representation. Representation implies one thing
standing for another (see also Larsen, 1993) - an image or recorded sound standing for that from which it was 'taken'. In news, the presentation textually implies representation in particular 'realistic' ways. Information about a thing as represented in the 'taking' may be implanted into a text (i.e. a news report) in new ways, in which the scope for interpretation may be altered.

Although the 'taking' is implanted in this way, the strong physical or existential bond between the 'taking' and what is 'taken' will usually continue to exist. This may be seen as an indexical bind between the 'taken' and the 'taking', in that the 'taking' may be seen to 'physically represent' the 'taken' (see Nichols 1991). In his argument, originally based on analyses of documentary films, Nichols (ibid. 162) makes the following claim about the reading of a realistic text:

'The compact we strike with the text we see has a determining effect on the ... status we lend to its images. Tied indexically to what appeared before the camera, we are left to determine if the sounds and images we attend to also occurred in or outside of social history, within the web of fabrications needed to construct the time and space of a story or within the folds of larger history. No guarantee exists. Cues, conventions, prior knowledge, and previous experience all contribute to the compact made, but it also remains subject to change and inflection.'

It may be argued that the primary importance of the indexical quality to the photographic image may be seen to be not so much in the unassailable authenticity of the bond between image and referent as in the impression of authenticity it conveys to a viewer. Nichols points out that even if the 'indexicality' is fabricated, the effect or impression of authenticity may remain just as powerful. In this way, representation in the news involves not only a 'presentation' and 'characterisation' of events (Larsen, 1993; Johansen, 1989), but also a claim about the text production process itself (Sørensen, 1993).

It is in this line of argument that Hall (1976b: 188) contends the following about stills photos in newspapers:

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'Photos of an event carry within them a 'meta-message': 'this event really happened and this photo is the proof of it.' ... This is what Barthes calls the 'having-been-there' of all photographs. News photos operate under a hidden sign marked, 'this really happened, see for yourself'.

Manipulation of time and space is quite obvious in one-camera recordings of location interviews in Dagsrevyen; interviews which are later edited and presented into report formats. During the interview, the camera would focus closely on the interviewee. After the interview some two-shots from behind the interviewer, or from one of the sides, would be recorded, and perhaps also a close-up on the interviewee while s/he again asked a question into the air for the camera and the soundtrack. When the report was edited, the different shots would be applied in the editing process so that the sound-track of the interview seemed to be continuous and natural. In this process 'takings' from different positions were needed for editing purposes mainly, so that when parts of the interviewees' answers were dropped or linked to other parts, the audience could not see that there was a discontinuation in the interview; they could only see the angle and the shot of the 'taking' change in an interview which was edited to look natural and realistic.

Television as a medium, and particularly television news, is seen to have a strong textual claim for authenticity. To mention one view on this from a media-professional, the Foreign Editor of the BBC Television News, John Simpson, stated in a review article in The Sunday Times (9th of August, 1992):

'... television is unequalled in one thing: it gives people a sense, which they feel is their own sense, of what has taken place in front of the camera. When they see pictures of starving Somalis, or watch people being shot down in Tiananmen Square, it affects them with something of the intensity of having been there and seen it for themselves. Money pours in. Governments change their policies.'

Part of the reason for this strong textual claim for authenticity is that the presenter(s) of the programme present the news from an enunciative position which textually claims authenticity as well as authority, and allows little space for alternative 'decoding' of the presentation by the audience. The news presentation and the news reports are carefully planned and processed to 'fit' the generic modes of presentation. These modes of presenta-
tion are again closely related to textual claims, and to the appropriate ways of producing news.

3.6. Theoretical and analytical conclusions.

Raymond Williams claims the following about the role of the author (1977: 193):

'To be a writer is to be already socially specified. But the argument moves beyond this; at one level to an emphasis on socially inherited forms, in the generic sense; at another level to an emphasis on socially inherited and still active notations and conventions; at a final level to an emphasis on a continuing process in which not only the forms but the contents of consciousness are socially produced.'

He also stresses the fact that within these socially inherited forms, conventions and consciousness there is a shaping impulse, operating within a certain cultural and material space. He maintains that certain versions of the genre theory are useful in describing certain artistic forms and identifying their rules.

Williams furthermore points out that the understanding of the forms and the status of their 'rules' is limited by failure to recognise that the forms were made, and the rules arrived at, by a long and active shaping through trial and error, which can be described in terms of the opposite theory, as an internal shaping impulse (Williams, 1977: 187).

This may be seen as what Giddens labels 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984; Eide 1991). This means, from the perspective of this study, that on one hand there are structures, both material and cultural, within which the editors, the journalists and the news organisations are operating. On the other hand, these editors and journalists, within the space available, are redefining the rules of these operations in their everyday practice.

Such a perspective makes it possible to avoid both the structural and the autonomous fallacies in the analysis of journalistic practice and news department operations. This has been one point of departure for the theoretical discussion of an approach to the study of news in this chapter.

The other, more explicitly discussed point of departure, has been the different approaches to the communication process within mass communication research. The two main
traditions in Chapter 2 and 3 have been labelled the transmission approach and the ritual approach to communication. The main concern has been that analyses of the production processes within media organisations of media content and of media effects have often been very much related to a transmission, or even a transportation, view of communication. In the case of production studies, the journalists and the editorial processes have been seen to distort 'reality' according to organisational needs and economic, or policy-related, concerns.

The analytic focus of production studies and content analyses from this perspective has, to a high degree, been on what distorted elements of information are presented, and why these are the ones presented. The argument of this thesis is not that such an approach is irrelevant. There are, however, other approaches concerning other aspects of the production process and the news programmes in television which should also be included in the analysis. These approaches may be covered under the notion of a ritual approach to the mass communication process. A main concern from this perspective is the notion of news as a social and cultural institution and form, within which the broadcast institutions, the news departments and the editors and journalists are working.

To be able to grasp this analytically, the tradition of cultural studies and the notion of genre are employed. The strength of the notion of genre is, firstly, that it allows for an analytical approach to forms and conventions of news. Secondly, it allows for the analysis of these forms as part of a relationship between the audience and the news department - a common understanding about what news is about. Thirdly, the forms and the understanding of 'what is news' may be related to cultural, historical and technical developments, which may then be included as framework in the analysis.

Assumptions on four different levels of analysis were formulated in the chapter; a general assumption, assumptions about contextual aspects, assumptions about textual aspects, and an assumption about the relations between textual production and presentation. In the following chapter the methods for the empirical analyses will be further discussed.
Chapter 4: Methodological approach.

Methodological strategies for analysing similarities and differences in the news texts of International News and Dagsrevyen, as well as strategies for analysing the news production apparatuses and the production processes will be considered in this chapter. First, the chapter discusses the overall research design of the thesis (section 4.1.). The manner of analysing the textual aspects is discussed in section 4.2., where categories for examining the subject matters, the mode of formal composition and the stance of the two programmes are developed. The chapter then deals with issues related to the analysis of the news production process (section 4.3.), discussing the method of field observation. Finally, the issues of validity and reliability in the present project are discussed (section 4.4).

4.1. Research design.

For the empirical examination of the research questions and the underlying assumptions thereof, the study will combine qualitative and quantitative research methods. The need for such a combination in the present study should be obvious: for the analysis there are aspects which cannot easily be analysed with quantitative methods, and there are aspects which cannot easily be analysed with qualitative methods. The methods employed are quantitative content analysis, qualitative text analysis, document analysis, structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and field observations. Both the quantitative and the qualitative methodological traditions have their advantages and disadvantages. In general, quantitative methods are often seen to have their strength in testing hypotheses, while qualitative methods often have their strength in exploring phenomena, conceptualising insights from such explorations, and, in doing so, developing theory. As an example, an

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9. The term field observation is used instead of participant observation. The reason for this is discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.

9 For further discussion, see Rose (1982: 10), who contends that:

"... theory-testing studies usually rely on the more structured techniques of data collection, such as content analysis or (more typically) a social survey with a standardised questionnaire. These techniques require that details of sampling and data collection be tightly planned in advance. In general, the data will be quantified in a manner which is also specified in advance, and in the research report results will be given in tables or by using other statistical means of presentation. By contrast, theory-construction studies more often use participant-observation and interviewing techniques of the less structured kind. Typically, the research procedures will be more loosely formulated at the outset, and some aspects of the research design (for example, certain details of sampling) are decided in the course of the field-work. Generally, the data will be qualitative, and the evidence offered in the
important analytical concept in this thesis developed through a qualitative approach is that of textual claims.

In the analysis of the presented news programmes, particular attention will be paid to the characteristics of, and the similarities and differences between, the form and the stance of the programmes, in addition to the content. Both qualitative and quantitative content analyses\(^9\) were employed. The rationale for this was to analyse different dimension of the news text, and relate it to contextual, productional and generic aspects, the rationale for using document analysis, interviews and field observation was to develop insights into how news organisations as well as broadcasters related to different contexts: the context of a public service and a commercial television news service. In particular, field observation was found valuable for the development of insights into issues which have scarcely been researched within the field of mass communication research: how news corporations and news professionals relate to codes which govern 'how to make the news look like news'. Moreover, how news professionals, on the one hand, are a part of the news culture of the particular news-room, but, on the other hand, have an ambivalent attitude towards the everyday news practices. In the field context the broadcasters have at least two roles, which were both relevant for the analysis in the present thesis: one role is the professional craftsman; the other is the participant who observes, and takes an analytical attitude towards what is going on in the news room. The latter role of the broadcaster - the broadcaster as informant - will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

It may be argued that both the analysis and the presentation of qualitative data are not developed to the same extent as the quantitative data. Miles (1979) contends that:

"The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that methods of data analysis are not well formulated. For quantitative data, there are clear conventions the researcher can use. But the analyst faced with a bank of qualitative data has very few guidelines for protection

research report will be extracts from interviews or statements based on observations."

See also Holme and Solvang, 1986.

\(^9\) For a discussion of quantitative content analysis, see section 4.2.1. The data programme used for statistical analysis was NSD-Stat (quite similar to SPSS). Quantitative and qualitative methods are employed pragmatically to provide empirical insights into the issues raised. From a theoretical perspective, there may be clear differences between the two different ways of analyzing content. For instance, when using the term qualitative content analysis, Kranzner (1953) argued about quantitative content analysis that it is impossible to quantify textual meaning, and that such meaning can only be grasped by means of interpretation. For a discussion of such qualitative approaches, see Larsen, 1991.
against self-delusion, let alone the presentation of unreliable or invalid conclusions to scientific or policy-making audiences.' (See also Miles and Huberman, 1984)

Since Miles formulated this in 1979, qualitative approaches and their relevance have become more appreciated in social sciences. Furthermore, conventions for analytical presentations of this sort have been more thoroughly established (e.g. Tesch, 1990). Conventions for presenting the analysis in the present thesis include the presentation of quantified qualitative data in tables, quotes from interviews and statements, and comments on the origin and the relevance of the data.

The present study is a case study involving two cases. A case methodology is often recommended for theoretical insights; detailed analyses of cases may give new knowledge about the inter-relationships between variables. This has much to do with the flexibility a case study design provides, since a key feature of theory-building case research may be the freedom to make adjustments during the data collection process (Eisenhardt, 1989; Mintzberg, 1979; Nesheim, 1992; Yin, 1984).

In the present study, the two most relevant cases of public service and commercial television news services in Norway from the late eighties were selected (the study started in 1989):

- The NRK was the only public service television service institution in Norway.
- TV3 was the only commercial television service with a news service directed towards a Norwegian (and Scandinavian) audience in 1989/90.

In a statistical sense the case is not the same as a sample, since a case should not usually be taken to provide generalisations in relation to a population or a universe. The relevance of a case study should be evaluated in relation to the information and insights which can be gained from the cases to throw light on the overall research issue (Yin, 1984).

Through virtue of being a case study, the analysis is more than a comparison between two news departments and their resulting outputs. It is an analysis of news and news production processes within quite different contexts. Many of the contextual elements in the two...
news-rooms differ. This adds an extra dimension to the overall analysis. The project may therefore, at a more general level, be conceived as a study of news in a traditional public service institution and a commercial institution, as well as a study of different dimensions of news production and news texts in television. An overall research issue related to the latter is: what is the inter-relationship between material and cultural factors within different news production contexts? Furthermore, in what ways are the resulting news texts related to contextual factors?

4.1.1. Units of analysis.
The units of analysis for observation were the news-rooms and the news-production practices in TV3 and the NRK-Television. Altogether I spent seven weeks in the news-room of Dagsrevyen, and four weeks in the news-room of International News. The reason why the observation period was longer in Dagsrevyen was that the format of International News suddenly changed in August 1990, so that the news was no longer produced in TV3, only presented there (as short bulletins). During the observations in Dagsrevyen three main news events transpired which gave some further insights into news production processes during peaks. First, the fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989; second, the outbreak of the Gulf War in January 1991; and third, the death of the Norwegian king, King Olav V the day after the outbreak of the Gulf War. Such news-peaks gave relevant insights into how the news production apparatus was 'stretched' to cover such events. However, although I was present in Dagsrevyen during the mentioned periods, my data are more based on everyday activities than on peak-activities.

During observation in International News and Dagsrevyen I had access to relevant activities in the news-rooms, and was allowed to observe editorial meetings. While I was in the news-rooms, the news programmes of both the NRK and TV3 were recorded for analysis.

During the main periods of observation and recording of programmes, the news-room of Dagsrevyen produced four television news programmes per evening: Ettermiddagsnytt [Afternoon News] at 17.00 of about 15 minutes' duration, Dagsrevyen at 19.30 of 30 minutes' duration, and also Kveldsnytt [Evening News] of about 10 minutes length with a

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10 During the first period of one week in Dagsrevyen I did not have access to the news-meeting.
flexible starting point, usually scheduled for transmission some time between 22.00 and 23.00.

During the same period TV3 transmitted two news programmes per evening (during weekdays, only). There was no news at weekend. A short news programme of 5 or 3 minutes\(^4\) was broadcast at 18.00 as *Scandinavian News\(^5\)*, although this consisted mainly of informational news from outside the Scandinavian area. The main news programme was originally titled *International News from London\(^6\)*, and later *News and Weather, and was scheduled for a duration of 25 minutes from 22.00. That included about 5 minutes of weather forecast and commercials.

The main evening news programmes, *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*, were the main units for textual analysis. The reason for this was that these news-programmes attained the highest audience ratings in their respective channels. They were also the news programmes regarded as the most prestigious within the institutions; in both places the production apparatuses were geared towards the presentation of the main news programmes. From a research point of view, these were also the programmes where the news policy was most strongly laid down and pursued by the two news services.

The qualitative analysis of the textual aspects in the two news programmes includes recordings from all the periods of observation. During such periods in either of the news-rooms, the news programmes of both channels were recorded. The recordings of the main news programmes selected for quantitative textual analysis were made during one period of observation in each news-room; two periods of two weeks, during February and March 1990. Accordingly, the quantitative content analysis is based on four weeks’ study altogether. Since TV3 did not have news programmes on Saturdays or Sundays, week-end news-programmes of *Dagsrevyen* were not included in the analysis. Since on one day, the news could not be recorded due to technical problems, the data material for the textual analysis includes 19 news programmes of *International News* as well as of *Dagsrevyen*; the

\(^4\) The format suddenly changed from 5 to 3 minutes during March 1990. This was due to the introduction of *Wheels of Fortune*.

\(^5\) Norwegian: *Skandinaviske nyheter*.

\(^6\) Norwegian: *Internasjonale nyheter fra London*. 
main news programmes of the two channels during all week-days in the two periods of two weeks.

There was a potential problem in basing an analysis on a concentrated period of time. Not that the programmes recorded were necessarily too few, but there was the danger that news events could dominate the news programmes over short periods of time. Single news events did not dominate any of the programmes. This was also confirmed by the news people in the two news-rooms; they said that the coverage and the work during the four recorded weeks was very much based on routine. The main period of research was therefore not atypical.

The analysis did not aim to give a representative picture of both news programmes. If this had been the main task, the analysis should have been spread out over a lengthier period of time. However, as has been discussed in previous chapters, the aim was to compare the two programmes in relation to their respective textual features. In the research design, the task of identifying similarities and differences in the output, as well as analysing the production processes by observation in relation to this output, was therefore given priority.

4.2. Textual aspects - the programmes and items.
The programmes and the news-items were analysed according to William's theoretical operationalisation of genre: mode of formal composition, stance, and subject matter. The three aspects of the news texts analysed in accordance to this were the news programmes/news-items and the formats (mode of formal composition), the stance or structures of enunciation, and content (subject matter). These levels of analysis are the basis for Part IV (and partly for Part V) of the thesis.

Regarding the news content, there is a problem in this study which may be seen to be related to classical issues in news studies: 'what really happened' and 'what were the most important news-items to be reported'. The parallel is 'what were the most important news-items to be presented at a particular day, and how did International News and Dagsrevyen cover it'?

This question will not be dealt with directly, but indirectly from two angles. These two angles are also relevant for examining other aspects of the news production, like what was
the content in the two channels like, and what was the relationship between structures of production and the presented news text?

4.2.1. Subject matter - news themes.

The subject matter of the news programmes are here approached in a classical content analysis. The classical definition of content analysis are those by Berelson and Lazarsfeld (1948), by Holsti (1969), and by Krippendorff (1980). A problematic assumption implicit in this approach, however, has been that in the quantification of particular elements of the text, repetition has tended to be seen as the most valuable indicator of validity (see Ericson et al., 1991). This assumption is problematic in itself, and becomes even more so if content analysis is combined with methods for the 'objective' reading of the manifest content in exploring the different quantitative dimensions of the news-items (see also Kjerstad, 1986). This issue will not be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that in the light of discussions within the philosophy of knowledge on how understanding about social phenomena can be acquired, a position claiming 'objective' reading of 'manifest content' is quite problematic (see for example Skjervheim, 1974; Taylor, 1985).

In the context of the present study, the quantitative content analysis may be regarded as relevant for three different reasons. First; in exploring some dimensions in the content, and, in doing that, allow for a further comparison between the two programmes. Second; in relating the results of such a comparison to the two other dimensions of the news programmes analysed; the stance and the mode of formal composition. Third; the content of the two programmes, as well as the other textual dimensions to be analysed, will also form the basis for an analysis of the inter-relationship between the textual and contextual aspects of news production processes in regard to the two news programmes.

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The definition by Berelson and Lazarsfeld (1948: 5):
'Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'. See also Berelson, 1952.

The definition by Holsti (1969: 10):
'Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages'.

While the two above definitions stress objectivity, Krippendorff (1980: 17) is more concerned about replicability when arguing that:
'... content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their contexts. ... Content analysis could be characterized as a method of inquiry into symbolic meanings of messages.' For a further discussion of the different approaches, see Lindkvist (1981).
In his book, *Public Opinion* of 1922, Walter Lippman pointed out that the course of events must assume a certain definable shape to become news. Lippman (1960: 338) also pointed out that:

> 'All the reporters in the world working all the hours of the day could not witness all the happenings in the world. There are not a great many reporters. And none of them has the power to be in more than one place at a time. Reporters are not clairvoyant, they do not gaze into a crystal ball and see the world at will, they are not assisted by thought-transference. Yet the range of subjects those comparatively few men manage to cover would be a miracle, indeed, if it were not a standardised routine.'

Furthermore (ibid.: 353):

> 'Without standardization, without stereotypes, without routine judgements, without a fairly ruthless disregard of subtlety, the editor would soon die of excitement. ... The thing could not be managed at all without systematization, for in a standardized product there is economy of time and effort, as well as a partial guarantee against failure.'

The subject matter of a news text may be seen as a result of such standardisations resulting from genre conventions 'implemented' in the news text and in the news production process. From such a perspective, we might commonly expect that the subject matter of the items in the two news programmes would be quite similar. However, in relation to the overall perspective of the present thesis, the subject matter of a news programme may also be regarded as reflecting the different contexts of commercial and public service news corporations.

The patterns will be examined in relation to dominant dimensions related to the presentation of news themes; what happened, who was involved, and where did it happen? These are dimensions present in public as well as professional awareness about news presentation.\(^8\) In the present thesis subject matter is therefore operationalised as:

- Issues in the presented news
- Events which receive coverage
- Social actors who receive a dominating coverage in the items

\(^8\) Such a point is also made by Findahl and Højjer (1984), in their analysis of how the audience conceive different news issues. An important finding in their study was that it was more easily for the audience to understand the presented news issue if both the causes and the effects of the news events were explained.
- Geographic origin of the news; foreign vs domestic news, and geographical distribution of Norwegian domestic news.

In the above context, a news-item may be defined as a contribution in a news programme which constitutes a story in its own right. From an informational point of view, the above dimensions as presented in news-items are important because they cover important information about social events and actors, as well as about geographical origin of the news.

In the previous chapter, some assumptions regarding the subject matters of International News and Dagsrevyen were formulated. The assumptions were concerned with whether International News included more entertaining news-items than did Dagsrevyen; whether the limitations to the available resources available to International News meant that it was more restricted in regard to presented issues, events, actors and geographic origin than Dagsrevyen; and whether Dagsrevyen had a broader coverage of national and international politics than International News.

In order to quantify these assumptions, categories for analysing the content have to be defined. The categories presented in this chapter are the main categories, which also consist of sub-categories. The subcategories are shown in the tables in Chapter 8.

The five main categories of news issues are defined as issues about national politics/conflicts; issues about international politics/conflicts; issues about industry and military activities, issues about culture and welfare, and issues of entertainment. The four main categories of news events are defined as political events, other formal events, events of disturbance, and entertainment. The four main categories of dominant news actors are defined as representatives of politics and administration, representatives of business and industry, representatives of culture and welfare, and entertainment representatives. The categories on geographic origin of the news issues include different national areas and continents.

99 For a complete definition, see section 3.3.

100 Golding and Elliott (1979; see also Golding, 1981) have also analysed news in relation to these dimensions.
Appendix 1 contains an overview of the quantitative text analysis (variables and coding schedule). The categories (including sub-categories) are defined for comparison, and not to make generalisations of the content of the two programmes, or more generally of news content, per se. To make it possible to examine the inter-relationship between production and content, during the periods of observations, the news programmes in both channels were recorded while I was present in one of the news-rooms. The content analysis is based on four weeks' recordings, and will be presented in Chapter 8.

4.2.2. Mode of formal composition - the formats.
The mode of formal composition may be characterised as the aesthetic dimension of the news genre. In the previous chapter, the following premise for examining the mode of formal composition was formulated: because of different news policies as well as differences in resources, there will be differences in composition on; (i) the programme level; and (ii) on the level of individual news-items - i.e. in the application of different sub-genres. In the previous chapter the analytical concepts of schedule, sequences, and sequential structure were presented. Here, some categories for examining the individual news-items which constitute different sub-genres are discussed.

The news-items may, according to the definitions applied in the previous chapter, be seen as individual segments within a sequence. Furthermore, the news-items may be seen to constitute sub-genres within the more general genre of news. These sub-genres may be identified by the fact that distinctions between the individual items are coherent in relation to certain dimensions. The sub-genres are not necessarily specific for television news, but have a particular form in that particular medium.

The categories generated to examine the different formats of the news-items in International News and Dagsrevyen have been explored in relation to genre conventions for the television news format and the presentation of news by different reporting instances: the anchor person, the editorial commentator, the foreign correspondent, the reporter, and the interviewee. The sub-genres are:

1. The bulletin. These are short items presented by the anchor(s). Three kinds of such bulletins could be found in each programme.
a. In some cases, no stills, graphics or video pictures were presented. In the news-room of *International News* such an item was labelled *piece to camera*⁴⁶.

b. In other cases stills or graphics illustrate the bulletin, as for example in obituaries, when a photograph of the deceased person will usually be shown. In *International News* the item was called *dls-item*, as still pictures or graphics would be stored on the 'digital library system' (dls).

c. Another bulletin, which in many ways is more like the 'report' (see below) was the *u-lay*. This was characterised by live commentaries by the anchor(s) on pre-edited video-tapes during the broadcasting of the programme.

2. The editorial comment is an analysis, or a commentary, about domestic or foreign affairs presented by a senior member of staff. *International News* did not carry such comments. In *Dagsrevyen* they were presented by the editors of foreign or political domestic affairs, or by senior reporters from these sections. The editorial comment could, for example, be common during periods of national and international tension. The item was characterised by the fact that the commentator would have the privilege to 'establish eye-contact' with the audience, and address the viewer directly from the same position as the anchor(s). The editorial comment would very often take the form of an 'objective' analysis. It could also, however, be very close to a leading article in a newspaper on some issues.

3. The news report. The news report is introduced by the anchor(s), and presented by:
   a. a reporter, or
   b. a foreign correspondent.

The report could include one or more interviews. It was almost without exception based on recorded video materials. Originally, to report meant to bring back. However, it was usually difficult to see, from the presented item, if the reporter had actually been out of the news studio to produce the news-items made. Nonetheless, as will be further explored in Chapter 11, there was a

⁴⁶The notions from *International News* are referred to here, as they were English.
strong tendency to imply textually that the reporter had been out in the field if possible.

4. The interview is usually a part of a news report presented by a reporter, but may also be presented as independent item. If the interview was presented as an item by itself, the anchor person was usually the interviewer. When the interview was part of a report, a reporter or a foreign correspondent would usually be the interviewer.

A dimension to be included in the empirical analysis of the above sub-categories is the issue of whether the news-items presented were recorded or live. Both for the news production and for the textual presentation of news the distinction between live and recorded broadcasting is significant.

The analysis of the mode of composition concentrates not only on the items. Composition will also be analysed in relation to the overall schedule; in relation to the entire news programme; in relation to the news presentation by the anchor person(s); and in relation to the sub-genres used in the presentation of the individual news-items. At a scheduling level the analysis includes a description and a comparison of the news programmes in relation to the overall scheduling of the two channels. Relevant pragmatic factors, such as the policy behind the news programmes and the reasons for the scheduling of the news programmes, are also analysed. At a programme level, as well as on the level of the individual news-items, the analysis includes an examination and a comparison of the form and the composition of the programmes and the items.

The analysis is based mainly on the same material as the content analysis (see the previous section), and sets out to establish the extent to which there are differences and similarities in the mode of formal presentation in the news of the two programmes. The need for such an analysis became apparent while observing the production processes of the news; as many of the productional factors varied, textual differences were produced which, potentially, may be analysed as different modes of presentation. The analysis is presented in Chapter 9.
4.2.3. Stance - the structures of enunciation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the stance of a text may be regarded as involving a particular form of social relationship between the addresser and the addressee. In order to conceptualise this relationship, a model involving genre conventions, news producers and audience was developed in the previous chapter (Figure 3.4.1). In the case of news, this social relationship is historically and socially defined through news as an institution and as a genre.

As the discussion in previous chapters established, the analysis of the stance of International News and Dagsrevyen includes two different aspects: firstly, the news programme involves a particular form of social relationship between the addresser and the addressee. Secondly, it facilitates an analysis of how conventions related to structures of enunciation in news texts are applied in the news production process. From this, the following assumptions about the stance of Dagsrevyen and International News were formulated: (a) because of their different natures as news programmes in a commercial channel and a public service news channel, the news will differ in the way they approach the audience textually; (b) because both programmes relate to ideals descending from the institution (or formation) of news, textual conventions guiding the presentation of the news-items will be similar in the two programmes.

On a programme level, the stance will be analysed in relation to textual claims for omniscience and authority. More specifically, the codes of the news studio, and the news presentation and the communicative hierarchies of the news programmes presented will be analysed. This hierarchy will be examined by referring to three lines of communication; first, the external line (from the programme towards the audience); second, the internal reporting line (the line between the actors of the programme); and third, the internal command line (between the news studio and the control room). The analysis will focus on the different reporting actors of the programme: the anchor person(s), the editorial commentator, the reporter, 'synced' persons\(^{102}\), and interviewees.

On the programme level and the level of individual items, the stance will be analysed in relation to textual claims for independence and impartiality, as well as for textual claims for immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the news

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\(^{102}\) Persons (usually other than broadcasters) who have been recorded for 'visual quotation'.
competes for originality. A part of such originality inherent in the news genre are the textual claims for immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity.

The analysis of the stance is presented in Chapter 10. Insights from that examination will also be used in Part V (Chapter 11) to examine how textual claims are produced, or encoded.

4.3. On the analysis of news production processes.

For the thesis to result in valid knowledge, it was important to map what factors constituted the news production processes in the two news-rooms. Particularly for the contextual analysis, and for the analysis of relations between text and context, there was the need to be present in the news-rooms during the production of the news. For this, the method of observation was utilised.

4.3.1. To be present as observer - on field observation.

Field observation as a scientific method within social sciences has its roots in social anthropology and in some sociological traditions. The method was applied and elaborated during periods when it often had to be justified as 'scientific' in relation to quantitative ideals for social research. The method has therefore traditionally enjoyed an uneasy relationship to the more positivistic orientated approaches within social sciences (Geertz, 1988; Golding and Elliott, 1979; Grønmo, 1982; Lofland, 1971).

There are two significant processes involved in field research. These are, firstly, to generate knowledge of the context, as well as of the processes and activities within the given context. Secondly, to develop analytic frameworks. In this, the role of theory is a vital factor, since it will influence how the context, the process and the activities in the field - the empirical factors - are conceived.

Accordingly, one may argue that the empirical, conceptual and theoretical aspects in such a method cannot be distinguished from each other. In an article on the relations between

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In discussing this issue, Hammersley and Atkinson (1990) make distinctions between positivism, naturalism and reflexivity.
theoretical and empirical aspects of research, Gripsrud (1990) claims that this relationship should be regarded as a highly necessary confrontation, a hermeneutic thinking-together of heterogenous elements. In this way, field work may be seen as a special kind of hermeneutic activity: different situations and processes are conceived differently during varying stages of the research project through conceptual refinements (see for example Johansen 1980; Wadel 1991). The researcher develops an understanding of different aspects of the field in relation to theoretical and analytical conceptions.

Because of the hermeneutic processes involved in observation, where the researcher ideally confronts his/her theory with the empirical material, continuously, the method can be classified neither as an inductive nor as a deductive method. Rather, it should be classified as a hermeneutic method where insights are gained during the process.

Elliott (1972) claims that participant observation is not so much a single method as a battery of methods. Geertz (1988: 17) discusses how a quantitatively orientated scientific approach may be traced in field methods, making it difficult for the researcher to position himself/herself in the text:

'Getting themselves into their text ... may be as difficult for ethnographers as getting themselves into the culture ... But in one way or another, however unreflectively and with whatever misgivings about the propriety of it all, ethnographers all manage nevertheless to do it. There are some very dull books in anthropology, but few, if any, anonymous murmurs.'

It may be argued that the greatest strength of field observation is the methodological process which includes a refinement of questions, goals, and directions during the research process (see Newcomb, 1991).

To be able to operate within the field context, the researcher has to find a role which justifies his/her presence. There are several definitions of the role of the observer in field work. The most dominant is probably that presented in McCall and Simmons (1969) by Gold (1958; see also Junker, 1960), distinguishing between the observer as complete

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306 For a philosophical platform for such an approach to research in social sciences, see for example Skjervheim, 1974.

307 Hammersley and Atkinson (1990; see also Fuglestad 1993) accordingly labels participant observation a reflective method.
participant, as participant-as-observer, as observer-as-participant, and as complete observer. In a recent article on field methodology in American media studies, Tuchman (1991) applies this particular distinction to define different observer roles.

In a study of a TV department within the NRK, Puijk (1990: 19-21) follows this distinction. He defines himself as participant observer, although he was not working in the corporation. He argues that as an observer he took part in the symbolic and cultural spheres constituted by the context in which he was observing, and thereby developed a role as a participant observer. That argument is questionable. From my experiences during field studies in broadcast institutions, there is a more decisive factor which defines the role of the researcher: that is the work relationship to the broadcast institutions. Regarding my own presence in TV3 and the NRK, I was never really participating in the news production processes. The broadcasters knew I was not a broadcaster; they also knew I was present - as an observer and as a Ph.D. student.

Accordingly, I will classify my role as 'present as observer', or somewhere between observer-as-participant and complete observer. The rationale for this definition is that on the one hand I observed the work processes. On the other hand I could interact socially with the broadcasters while observing and after observation; I could ask for their analysis of what had happened during certain situations, etc. This is also the reason why I will label the method field observation instead of participant observation. The term field observation should also be distinguished from, for example, observation during experiments, which may be labelled 'experiment observation'.

During observations I was:

- Present in the news-rooms, and I was in continuous contact with the news people
- Having access to most relevant settings, including the editorial meetings.
- Observing the daily activities.

Giddens (1989: 669) claims that:

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Whyte (1981: 321) in his classical study *Street Corner Society,* describes how his participating role was transformed during observation: 'I began as a nonparticipant observer. As I became accepted into the community I found myself almost a non-observing participant.'
'A field researcher cannot just be present in a community, but must explain and justify her or his presence to its members. She or he must gain the confidence and co-operation of the community or group ...

I felt that during observations, the best way to justify my presence in both news-rooms was to actively adopt the role of student-researcher and observer. Inevitably, that was also the role with which I was provided within the context of the news-rooms. In both news-rooms there were obvious expectations about my behaviour as a researcher. Accordingly, I chose to take notes quite openly in meetings etc. In situations where I felt that I was given more informal kinds of information, I was often more reluctant to take notes immediately in the presence of the informants.

It took time for the broadcasters to feel confident about my role as a student-researcher in the news-rooms, but that was the only role I could play. As time went by, I was approached, however, as a present observer in whom they had confidence, and not as a participant in work. Since there were conflicts related to the news activities and the news policies in both news-rooms, it became quite clear that many of the broadcasters regarded me as someone who had better get to know their versions of what was happening within the news-rooms, instead of the versions of others. The fact that the broadcasters approached me, as a researcher, to give their versions of the activities in the news-rooms enabled me to 'paint' even broader and more detailed 'pictures' of the professional activities and the cleavages present.

Whether the presence of the observer within the community observed influences the activities of the observed is an important factor in the assessment of the relevance of the data presented. In ethnography the issue is labelled the problem of ecological validity; that the effects of the researchers and the procedures they use influence on the responses of the people studied (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1990; Hagen, 1992). As a researcher, I was aware of the problem, and tried to find the right way to behave in the different settings. In most situations, my presence probably had no influence on the main news activities within

107 Gold (1969: 31) claims that 'Every field work role is at once a social interaction device for securing information for scientific purposes and a set of behaviors in which an observer's self is involved'. For a further discussion of roles and field work, see for example Wadel (1973, 1991).

108 About being 'taking the role' as a researcher, and taking notes, Elliott (1972: 172) claims that:
'note taking was also important personally as it gave me something to do. There are problems in justifying an observer role to oneself, especially in an occupational milieu like that of television with its emphasis on the projection of personal charisma.'
the two news-rooms. The activities related to the news production were much too
routinised for that. It is impossible to claim that my presence did not influence the
news activities at all. However, if I had not been present as observer, valid insights and
empirical findings about the two news-rooms would not have been gained.

4.3.2. Formal and informal access.
The issue of access is central in relation to observation as method. The form of access is
important for the relevance of the findings of the study. It is common to distinguish
between formal and informal access. The distinction points out that the researcher often
has to get a formal acceptance or access by the management for carrying out the field
work in an institution. Although formal access is gained, the researcher might have
problems in drawing a valid and reliable picture of the activities in the field; (s)he might
not get informal access. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1990; see also Whyte, 1984) argue,
while physical presence is not in itself problematic, appropriate activity may be so.

The formal access to TV3 and the NRK News was gained by informal contacts to find
how to approach the News Departments. A formal contact was then established with the
head of news in both places, and access was confirmed in letters after I had presented the
research project both on phone and in short letters. To get formal access to TV3, I then
had to agree to confidentiality. I was told that this was in relation to any third party
competing commercially with TV3. I was guaranteed, by the Vice President of ScanSat,
that this undertaking, which was limited in time, was not related to my research analyses.
The undertaking was one which all employees had to sign as a guarantee for the company
that information would not be divulged to any third competing party.

In both news-rooms I was introduced to the staff by the heads of news at my first
appearance, and I gave a short description of the research project.

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100 For a similar argument regarding observation of pupils in school, see Fuglestad, 1992.

101 In an article on the field study of the BBC resulting in the book Putting 'Reality' Together, Philip
Schlesinger (1980) illustrates how formal access may have to be re-negotiated several times, I did not have to re-
negotiate formal access.
Informal access might not, as pointed out, be gained by formal acceptance. However, after some days in International News nobody there seemed to question my presence. The broadcasters were even told by the management that they could talk openly about all the activities of the company ScanSat, as I had signed the secrecy undertaking. During the initial phase of the research, it was more difficult to gain informal access in Dagsrevyen than in International News; and they were also more sceptical towards researchers. Some of them held the opinion that some previous research on Dagsrevyen's programmes had been prejudiced. During the first week there was, accordingly, a certain scepticism from news people towards my research activities.

As time went by, and they came to understand that the professional handling of news was a focus for my research, things changed. The most significant breakthrough regarding informal access in Dagsrevyen came when I was allowed to observe the editorial meetings from the second week of observation. In gaining access to the news meetings, I did, as a consequence, get access to very relevant data; it made me able to follow up issues in new ways. Moreover, my presence was acknowledged in a new way, and thereby my informal access was changed. One particular indication of this was that one of the more high-ranking broadcasters told me that never before had a person from outside the news-room regularly attended the news meetings, and that I was therefore being given an exceptional vote-of-confidence by them. This unquestionably resulted in confidence in me in my role as an observer of the broadcasters. One of the editors informed me that:

'You’ve got incredible access, and you obviously know how to exploit this in a productive way.

The reason why you have been given this access is that your project looks professional, and that

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111 Whyte in his classical study Street Corner Society clearly points out this. He made several attempts to gain informal access into the Italian slum community he wanted to study, but failed until he got contact with a gang-leader - 'Doc'. Van Maanen (1988: 144) has written about 'Doc' that he is 'probably sociology’s most famous informant'. In an appendix on methodology, Whyte writes about how he gained informal access (Whyte 1981: 291-293):

'I went into a long explanation... Doc heard me without any change of expression, so that I had no way of predicting his reactions. When I was finished, he asked: 'Do you want to see the high life or the low life?' I want to see all that I can. I want to get as complete picture of the community as possible'. 'Well, any nights you want to see anything I'll take you around. I can take you to the joints - gambling joints - I can take you around to the street corners. Just remember that you're my friend. That's all they need to know. I know these places, and if I tell them that you're my friend, nobody will bother us.'
you've won the management's confidence. Moreover, it's important that you've introduced your project in a few, informative statements in news-meetings.¹¹³

Unquestionably, formal access to the news meetings legitimised my informal access to the activities and the procedures in the news-room. But also the acceptance of my project as 'professional' seemed to be very important for gaining informal access to, and confidence from, the broadcasters in Dagsrevyen.

4.3.3. On field data collection.

During the hermeneutic process of field observation it is particularly vital to have a system of recording which will allow the researcher to refer back to both recordings of specific episodes, and to previous interpretations of these. An appropriate method is presented by Schatzmann and Strauss (1973), proposing three different strategies for taking notes:

- Observational notes. Notes on incidents and processes, with few interpretations.
- Theoretical notes. Notes on deriving meaning from the observational notes.
- Methodological notes. Mainly reminders and instructions to oneself, for example on the validity of observational notes, critique of what one has done, and notes on what to do next.

My own notes were taken according to this schema. This was found to be useful; it allowed for a relevant way of relating to the data during the research process.

My main strategies of observation during field work were:

- To map the structures of the news production process.
- To observe the daily routines and the new production apparatus in the newsroom from the first activities in the morning until end of work in the evening. The daily routines were scrutinised through continuous observation and detailed notetaking.

¹¹³ Norwegian: 'Du har fått en urotlig god adgang, og du vet tydeligvis å unytte det på en god måte. Årsaken til at du blir tatt så godt tilnær er at opplegget ditt virker profesjonelt, og du har ledelsens tillit. Det er i tillegg viktig at du har presentert opplegget ditt i noen få, informative setninger på møtene våre.'
- To observe the selection of news and the handling of news incidents.
- To observe the production of particular news-items.
- To observe different strategies for reporting news.
- To focus on different editorial and journalistic functions covered by the broadcasters.
- To apply these insights to find and record relevant and illustrative examples on how the process of news production was related to the news programme, and to the news genre.

These observations were complemented with informal talks and interviews during the periods of observation. The combination of observation and interviews enabled me to combine methods in analysing news-room activities. Such a combination is labelled triangulation, and will be further discussed in relation to the issue of validity in section 4.4.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted during the first period of observation in both news-rooms. This was done to build up a general understanding, to collect background information, and to map the relations between different functions and persons. During the initial phase, the semi-structured interviews also functioned as a way of establishing contact with those working in the news-rooms. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted later during the research process to get general or specific information. During observations I always carried a list of questions prepared for semi structured interviews.

Structured interviews. In Dagsrevyen there were approximately 60 editorial and journalistic personnel, including the foreign correspondents. Both in International News and Dagsrevyen more structured interviews were carried out to acquire representative information about background and attitudes to the activities of the two news-rooms. In International News the structured questions were answered orally. In Dagsrevyen, the structured questions were also answered orally, but recorded on questionnaire-forms during the process of interview (see Appendix 2).

Open ended interviews were conducted in both news-rooms. The function of these interviews was mainly to map internal processes and cleavages within the news-rooms. Information about specific incidents was also collected in this way.
Persons interviewed: 32 open ended and semi structured interviews were conducted in Dagsrevyen, and 14 open ended and semi structured interviews were conducted in International News. In Dagsrevyen, 37 of the approximately 48 editors and journalists (foreign correspondents excluded) were interviewed in structured interviews. In the case of International News, semi-structured interviews were conducted to get relevant background information and to analyse opinions about the activities in the news-room from the script writers, the presenters, the producers and persons with editorial responsibilities. There were 10 persons covering these different functions in International News. Of these all but one, were interviewed. All the different journalistic and editorial functions in both news-rooms were covered in the interviews.

Some of the interviews I recorded in note books, but most open-ended interviews were taped and transcribed. The interviews were taped to allow for new interpretations of the answers during later stages of research; I clearly felt that there were aspects of the answers which could not be properly appreciated during interviews, and could easily be overlooked in the later analyses if based on note-taking alone. In addition, the interviewing process turned out to be more progressive when being taped, as the follow-up questions could be better prepared when there was no need to take notes during the process.

During the field work I also got access to relevant documents regarding the activities of the news departments. The most important empirical document was the plan of the day's news programme. Other documents included letters, reports, plans etc. which were drawn on to the extent they were felt to be relevant to the issues researched.

I also had full access to the NRK News data system. This enabled me to follow up the news activity on a continual basis. I was not allowed such access in International News.

4.4. Aspects of validity and reliability.
In research, there are traditional and established methodological demands which should be met for the research to be considered scientific; i.e. conventions defining what constitutes research in social science. One such demand is that the researcher makes explicit the research issues/questions/assumptions, as well as the procedures followed to gain 'scientific knowledge' about the issues raised. Such conventions are important, as they form the basis for scientific discourse. However, within science, it is also clear that the conventions work
ideologically in the way that different traditions within research exclude other traditions by claiming that scientific work in those traditions do not satisfy certain scientific standards/criteria. In this way, science is also a power game in which standards are defined and re-defined.\textsuperscript{13}

This chapter on methodology is, in itself, a way of meeting such demands for making choices of design, data collection and data analysis explicit. Making such aspects explicit is a prerequisite for a scientific evaluation of the scientific work. To consider the relevance and the quality of the findings there are usually two aspects of research which needs to be addressed explicitly; those of validity and reliability. In methodological terms, validity is concerned with the question whether one is measuring what one thinks one is measuring. Reliability is an indication of the extent to which a measure contains variable errors; i.e. errors that differ from observation to observation during any one measuring instance, and that vary from time to time for a given unit of analysis. In this way, the reliability concerns the quality of research procedures during the collection, during treatment, and during the analysis of the data; i.e. whether the results of a study can be trusted. Thus, a normal criterion of reliability is that the results of the analysis can be reproduced, or replicated (Hagen, 1992; Martinussen, 1984; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982). Validity concerns to what extent the study \textit{as well as} the operationalisations give the and relevant wanted knowledge in relation to the overall research assumptions/questions or hypotheses (Østbye, 1992a).

Previously in this chapter, the issue of \textit{ecological validity} has been discussed. In regard to the overall validity of the study, the fact that several different methodologies have been applied to analyse two different cases, has enabled a \textit{triangulation} of data. Triangulation may be defined as the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. The metaphor of triangulation comes from navigation and military strategy that uses multiple reference points to locate an object’s exact position (see Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1978; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1990; Jick, 1979; Smith, 1975). As Jick (ibid.) states, multiple viewpoints allow for greater accuracy, and researchers can test the accuracy of their judgements by collecting different kinds of data on the same phenomenon. The effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in the

\textsuperscript{13} For discussions of such issues, see, for example, Atkinson, 1990; Kuhn, 1962.
different methods involved will be compensated for by the counter-balancing strengths of another (Jick, 1979; Rohner, 1977).

Triangulation has the potential to strengthen the reliability and the validity of the research. In particular, this may be the case with the construct validity, which is the relevance of the empirical analysis in relation to the concepts and the theoretical assumptions that are employed (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982). It is from such a perspective that Yin (1984: 91) contends the following about case studies:

'... the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation ... Thus, any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be more convincing if it is based on several sources of information, following a corroboratory mode. In this manner, the potential problems of construct validity also can be addressed, because the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon.'

During the study, the impression was gained that, in particular, the triangulation of the methods of interviews and field observation may help reinforce the validity of the research. In both the news-rooms examined, there was always the danger of being given a restricted version of the broadcasters' analysis of, and opinions about, the processes taking place in the news-room. Because I developed insights about the processes through interviews and observations, the restricted versions presented by the broadcasters could be challenged. If worded carefully, such a challenge would, in many cases, help solicit a more reflective attitude from the broadcasters. Let me mention one example from an interview with a reporter in Dagsrevyen.

I was asking a reporter about what was the importance of journalistic integrity, and during the interview I was able to refer to episodes which illustrated that there were problems with certain news room practices regarding ideals about journalistic integrity:

Reporter: Integrity - you know - that is incredibly important. It is the most important thing. In the moment we violate the integrity, and can be blamed for doing that, then we are in a way finished.

Researcher: In what way?

Reporter: If anyone can rightly accuse us of pursuing our own interests, for example ... If anyone makes news on issues where they are personally involved, that is no good.

Researcher: But it does happen?

Reporter: I regret to say that it does. I am not able to mention any particular serious episode now ...
Researcher: I have seen some episodes while I have been here.

Reporter: You? Which episodes are you thinking about?

Researcher: [mentioned some episodes which had been observed] ... The episodes are interesting and relevant because you say that 'we can’t violate the integrity - then we are finished'. But then, such violations do take place, and you are not finished, in a way. ...

Reporter: Yes, I know, I can see that problem. Here we are discussing an issue, you see - it’s obvious, I should have associated with that - ... Here we are in a dangerous field. And it is particularly dangerous because we are in a monopoly situation. There are issues we should never have presented.

In the above example, triangulation of methods forced the interviewee to go beyond the initial restricted version, a version of which the interviewee was consciously aware and able to utilise as a defensive strategy. In the following part of the interview I was given information about problems related to the issue of journalistic integrity in Dagsrevyen which was very relevant and productive. This enabled me to develop new insights about the issue, which could then be used during subsequent observations and interviews.

It should not be argued, however, that triangulation actually does ensure validity, *per se*. There is always the danger that the sets of data from the different methodologies applied are not valid. Hammersley and Atkinson (1990: 199-200) point out that:

"One should not, therefore, adopt a naively ‘optimistic’ view that the aggregation of data from different sources will unproblematically add up to produce a more complete picture. ... what is involved in triangulation is not just a way of checking whether inferences are valid, but of discovering which inferences are valid." (my emphasis).

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114 Norwegian:


Forsker: På hvilken måte?

Reporter: Jo, hvis noen med rette beskylder oss for å mele vår egen kake, eller gå våre egne ærend, for eksempel ... Hvis noen her lager saker på felt hvor de er personlig engasjert, så går ikke det bra.

Forsker: Hva tenker du på?

Reporter: Det gjør nok det, dessverre. Jeg kan ikke nevne noen alvorlige episoder nå ...

Forsker: Jeg har sett noen episoder mens jeg har vært her.

Reporter: Ja, hva tenker du på?

Forsker: [nevner noen observerte episoder] ... Episodene er interessante fordi du sier at 'vi kan ikke bryte integriteten, da er vi jo ferdige, da'. Men så skjer det, og en er ikke ferdige, på en måte ...

Reporter: Ja, jeg forstår, jeg ser problemet. Her er vi inne på et problem, forstå du - det er opplagt, jeg skulle ha koblet til det ... Her er vi i et farlig område. Og det er veldig farlig fordi vi har monopol. Der er saker vi aldri burde presentert. ...
It should also be pointed out, as Hagen (1992) does, that since the qualitative interview is often used to explore a phenomenon, the common forms of validity derived from quantitative testing traditions may often be of less relevance. This may be true to an even greater extent in the case of reliability. The present study involves five different methodologies applied to two cases: quantitative text (content) analysis, qualitative text analysis, document analysis, interviews and field observation. In relation to these methodologies, replicability and inter-subjectivity are certainly important issues for quantitative text analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). In such studies, reliability refers to whether the findings of the study may be reproduced; i.e. whether independent coders using the same procedure produce the same results. As the present project is a 'small scale, one-man study', reliability tests have not been carried out. However, the appendices on method should, in principle, allow for such reliability tests to be performed by others.

In relation to more qualitative methodologies, for example, semi-structured interviews and observations, there are insights to be gained by the researcher as a reflective research instrument during the research process. This is where issues of subjectivity - issues of the researcher as a reflective person who may produce insights which may not be replicated - enter the scene. To take the interview situation referred to above. It may very well be that the same interview in the same setting with another interviewer would have given different insights into the issue of journalistic integrity. In such cases, what needs to be addressed more than inter-subjectivity and replicability is the issue of how relevant the insights are to the overall study.

The bottom line of these issues regarding validity and reliability, however, is that the researcher makes explicit the procedures of the study so that it can be scientifically evaluated, and become a part of a methodological and scientific discourse. An attempt to do this has been made in the present chapter and by presenting appendices on methodology.

4.5. Summary - Part II.
In Part II, theoretical and methodological aspects have been discussed to prepare for the further empirical analysis of the two news programmes and news-rooms involved. It has been pointed out that it is the first time a study including both a productional analysis and a text analysis compares the news production in a commercial and a public service
television station. To prepare for such an analysis, theoretical traditions and empirical insights related to the field of mass communication research\textsuperscript{115} have been discussed. On the basis of that discussion, assumptions and analytical concepts for approaching the research questions presented in Chapter 1 were considered. Following that, methodological approaches for the empirical analysis have been discussed in the present chapter.

The empirical analysis is constituted by three parts. Firstly, Part III examines contextual and productional aspects. It is followed by Part IV which is constituted by three chapters, each corresponding to one of the three dimensions of \textit{genre} as defined by Williams. Parts III and IV are, in many ways, a comparison of the two news-rooms and programmes, Part V - Encoding textual claims - presents cases from \textit{International News} and \textit{Dagsrevyen} to analyse how textual claims central to the news genre are encoded by productional practices.

\textsuperscript{115} As mass communication research draws on theoretical traditions from several disciplines, it should be considered as a field, and not a discipline.
Chapter 5: Norwegian broadcasting structure, the NRK and TV3.

The present part of the thesis sets out to examine the three assumptions about productional aspects presented in Chapter 3:

1. Assumptions about News Work - Selectivity:
   a. Because of its nature as a news programme in a commercial channel, news in International News is selected and constructed for commercial purposes; (i) to attract audience; (ii) to promote the interests of commercial actors.
   b. Because of its nature as a news programme in a public service channel, news in Dagsrevyen is selected and constructed for information purposes.

2. Assumptions about News Work - Vested Interests:
   a. Commercial owner interests are reflected in the news of International News in that such interests influence the presentation of the news.
   b. Relations to the state are reflected in the news of Dagsrevyen in that state matters influence the production of the news.

3. Assumption about News Work - Norms and Organisational Contexts:
   a. The relations to the market and to the state are reflected in journalistic work, and in a discrepancy between professional work ideals and actual news work practices.

4. Assumptions about News Work - Determinism:
   a. The market situation of International News constrains the news production process because of the restrictions on the available production resources.
   b. Relations to the state constrain the news production process in Dagsrevyen because of its dependency on the licence fee.
The thesis will address these assumptions in three chapters. Firstly, in the present chapter the national, technological and organisational frameworks within which the two news-programmes are operating will be analysed. The chapter will focus on the differences in the structure of privileges, obligations and control guiding the activities of the two news services. Secondly, in the following chapter the relations to the state and the market on a news-room level are examined. Then, in Chapter 7, the news production apparatuses of the two news-rooms are analysed.

5.1. The national context.

Norway occupies the western half of the Scandinavian peninsula. She is bordered to the east by Russia, Finland and Sweden, and has a long, indented coast which faces the Atlantic Ocean. The area of Norway is 323 895 km², the islands of Spitsbergen and Jan Mayen excluded. Two thirds of this area is mountain, and less than 3% of the land surface is cultivated. The population is 4.3 million people (1992), of which approximately 75% live in urban areas. The population density is less than 13 inhabitants per km².

From 14th Century until 1814 Norway was under the Danish crown, and from then until 1905 under the Swedish crown. From 1905, except from the occupation of German forces during World War II, Norway has had a parliamentary democracy based on a constitutional monarchy, headed by a hereditary king. Norway abandoned its previous military neutrality after World War II, and joined the NATO alliance in 1949.

Since the end of the war Norway has experienced rapid economic growth, grounded on the expansion of industry. Since the 1970s the Norwegian economy has become increasingly dependent on the exploitation of the rich natural gas and petroleum deposits in the North Sea. According to estimates by the World Bank, Norway’s gross national product (GNP) in 1987 was the third highest among the world’s industrialised countries. By European standards, the unemployment rate is low - at 8.6 per cent in July 1993 - but it is persistently increasing. However, compared to most other countries, the standard of welfare and living is high, and quite equally distributed. From a global perspective, Norwegians

115 Most figures about Norway in this section are extracted from articles on Norway in The New Encyclopædia Britannica, 1988 and The Europe World Year Book, 1989.

116 Information from Statistisk sentralbyrå [Norwegian Statistical Services].
enjoy extensive social welfare benefits in what is often labelled a social democratic society. In 1989, the expenditures on social services were 22% of the total expenditures by the central Government.

Most people in Norway profess Christianity. The Evangelic Lutheran Church is the established religion, with about 92% of the population professing adherence in 1987. The Christian Movement has formed the Christian Democratic Party - one of the seven political parties represented in Parliament from 1989 to 1993. The others consist of the Party of Progress (populist conservative), the Conservative Party, the Agrarian Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party. In addition, one representative is elected as an independent candidate to represent the most northern county of Norway - Finnmark.

Compared to other countries, the number of newspapers is very high; there are approximately 200 newspapers, which have a daily circulation of 2.9 million (Østbye, 1992b). The public service broadcast corporation - Norsk Rikskringkasting (the NRK) was set up as a result of the Broadcasting Act of 1933, which grant the enterprise the exclusive privilege to broadcast. When the Act was formed, representatives from the Liberal and the Social Democratic Party, with most representatives from the Agrarian Party, and some representatives from the Conservative Party, voted for broadcasting to be organised as a national public service enterprise. Hence a public service institution - the NRK. The rationale for the politicians was that broadcasting was seen to offer a great cultural and

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118 Norwegian Kristelig Folkeparti.
119 Framskrittspartiet.
120 Høyre.
121 Senterpartiet.
122 Arbeiderpartiet.
123 Sosialistisk Venstreparti.
124 Aune-lista.
125 May be translated into English as the National Norwegian Broadcasting, or the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation.
126 The Liberal Party [Venstre] has not been represented in Parliament since 1985.
educational potential (Dahl, 1975; Syvertsen, 1991; Østbye, 1991). Previously (from 1925 to 1933) broadcasting companies had been run on regional, commercial and private bases.

The Broadcasting Act of 1933 also granted the NRK the privilege of transmitting television, which was officially introduced in Norway in 1960. This was late by European standards, especially considering that the eastern parts of the last county to receive broadcast television did so only in 1967 (Finnmark, the most northern of the 19 counties. See Werner, 1972, 1986).

Up to 1981, the NRK had a broadcast monopoly on Norwegian territory, carrying one radio channel and one television channel. In 1981, the Conservative Party formed a minority Government after a national election. A part of the Conservative Party’s election bill had been to reform the national structure of broadcasting in the direction of privatisation and commercialisation. When the Conservative Party gained power the new Government permitted experiments excepted from the Broadcasting Act. Extensive experiments with local radio and reception of satellite television on cable networks were put into effect, and a second Norwegian terrestrial television channel to be commercial and independent from both the state and from the NRK was also put on the political agenda (Høyre, 1980; Hågensen and Tollersrud, 1983; Knapskog and Syvertsen, 1985; Syvertsen, 1988, 1991, 1992; Østbye 1991, 1992b).

The Conservative Party was supported by the Agrarian Party and the Christian Democratic Party in implementing the experiments, which were later called ‘the 1981 media reforms’. However, in contrast to the Conservative Party and the Progress Party, the latter parties were not prepared, to introduce advertisements to fund new local and national broadcasting activities. Accordingly, the financial base for the broadcasting experiments was lacking. The experiments which constituted the ‘media reforms’ went on for 6 years - in 1988, the NRK monopoly was formally abolished (Ot.prp. nr. 47, 1986-87; Innst.O. nr.3, 1987-88). From then on, local broadcasting in Norway could be financed legally by advertisements.

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127 For general sociological discussion of political cleavages in Norway, see Rokkan (1966) and Rokkan and Valen (1970).

128 For an extensive analysis of social, economic and political factors which produced these changes in Norwegian broadcasting structure, see Syvertsen (1992).
As a result of the '1981 media reforms', foreign commercial television channels, such as Sky Channel, could be distributed to Norwegian viewers by satellite and cable networks. It became increasingly evident that there was a national market for foreign commercial television channels carried by satellite. However, according to Norwegian broadcast regulations, commercial channels were not allowed to transmit their signals from Norwegian soil. The situation in Denmark and Sweden was similar.

The changes in the Norwegian broadcasting structure in many ways reflected a general international change towards liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation resulting from new political and economic ideologies (Mortensen, 1992; Negrine and Papathanassopoulos, 1990). The Norwegian broadcast structure remained stable for about 50 years from 1933, but is now rapidly changing as a result of the employment of new technologies.\(^\text{129}\)

The NRK was the only national terrestrial television channel in Norway during the period of research. In September 1992, a second Norwegian television channel based on advertising was introduced. Its activities are to some extent, regulated by its charter to broadcast.\(^\text{130}\) Most of the new television channels available for Norwegian viewers are international, and received from satellites (in most cases distributed by cable networks). Today, and during the period of research, other television channels with Norway as a target area were TV Norge [TV Norway] and the Scandinavian TV4. In addition, American, French, British, German, Turkish, Italian and other channels were (and still are) available on satellite dishes and cable networks.

5.2. The NRK and Dagsrevyen.

Today the NRK employs more than 2500 persons, and includes 17 regional departments. The corporation is responsible for one television channel and three radio channels. In 1989 the NRK broadcast 3000 hours of television. About 50% of the programmes transmitted were produced by the NRK itself (see Østbye, 1992b). Of these programmes 32% were made by the Television News Department (462 hours) (NRK-Dagsrevyen 1990-91).

\(^{127}\) For a detailed analysis of how satellite technology has been employed in broadcasting, see Collins (1990).

\(^{128}\) For a comparison of the content in TV2 News and Dagsrevyen, see Andersen, Ronning and Wahldahl, 1993.
When the NRK was founded in 1933, it was state owned. In 1988, it was transformed into a public trust (Ot.pp. nr.31, 1986-87). While this status does give the enterprise a higher degree of financial and administrative autonomy, Parliament still has overall control of the allocation of finances. The activities of the NRK are today formally guided by the Broadcasting Act of 1980. According to this, the NRK is characterised by having certain privileges and obligations, its activities being controlled by Parliament and the Government (see Syvertsen, 1992).

Originally, the privileges of the NRK as a public service institution were the right to transmit, an absence of competition (a monopoly situation), and a secure and independent source of revenue (the television licence fee and the tax on radio and television equipment). In respect to programming, the NRK is organised so that the privileges of editorial autonomy and production responsibility are formally maintained. Now, however, the NRK is no longer in a monopoly situation, although these other privileges remain.

The privileges are granted on the basis of certain formal and informal obligations. First, there is the formal obligation of a universal service; i.e. a service for the whole population, wherever it is geographically, and for an equal payment. Second there is the obligation that the NRK should provide a balanced programme schedule and content. Although the enterprise has formally enjoyed an autonomous position in relation to the state in regard to programming, its operational autonomy has been curtailed by the prevailing political and cultural consensus (Syvertsen, 1992). In one of its first meetings, the Broadcasting Council laid down a set of principles, which in theory banned all editorialising and required all news presentation to be 'absolutely correct and neutral' (the NRK Annual Report, 1934: 30; Syvertsen, 1992: 95). Such a policy of objectivity and neutrality was adapted to handle the difficult relations to the state, and meant that the NRK itself was supposed not to carry its 'own opinion' in news and current affairs. The policy later materialised in more detailed internal codifications for programming - The Code for Broadcasting Practice. This

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There is one exception: The NRK is obliged to transmit Government messages when instructed to do so.

Norwegian: 'programregler'.

The Code for Broadcasting Practice, with a particular paragraph regarding news, was preceded by The Publishing Code ['Publiseringsregler for Norsk Rikskringkastings nyhetstjeneste inkl. aktueltseringer i radio og fjernsyn']. The Publishing Code states 'The privilege of the NRK to broadcast radio and television programmes implies a distinct obligation to present correct, objective and versatile news' (para. 1) [In Norwegian: 'Norsk Rikskringkastings enerett til radio- og fjernsynsendinger pålegger institusjonen en særlig plikt til korrekt, objektiv, nøytral og allsidig nyhetsformidling'].

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code was revised in 1990, but the revision was based on the main principles of the previous Code (NRK Programregler, 1975, 1982, 1990). According to the Code, the overall objective of the activities of the NRK is to provide information and programmes of culture and quality to all Norwegian citizens, to generate interest in public issues by broad and extensive programming, to provide positive response and experience and to entertain the audience, to play an independent role as a creative cultural institution, to focus on the Norwegian and international society by diverse, independent and critical journalism, and to promote human rights and democratic values. The Code also declares that the programmes should be characterised by quality of content, form, presentation and technical performance. There are further statements about a correct, independent and balanced output (NRK, 1990).

Although it is not stated explicitly in the Code, there has traditionally also been a third obligation to the NRK; that the corporation broadcasts according to 'the national interest' (Syvertsen, 1992).

Up to now, the privileges and the obligations of the NRK have been mentioned. Regarding aspects of control, the overseeing of the NRK activities are related to the circumstance that the corporation is granted its privileges by the state; the enterprise is, in the last instance, accountable to the Government and Parliament. The Director General of the NRK is appointed by the Government, as are the representatives of the NRK Board. Parliament and the Government also appoint the 25 members of the Broadcasting Council. Once an expert group, it now reflects party politics (Østbye, 1992b; Sælen, 1991). The control over the allocation of the NRK’s finance resides with Parliament, which determines the amount of the television licence fee, as well as the special tax on radio and television equipment. Threats of sanctions by representatives of the most influential parties in Parliament during the yearly debates on the activities of the NRK may have proved effective: for example,

While the ‘Publishing Code’ from 1967 was established by the Director General and sanctioned by the NRK Board, the Codes for Broadcasting Practice of 1975 were established and sanctioned by the Director General. The sanctions by the Director General were meant to guarantee autonomy regarding programming (see Appendix 12 in NOU 1972: 25).

Norwegian: 'NRKs oppgave er å formidle informasjon og kultur til hele Norges befolkning. Gjennom stor allsidighet i programtilbudet skal NRK vekle interesse for samfunnsoppsikten og gi mulighet for opplevelse og underholdning. NRK har også en selvstendig rolle som skapende kulturinstitusjon. NRK skal gjennom variert, upartisk og kritisk journalistikk sette seg selv på det norske og internasjonale samfunnet. Det er en viktig oppgave å hevde menneskeverd og demokratiske verdier. Programmene skal være preget av kvalitet i innhold, form, presentasjon og teknisk utførelse.'
when the NRK-Television was severely criticised for its factual programming during a debate in Parliament in 1975, it then took the initiative to produce the set of Codes for Broadcasting Practice (NOU 1983:30; see also Ch. 6).

In the Code for Broadcasting Practice there is a specific paragraph regarding the news services of the NRK - including Dagsrevyen (Para. 15, NRK-Programregler, 1990). It states that:

"The objective of the news service is to provide journalistic presentation of essential news, information about factual incidents, and to provide analyses, comments and background information to place the incidents in a context."  

It is within the described context of privileges, obligations and control that the NRK and Dagsrevyen is positioned. The term Dagsrevyen is, in popular language, often applied to the department producing the programme, as well as to the programme itself. It is the Television News Department that actually produces Dagsrevyen. During the period of analysis, Dagsrevyen was one of three daily news programmes made by this department. The three programmes were Ettermiddagsnytt [Afternoon News] at 17.00 of 15 minutes' duration, Dagsrevyen at 19.30 of 30 minutes' duration during weekdays and usually 50 minutes' duration during weekends, and also Kveldsnytt [Evening News] of about 10 minutes' length with a flexible duration and time-slot. During the period, the Television News Department was also responsible for the topical discussion programme Antenne 10 [Antenna 10], and two foreign affairs programmes: Utenriksmagasinet [The Foreign Affairs Magazine] and Blikk mot verden [View on the World].

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113 Norwegian: 'Nyhetstjenestens formål er å drive journalistisk formidling av vesentlige nyheter, informere om faktsikre hendelser og gjennom analyser, kommentarer og annet bakgrunnsmateriale sette enkeltbegivenheter inn i en sammenheng.'

114 Norwegian: "Fjernsynets Nyhetsavdeling (FNYH)". The NRK-Television was re-organised from 01.01.91, and after that Dagsrevyen is produced by Fjernsynets Aktualitetsavdeling (FAKT).

115 There were certain changes in Dagsrevyen during the first half of 1992. A new appearance was adopted from 6th of January, and the duration of the programme was increased to 35 minutes from 2nd of March. From that date, the broadcast slot was also changed from 19.30 to 19.00. The changes were initiated by the fact that the new terrestrial commercial national channel - TV2 - was going to start transmissions 5th of September the same year. For a discussion of these changes, see Helland (1992).

116 Sometimes 20 minutes on Sundays.
Since Dagsrevyen usually attracted so many viewers, its role in the overall programme schedule was to begin the prime time slot in the NRK televisual output. This role was established over a long period of time; Dagsrevyen is the most time-honoured regular programme in Norwegian television. The programme was given its title on the 2nd of December 1958; 2 years before television was officially introduced in Norway (Totland, 1992).

5.3. TV3 and International News.

As the Scandinavian languages - Danish, Swedish and Norwegian - are fairly similar and can be understood across borders, TV3 defined Scandinavia as one televisual market, and started transmissions on the 31. of December 1987. In 1988, the channel made 42.5 hours of transmission per week (Cable and Satellite Europe no.2, 1988).

In the same year TV3 employed 16 people in Stockholm, five each in Copenhagen and Oslo, and 20 in London (Cable and Satellite Europe, no.2, 1988). From the beginning, TV3 was operated through Intelsat V, but has now changed to one of the Astra satellites. In 1989, TV3 could be received by 26% of the population in Scandinavia, and 33% of the Norwegian population (Norsk Gallup Institutt A/S and Gallup Markedsanalyse A/S, 1989).

Footnote:

198 In a way this may be regarded as a realization of a Scandinavian television channel. A Nordic (including Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland) channel - NORSAT - to be based on national programmes public service programmes from the Nordic countries had been discussed on by Nordic politicians from 1973 to 1982/83. In 1983 a new initiative to run a satellite television service was taken - Telia-X. It resulted in a satellite, but not in a Scandinavian or a Nordic common public service television channel (see Enggaard, 1993).
TV3 is run by the company ScanSat, a subsidiary under the Swedish company Industriforvaltnings AB Kinnevik (Kinnevik). It is a Swedish-based investment concern which traditionally has been engaged in industrial production and global trading. In 1989 Kinnevik had annual sales of approximately £800 million\textsuperscript{139}, and assets of £1300 million\textsuperscript{140}. From 1981 to 1989, Kinnevik had organised 16 new companies around a number of new products and services, principally in the field of information technology. The companies were active in the operation of cellular mobile phones and digital messaging systems, in establishing DBS satellite operations, in operating credit card phone and credit transaction systems, in publishing (the magazine Z), and in satellite TV broadcasting and TV production (The Economist, 3rd of March, 1990). Through the subsidiary company Comvik, Kinnevik is granted the concession to run mobile telephone services in Norway. In its annual report Kinnevik claims to be the biggest private owner of stocks in Société Éuropéenne des Satellites (SES) with 11%. SES owns and runs the biggest Astra satellites.

\textsuperscript{139} 8000 million SEK (Swedish Crowns).

\textsuperscript{140} 13.000 million SEK
and it is through the Astra 1a and 1b that the leading satellite channels TV3, Eurosport, FilmNet, MTV and Sky are transmitted.

Kinnevik also controls the Swedish television production company Strix Television, the Scandinavian movie pay-TV channel TV1000 (owns 75% of TV1000 Sverige AB), and until spring 1992, the local Norwegian television channel TV Bergen (through the company Finvik). During autumn 1991 Kinnevik, with 30% ownership, established control over the company Nordisk Television AB, which runs the Swedish commercial channel, TV4 (Høyser and Tangeraas, 1992). In this way Kinnevik established a monopoly situation in the Swedish television advertisement market (Dagens Næringsliv, 01.11.91).

In the TV3 schedule, advertisements are presented in sequences of 2 minutes, three times per hour - resulting in commercial breaks approximately every 20 minutes - or in natural breaks during, or between, programmes (TV3, 1989). The cost of 30-seconds fixed-placement advertising spots in 1989 was as follows:

- When transmitted to the Norwegian audience, only; 'daytime' 8.100 NOK, 'primetime' 16.750 NOK\textsuperscript{141}, 'nighttime' 6900 NOK\textsuperscript{142}.
- When transmitted to all Scandinavian audiences; 'daytime' 27.500 NOK\textsuperscript{143}, 'prime time' 49.500 NOK\textsuperscript{144} and 'nighttime' 22.000 NOK\textsuperscript{145} (TV3, 1989).

According to the newspaper Dagbladet (28.02.91), TV3 in 1990 sold advertising to the value of 170 million NOK\textsuperscript{146} in the Norwegian market. Of this, companies controlled by Kinnevik bought advertisement spots for as much as 38.5 million NOK (about 23%), and in this way subsidised TV3, although the companies probably didn't pay full price. Statistics from the advertising monitor service Norsk Reklame-statistikk A.S\textsuperscript{147} (1990)

\textsuperscript{141} Approximately £ 1650.
\textsuperscript{142} Approximately £ 690.
\textsuperscript{143} Approximately £ 2750.
\textsuperscript{144} Approximately £ 4900.
\textsuperscript{145} Approximately £ 2200.
\textsuperscript{146} Approximately £ 17 million.
\textsuperscript{147} May be translated to English as Norwegian Advertisement Statistics.
show that three companies controlled by Kinnevik were dominating the advertising in TV3 in 1990: the three companies Comvik, Finvik and the magazine Z were the three dominant advertisers in TV3. In all the three companies accounted for 1493 advertising spots with an estimated cost of 20.9 million NOK* (calculations are based on TV3 official costs).

While the activities of the NRK are regulated by Broadcasting Acts, TV3 has had a much more independent role in relation to the state. TV3 started transmissions at a time when it was seen to be illegal by law to transmit television programmes based on advertisements to Scandinavia in Scandinavian languages. Accordingly, the privileges, obligations, and control applied to the NRK could not be applied to TV3.

In regard to privileges, TV3 assumed the broadcasting privilege and started transmissions on New Years Eve (31.12.) 1987 without any licence to broadcast to either Denmark, or Sweden or Norway. As one of the managers in TV3 commented:

'At the time of its creation, ScanSat found that there was a way of getting round the Law against the prohibition of advertising on television; by the use of satellite technology, and being outside Scandinavia for its transmission.'

In Denmark and Sweden, cable networks were - on an ad-hoc basis - authorised to carry the TV3 programmes by their governments, but not in Norway. As a consequence, TV3 could only be received by viewers in Norway who had invested in satellite dishes until the Norwegian Minister of Culture in the Social Democratic Government gave the cable networks permission to carry TV3 on the 11th of January (less than two weeks later). The Minister, Hallvard Balke, did so as a result of pressure from within the Social Democratic Party, from the Norwegian Trade Union Congress and from the general public (Bergens Tidende, 01.10.88.). Later, it also became apparent that the Ministry might not have had any formal legal right to deny the cable networks an authorisation to carry TV3. In two documents produced by the Ministry of Justice, on the 23rd and 24th of March 1987, which were not made public, it is explicitly stated that the Ministry of Culture had no right to deny the cable networks an authorisation (see Bergens Tidende, 21.03.88.).

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144 Approximately £ 2.1 million.
145 Norwegian: Landsorganisationen - LO.
When TV3 obtained the right to transmit to Norwegian cable networks, Norwegian authorities might therefore not have had any legal right to refuse this. When the Minister sought to prevent reception, public opinion and interests within the Ministers own party forced him to authorise the cable networks to carry TV3. As the Norwegian state did not control the privilege to transmit, it was difficult to enforce formal obligations on the activities of the TV3.

However, TV3 found it to be strategically important to take into account the long traditions of public service broadcasting in Scandinavia when they established a television channel based on advertising. TV3 expected that the most commercially attractive audience would prefer a television channel close to this tradition. As the Head of News of TV3 remarked in an interview:

'ScanSat was created against an atmosphere of state broadcast monopoly on television in the three countries.'

In consequence, when TV3 started transmissions, the company itself applied a range of informal obligations on its own output. Such informal obligations included restrictions on advertising practices; TV3 established its own Advertising Code (TV3, 1990a). Moreover, informal obligations were applied for the profile of the programming, which came to include news and information programmes. The reason why such programmes were included was mainly that TV3 wanted to be considered a serious television channel by the market. Furthermore, there was a need to be considered respectable by the Scandinavian governments, because TV3 had long term plans for establishing itself as the first terrestrial commercial channel in Sweden.

The news programme International News may therefore be seen to have been designed as an 'alibi for seriousness'.

During the period of analysis, International News was a part of a schedule which was much based on entertainment and sport. The President of ScanSat has described the profile as family orientated entertainment (Cable and Satellite Europe, No 2, 1988). In 1989, about 40% of TV3 contents came from the States, 30% from the UK and 10% from France, Germany and elsewhere (Cable and Satellite Europe, no7, 1989). TV3 has invested large amounts of resources to strengthen its role as a sports channel: the company has bought
exclusive rights in Scandinavia to transmit the World Championships in ice-hockey until 1994, Wimbledon tennis until 1994, the American football’s Superbowl, the weekly British Match of the Day, and US Masters in Golf. However, the TV3 schedule also included ‘infotainment programmes’ as the popular Debatable (Diskutabel) with the Swede Robert Aschberg.

During 1989 and 1990 there were usually three news programmes on TV3 every day, except for week-ends. There were two short bulletins of 5 minutes each (usually beginning at 19.00 and 23.00; the duration of the bulletins changed to 3 minutes in spring 1989 when the programme Wheels of Fortune was introduced). Furthermore, there was the format of 20 minutes with commercials before and after, which is examined in this analysis. From May 1990 the 20 minutes format of International News ceased to exist, and from August 1990 the news programmes were changed into 3 Minutes - News four times per evening, including week-ends.

5.4. Summary.
This chapter has highlighted some contextual aspects with regard to the two cases involved in this research project. Furthermore, it has focused on the televisual output of TV3 and the NRK. In relation to the assumptions raised for the examination of the present part of the thesis, it has been pointed out that within a national context, the two broadcasting enterprises were very differently situated in respect to privileges, obligations and control.

In an analysis on the news-room level, the following chapter focuses in greater detail on aspects of the relations to the market and the state of Dagsrevyen and International News.
Chapter 6: On relations to the state and the market.

This and the following chapter will further explore relations between external factors and the news activities of International News and Dagsrevyen. In doing this, it will focus on how such factors are part of the every day working contexts in the two news-rooms. The present chapter will examine how relations to the state, to the market, and to privileges, obligations, and control structures may be seen to have materialised in specific news-room practices. The following chapter will focus more explicitly on how the news apparatuses of the two programmes are designed to meet the demands of the news genre.

Hence, the chapter will address the following assumptions; whether the news in TV3 is selected for commercial purposes, while the news in Dagsrevyen is selected and presented for information purposes; whether the news in TV3 reflects owner interests, while the news in Dagsrevyen reflects relations to the state; whether relations to the market and the state are reflected in the journalistic work, and in a discrepancy between professional work ideals and actual news work practices; and, whether relations to the market and the state constrain the news production processes in International News and Dagsrevyen.

The analysis draws on the available literature, as well as on empirical material from interviews within and outside the observational context. The concept of cleavages, as discussed in Chapter 3, will be applied to bridge the analytical gap between external factors and every-day working practices. Statements by the broadcasters are applied to indicate and give examples of different opinions present in the two news-rooms, and thereby to illustrate how relations to the state and the market are perceived by broadcasters.

Section 6.1. sets out to explore the relations between Dagsrevyen and the state, while section 6.2 explores the relations between International News and the market. Since the NRK has existed for a much longer time than TV3, much more relevant information is
readily available about this corporation. A certain emphasis will therefore be placed on the relations between the NRK/Dagsrevyen and the state.

6.1. Dagsrevyen - on relations to the state.

In Chapter 5 it was pointed out that there are several potential and actual constraints on the news activities of Dagsrevyen. The formal control structures include control over the license to broadcast, the appointment of controllers, and political control over the license fee. The formal control of NRK activities is embedded in the obligations and privileges of the NRK as a public service institution.

There has, traditionally, been a state of balance between the official Norway (official national interests represented by Government, Parliament, political parties, and the national apparatuses) and the corporate interests of the NRK. Østbye (NOU 1982; 30: 259) claims:

'It would be reasonable to say that one condition for the autonomy of the NRK is that it is not used fully, i.e. that it is not exercised where it would easily clash with political authorities.'

Cleavages within the news-room of Dagsrevyen, constituted by a state of balance between state interests and the news-room activities could certainly be traced. This section further explores how these cleavages have been constituted, and how they are perceived by the broadcasters in Dagsrevyen.

6.1.1. News policy and enlightenment.

When the NRK started transmissions in 1933, the programme activities of the public service institution was based on an ideology of enlightenment (Dahl, 1975; Sælen, 1991; Syvertsen, 1992). According to Sælen (1991) two factors seemed to be important regarding the Parliamentary interest in the NRK programme activities during the period from 1948 to 1960: that the programmes were party-political neutral, and that they endured a Christian Ethos.

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Norwegian: 'Det er rimelig å plasser et betingelse for NRKs autonomi er at den ikke brukes fullt ut, at den ikke brukes der den lett kan komme på kollisjonkurs med politiske myndigheter'.

In a similar statement about the BBC, Hall (1976: 80) states that:

'The state does not grant autonomy to the broadcasters to behave as they please; it grants autonomy only on the condition that broadcasters treat the controversial and problematic matters germane to their own sphere ... '
From a transmission perspective the sources had a central position within the enlightenment tradition; the broadcast institution was in many ways conceived of as an agent of transmission of information and culture from authoritative sources and institutions (Puijk, 1990). There was an implicit, and even explicit, presumption or ideology that information from ‘reality’ could be transmitted ‘objectively’, and that broadcasting could play the role as an objective, or balanced, transmitter. This resulted in a conceived transmission process where the knowledge and the authority of the source became central. For radio news and, later, television news, the delicate relations to the State caused news on politics and national administrative issues to be based on the contributions by national authorities. Furthermore, news-items on such issues were to a significant extent formed as descriptions based on authoritative sources rather than analyses based on ideals for the presentation of journalistic material.

Given the obligations of the NRK, the political climate and the ‘agency’ relation to the sources, it became important for the legitimacy of the corporation to claim that the news coverage was independent, objective and balanced. By positioning itself in this way, the NRK placed itself between the sources and the audience, and could thereby claim that the institution independently reported what was happening in the ‘outside world’: from such a position it could be claimed that the reporting was objective in the way that what was reported was what had happened.

For the Director General from 1948 to 1961, Mr. Fostervoll, ‘enlightenment’ was the manifesto (Furre, 1992). The enlightenment ideology was therefore strongly evident when NRK-Television was officially opened in 1960. The enlightenment manifesto was to a substantial degree based on high culture and some kind of official national agenda. Puijk (1990: 144) argues that television information became a mouthpiece for Knowledge and Culture.

However, Dagsrevyen as a television news programme had its roots in the weekly National Newsreels, produced by Norwegian Film, and shown in cinema theatres. The newsreel items were characterised by film and off-screen comments. Furthermore, music was

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151 See Section 5.2. This could be done by referring to ideals for journalistic activities which were closely related to a positivist perspective within philosophy of science.

152 Norwegian: Filmavisen by Norsk Film a/s.
included to define the mood of the film reports. The items were reality-based, and were most often based on events for which the coverage could be pre-planned.

*Dagsrevyen* got its title as a news programme during test transmissions in 1958. This was two years before NRK-Television was officially opened. During the first years, *Dagsrevyen* was transmitted twice a week. Because much filmed material was available, the programme started out with a format very similar to the newsreels: live off-screen comments on recorded domestic and foreign film reports with accompanying music (Totland, 1992). During 1961 *Dagsrevyen* gradually developed towards a new format, which Totland (ibid.) labels the 'integrated news format'. On-screen studio bulletins and comments were introduced, and general journalistic news criteria became increasingly more important for the coverage. During 1963, the music disappeared from the news-items, and *Dagsrevyen* definitely became an integrated news programme in form, much as we know it today (Totland, ibid.).

During its first years foreign news in *Dagsrevyen* was dominated by international political issues, such as state visits, elections, etc. Items on accidents, catastrophes and sports were also usually present in the foreign affairs section. In addition, quite a substantial part of the foreign news-items included more entertaining issues, such as beauty contests, everyday life in remote countries, festivals, exhibitions, achievements within technology, royal matters, etc. (Totland, ibid.).

The domestic news contained very few items on political issues during the first years (Totland, ibid.). More entertaining issues would often dominate the programme, and there were also items on accidents and catastrophes. According to Totland, items on cultural events, on commercial, industrial and social life, on the Royals, and on sports were dominating. Curiosities were also presented; Totland mentions examples like vicious capercailzie’, ‘tame hare’, ‘tortoise from Haugesund’ from 1959.

Part of the reason why *Dagsrevyen* did not cover Parliamentary issues during the first years was that the members of Parliament were reluctant to give access for recordings and direct transmissions. Furthermore, the NRK perceived a problem in the coverage of party politics and parliamentary procedures in the news. However, the newly appointed Director General, Mr. Ustvedt, in September 1962 made a general statement on the relations
between party politics and programming within the NRK. In a meeting in the Broadcasting Council he remarked that:

'I believe the NRK should stimulate an interest in things political and have an activating function by giving information about politics, political debate and political challenge. In my opinion the most harmful line of action would be excessive cautiousness.' (Totland, 1992: 71).¹⁰⁹

The quotation is important in two ways. First, it reveals that the NRK until then had a clear policy of avoiding involvement in party-political controversies: i.e. the cleavages produced by the relations to the state had made the NRK avoid the political arena. Secondly, the quotation illustrates that such a strategy was now to be revised. However, in a meeting in the Broadcasting Council in September 1963 (a year later) Mr. Gjerde (who was later to become Minister of Culture and Director General of the NRK) pointed out that the new strategy in no way represented a radical break with established ideals for objectivity and balance. He argued that:

'One gets the impression that the NRK is somewhat reluctant to touch controversial domestic issues, whereas comments on international politics are very outspoken, and therefore highly interesting. There is something very wrong here.' (Totland, 1992: 96).¹¹⁰

The Director General replied with the following comment during the meeting in the Broadcasting Council:

'This is of course because such matters are more sensitive. We feel a strong obligation towards balance - although we cannot be said to be terrorised by it.' (Totland, ibid.)¹¹¹

While the coverage of domestic political issues and of Parliament, had been quite sporadic up to 1963, Dagsrevyen increasingly began to cover national politics as handled in Parliament. In a meeting of the Broadcasting Council towards the end of 1963, it was

¹⁰⁹ Norwegian: '... jeg mener at Kringkastingen skal stimulere den politiske interesse og kan virke aktiviserende ved å bringe politisk informasjon, politisk debatt og politisk utfordring. ... Jeg tror at den farligste linjen vi kan legge oss på er overdreven forsiktighet.'

¹¹⁰ Norwegian: 'Man har imottrykk av at Kringkastingen er litt redd for å stikke fingeren borti innenrikspolitiske spørsmål, men kommentarene til utenrikspolitikken er veldig frimodige og av den grunn meget interessante. Her er det noe meget galt.'

¹¹¹ Norwegian: 'Det er selvfølgelig fordi det er mer ømfintlig stoff. Vi har ganske store forpliktelser når det gjelder balansesympunktet, uten at det kan sies at vi terroriseres av det.'
agreed that the television transmission from Parliament during that year had been very successful, and had stimulated general political interest in the audience. To a great extent that was because of what had happened during the Kings Bay Case.

The Kings Bay Case led to the first Cabinet crisis in Norway for almost 30 years. The cabinet crisis was initiated by political controversies in Parliament over the ways in which the Social Democratic Government handled a serious mining accident at Spitsbergen. The reason why a cabinet crisis was made possible was that in the national elections two years earlier, the Social Democratic Party had lost its absolute majority in Parliament for the first time since World War II. A change of Government took place during August 1963 (Kjeldstadli, 1981; Furre, 1992). From March that year television cameras had been covering parliamentary proceedings, and the coverage of the parliamentary debate over the Kings Bay became ‘hot stuff’. Totland (1992) notes that the entire debate was covered by the NRK-Television - 38.5 hours - and no other programmes were transmitted during that period. Totland names the Kings Bay Case an historic event for television coverage of Norwegian politics, as it represented a definitive change towards more coverage of domestic political issues.

Soon after the Kings Bay Case, the Social Democratic Party acceded to Government again, supported by the representatives of the Socialist People’s Party who voted against the minority Social Democratic Government during the Kings Bay crisis. However, during the sixties it became increasingly evident that the post-war social and political consensus engineered by the majority Social Democratic Government was fading. After 28 years with the same party in a majority Government, there were to be five cabinet crises in nine years.

In Dagarevyen, changes in the political climate were paralleled by internal changes in the corporation. To an increasing extent the NRK engaged journalists for news coverage. With the journalists came a journalistic professional ideology, and a concern about journalistic work methods - for example, new ideals for relating to sources (see Puijk, 1990). For the NRK reporters it became increasingly evident that there was cause for concern about practices regarding autonomy.

156 Norwegian: Sosialistisk Folkeparti.
One episode which illustrates the servile attitude of some of the NRK broadcasters is revealed by Mr. Aanerud, then a 'fresh' reporter in *Dagsrevyen.* Aanerud admitted that in 1964, he compiled a report on national economic matters which included an interview with a principal officer of a Government Office. When he met his interviewee, Aanerud, to his astonishment, discovered that the officer had written down the questions to be asked on a sheet of paper, and instructed Aanerud to use them. Aanerud claims that he informed the officer that this was not the way in which he wanted to do the interview. After hearing that Aanerud did not like the pre-arranged question-format, the officer had no objection to adopting another approach to the interview situation, i.e. to answer the questions as defined and formulated by the journalist. What puzzled Aanerud, though, was that the officer was obviously accustomed to a certain manner of treatment from NRK reporters.

Another indication of concerns about the autonomy of the NRK is from a former Head of News in *Dagsrevyen,* Hjelle (1984), in an article claims that in regard to election programmes, broadcasters in the NRK became increasingly concerned about the state of affairs where the Director General of the NRK did not in fact enjoy supreme editorial autonomy and authority over these programmes. According to Hjelle (ibid.), it was the political parties which set the terms for the programmes. Not until 1971 did the NRK take full editorial responsibility for the election programmes in television (Hjelle, 1984).

In an interview Hjelle points out that because of the relations to the state, the broadcasters had to manoeuvre carefully, both in relation to the state and in relation to the NRK:

> 'Much of this development has of course been constrained by ... the general curb on the activities of the NRK, i.e. that enterprising journalism has not been desirable.'

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137 Personal interview with Mr. Aanerud, October 1992.

138 Norwegian: Ekspedisjonssjef.

139 Personal interview 23.05.91.

139 Norwegian: 'Mye av utviklingen har jo vært hemmet av ... den generelle bremsen på aktiviteten i NRK, at skill at man ikke har ønsket en for pågående journalistikk.'
One of the first episodes when the journalistic comment, was applied to parliamentary politics, was during the Cabinet crises in February and March 1971. During the late sixties there was a non-socialist/non-Social Democratic coalition Government in Norway. The key political issue in the Parliament during that period was that of a potential membership of the EEC. In the non-socialist coalition Government, there were internal controversies over this, which resulted in a Cabinet crises 1st of March 1971. A new Social Democratic minority Government was formed.

However, prior to that, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday 27th - 29th of February, representatives of the coalition Government and the coalition parties held negotiations about how to solve a potential crisis (Dahl, 1982). At that time, the governmental buildings were besieged by journalists, and since there were no Sunday papers, the NRK had the 'sole responsibility' of providing up-to-date reports about the progress of the negotiations for the public over the week-end period. On Sunday afternoon, however, the negotiators had decided on a policy of non-co-operation with journalists. Accordingly, the NRK reporters had severe difficulties in providing any information at all about the negotiations. According to Dahl, a news-item which implied new ways of covering national politics was then prepared and transmitted:

"... the reporters Lars Jacob Krogh and Jon Aanerud embarked on a clean-cut commentary in a 'duet', where, in the absence of approachable interviewees they interviewed each other. The manuscript was worked out, and test recordings were made just before transmission; following a studio introduction, the two news reporters went on air with five minutes of pure speculation on the progress and the outcome of the crisis, about what went on in the negotiations, about who might become the new Prime Minister, etc.' (Dahl, 1982: 122).

According to Dahl, this unusual way of covering politics in Dagsrevyen continued on the following Monday. Twice the 'performance' was repeated 'with an increasing use of

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1 Interview with Mr. Aanerud, former political reporter in Dagsrevyen.

2 In Norway, as in Britain and Denmark, there was a national referendum on this issue in 1972. In contrast to the British and Danes, the Norwegians voted against membership.

3 "... programsekretærerne Lars Jacob Krogh og Jon Aanerud ga seg ut på den rene kommentar, i form av en duett der de i mangel av tilgjengelige objekter intervjuet hverandre. Manuscript ble utarbeidet og prøveopptak gjort rett før sending, og etter studiosending... gikk de to nyhetsrefererende på lufta med fem minuttens spekulasjoner over krisens gang og utfall, om hva som foregikk under forhandlingene, om hvem som kunne bli ny statsminister, o.s.v."
intimate Christian names among the two reporters" (ibid.). The next day, however, Parliamentary politics was again covered as normal, as NRK-Television could then transmit the Prime Minister's resignation statement. Accordingly, Dahl continues, the NRK did not broadcast 'comments and speculation based on self-contained interpretations by reporters' (ibid.).

It is clear from the rhetoric applied by Dahl that the reporters, within that particular context, did something very special. From his text, it does not look like Dahl, himself a former journalist and editor, now a media historian, appreciated the initiative shown by the two reporters.

6.1.2. From consensus to conflicts.

From the late sixties, further political and social conflicts, making it difficult for the NRK to be perceived as objective and balanced were soon to come: a social criticism related to domestic and foreign political issues developed. Furthermore, a Marxist-Leninist movement, based on a Maoist revolutionary ideology was established in Norway, as in many other Western countries. In particular one social-political issue during the beginning of the seventies is illustrative of how the new social conflict climate made it difficult for the NRK to maintain a 'balanced' and 'objective' news coverage. There were claims, and later demonstrations and industrial actions, from workers and organisations about exploitation in state-owned industry, and about close links between the Social Democratic Governments and the Norwegian Trade Union Congress. In Northern parts of Sweden in December 1969 similar claims resulted in the so-called Kiruna conflict; 4800 state-employed miners were on strike in unofficial industrial actions from December to February. According to Malme (1981), many of the industrial actions during the early seventies in Norway were encouraged by the Kiruna Conflict.

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164 Norwegian: '... etterhvert med en økende bruk av fortrolige fornavn - 'du Lars Jacob, hva skal vi si om situasjonen nå".
165 Norwegian: '... kommentarer og spekulasjoner med helt selvstendige tolkninger av den politiske situasjon fra medarbeidernes side'.
167 Norwegian: Landsorganisasjonen - LO.
168 As for example the Sauda strike in June/July 1970.
Common concerns about the consequences of the NRK coverage of industrial conflicts in January 1970 made the leaders of the Norwegian Trade Union Congress [LO], and the Norwegian Employer's Organisation [NAF]\(^{109}\) meet, and together request an audience with the Director General of the NRK. The NRK was strongly criticised in that meeting for unbalanced coverage. The representatives of the organisations insisted that the NRK coverage could result in severe negative consequences for Norwegian national interests and for the welfare state (Nilssen, 1975; and interviews with broadcasters).

During the late sixties and early seventies, there were also other delicate issues for the NRK to handle; the EEC issue prior to the referendum in September 1972;\(^{110}\) the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, and compounded growing public misgivings about U.S. NATO forces (Johansen, 1970; Tjønneland, 1981); and the conflicts in the Middle East (see Heradstveit, 1983; Hjelle, 1983).

In February 1975 Parliament had a debate on the activities of the NRK during 1973. The general climate of political conflict, and the problems for the NRK in covering social and political conflicts in 'balanced ways', resulted in a strong reproof from most political parties from the Parliamentary rostrum.\(^{111}\) The politician presenting the case on behalf of the Select Committee,\(^{112}\) a representative from the Social Democratic Party, opened the debate by stating that:

> "While the press in addition to reporting objectively should also give its own views in single matters as well as on matters of principle, and often advocate particular political views, broadcasters or broadcasting executives should not do this. In a monopoly situation the individual views of broadcasters are not only uninteresting, they are intolerable." (Forh. Storting, 1974-75: 2875).\(^{113}\)

During the Parliamentary debate, some of the MPs stated that they wanted the NRK to be more strictly regulated. As a response, the Minister of Church and Education, who covered

\(^{109}\) Norwegian: Norsk Arbeidsgiverforening.

\(^{110}\) See also section 6.1.

\(^{111}\) During the debate there was in particular criticism towards one single person for 'leftist programming'.

\(^{112}\) Norwegian: Saksordføreren.

\(^{113}\) Norwegian: 'Mens pressen ved siden av å referere også har som oppgave å gi uttrykk for egne meninger i enkeltsaker og i prinsipielle spørsmål, og ofte forfekter bestemte politiske oppfatninger, skal vedien kringkastingsledere eller medarbeidere gjøre det. I en monopolisatsjon er medarbeidernes egne oppfatninger ikke bare uinteressante, de er utårlige.'
the NRK activities, argued that the NRK itself was working on such internal formal rules for programming. The rules - the Code for Broadcasting Activities - were ready in December, and were then sanctioned by the Director General of the NRK (see also section 6.1.).

Within the NRK itself, the importance of the Code was seen to be making the NRK justify its own programme activities. A former Head of News in Dagsrevyen, who was also engaged in composing the Code, said that it was conceived as an important bulwark:

"With each new conflict earlier achievements were destroyed. We tried to build a kind of outer barrier to prevent our journalistic advances from disappearing again. So ... the Code was never meant as internal censorship."176

The statement illustrates what has probably been a clear trend in the history of Dagsrevyen. In many ways the news coverage has been constrained by the 'official Norway', but that these constraints have shifted in character, and in the long run have become weaker. However, as pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the constraints have become part of the every day situation for the broadcasters. This means that the constraints, over time, have materialised in specific ways of organising the news-room work, and in particular, in attitudes with the broadcasters in relation to news about the official Norway.

An important aspect, which is not present in the statement above by the former Head of News in Dagsrevyen, is that Dagsrevyen has not only been constrained by the 'official Norway', but might also actively have defined, and taken, the role as the national 'official' television news programme.

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174 When comparing the Code with the similar Swedish Code, it is clear that the Swedish Code must have served as a model.

175 Personal interview 23.05.91. For a similar argument, see Østbye in NOU 1983:30: 273.

176 Norwegian: 'Hver gang det oppstod en konflikt så skyldte reaksjonene bakover, og så var veldig mye ødslaet. Vi forsøkte å bygge en slags ytre vernemur for å beskytte det vi journalistisk sett hadde oppnått og erobret ikke skulle falle ut igjen. Så ... programreglene var ikke ment som et internt sensursystem ... '"
In the next section, two cases are presented in which official Norwegian interests were present, and which illustrate the presence of a cleavage in *Dagsrevyen* produced by the relations to the state.

6.1.3. Two recent cases.
The cases are here labelled the Seal Case and the Surveillance Case. In the first case, state interests did intervene during the news production process to try to influence a news report produced for CNN. In the second case, journalists, who might have represented state interests, intervened to prevent news in a sensitive area from being broadcast.

The Seal Case:
This case illuminates the problematic relations between Governmental interests and the executives of the NRK. It took place on the 18th of February 1989 (Journalisten no. 4, 1989; Arbeiderbladet, 20.02.1989, Bergens Tidende, 22.02.1989). The background is that in 1989 a Norwegian seal hunt inspector, Mr. Lindberg, presented a highly critical film about the ways in which the Norwegian seal hunt was conducted. The film, which was broadcast in different Western countries, including Sweden and Britain, was only partially broadcast by the NRK (Ekeland and Odland, 1989). It was deemed to be damaging for Norwegian national export interests by representatives of the Norwegian State, especially for the whale, seal and fish exports. As part of an agreement between the NRK and CNN, *Dagsrevyen* made a news report about the film - not about the seal hunting as such - to be transmitted on the CNN World Report. Of the 2 minute 54 second report, 20 seconds was an interview with the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs.\textsuperscript{177}

On a Saturday morning, 18th of February, one day before the report was to be transmitted by CNN, the Solicitor-General\textsuperscript{178} himself, two other Government Lawyers, and a representative of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, turned up in the *Dagsrevyen* news-room. On the behalf of the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs the Solicitor-General told the Editor-in-Charge that he wanted to preview the report in which the Minister was inter-

\textsuperscript{177} The News Log of *Dagsrevyen* at that particular day was later made public in the journal of the Norwegian Federation for Journalists - [Journalisten] no.4 1989. The Log was written by the Editor-in-Charge. The presentation of the case in this thesis is based on the Log, as well as on personal interviews with broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* during later periods of observations. I was not present in the news-room when the episode happened.

\textsuperscript{178} Norwegian: Regjeringsadvokaten.
viewed. The Editor-in-Charge had already been informed by the Deputy Head of News that the Solicitor-General had contacted the Director General of the NRK and the Director of NRK-Television, and had got permission to come and preview the report on the sealhunting film. While they were in the Dagsrevyen news-room, the representatives contacted the Director General of the NRK and the Director of Television on the phone. They were promised a VHS copy of the report made for CNN. The Editor-in-Charge was instructed, by the Director General of the NRK as well as by the Director of Television, to produce and to hand out such a copy.

The Editor-in-Charge contacted the Chief Editor of Dagsrevyen because the instructions to allow previewing and to equip the Government representatives with a VHS copy of the news report was against his professional conviction. In the Dagsrevyen News Log for 18th of February the Editor-in-Charge made the following statement about his telephone conversation with the Director General of the NRK:

'I emphasised that I, on a professional journalistic basis, had fundamental objections, and that I considered it to be improper by NRK executives to give representatives of the Government access to our unpublished material. The Director General said he had a rather more practical view of the matter. He said that the NRK had to co-operate in such a situation, and instructed [me] to let the Solicitor General and the Norwegian Seamen’s Union preview the report, and to be provided with a copy of it. (Journalisten, no. 4 1989).'

The Editor-in-Charge was given support from the Chief Editor (Head of News) for his professional objection to supplying the Government representatives with a VHS copy, and he refused to do so.

However, the Chief Editor of Dagsrevyen, as well as the Director General of the NRK and the Television Director did give permission to the three Government representatives and the representative of the Norwegian Seamen’s Union to preview the seal-hunt news report due to be transmitted in World Report on CNN. Furthermore, the Director General and the Television Director also gave instructions to the Editor-in-Charge to supply the Government representatives with a VHS copy of the report. Since the Editor-in-Charge contacted

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179 Norwegian: 'Jeg understreket at jeg på et faglig journalistisk grunnlag hadde store prinsippielle innvendinger, og at jeg mente det ville være galt av NRK-ledelsen dersom representanter for Regjeringen fikk tilgang til vårt upubliserte materiale. K-sjefen [Kringkastingssjefen] sa at han så mer praktisk på spørsmålet. Han sa at NRK måtte samarbeide i en slik situasjon, og ga beskjed om at Regjeringsadvokaten og Sjømannsforbundet skulle få se innslaget, og at det skulle leveres ut en kopi av det.'
the Chief Editor of Dagsrevyen to win his support for refusing to produce and to hand out such a copy, the result was that the three Government representatives and the representative from the Norwegian Union of Seamen previewed the report, but did not get their VHS copy. According to the Dagsrevyen News Log, the Solicitor-General warned that Dagsrevyen would get in trouble because of lack of co-operation.

Because it was seen as a clear threat towards the editorial autonomy of the NRK, the episode was in Dagsrevyen regarded as an issue of a very serious nature. In a personal interview during observation, one of the NRK broadcasters with editorial responsibilities stated that:

'I do not regard the episode as an accident. I regard it as weakness on the part of NRK management in their relations with political authorities. And I'm in no doubt that the purpose was to prevent the report from being broadcast. ... From my point of view, this is the most conspicuous attempt to curtail the NRK I've ever experienced ... .'\(^\text{100}\)

However, it was also stated that the Seal Case could only happen in a climate which allowed for such episodes to happen, and that this climate was part of the NRK tradition:

'[The conduct of the Editor-in-Charge] may in some ways have marked a possible breach with this tradition, with close relations between the Social Democratic Party/The Social Democratic Governments and the NRK. Such relations explain why the Director of Television and Director General of the NRK allowed the Solicitor General to get a tape with the recordings.'\(^\text{101} \text{102}\)

It is clear that according to ideals for journalistic autonomy, and according to the formal autonomous status of the NRK, what took place should not have happened. According to the programme rules, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had the right to preview the report in which he was interviewed personally. However, he would have had to turn up himself.

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\(^{100}\) Norwegian: 'Jeg vil ikke tolke det [episoden] som et ulykkestilfelle. Jeg sa på det som en svakhet i Husets ledelse overfor politiske myndigheter. Og jeg er ikke i tvil om at formålet med det hele var å stansse innlaget. ... Fra mitt synspunkt så er dette det mest øklastante forsøk på å gripe inn overfor NRK som jeg har opplevd ... .'

\(^{101}\) Personal interview during observations.

\(^{102}\) Norwegian: '[Oppførelsen til vaktsjefen] var muligens med å markere et brudd med denne tradisjonen, som gikk på bindinger mellom AP/Regjeringen og NRK. Det er forklaringen på at fjerntvindirektøren og kringkastingssjefen ga tillatelse til at Regjeringsadvokaten kunne ta med seg et blad med oppslag.'
The episode happened in 1989, after the NRK was awarded the status as an independent foundation in 1988. For the analysis of relations between the Governmental interests it may illustrate at least three issues:

First, there is a delicate balance between Norwegian official interests and the activities of the NRK. Second, the Government representatives must have thought it was possible to carry out their check on unpublished news material. Third, the NRK executives handled the case very 'practically' and 'conveniently', and not according to guidelines for editorial and journalistic autonomy of the NRK. It is a principle for journalistic and editorial work that authorities generally do not have the right to demand to inspect unpublished materials. The top NRK executives were not particularly concerned about such principles, or even worse - they pursued other interests than journalistic ones, articulated by Norwegian authorities. This, the Editor-in-Charge did not do. The NRK 'tops' may be seen to have demonstrated a severe lack of integrity. For that, they were later criticised by the Norwegian Union of Journalists (see for example Bergens Tidende, 22.02.1989).

The Surveillance Case:
On Tuesday 13th of March 1990, the politically radical paper Klassekampen declared on the front page that Norwegian telecommunications were being surveyed by the US from civilian and military bases in Britain. The news was based on information from the British journalist Duncan Campbell. It became the main news story in the NRK Radio News during that day. As the Norwegian Prime Minister was visiting the United States, and met with the American President, the news was particularly delicate. Although The Head of News in Dagsrevyen had declared at the 9 o'clock morning news-meeting that he wanted to carry the story, the news about the surveillance was not covered that day, either in Dagsrevyen or in Kveldsnytt. Within the news-room the Head of News strongly regretted that the news was not covered, an opinion which he made public, albeit in a milder tone (interview in Klassekampen, 15.03.1990.). The Head of News informed Klassekampen that:

'All I can say is that the material available from the international offices [of the NRK] and from our domestic news-room was, everything considered, not felt to be good enough.'

134 Norwegian: Dagsnytt.

135 Norwegian: 'Alt eg kan seie er at det stoffet som låg føre frå utvirkstasjonene og i heime-redaksjonen samla sett ikkje var vurdert som godt nok. Dette er eg sjølsagt lei meg for. Eg er også lei meg for at saka ikkje vart delka i Kveldsnytt.'
It is relevant to examine what had happened between the news meeting and the transmission of the news programmes more closely. Within the news-room of Dagsrevyen, there were three main opinions why the news about the monitoring was not presented.

First, there was the official explanation presented by the Head of News in Klassekampen; that the material, including an interview with Campbell made in Britain the same day by an NRK representative, was not newsworthy. Second, there was the explanation that the surveillance activities could not be confirmed, and should, accordingly, not be presented as news. Third, there was the more intricate explanation that persons centrally placed in the Dagsrevyen news-room that particular day, had attended the main course of study at The National Defence College, Norway, had relations to Norwegian Defense Authorities, and that it was in their and in Norwegian national interest to avoid broadcasting hostile news about the most important NATO ally.

The general aim of the courses by the Defence College is to:

"... provide representatives of public institutions, the press, broadcasting, economic life, educational system, and national organisations who hold, or are potential candidates to hold, central positions within Norwegian social life - with insight into, and information about, the overall defence system, and the factors influencing this. ... [the students] are given a basis for carrying out defence tasks within the individual services, in cooperation with the overall defence system." (Allem, 1992: 112).

The programme of study at the Defence College has a duration of seven months. There are 24 students each year, equally divided between civilians and military personnel. Normally there are two students from the media each year - one recommended from the NRK, and one from The Norwegian Press Association. The admission to study is given by the College after a security check by the Chief of Defence. Personnel with this security
certificate may be given access to Top Secret\textsuperscript{189} national information and Cosmic Top Secret NATO information.

By attending courses at the Defence College, the selected journalists do get information about military policies, which might potentially threaten national security if revealed. Allern points out that nothing indicates that those who have attended courses at the Defence College have contributed to investigative journalism or a struggle for extended freedom of speech regarding such issues. The main problem, however, put forward by Allern (ibid.) is the question over whether attendance at the Defence College may be combined with an autonomous journalistic role, as the security clearance gives access to information which is not for the public. Students have to swear an oath of secrecy, and this oath also applies if the students consider the secrets as political. The student is bound by the oath for the future.

In the Dagsrevyen news-room it was a quite common opinion that the news about the US surveillance of Norwegian telecommunication activities had not been covered because of national military interest. As one person with editorial responsibility explained during a period of observation:

‘There we have a case [where the editor’s instructions from the morning news meeting were not obeyed]. At the bottom of this was probably ... that ... broadcasters on duty had strong objections to covering the issue. They have attended the National Defence College, know about some of these issues, and probably have an ideological [and personal] interest in not bringing them up.’\textsuperscript{190}

A reporter commented:

‘It is no secret that there are people here who have attended the National Norwegian Defence College, and I am definitely not confident that they pursue an open form of journalism.’\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{189} Norwegian: Strengt hemmelig.

\textsuperscript{190} Norwegian: ‘Det har vi et tilfelle [hvor redaktørens pålegg fra morgennætset ikke etterkommes]. Det som vel lå under ... her var at et par av medarbeidende som var på vakt reagerte sterkt mot at det skulle dekkes. ... Og der kan det være et integritetsspørsmål. Begge har gått på Forsvarets Høyskole, kjenner en del av disse tingene her, har kunnske en ideologisk interesse av å ikke bringe det opp.’

\textsuperscript{191} Norwegian: ‘Det er ingen hemmelighet at det er folk her som går på FH [Forsvarets Høyskole], og jeg har ikke den minste tiltro til at de driver noen åpen form for journalistikk.’
It cannot be categorically stated that the news about U.S surveillance was not presented because of intervention. As have been pointed out, among some of the broadcasters there was the opinion that the available material did not have the right quality for presentation, and that the news could not be confirmed. However, it was very clear from statements from many of the reporters in Dagsrevyen, that the episode was considered to be problematic in that it posed a threat to the autonomy of Dagsrevyen in relation to Norwegian Defence Interests, as well as to political relations with the U.S.

The debate about such autonomy will be further analysed in Chapter 11. The next section will explore more generally how reporters and editors in Dagsrevyen perceived the cleavage produced by the relations to the state.

6.1.4. Cleavages in Dagsrevyen and perceived relations to the state.

As the two presented cases suggest, it is apparent that the delicate relationship between Dagsrevyen and the state had manifested itself in the different attitudes of the broadcasters. The statements presented were not necessarily representative for all the broadcasters in Dagsrevyen. However, they were expressed in interviews during periods of observations when the broadcasters were asked about cleavages in Dagsrevyen, and its relations to the state. Attitudes towards the news-work produced by cleavages because of the relations to the state will be further examined in this section.

During the periods of observation, some reporters independently labelled Dagsrevyen The State Review\(^{159}\), and some were very explicit in stating that Dagsrevyen was constrained by state interests. One reporter commented that:

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\text{'In a disparaging way one may label Dagsrevyen the State Review: it deals much with the State and its various branches and activities. During the meeting safe and less safe priorities which fit into the State Review concept are assessed.'}^{159}
\]

Another echoed the above sentiments in the following remark:

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\(^{159}\) Norwegian: Statsrevyen.

\(^{159}\) Norwegian: 'Litt nedsettende kan en kalle Dagsrevyen for Statsrevyen: Det handler mye om Staten og dens vesen. På muntene vurderes trygge og mindre trygge prioritetering som passer inn i Statsrevyen.'
'We are constrained by the powers of the State. ... We function as a State Review for the Official Norway.'

Yet another added this statement:

'Now and again we get the feeling that we may easily become a State Department of Information ... That's something we try to oppose.'

The reporters belonged to three different sections within Dagsrevyen: one to the section for news presentation, one to the section for general domestic affairs, and one to the section for foreign affairs (see also Chapter 7). The statements came as a general criticism of the overall output in Dagsrevyen, but it also implied a criticism of the journalistic approach exercised by some of the reporters from the section for political domestic affairs. It was this section which handled most of the political news, such as the "beats" the Royals, the Government, Parliament, and national politics generally. Within the news-room, the opinion that state affairs and national politics were too easily present in the Dagsrevyen news coverage clearly existed, as did the view that reporters in the section for political domestic affairs to some extent were the main exponents for this.

Broadcasters also argued that in some cases the reporters in the section for political domestic affairs did not have the proper distance and critical stance towards their sources, as for example towards the politicians. A reporter from the section for general domestic affairs, in an interview during observation, clearly pointed to the difficulties for the reporters from the section for political domestic affairs in being so close to the sources of national politics:

'Those of us who do not move in Prime Ministerial circles are not scared by her. Those who have their work close to her daily are obviously nervous she may not want to answer questions next time they want to interview her. I consider the section for political domestic affairs to function like a

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194 Norwegian: 'Vi er ... bundet av statsmakten. ... Vi fungerer som en Statsrevy i forhold til det offiselle apparatet.'

195 Norwegian: '... av og til så har vi jo følelsen av at vi lett kan bli som Statens Informasjonstjeneste. ... Og det er noe som vi kjemper mot.'

196 See Fishman, 1980.
microphone stand; they are servile, and scared to death about treading on their own people's
toes."\(^{197}\)

There were further comments by reporters in *Dagsrevyen* that debates in Parliament and
imperatives to be implemented by the Government often had broad coverage, while more
important political and economic processes often had a quite limited coverage; i.e. that the
agendas for Parliament and the Government, as reflected in the morning news papers,
easily became the agenda for national political news in *Dagsrevyen*. As a consequence of
this, it was argued, analyses of important aspects of the social consequences of political
decisions were missing in the news reports.

When interviewed, a centrally placed person within the section for political domestic
affairs replied with a comment which reflected the above concern:

>'In my view we are too passive about this. ... If you've been to our morning news-meetings, they
are very bad news-meetings. ... They are very concerned with taking note of facts, and hardly
creative at all. It is all related to press conferences and what the newspapers present.'\(^{198}\)

Traditionally, there has been a perceived obligation within *Dagsrevyen* to cover the
greatest amounts of news stories during the day, especially when it came to 'official news'.
One reporter in *Dagsrevyen* pointed out that:

>'Since we are a monopoly institution, there is an implicit obligation to cover certain things that
would otherwise possibly not be covered.'\(^{199}\)

This perceived obligation may be labelled the *conceived obligation of complete coverage*,
and is in some ways linked to the tradition of enlightenment. The quotation above may be
seen to indicate how such an 'obligation of a complete coverage' of the 'official Norway'
was maintained.

\(^{197}\) Norwegian: 'Vi som ikke omgås statsministeren er ikke redd for henne. De som jobber i sitt daglige rundt
hennes er selvfølgelig redd for at hun ikke skal svare på spørsmålene neste gang de ønsker å intervju henne. Jeg
mener at Stortingsgruppa fungerer som mikrofonstativ - de er servile, de er livredd for å trække sine egne på
mansjettene.'

\(^{198}\) Norwegian: 'Der mener jeg selv vi er for passive. Hvis du har vært på møtene våre, på redaksjonsmøtene
om morgenen, så er de veldig detaljerte redaksjonsmøter. ... De er veldig registrerende og lite skapende. Alt ligger i
pressetaten og i det avisen har.'

\(^{199}\) Norwegian: 'Siden vi er monopol er det imidlertid en forpliktelse til å dekke en del ting som muligens ellers
ikke ville blitt dekket.'
Within *Dagsrevyen* as a whole, and especially within the section for political domestic affairs, it was maintained that a lack of human resources was having a detrimental effect on the quality of research required for the news, particularly for those issues involving political, social and economic complexities. In an interview during observation, one of the reporters from that section remarked that *Dagsrevyen* had too few reporters, and as a result too little time available for doing investigative journalism.

"The number of journalists is about the same as for a medium size Norwegian local newspaper."\(^{300}\)

He meant that as a result, the journalists were occupied with pre-scheduled and the daily events, mainly. It was difficult to work on a particular news issue over a longer period of time. He also pointed out the problem of a lack of reporters, which meant that too few news areas were covered by specialist reporters. Furthermore, he argued that it was incredible that *Dagsrevyen* did not have special reporters covering economic life and industry, and health and social issues:

"That borders on the irresponsible, to put it mildly."\(^{301}\)

Within the section for political domestic affairs itself there was a definite awareness about problems produced by the relationship between *Dagsrevyen* and the State. A centrally positioned person in that section pointed out that:

"What is special about working in the section for political domestic affairs is that you are so close to the matters you are reporting on, and what you do affects those matters very much. [The situation] produces quite intense boomerang effects. I mean, it would not cost you much to abuse Ceaucesco, Gorbachev or Bush, or Thatcher. But for one who is in Parliament all day, it may produce a much worse strain to point out shortcomings in the leader of the Agrarian Party. You see - to be aggressive about such things. That's a totally different role."\(^{302}\)
Regarding these issues, in the same interview it was also suggested that the aim to produce *balanced* news reports was the obvious strategy to follow:

’... we do a lot of things we know we will be criticised for. But we should go for the only possible solution; the solution which makes us feel confident that we strike about equally in all directions. But we do not even do that, for everybody is not equally interesting.’

That the personnel in *Dagsrevyen* are careful to balance the news coverage in relation to the prevailing political climate has been demonstrated several times. For example, when politicians have called for independent investigations of the news coverage before national elections: there was an obvious concern about such problems in the news-room.

When interviewed about how they were able to construct balance and impartiality in the news texts over a long period (for example before a national election) a reporter replied:

’The news-room provides a reasonable coverage of the Norwegian political scene. Let us say that we have become so professional that we do not get caught any more.’

Some of the interviewed broadcasters found it problematic that all the Director Generals of the NRK after the war, except for one, had been central members of the Social Democratic Party. One of the reporters very clearly articulated concerns that the news activities in the *Dagsrevyen* news-room were constrained by this:

’... these Director Generals from the Social Democratic Party are a scourge. It is a weakness about the NRK because ... we become scared to death about applying our professional journalistic judgements. We watch each other, and we can’t attack a person from the Social Democratic party, because we then run the risk of incurring really heavy criticism.’

The cleavages may be seen to have produced different traditions regarding news production and presentation within *Dagsrevyen*. This was apparent during the periods of observation,

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203 Norwegian: ’Vi gjør en masse ting som vi vet vi får kritikk for. Men en må jo prøve den eneste løsningen, og det er at vi må vite overfor oss selv at vi sår alminnende likt i alle retninger. Og det gjør vi jo heller ikke, for det er ikke alle som er like interessante.’

204 Norwegian: ’Redaksjonen gir et brukbart snitt av det norske politiske bildet. La oss si at vi har blitt så profesjonelle at vi ikke blir tatt på det for langt.’

Analytically, one may distinguish between two different traditions: a fact-orientated and an experience-directed tradition\(^{206}\). The two dimensions of news reporting were clearly unequally present in the two sections which routinely recorded pictures for the news reports; the section for general domestic affairs and the section for political domestic affairs. The section for foreign affairs usually based the news reports on material recorded by others, such as members of the EBU\(^{207}\), etc.

The fact-orientated reporter was mainly concerned with facts about the events reported; with providing factual information and thereby transmitting 'facts' and 'factual analyses' about events to the audience. The 'fact-orientated' tradition seemed to have its origins from the periods when the NRK activities were more clearly based on a philosophy of enlightenment; from the periods when there was less space for the NRK to define its own role in sensitive fields in relation to 'the official Norway'. The result was an 'objective, impartial and balanced' journalistic approach. After the mid sixties, when the 'newsreel' tradition was no longer a function of *Dagsrevyen*, the pictures in news-reports produced within the 'fact-orientated' tradition functioned mainly as guarantors of truth and balance. Particularly in sensitive areas, like domestic politics, the function of the pictures was to illustrate that the speech in an interview was genuine and 'straight from the horse's mouth'. In this way, the pictures were subordinated to the oral comments, and adopted a more illustrative and passive function (see also Hjårvard, 1993). Within *Dagsrevyen* the 'fact-orientated' tradition was most strongly present in the section for political domestic affairs.

The experience-directed reporter was more concerned with conveying 'soft news', more personified news, and aspects of the news other than the strictly factual. As some 'experience-directed' reporters in *Dagsrevyen* maintained: 'we need to provide the human interest news'\(^{206}\). As pointed out in the commentary on the legacy of the news-reels, this tradition was quite strongly present during the first years of *Dagsrevyen*. Later, the role the *Dagsrevyen* reporters played during the cabinet crisis in 1971, as mentioned, is also in line with this tradition. Nevertheless, an important pre-condition for such an ideology to

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\(^{206}\) The two traditions have been labelled in a previous article - in Norwegian - 'informasjonstadisjonen' and 'formidlingstadisjonen'. See Helland (1992), and also Puijk (1988 and 1990).

\(^{207}\) The European Broadcasting Union, with which *Dagsrevyen* co-operates regarding foreign news.

\(^{208}\) Norwegian: 'Vi må gi nyheten et ansikt'.

and also in the textual analysis. The fact-orientated and experience-directed traditions...
materialise further in practices and in the news programmes was the introduction of ENG (Electronic News Gathering - video equipment for recording and editing news pictures). Such video equipment was introduced in Dagsrevyen during the first half of the 1980s. Video is a much faster medium than film, and can be edited with greater ease. This allows the news reports to be structured with greater visual flexibility, so that the pictures do not solely have an illustrative function in the reports.

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In section 6.1, some different aspects regarding Dagsrevyen and relations to the state have been examined.

From the interviews during observation, it should be apparent that by the broadcasters the relations are perceived to have become part of the everyday working context in Dagsrevyen. Furthermore, the relationship is perceived to have produced systematic cleavages, as well as different traditions for producing news reports, within the news-room. The extent to which the conceived cleavages produced textual results will be further examined in Part IV in the thesis.

In some respects, audience figures may be seen to relate public broadcast services to the market in specific ways. For the BBC, for example, competition with ITV and Channel 4 has resulted in an active policy to maximise audience to justify the licence fee. This has also resulted in quite specific strategies regarding news production. In contrast to the BBC, the NRK and Dagsrevyen had no national competitor during the period this thesis was researched.

Not until TV2 started transmissions in September 1992 did such a national competitor to the NRK entered the scene. Therefore, as a result of the national monopoly situation, and the traditionally central position of Dagsrevyen in Norwegian official, public and private life, strategies to attract viewers were present and important, but general market strategies did in no way seem to be a determining factor for the news programme and the news production activities.

\[209\] For a relevant discussion, see Syvertsen (1993).
6.2. *International News* - on relations to the state and the market.

TV3 had a very different relationship to state authorities than the NRK. Cleavages in *Dagsrevyen* were to a large extent related to the historical relationship between *Dagsrevyen* and the state on the one hand, and changing ideals for processing news on the other. In *International News* cleavages were related to the market, in subtle ways to Scandinavian authorities, and to much the same ideals for processing news as in *Dagsrevyen*. Within *Dagsrevyen*, the cleavages were manifested between the different sections, and between the management teams of the NRK and the news-room. Within the small news-room of *International News* cleavages had materialised between TV3’s management, including the Head of News (who was also Vice President of Operations and Vice President of the Company) and the rest of the news-room. The Head of News was responsible for the news-budget, and the economic restrictions on the news production within TV3’s management were heavy.

The cleavages in TV3 may best be analysed in relation to strategies for *political legitimacy, general credibility, station identity, and general commercial considerations*.

**Political legitimacy.** When transmissions started, it had been important for TV3 to be allowed to distribute the programmes on cable networks in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. As was pointed out in Chapter 5, although this permission could not be legally denied it was not granted in Norway until 11 days after TV3 started transmissions.

From the manner in which the company presented itself in the media by focusing on the news in press releases before transmissions started, it was obvious that the news was intended to have an important credibility function towards the national authorities. One of the editors in *International News* was able to supply the following insight during the period of observation:

'We must have news for political reasons, to be able to compete for the next Swedish franchise for a national channel. The company wants to show that it is a Swedish/Scandinavian channel with news.'

However, the claim for political legitimacy could be easily combined with a claim for *general credibility*. Accordingly the Head of News in TV3 revealed that:
'... the company has said [about the news] 'this is a loss leader', like a supermarket, because we need credibility. So we pay for it.'

Collins (1976: 8) discusses the idea about television news as a 'loss leader', and says it was first presented by Wolf in a lecture at the 'Polytechnic of Central London' in 1973. The concept derived from Wolf's (1972) study of American broadcast practices. Wolf maintained that:

'... news programmes should be seen as 'loss leaders', whereby if a station acquired the reputation of responsibility, excellence and public spiritedness through its news services then there was a tendency for viewers to turn to that station for all programmes, news and non-news, even though the rest of the programming may not reach the same standard. Thus although a correlation of viewers to news programmes might show that news was little watched and seemingly unprofitable, if the totality of the station's transmissions and viewings were examined then the news might be seen as a vital element in maximising audiences.'

In this way, the applied credibility function may also be seen to have been employed as part of a general market strategy; i.e. that informal obligations for the news in TV3 were employed as part of a strategy for political legitimacy and a general market strategy.

However, the ways in which the news production processes were organised underscored the fact that few resources were invested to enhance this credibility. The news production in the TV 3 news-room was clearly based on a low-budget strategy. The aim of being able to reproduce the day's international news picture in an inexpensive way had materialised in a very limited number of news-staff, as well as in limited possibilities for this staff to carry out any journalistic work other than the reproduction of news from sources available in the news-room. The dependence on these few news sources was almost absolute. Consequently, the resources allocated and the resulting news production apparatus strongly pointed towards a corporate policy based on the reproduction of news from the few news-sources available to establish the credibility and seriousness of TV 3. Accordingly, the overall policy in regard to the news programme had put the journalists in a position with few possibilities for what they perceived as a journalistic treatment of events.

As one of the script-writers put it:

'There seems to be no overall policy on what news stories to cover - the only policy seems to be to save money.'
The extent to which the news people were enabled to go outside the news-room to work on their own stories was very limited. Accordingly, cleavages in TV3 were also strongly related to ideals for news processing, and the lack of opportunities to process the news in ways which were satisfying for the broadcasters as professional news people. One of the broadcasters made this remark about the low economic priorities given to the news programmes:

"The news is broadcast only to facilitate other programmes. There's no will at all to go for real, self-produced news."  

Although he stated during an interview that he had a good budget to run the news department on, the Head of News revealed that:

"We do operate on a very tight budget. That requires a great deal of imagination to make it work."

In addition to a political legitimacy function, and the 'loss leader' function to promote general credibility, the news was seen to have an important station identity function. The news programme, including the weather report, was the only live programme of TV3 to be transmitted every day (during week-days), and as no person was visually presented on screen for continuities, the news programme was regarded as important for the viewers in identifying TV3's output. As one of the editors explained:

"The news fulfills this station's identity function."

According to the Head of News, the news programme was also meant to keep the viewers tuned-in, and to have a reassuring function regarding news; it was supposed to 'empty' news programmes on competing channels by reassuring the audience that no particular news had happened, on which the viewers might have got more extensive information. If there was such news, the aim of TV3 was to provide the viewers with a short version.

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201 Norwegian: 'Nyhetene er sendt bare for å kunne sende andre programmer. Det fins ingen vilje i det hele tatt til å lage virkelige egendrevne nyheter.'

211 Norwegian: 'Nyhetene fyller denne identifiseringsfunksjonen.'
When the news programme was changed into the format of *3 Minutes News* in autumn 1990, the station-identity supposed to be provided by the news was strengthened by the decision to make the news presenters read continuities - off screen - between programmes. Some of the journalists refused to do this because it was against their journalistic conviction to do so. As a consequence, some were given notice, others resigned. The news staff (presenters and reporters) were radically changed from the previous to the new format. According to one of the previous editors, the new broadcasters, who were to read national news sent by fax from news-rooms in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, were mainly picked out to perform the service because of their appearance; they were supposed to attract viewers.

**General commercial considerations.** In many ways, the function of the news programme as a 'loss leader' and a provider of 'station-identity' may be seen as part of general commercial considerations. While being interviewed about commercial broadcasting and news, the Head of News in TV3 stated that:

"In commercial television the method, the traditional method by which programmes are evaluated, is to do audience research to see how many people are watching the programmes. In news I’m not interested in that - doesn’t mean anything to me. The reason is that the news always reflects what goes on on each side of the news."

As far as could be perceived by observations and interviews, there were not many episodes where market considerations had intervened directly in the production of news items. Three such episodes were mentioned while I was in the news-room. Two episodes were 'promotions' presented as news: one for the Swedish car-manufacturer Volvo, and another for the Scandinavian aviation company, Scandinavian Airlines. According to broadcasters, both were important sponsors for TV3 itself. The third episode may be considered as some kind of promotion for TV3. Since the channel had the exclusive Scandinavian rights for transmitting the World Cup in ice-hockey in 1990, the output editor was coerced by the management of TV3 to transmit an edited version of one of the matches in the news programme. According to one of the editors, the news report from the match was trans-

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212 Norwegian: *Tre minutter - Nyheter.*

213 This information came up during interviews. It stands as information from broadcasters in *International News.* There were several sources behind the information.
mitted, but re-edited before transmission, so that the broadcasters felt they had editorial control over the content.

The three mentioned episodes have a serious bearing upon ideals for editorial autonomy in news production.

Equally important, however, was that day to day commercial considerations determined the duration of the programmes, and in this capacity directly influenced the everyday format of the programme. It often happened that the available time for *International News* was cut. In connection to the programme there were advertisement slots and programme promotions for about 2½ minutes before and 2-3 minutes after the programme. The programme itself usually had a duration of about 20 minutes, including the weather report. It was obvious that the availability of advertisements influenced the duration of the advertisement slots, and thereby the duration of the news programme. As ScanSat is a British company transmitting via satellite to Scandinavia, there were no particular regulations and obligations for the television service; for example how much advertising could be transmitted per hour. It was a policy in ScanSat, though, to avoid being controversial in these matters.

One of the editors claimed that it was no problem working with the news in a commercial channel:

>'There is no direct influence [from the market]. The [news] department is not supposed to know what the other departments do. The news evaluations are to be made according to journalistic standards. Accordingly, the news would be the same even if the corporation were not commercial.'[^14]

However, the same editor was clearly ambivalent about this. During a period of observation, the editor who remarked that the different departments within TV3 were independent of each others also revealed that during periods, the company had accepted more advertisements than there was available space in the advertisement slots. Accordingly, the advertising slots were expanded, and the duration of the news programme had to be cut:

Accordingly, every day during periods when the commercial market was good, the Output Editor had to get information about how much time was available for the news programme. The statement by the editor was also underscored in a memo from the Vice President of Operations which said that:

'As a consequence of TV3 commercial bookings being so full, ... the Commercial Scheduler is authorised to schedule an increase of commercial air time accordingly.'

The editor was indeed very cynical about the fact that the duration of the programme varied on a day-to-day basis because of commercial considerations:

'You've got to be flexible in this business'.

However, there was also another aspect to the memo from the Vice President of Operations: the Vice President of Operations and the Head of News were, in fact, the same person. Accordingly, in relation to the referred memo, it was in no way correct that - as the quoted editor insisted - the news programme functioned independently of the market department.

6.3. Summary.
This chapter has examined the relations to the state and the market in Dagsrevyen and International News, and how these relations produced cleavages in their respective news-rooms. The broadcasters’ own perceptions of the cleavages were also examined. The investigation has been based on interviews and observations. It is clear that the different sections in Dagsrevyen had different opinions about the relationship to the state, and that there was a certain criticism directed towards broadcasters who acted too much like civil servants and too little as independent journalists. However, from the examples referred to,

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215 Norwegian: 'Det går så bra for selskapet at de trykker inn en masse reklameinnslag. Noen dager vi 10 minutter, andre 15. Vi får beskjed hver morgen om hvor mye tid vi har til rådighet.'

216 Memo from Vice President of Operations 09.10.89. to all staff in TV3.
there should be little doubt that journalism in Dagsrevyen, as in other public service news programmes, has changed towards more independent coverage since the programme started.\(^{137}\)

Cleavages in International News were discussed in relation to strategies for political legitimacy, general credibility, station-identity, and general commercial considerations. Its broadcasters expressed the opinion that because it was pursuing a franchise in Sweden, TV3 had a clear strategy for attaining political legitimacy for the new services in the eyes of the Swedish and Scandinavian authorities. However, many of the broadcasters felt that the search for credibility by producing news in the resulting context was problematic because of the lack of resources, and because of the commercial considerations which were quite influential in the last instance. Three cases in which content was directly influenced by commercial considerations were mentioned. Importantly, the duration of the programme itself was, during periods, changed on a daily basis to make space for advertisements.

\(^{137}\) For a similar argument about news and news angles in Swedish broadcast media, see Westerstahl and Johansson (1985, 1986).
Chapter 7: The news production apparatuses.

The present chapter provides an examination of the news production apparatuses of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*, and on how those apparatuses were designed to meet the demands of the news genre. The examination is based on observations and interviews while I was present as observer in the two news-rooms. The more detailed descriptions of the organisation of the news-rooms and the news-room activities are based on conditions as they were observed during the periods in each news-room in February and March 1990; the periods during which both news programmes were recorded for content analysis.

In their study of broadcast news - *Making the News* - Golding and Elliott (1979: 83) found that the image of the production structure that emerged from the national broadcasters in Nigeria, Ireland and Sweden was that of a:

'... strongly patterned, repetitive and predictable work routine.'

This is a finding which is also reported in other studies. Schlesinger (1987: 47), from a similar perspective, reports on what he finds to be a discrepancy between journalistic attitudes and sociological findings:

'Entrenched in newsmen’s mythology about their work is the belief of a lack of organisation. News, rather than being seen as the imposition of order upon the chaos of multifarious, often unrelated events and issues, is seen as a kind of recurring accident.'

Such findings may in some ways be seen as reactions towards certain expectations not only from news-people, but also from researchers (see Høyer, 1989). As discussed in Chapter 2, researchers within the field of mass communication have to some extent operated within a transmission perspective, from which they have had the ideal expectations that the news-apparatus would be organised in a way which would make the broadcasters able to cover the most relevant events as news. When it has been found that the dependence on resources and logistics in the news-room seemed to be so significant,

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218 See also Pittelkow, 1986.
the news apparatus and the journalists have in some instances been seen to be the determining factor in the distortion of news.

On one level, strongly patterned, repetitive and predictable work routines, as reported for example by Elliott and Golding, and by Schlesinger, could be identified in the news-rooms of International News and Dagsrevyen. It was this kind of work routine that allowed the news personnel to cope with events and reports from events in a way which enabled them to produce news for a television news format - a format which is often quite demanding. Hence, the overall design of the news production apparatuses of the two programmes may be seen to have represented an organisation of work which allowed the news-rooms to produce television news conforming to textual formulas of the genre of news.

On another level, the production apparatuses of the two programmes to a great extent varied both in regard to predictability and resources. There were significant differences in resources between the two news programmes regarding the news-activities inside and outside the news-room. While the editorial and journalistic work in International News in most instances was limited to reproduction from a few news-sources, Dagsrevyen to a much larger extent was based on a number of sources, as well as on the news staff's own research and journalistic work. This particularly applied to the domestic, but also to the foreign, news. The activities in the TV3 news-room were clearly based on a low-budget strategy. Because Dagsrevyen had far more resources for producing news, that news-room was also the more flexible in its operation; more choices could be made in regard to what news to include, as well as how to present it.

The overall policy in TV3 of being able to re-produce the day's international news picture in an inexpensive way had resulted in a very limited number of news-staff. As indicated in the previous chapter, the TV3 broadcasters were quite unhappy with this situation. The Head of News made the following remark about this state of affairs:

'What we should be doing as distinct from what we are doing, is that we should not just provide a resume of the world news, but we should also be looking at which stories are going on in the world which are worth further investigation further enlightenment, analysis and understanding.'
The Chief Editor of Dagsrevyen would also readily complain about the budget of the news-department. However, the differences between the two news production apparatuses were substantial.

7.1. The news production apparatus of International News.
The programmes produced by the news-room of International News were two 5 minute short programmes\(^{19}\) and one news programme of about 20 minutes including weather, and titled International News. The 20 minutes format of International News was transmitted at 21:00 English time - 22:00 Scandinavian time.\(^{20}\) It is the preparations for this main news programme which are the focus here.

7.1.1. The broadcasters.
All in all, there were 19 persons in the TV3 news-room during the day, every week-day, but not all of them were full-time employees. Of the 19 persons, eight, including the presenters, did journalistic and editorial work. In TV3, the reporters or journalists were referred to as script-writers, as their main job was to rewrite news from other sources, and read the commentary to news-video recordings supplied by picture sources.

Of the 19 persons in the news-room 10 were women, which gives a percentage of more than 50. Furthermore, the women covered some of the most influential positions, such as administrative assistant, editor, editorial assistant, director, presenter and script-writer. Most of the broadcasters were quite young and inexperienced with television news work.

The staff were well trained in covering their specific function within the news-room, even if they had no background in broadcasting. For example, this applied to the function as Director of the news programme. This may be regarded as a strategy by TV3 to organise the news-policy and the broadcasters in a way seen to benefit the corporation. It further facilitated what seemed to be an overall goal: to be able to present the news according to conventions for how to do so in an inexpensive way. As one of the script-writers remarked about the young people working in the news-room:

\(^{19}\) The format changed from 5 to 3 minutes in March 1990 to better give place for Wheels of Fortune.

\(^{20}\) In this section on International News time references will be on English G.M.T.
'We are incredibly young, and incredibly cheap, personnel.'

In employing and training young people, TV3 provided them with the opportunity to work in a field which would otherwise have been closed for them.

The staff in *International News* covered the following functions:\(^{223}\)

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\(^{223}\) For a more detailed overview, see Appendix 3.
FIGURE 7.1.1-1. ORGANISATIONAL CHART FOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

In addition:

Make-up
The staff usually worked all days except week-ends. During week-ends there were no news-programmes. According to a script-writer, the reason why was, firstly, that TV3 wanted to maximise the audience figures and the advertisement-incomes during week-ends by scheduling entertainment. Secondly, it was seen to be too expensive to produce news during the week-ends as well, as more staff would have had to be hired. As it was, the individual duties of staff in the news-room were carefully planned to meet the demands within the established news production process. Since there were no staff in the news-room during week-ends, the news-feeds - the news-videos made by news-agencies and transmitted daily to subscribers via satellite - were not recorded then.

The staff in *International News* had different national backgrounds; there were people from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Britain and France. The language spoken in the news-room was English, so that everyone could understand what was being said. The Input and Output Editors, the presenters and the script-writers, were of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish nationalities. The programme/technical staff was comprised mainly of British workers, although some were Scandinavian.

The Head of News and the News Assistant were also British. The News Assistant spoke Norwegian, and also knew the other Scandinavian languages well. Surprisingly the Head of News was not familiar with Scandinavian languages at all, and could neither speak nor understand any of them. Accordingly, he could not actually understand what was being said in the news programmes - be it in Norwegian, Swedish or Danish. As a result, the Head of News himself was not able to evaluate the verbal content of the news programmes properly.

During one of the periods of observation, the Head of News was interviewed about this. He explained about the circumstances why he, as a Briton not speaking Scandinavian languages, was employed as Head of News for a Scandinavian satellite channel. With a background as news-director in a well-esteemed British news programme, he later became in charge of a British company which produced current affairs programmes in 5 different languages for a European satellite channel. The company got the contract to produce news for ScanSat, and was later bought by this company. The man in charge of the previous company was made the Head of News in ScanSat. Anyhow, the Head of News was also appointed to two other positions in ScanSat: first Vice President of Operations, and then Vice President of Company. He also, however, still functioned as the Head of News. As
was clearly pointed out in Job Descriptions of News Department Staff (TV3, 1990b), one of the duties for the Head of News was to chair the news meeting daily. Because of his high work-load in other functions within the company, the Head of News did not attend any daily news-meetings while I was present as observer. The news-meetings were chaired by the Input and Output Editors.

Usually all the items for the news programme were produced within the news-room, based on wires and video material from the feeds or from the archives. Yet, production of reports from events outside the news-room by TV3 staff itself did take place; it happened that the script-writers also functioned as reporters or travelling foreign correspondents. That means that they went on location to report news stories. Until late November 1989, International News had one correspondent in each of the Scandinavian countries. This was, however, found to be too expensive, and Scandinavian news ceased to be a priority. During the period in which the programme was recorded for content analysis (1990), personnel from the news-room of International News made two reports on location in London, and six on location in Eastern Europe. One of the news-reports on location in London was an interview with the Swedish Prime Minister visiting Britain. The other was a 'stand up' outside the TV3 news-studio in London which was edited onto a news-feed from Visnews or WTN. The six reports from Eastern Europe (East-Germany, Hungary and Rumania) were a result of three different journeys by script-writers. Such journeys usually took place very seldom.

International News was also in contact with free-lancers, who were called in if any staff were off, and who could also work as foreign correspondents, so-called stringers. The stringers made it possible to present items based on telephone reports from around the world; news-video pictures from the agencies could then be edited onto the telephone reports. The budget for telephone reports from stringers was very limited. There was a policy in International News not to pay stringers more than £ 50 for such reports. One of the editors was able to tell me that because of the low payment, potential stringers were very reluctant to take on the jobs. During the period of 19 days of content analysis for this study, only two news reports from one stringer were presented. Both were on presidential elections in Nicaragua.

For budget reasons, there were no translators in the TV3 news-room. Translations were usually done by the reporters and the presenters themselves.
The employer, ScanSat, declined to negotiate with trade unions about payments. As a result all employees had individual agreements with ScanSat about payments and working-hours. Many of these agreements were only verbal short-time contracts. The differences in payments were significant; experienced senior personnel were paid the best, while some of the junior personnel had very little experience with television or with news, and received much lower payments. Most staff worked long hours during week-days.

7.1.2. News sources.
As has previously been mentioned and will be further discussed, the news-room of International News was organised in a way which provided very few resources for recording its own news from outside the news-room. Furthermore, the news-room subscribed to three main news sources, only. The three sources consisted of one wire service and two picture services. In addition TV3, based its news on a few other sources.

The one wire service subscribed to was the Associated Press (AP). In the news-room this was regarded as a service which covered most of the relevant world events in informed ways, but which could not always be trusted to the same extent as, for example, Reuters. AP also included a news photography service which could be (but seldom was) used for the presentation of stills pictures. Surprisingly, there were no Scandinavian wire services in the news-room. According to a broadcaster with editorial duties, the different national news-agencies of the three Scandinavian countries (NTB, TT and Ritz) as well as Reuters were absolutely necessary in the news-room. According to the same broadcaster, the lack of such facilities were due to budget-reasons; the reason for the limited subscription was that further subscriptions were regarded as too expensive. Furthermore, they were not seen to be needed to fill in the format of the news programmes by TV3 executives. While talking about the need for news sources to cover international news, the Head of News stated the following:

'We don't set out to do world exclusives. We don't set out to run stories that other people don't have. What we set out to do is to provide a resume of the world news.'

Information from a majority of the broadcasters.
The limited subscription to wire services did not enable the news staff in *International News* to check the information from Associated Press with news-telegrams from other wire services. In addition to the problem that AP was an American service with its own perspective on the news, the lack of opportunities for checking the reliability of the received information with other agencies was, according to broadcasters, one of the main problems with the dependence on the AP.

The *picture sources* on which the news-items were based were Visnews and WTN, which are closely related to the BBC, and WTN, respectively. The services were called 'the feeds', and were received in the news-room via satellite transmission four times a day: WTN at 14.00 and 18.15, and Visnews at 14.30 and 17.00. The duration of the transmission of the feeds varied, but was usually between 10 and 25 minutes. There were usually from 10 to 20 news sequences in each feed, and the different sequences had a duration of between \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{3}{4} \) minutes. The feeds came with short ready-made manuscripts for every item. These manuscripts were tele-faxed to the news-room (Visnews), or fed directly into the data-system of the news-room (WTN). To some degree, *International News* could exert an influence on what feeds were made available, by contacting the feed-services after provisional lists were made available in the morning.

The video pictures of the feeds were edited into news-items. Since there were no editing suites in *International News*, the equipment in the studio control room was used also for that purpose. To a varying degree, the manuscripts which came with the feeds were adjusted by the script-writers, usually on the basis of information from the AP wire service, or from other sources. The commentaries for the news-items in the programme were read in Norwegian, Swedish or Danish by the script-writers and presenters, depending on their nationality. The feeds were filed in the library, which had become an important source of video footage for background-reports as well as for news-items on issues on which there were no up-dated feeds. As in *Dagsrevyen*, archive video materials would very seldom be labelled 'archive' during transmissions.

To a significant extent, the daily work and the daily output of the news-room of *International News* was structured by the feeds. In effect, they were the main, and often only, source for pictorial material. This was obviously a result of the way in which the feeds *had been designed* to be central in the news apparatus; a news apparatus of which the main function was to inexpensively produce international news based on moving pictures.
Because of the central position of the feeds in the news production apparatus, their content was obviously a determining factor in what news stories were selected to be carried in the news programmes. The perceived quality of the feed sequences was also important for the running order of the news. Furthermore, the selection of the headline-stories was made with reference to the perceived news-worthiness of the available news pictures.

In regard to sources other than wire service and picture sources, the broadcasters sought information in newspapers, radio news (especially BBC World Service), and television news programmes from the BBC, ITN, Sky and CNN, as well as from available tele-text services from those channels. The newspapers present in the news-room were usually The Independent, The Guardian and The Financial Times. In addition, there was one newspaper from each of the Scandinavian countries: Aftenposten (Norwegian conservative paper), Dagens Nyheter (Swedish liberal) and Berlingske Tidende (Danish conservative). These papers arrived by post in the news-room about two to four days late. There was no arrangement to ensure that the Scandinavian newspapers would arrive in the TV3 news-room the same day as they were printed. Some of the broadcasters didn’t like this. One of the scriptwriters said the papers were important source of knowledge about what was going on in Scandinavia. Furthermore, that the problem could easily arise that the programme would come to be perceived as not up-to-date by the audience: the delayed receipt of the papers could give rise to the impression of being 'behind times':

'If the audience get the feeling that we don’t know what goes on, we will lose viewers',

According to a script-writer, the papers came late for budget reasons. The news-room in International News operated under a tight budget, and the budget policy also produced some other peculiar effects. For example, according to one of them, the editors were not usually allowed to pay more than £ 8 per still picture to use in the programme. The usual cost of such pictures was about £ 30. If the editor wanted a picture which cost more than £ 8, the Head of News had to be consulted, as the Job Descriptions of News Department Staff (TV3, 1990b) stated that the Head of News approves all news department expenditure'. The use of still-pictures in the programmes was seldom approved, however. In any case, there were other ways of obtaining them: they could be produced from the

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221 Norwegian: 'Får TV-seerne følelsen av at vi ikke vet hva det dreier seg om mister vi seere'.
video archives or the photography archives in the news-room, or be taken from the picture service of Associated Press. That is, if relevant pictures could be found or were available.

The tight budget policy also left International News without its own camera for electronic news gathering (ENG). The three cameras in the news studio were ENG cameras, but they were not fitted with devices for outside recordings. An 'outside' camera had to be rented from a facility-house in the same building as the TV3 news-room was located. Permission for rental had to be given by the Head of News. As confirmed by one of the editors, the Input and Output Editors were not authorised to permit this, and permission was difficult to obtain. If permission was given to rent the camera and go for ENG recordings, the resulting news report would most often include an interview or a 'stand up' to textually claim that the news report was made independently by TV3 representatives. The fact that during the period of recordings for analysis of the programmes only 9 news-items of 215 were made on location outside the studio, indicates that permission to make such recordings was seldom granted.

The lack of TV3's own facilities for recording pictures for news-items made the feeds - the video picture services from Visnews and WTN - even more crucial for the presentation of International News.

7.1.3. On news policy and the process of production.

The overall corporate policy and strategy for implementing news in TV3 was discussed in the previous chapter; it was a strategy which resulted in the production apparatus as examined in this chapter. The present section more specifically addresses the execution of every-day policy in the news-room. It should be stated that the allocation of resources severely limited the number of substantial policy-decisions the broadcasters in the TV3 news-room could make regarding the news coverage; there were few major decisions to be made in the news-room, except for deciding priorities among the news-items which came to the news-room via wires or feeds. This limitation obviously produced frustrations in the news-room. From the dissatisfactions of being editor and not being able to make central decisions about the news-coverage because of limited resources, one of the editors decided to quit International News during one of my periods of observation.

One of the script-writers made the following statement about such frustration:
"This is unfortunately not a question of producing items, but of what items are received [in the news-room]. (my emphasis).

One of those with editorial duties put it this way when asked about the programme policy:

"The problem is often to fill in the 15 minutes. Often we do let quite thin stories through. And we don't need to make, for example, legal judgements as there have always been lots of gatekeepers on the material before it reaches us. ... Within the frames provided by the programme format there is nothing to do. You can change the news-lists, only. There are no possibilities for us ourselves to make our own reports about events."

However, a news-policy was established for the every-day work. The main places for a daily news-policy were the forward planning (short term and long term) and in the news-meetings.

Few resources were allocated to the forward planning of the every day activities in the news-room of International News. The reason for this is pointed out above: there was a general lack of human and technical resources for researching news stories.

Nevertheless, the forward planning was important to monitor the overall news-picture. The monitoring was mainly carried out by the News Assistant and the Input Editor, who would also consult news-contacts outside the news-room. In addition, the Head of News had an important 'economic gatekeeping' role in the planning, as he had to approve all extra news-department expenditure. The planning was made both in the long-term and short term, but mostly the latter.

Long term planning included a weekly planning list of major events/occasions to be monitored. The list was partly based on information from AP, and partly on work done by the News Assistant and the Input Editor. Long term planning could also include practical arrangements for script-writers who were going for recordings outside the news studio, whether it be in London or England as a reporter, or overseas as a 'foreign correspondent'.

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234 Norwegian: 'Her dreier det seg dessverre ikke om å lage innslag, men om hva som kommer inn.'

235 Norwegian: 'Problemet er ofte å fylle de 15 minuttene. Vi slipper ofte gjennom ganske tynne historier. Og vi trenger aldri for eksempel å gjøre legale vurderinger ettersom det alltid har vært nisse gatekeppers på stoffet før det kommer til oss. ... Innfor ramrene av programformatet er det ingenting å gjøre. En kan kun endre på kjøreplaner. Vi har ingen mulighet til sjøl å ta tak i, reportasjeneisis, ting som hender.'
Furthermore, a part of the long term planning was to prepare for interviews in the news studio. With the limited resources, interviews in the news studio - where cameras were already in place and the interviews could be recorded onto video tape for later editing and transmission - were seen as an important way of breaking up the textual routine of the news-items based on feeds. During the 19 days of recordings in February and March 1990 two studio interviews were transmitted in International News: one was a live interview with a TV3 script-writer/foreign correspondent', who had presented three news-reports from Rumania. The other was a recorded interview with a BBC Eastern Europe specialist about the developments in the area.

A basic feature in the short term planning in International News was the day-to-day monitoring of the news from the news sources in the news-room. The daily monitoring activity was the most important way in which the news-room was kept updated with events which had turned, or might turn, into news. By watching the news-items in the BBC and the ITN television news, it was often possible for the Input Editor and the News Assistant to predict what would be available in the news-feeds from Visnews and WTN. Predictions were usually confirmed when the preliminary lists for what the feeds would contain arrived the news-room between 9 and 10 in the morning. For example, one of the editors remarked in a news meeting:

'On the next feed we get nice pictures from Sudan, where the rebels attack and gain some victories, as I understand it. There was some piece on it on BBC last night, and they've got very good pictures - a kind of forgotten war ... We should give some background, but not too long, I think.'

Based on the monitoring of news during the morning, and on the preliminary lists of contents of the feeds, the first provisional list for what news to cover on a particular day would be ready around 10 in the morning. A slightly revised version of that list was the basis for the first news-meeting of the day - as late as 13.30. The different news issues were now formalised under some kind of short code name, as for example NATO, Kabul, Lithuania, Rumania, Homelands, Kashmir, Killings, Costa Rica, Castro, Fire, Women (from 8th of March 1990).

The news-meetings were also an important forum for the news-policy in an everyday capacity. The first meeting took place at 13.30 and was a kind of editorial meeting, attended by the news assistant, the Input Editor, the Output Editor, the two presenters and
the Director. As was previously pointed out, although it was one of his duties, the Head of News never attended the news-meetings during the periods I was observing in the TV3 news-room.

The tone in the first meeting was that of an open discussion. The Input Editor went through the prepared list and in a quite detailed way commented on possible angles to the different stories included in the list. The others asked questions, gave comments, or challenged the versions of the news issues given. A quite common question during these meetings was 'what kind of pictures are we getting on this?'. The availability and the quality of pictures would usually determine whether the story was carried or not, where it was placed in the running order for the news programme, and what form of news-item was produced. As one of the editors commented when the question about pictures was raised during a period of winter storms in Europe late February 1990:

'We want to carry the storm. Very good and funny pictures are coming up. There was a ferry out in the North Sea which was not able to approach the ferry terminal. And all passengers were jolly happy because they were served free spirits.'

The different formats in International News were what are known as 'piece-to-camera' (the camera is on the presenter while s/he presents the news-item), 'dis' (comments by presenter to still-pictures graphics etc. stored on the dls-machine), 'u-lay' (commentary by presenter to pre-edited video-tape), and 'vt' report (video-tape report - ready-made video-tape report with commentary by a script-writer). Since there were usually three script-writers in the news-room, and they mainly made one 'vt' report each, the programme would normally consist of three 'vt's', two or three 'dis'-stories and the rest would be 'u-lays' or 'piece-to-camera'.

After the different forms of the news-items were decided, the 'vt' news-issues were then allocated to script-writers, and the 'dis' and 'u-lays' were allocated to the presenters. As in other news-meetings, no minutes were taken during this meeting which usually lasted for about 20 minutes. A 'news-list' was produced, however, which guided the further work within the news-room. It was apparent that most of the information for this list was gathered by monitoring the few news sources within the news-room; the one wire service

26. See also Chapter 4.
subscribed to, English radio and television news programmes, tele-text, and English and (out-dated) Scandinavian newspapers.

Immediately after the first news-meeting, the first news-feed was received in the news-room. It was the feed from WTN at 14.00, with a duration of about 15 minutes. Most of the news-room staff watched the feed, which in addition to being recorded on broadcast quality video-tapes for later editing, was also recorded to be shelved in the library and for previewing among the script-writers.

After the first feed from WTN it was time for the second and last news-meeting, at about 14.15. This was for the whole news-room. It had a duration of about 10-15 minutes. If there had been discussions and questions among the attendants in the previous meeting, this meeting had the character of being a forum where the Output Editor informed the staff about the day's news programme. Time slots and news-stories were allocated to the individual script-writers, as were the news angles from which the stories were to be covered. The allocation of angles may be illustrated by a presentation of a news issue by an editor in the news meeting 8th of March 1990:

'Cuba - Castro to withdraw military aid from Nicaragua, and at the same time Moscow says that Castro is an old man, and he's not very popular in Moscow any more. They have stopped their aid to Cuba. And we're sort of making a short, very short, portrait on Castro as an isolated man, and nobody likes him any more. That should be done by [naming a script-writer]'.

After the meeting, at 14.30, the first feed from Visnews was to be received. After that, there were two more feeds to come, but those already received had given the presenters and the script-writers more video material than would usually be needed to fill the format of the news programmes for that evening. From now on, the script-writers and the presenters would prepare their news-stories, and the 'u-lays' and 'vt's would be edited from the feed-material. The Output Editor would function as a time-keeper and quality controller, as well as keeping an eye on the wire service, in case there were new stories to be included in the programme. The Director would be in charge of the visuals.

The described routines for producing the news were repeated every day, except for weekends, and may be described as quite repetitive and predictable. To sum up, the resources of the TV3 news-room were very limited regarding possibilities for doing kinds of work other
than reproducing the news from other news media. The news policy was also geared more
towards being able to reproduce such news than towards an own independent production of
news.

7.2. The news production apparatus of Dagsrevyen.
The news-room usually produced four news programmes per day: a short news bulletin for
the deaf people just before 17.00, a 10 minutes news programme at 17.00, Dagsrevyen at
19.30, and a late-evening news-bulletin of about 10 minutes. In addition, some of the
personnel in the news-room were also involved in week-end magazines, a current affairs
programme twice a week, weekly foreign affairs programmes, coverage of special events,
and election programmes. Dagsrevyen, the 30 minute-long main evening news programme,
is the main focus of the examination in this section.

7.2.1. The broadcasters.
By international standards the news-room staff in Dagsrevyen were few. Including the
technical personnel for the broadcasting of the programme, there were approximately 130
persons who held their job in connection to the Television News Department of the NRK.
In addition, Dagsrevyen was also everyday week-day in contact with the NRK Regional
Offices, which also produced news-items for the programme. To some extent Dagsrevyen
also drew on work by free-lancers. Of the approximately 130 persons mentioned, about 20
were ENG staff, and about 60 were editorial and journalistic staff (foreign correspondents
included). The staff in Dagsrevyen included the following functions:

\[^{227}\]

\[^{227}\] For a more detailed description of the news-room functions, see Appendix 4.
FIGURE 7.2.1.-1. ORGANISATIONAL CHART FOR DAGSREVYEN:

Chief Editor

Assistant Chief Editor

Production

Editor-in-
charge

Chief Producer

Administrative Staff

Producers

Scripts

Technical studio personnel

ENG co-
ordinator

ENG Editing

ENG Camera

ENG Sound

ENG Floor Manager

Foreign Duty-Editors

Ed. of Pol. Domestic Affairs

Ed. of General Domestic Affairs and Planning

Special Task Correspondent

Foreign Correspondents

Reporters

Reporters

Planning Staff

Presenters

In addition: Archives, Make-up, Sub-texting/translation, Technicians
Of the approximately 130 persons who held their positions in relation to *Dagsrevyen*, about 53 were usually needed to make one programme (see Appendix 5). This number includes some personnel who did not work full-time for *Dagsrevyen*, such as technical staff who were only in the studio during transmission; about 21 editorial and journalistic personnel were needed for one programme.

The *Editor-in-Charge* was the co-ordinator of the work in the news-room, and was editorially responsible for the daily production of news in the news-room. In the morning, the Editor-in-Charge functioned as input editor, and in the afternoon as output editor. Of the 5 persons who held these positions as Editor-in-Charge, three would be present in the news-room each day: one during the input-process (until the news-meeting 15.00), one for the output process of *Dagsrevyen* (from after the news-meeting 15.00 until *Dagsrevyen* was transmitted), and one for the output process for the late evening bulletin. However, at any time in the news-room there was only one person who had the function as Editor-in-Charge. The Editor-in-Charge functioned as timekeeper and quality-controller for the ready-made news-items. She would have the operational control of what was going on in the news-room and refer upwards to the Chief Editor or his deputy about special issues if it was felt to be necessary. In the case of substantial extra costs regarding the news coverage, the Chief Editor or the Assistant Chief Editor would usually be consulted, although the Editor-in-Charge had the authority to make decisions on the spot.

Except for three reporters who were *Special Task Correspondents* for cultural matters and affairs related to the oil industry, the three different sections within which the journalists work was organised were; the section for political domestic affairs, the section for general domestic affairs, and the section for foreign affairs.

The *section for political domestic affairs*, covered news about Parliament, the Government, and Royal matters. The reporters were specially authorised to cover these beats, and were generally more experienced and better paid than the reporters in the section of general domestic affairs. The reporters in this section were partly based in the *Dagsrevyen* news-

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28 Norwegian: Vaktsjef.
29 Norwegian: Innenriksgruppa.
30 Norwegian: Almenreportergruppa.
31 Norwegian: Utenriksgruppa.
room, and partly in Parliament, where there was a small news-room as well as a news-
studio. The studio could easily be equipped with ENG technology for recordings and for
live transmissions.

The section for general domestic affairs covered domestic news, except those issues
covered by the section of political domestic affairs. The editor of the section, The Editor of
General Domestic Affairs and Planning, also had editorial responsibility for activities in the
planning section. The reporters in this section were usually given assignments by the
Editor-in-Charge rather than the Editor of General Domestic Affairs and Planning. In this
way, the reporters also functioned as an 'emergency force' for the Editor-in-Charge. To
some degree, it caused the reporters dissatisfaction, because they could only work on their
own news stories to a very limited extent. As one of the general domestic affairs reporters
stated:

'We always have to run after the fire brigade'.

The reporters in this section were all-rounders, and most of them were relatively young in
relation to the reporters in the other sections. Most reporters in this section were also on
short-term contracts.

In the section for foreign affairs, foreign news was produced by the foreign reporters and
by the foreign correspondents. Within the foreign affairs section, there was also the role of
the Foreign-Duty-Editor to be covered. The Foreign-Duty-Editor performed the role of
editor for news made by representatives of the foreign affairs section, and by the foreign
correspondents. S/he was, however, subordinate to the Editor-in-Charge of the news
programme. Like the reporters in the section for domestic political news, the foreign
reporters were generally more experienced and better paid than the general domestic affairs
reporters.

There were 12 foreign correspondents who worked both for NRK-Television and NRK-
Radio. In addition, NRK-Radio had two more foreign correspondents; one in Stockholm
and one in Copenhagen. The 12 correspondents were located in the following areas:

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232 Norwegian: 'Vi må altid løpe etter brannbilen'.

233 Norwegian: U-jour - ansvarlig på utenriksdeksjon.
FIGURE 7.2.1.-2. LOCATION OF THE NRK FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Area to cover</th>
<th>No:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Central Europe/EEC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Fr. and Latin Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>1235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amman</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td></td>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>USA ...</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exhibit illustrates that the number of correspondents was significant, and that nearly half of the correspondents were located in European capitals; i.e., in places were the news-coverage from wire-services and national broadcasting companies participating in the Eurovision News Exchange (EVN) were situated. From these places *Dagsrevyen* would usually easily get news telegrams as well as video-feeds. In addition, correspondents were located in places where the main wire-services subscribed to had their head-quarters. Interestingly, there was no foreign correspondent for television in other Scandinavian or Nordic countries. There was a certain co-operation regarding news videos through the EVN, but as will be seen later, very few of the presented news-items in *Dagsrevyen* had their origin in the Nordic area. Furthermore, some huge areas and continents were covered by but a single correspondent, for example one correspondent was assigned to cover Africa. So, even if the number of correspondents in *Dagsrevyen* was quite substantial, the structure of the correspondent net did not counter the dominant structure of international news. One of the correspondents interviewed during observation was unhappy that:

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123 During several periods in the spring 1990 there were two correspondents in Moscow.

125 This correspondent was on temporary contract, and covered Eastern Europe.
Journalism on foreign issues has been formed and been led by people who did their journalistic training, and have worked their whole adult life, in the cold war.296

About the coverage of the Third World, the correspondent further stated:

"Within a normal budget we can do lots of things in Europe, but are you going overseas, to Asia or Africa, it is so incredibly expensive that it is difficult to get things produced [for budget reasons] ... The third world is further away than the others we relate to. This is a coincidence of unlucky circumstances. Partially it is because of lack of interest from the foreign affairs management, partially because it becomes too expensive, and partially it is because it doesn’t have the political relevance - a conflict becomes a curiosity, only, if not related to conflicts of Great Powers."

Most of the editorial and journalistic staff in Dagsrevyen had considerable experience from broadcasting as well as from the press. The section with the highest relative number of young and less experienced staff was that of general and domestic affairs, which was the section into which reporters were usually recruited.

There were few women among the technical personnel, or among the ENG personnel in Dagsrevyen. Of the 10 positions with editorial responsibilities (excluding the function of the Foreign-Duty-Editor which changed between experienced reporters), one position only was occupied by a woman - the position of Editor of Domestic Affairs and Planning.298

All the positions in planning were occupied by women, and so were seven of the nine positions as scripts. Among the reporters and correspondents, women seemed to be best represented in positions which were, internally in Dagsrevyen, least prestigious; only two of the 12 correspondents were women, none of the three Special Task Correspondents, two of the seven reporters in section for foreign affairs, two of the six reporters in the section for political domestic affairs, and two of the five presenters. Except for that, women were best represented in the section for domestic affairs and planning; of the 11 positions in that section, five were occupied by women.

296 Norwegian: 'Journalistik på utenriks-stoff har blitt formet og ledet av folk som tok sin journalistiske utdanning under, og har arbeidet hele sitt voksne liv i, den kalde krigen.'

297 Norwegian: 'Innenfor et normalt budsjett så kan vi få til en masse ting i Europa, men skal du oversjøisk, Asia, Afrika, så koster det så vanvittig mye at det ikke blir noe av. ... Den tredje verden ligger jo da lengst unna i forhold til det andre vi har å forholde oss til. Dette er et sammenfall av uheldige omstendigheter. Dels manglende interesse fra utenriksledelsen, dels at det blir dyrt og dels at det ikke har den politiske relevans - en konflikt blir så kunnskapsrelevant hvis den ikke er knytt til en stormaktsskonflikt.'

298 In 1992 a woman became Assistant Chief Editor, and there are also now women among the Editors-In-Charge.
When the foreign correspondents were excluded, the number of editors and reporters in *Dagsrevyen* was about 48. Of these, 37 answered to structured interviews during a period of observation in 1991. Of these 37, 64 per cent regarded themselves as having a middle-class social background, while 36 per cent regarded themselves as working class. The average age of the broadcasters was 46 years; 42 per cent were between 24 and 37 years, 47 per cent between 37 and 51 years, and 11 per cent between 51 and 65 years. *Dagsrevyen* provided different terms of employment, and from structured interviews it turned out that 59 per cent had permanent employment, 30 per cent had temporary employment, and 11 per cent of those working in the news-room regarded themselves as free-lancers. Moreover, 68 per cent of the broadcasters had worked in *Dagsrevyen* for less than 9 years, 8 per cent between 9 and 18 years, and 24 per cent between 18 and 28 years. From the figures mentioned, it may be seen that the positions in the *Dagsrevyen* news-room were occupied, mostly, by broadcasters who regarded themselves to have a middle-class background, who were on average 46 years of age, and of whom most had permanent employment - although for 30 per cent it was temporary, and for 11 per cent their work was free-lance.

As part of the structured interview, the reporters and editors were also asked which two Norwegian newspapers they preferred. Four papers were the dominant ones: 87 per cent of the broadcasters would choose the conservative broad-sheet *Aftenposten* as one of their two newspapers, while 49 per cent would choose the liberal tabloid *Dagbladet*, 24 per cent the social democratic tabloid *Arbeiderbladet*, and 22 per cent would choose the tabloid *Conservative populist respectively*. It was interesting that the national Oslo-oriented papers seemed to be so dominant. Very few would prefer regional (for regions outside Oslo) and local newspapers.

The news production apparatus of *Dagsrevyen* was designed to provide news during weekends as well as during weeks-days. Conditions of employment were regulated by agreements between trade unions and the NRK. Within *Dagsrevyen*, The Norwegian Federation of Journalists (NJ) had a strong position. During the summer 1990 the NJ organised industrial action to increase the income for its members. In the national press, and in

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280 See Chapter 4 and Appendix 2.
281 See Chapter 4 and Appendix 2.
282 Norwegian: Norsk Journalistlag.
Dagsrevyen, the industrial action took the form of a strike which lasted from 19th of June until 13th of July. There was no television news from the NRK during this period. However, as part of the industrial action, members of the NJ in Dagsrevyen organised and produced three consecutive television news-programmes for a competing cable-network channel. The programmes were transmitted on the 23rd, 24th and 25th of June ( Uhnger, 1990). This was a serious threat to the NRK as enterprise, which made the Director General of the NRK, Einar Forde, claim that the NRK was the Norwegian enterprise most dominated by trade unions. In May 1993 there was another strike among journalists in the NRK, but it lasted for a shorter period than the previous one.

7.2.2. News sources.

The news sources in Dagsrevyen can be said to include its own sources, wire services from news agencies, picture sources, and other news sources.

Own news sources: The planning section registered pre-scheduled events which could be covered as news. On domestic news, reporters were working in different news areas. Within these areas they were usually well-orientated, familiar with news-literature, and in contact with people and institutions which were potential sources for news. The same also applied to the foreign correspondents within the geographical areas they covered.

Wire services: The NRK subscribed to The Norwegian News Agency (NTB) as well as The French Agence France Presse (AFP), the American Associated Press (AP), the German Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA) and the British Reuters.

Picture sources: ENG-teams from Dagsrevyen, or from one of the 17 District Offices (of which 13 had ENG equipment) supplied Dagsrevyen with most of the video footage for domestic news. Some of the video footage for foreign news-items was based on recordings made by foreign correspondents and ENG teams. In such cases, local ENG teams were usually hired in the place the foreign correspondent was stationed, but sometimes ENG-teams from Dagsrevyen went abroad for shorter periods. This was usually in the event of a foreign news reporter or a foreign correspondent going abroad for a period limited to a few

\[^{242}\text{Norwegian: Kringkastingssjefen.}\]

\[^{243}\text{Norwegian: Norsk telegrambyrå.}\]
days to make news reports. Video cassettes could then be edited in Dagsrevyen on arrival. This was a much cheaper way of producing foreign news than transmitting the news-reports and video-footage via expensive telecommunication lines or satellites to Norway. For example, a transmission from Moscow to the news-room in Oslo would cost about £ 1220 on the EBU network, while a satellite transmission from the US would cost about £ 780. For economic reasons, mostly, only 9 news-items recorded on location with foreign correspondents, or with reporters who went abroad for a shorter period, were transmitted during the two periods in February and March 1990.

For economic reasons, most of the video pictures for foreign news-items were therefore based on feeds from the Eurovision news exchange - a part of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). On the EBU-network there were usually three news video exchanges per day; at 12.00, 17.00 and 18.55.

In addition to its own recordings and the Eurovision news exchange, Dagsrevyen had a contract with CNN which enabled the news-room to use broadcast CNN video materials recorded by Dagsrevyen. To do this, Dagsrevyen had to pay a certain sum, and was not permitted to remove the CNN logo from the video-image. Many of the feeds from Visnews and WTN were available on the EVN feeds. However, Dagsrevyen also subscribed to a weekly service which supplied the news-room with video cassettes of the WTN and the Visnews feeds of the week. These cassettes, as well as cassettes of news-items from previous news programmes, were all filed in the archives.

*Other news sources:* For future planning, Dagsrevyen subscribed to weekly and monthly overviews from the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation and the BBC. Newspapers and magazines were also important sources for both domestic and foreign news. In the news-room, many domestic newspapers were present; national, regional and local papers and magazines as well as foreign newspapers and news-magazines.

Furthermore, radio, and especially the NRK Radio News (Dagsnytt), was an important source of news. In Dagsrevyen, during an early stage of research, one of the reporters

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244 Approx. 14 000 NOK.
245 Approx. 9 000 NOK.
246 Norwegian: Sveriges Radio.
asked what I wanted to find out. I replied that one of the tasks was to see what occurrences became news, and why. The reporter stated:

"You want to know where the news comes from? Just listen to the NRK Radio News, Radio 1, at 7.30 in the morning. The news there is most often the news presented in Dagsrevyen at 19.30."

The reporter was then asked what the reason for this could be. He revealed that the early morning radio news in the NRK was well up-dated, because the news-items could be produced in a short time since in the production of radio news programmes there were relatively uncomplicated production procedures. He also revealed that there were many news-items in that particular news-programme, which reflected the overall news-picture at that time of the day. In Dagsrevyen the 13-15 new issues which were covered in the evening were mostly selected from the morning’s news-picture if nothing particularly eventful had happened during the day. It was therefore quite unavoidable that Dagsrevyen would repeat some of the news from Dagsnytt, the reporter stated.

Besides this, the news programmes of Swedish Television (which are received by the majority of the Norwegian population) and CNN were also extensively monitored. Since Dagsrevyen is seen by many to be the most important newscast in Norway, it received a substantial amount of press releases - usually by post and tele-fax. One of the reporters ironically stated, while pointing to the pile of such releases:

"As you see, here we get the news-picture in the post."

In addition to the mentioned sources, it was not uncommon for persons and institutions to contact the news-room directly about potential news issues.

7.2.3. On news-policy and the process of production.

According to one of the most central editors, the policy of Dagsrevyen was to cover the most important news every day, and to maintain a status as the most important provider of news for the nation. In Dagsrevyen, as in International News, the planning and the news-

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147 Norwegian: 'Du vil vite hvor nyhetene kommer fra? Bare hør på Dagsnytt klokka 168 om morgenen. Det er vanligvis de nyhetene som blir presentert i Dagsrevyen 168 om kvelden.'

148 Norwegian: 'Som du ser får vi nyhetsbildet i posten.'
meetings were the main forums for every-day news-policy to be formed and executed. This is examined in the present section. In addition, a short analysis of what factors the broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* conceived as the most important for the news production is included.

A substantial part of the news-items in *Dagsrevyen* were based on self-researched or self-recorded material. Almost all the video footage for the domestic news-items was recorded by ENG-teams from *Dagsrevyen* or from NRK Regional Offices. In addition, the coordination of the activities of the foreign correspondents, and the traditional role of *Dagsrevyen* as the programme which covered events of national interest, required careful planning. In the planning section, which consisted of three persons and the Editor of General Domestic Affairs and Planning, coverage of both domestic and foreign news was prepared. Of the five persons, three concentrated mainly on domestic news, and two mainly on foreign news. As television technically is a complex medium, an important part of the planning for the programme was to prepare the logistics; i.e. how the different news assignments could be carried out in the most efficient way. In addition to the planning group, the Editor of Foreign Affairs and the Editor of Political Domestic Affairs were involved in these preparations.

The long term planning was mainly based on the planning diary which was an integral part of the data-system in the news-room. The entries in the diary were based on weekly and monthly overviews from the Norwegian News Agency (NTB), from the BBC, from the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, and from national sources such as almanacs for different official institutions, etc. In addition relevant press releases for future events were included in the news diary, and the planning section did their own research by contacting persons and institutions. As a result of the yearly ceremony for the winner of the Nobel Peace Price, and other official ceremonies and proceedings, the planning section had developed close ties to representatives of Parliament, the Government, and the Royal Palace. Official proceedings would frequently be included in the list. In many ways, the planning section functioned as a link to 'the official Norway' when it came to formal events. When King Olav Vth was buried in January 1991, an extended planning group within *Dagsrevyen* did most of the planning and preparation for the television coverage of the ceremony.

The long term planning also included rotas for staff, co-ordination of the activities of the foreign correspondents, and preparations for telecommunication lines to receive audio as
well as visual news-items from abroad. The planning section had a weekly meeting to prepare for special events during the following week, as well as a daily meeting to prepare the news coverage of the next day.

The short term planning: Depending on what kind of events were to be covered, the short term planning took place each day in all the sections. If the planning took place in the individual sections, it would usually be included in the forward planning diary of the forward planning section. The forward planning meetings produced a list for the following day's news meeting: the lists were the most important material used from one day to the other - as a preparation for the news-meetings.

The news-meetings in Dagsrevyen structured the day's work, as well as forming the daily news-room policy in important ways. When the Editor-in-Charge came to work between 7.30 and 8.00 in the morning, s/he would start to prepare the news-meeting at nine by getting an overview of today's news. However, the first thing to do was to check the news-log from the previous night's programme. The log was a tool for the previous Editor-in-Charge to inform the editor and the rest of the news-room about problems during preparations for, and transmissions of, the news programmes. In addition, the log would usually contain information about ready-made news-items which had not been aired, as well as reactions to the news programmes by viewers who had phoned the news-room during and after transmission. Moreover, the editor would check the planning list, proposals from the different editorial sections, press releases (usually received via tele-fax), and start monitoring the news-picture from four main sources: NRK Radio News, the wire services, CNN and the morning news papers.

Regarding the newspapers, all the papers at the desk of the Editor-In-Charge were usually based in Oslo: Aftenposten (broadsheet, conservative), Arbeiderbladet (tabloid, social democratic), Dagbladet (tabloid, liberal), Dagens Næringsliv (tabloid, conservative, business orientated), Nationen (tabloid, closely related to the Agrarian Party), VG (tabloid, conservative) and Vårt Land (tabloid, closely related to the Christian Democratic Party). Most of the regional newspapers would not be available in the morning. Those which were available, however, were usually not at the desk of the Editor-in-Charge while s/he read Norwegian: Dagsnytt.
through those conceived to be most important to the construction of a relevant overview of the day's news.

The *news-meeting at nine* was attended by most of the news staff. Usually, both the Chief Editor and the Assistant Chief Editor would be present. The meeting usually started with one of them commenting on different aspects from the previous day's news programme. The comment could seem quite ad-hoc. Nevertheless the broadcasters would perceive it as the 'official evaluation' of yesterday's programme. They might not agree with it, but it was nevertheless important, as it was presented by those who set the terms in the news-room. Often during the meeting the top editors would also provide some policy remarks about what news needed to be covered, in what ways to do it, etc. The meeting was the main forum in which the Chief and Assistant Chief Editors communicated their news policy to the news-room. This communication was to a significant extent based on concrete response to concrete issues.

A person who held one of the most central editorial positions, in an interview during observation on the execution of policy in *Dagsrevyen*, commented that:

'It is formed exclusively through daily priorities. It is useless for us to construct a scheme for how to cover the world. ... The news-picture changes. It is through daily priorities and corrections we make our news-picture. The nine o'clock news-meeting is important in the way that it provides directions for the day's work, and a critique of what has been done. ... It is exclusively through proposals about coverage, and a critical evaluation of this coverage, that our policy is formed.\(^{250}\)

One of the reporters agreed about such a description, but was very negative towards the vague policy guidelines, which were part of the 'news-culture' within the news-room:

'Yes, the rules are many, and they are unwritten. In that way there are norms. And, consequently, there is also a policy; however, a policy which is unwritten. And that means, as a result, that it is very seldom discussed.\(^{251}\)"

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\(^{250}\) Norwegian: 'Den er formet utelukkende gjennom daglig prioritering. Det nytter ikke for oss å sette opp et skjema for hvordan verden skal dekkes. ... Nyhetsbildet forandrer seg. Det er gjennom daglige prioriteteringer og korreksjoner vi lager vårt nyhetsbilde. Ni-møtet er viktig på den måten at det både gir et oppslag for dagen og en kritisk gjennomgang av det som har vært. ... Det er utelukkende gjennom forslag om dekning og et kritisk ettersyn av dekning, at vår policy er formet.'

\(^{251}\) Norwegian: 'Ja, det er mange og uskrevne regler her. Sånn sett er det jo normer, da. Sånn sett er det jo en policy også, men en policy på det uskrevne planet. Og det gjør at den veldig sjelden blir tatt opp til debatt.'
At the meeting a presentation of the potential news, and short comments on what angles to apply to that news, were made by the Editor-in-Charge. In the discussions towards the end of the meeting, the reporters and editors had the chance to 'sell stories' - get acceptance for stories they wanted to work on. By the time the news-meeting at nine was finished, most of the news to be presented in the evening’s programme was settled. That was 10 hours before the programme would be on the air. As in the case of International News, no minutes of the news-meetings were taken. After the meeting, however, the Editor-in-Charge would produce a list of news issues to be covered which was based on the presentation, discussions and policy-statements during the meeting. During this first news-meeting, news stories had been allocated to reporters. If recordings for video-reports were to be done, an ENG-team and a reporter would be sent out for recordings.

Immediately after the first news-meeting the Editor-in-Charge went to his desk for another task: The NRK News Conference. This was a tele-conference between the news and current affairs departments in NRK P1 (Radio 1), NRK P2 (Radio 2), Dagsrevyen and the Regional Offices of the NRK. All the news-rooms explained what news they were working on for the news programmes during the day in the different news-rooms. The different news-rooms in the NRK competed to bring exclusive news by being the first to break the stories. Dagsrevyen had a disadvantage in competing with radio-news, as it took so long to prepare for the transmission of the programmes. During the NRK News-Conference, the Editor-in-Charge in Dagsrevyen usually avoided disclosing in concrete terms what was on his/her list, especially if there was any 'hot' news - i.e. news which could be shown as an exclusive. NRK Radio News would also withhold information about such news, while the Regional Offices, in many ways, tried to gain acceptance for their news stories, so they would also be broadcast nationally.

If the Editor-in-Charge in Dagsrevyen found that any of the news events referred by the Regional Offices might be relevant, and if ENG equipment was available, the Regional Offices would be asked to produce the news-item. As the situation was, not all the Regional Offices had ENG-equipment. Even if they had, it was often the case that no ENG-team was available for news coverage, because they were on other assignments. According to one of the reporters in Dagsrevyen:

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192 Norwegian: Kanalkonferansen.
"Technical capacity [i.e. ENG equipment] is the most decisive factor for the coverage of regional news." 

The relationship between the Dagsrevyen news-room and the Regional Offices was not always harmonious. According to a reporter in a regional news-room, staff in the news-rooms in the Regional Offices often held the opinion that the news-items they produced for Dagsrevyen were often given too low a priority in Dagsrevyen's running order. From Dagsrevyen's point of view it could often be expensive to get the news produced by the Regional Offices, as these offices tended to charge Dagsrevyen for compensation of overtime for their staff. The argument for doing this was a shortage in staff.

The following news-meeting was at two o'clock, after the daily forward planning meeting was ended. Many of the personnel in the meeting-room would just have arrived for this meeting to work late. Therefore, the evaluation of the previous day's news programme by senior personnel during the morning meeting was utilised. In particular, remarks by the Chief Editor on editorial guidelines for coming programmes were given attention. The Editor-in-Charge usually chaired the meeting at 14.00, and the news personnel were informed about what issues the news-room was working on. A running order was proposed, and time was allocated to the different news-items, if that had not already been done.

When it came to the evening's foreign news-items, the news to be presented depended to a significant extent on what pictures were made available on the feed from the Eurovision news exchange. During the morning there had been a conference where the EBU companies informed each others about what pictures would be available in the later feeds. In Dagsrevyen video-pictures from the EBU-feeds would be used in two ways: firstly, they were often used to illustrate telephone-reports from the correspondents. In such a case the Foreign-Duty-Editor would inform the correspondent what pictures were available, and how they might be edited into a report. The correspondent would then be given a time-slot to prepare for his/her item before it was recorded from the phone. Secondly, commentaries on news-items made of EBU video footage were also made by members of the foreign affairs section in the news-room: it was often the case that a foreign reporter, or the.

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Norwegian: 'Teknisk kapasitet er den viktigste faktor for dekking av regionale nyheter'.
Foreign-Duty-Editor, read a voice-over on EBU video-material which was edited in the news-room. That was the most common way of reporting foreign news in Dagsrevyen.

When the meeting at two was ended, the Editor-in-Charge had four main different tasks, in which s/he was assisted by the script: first, to further monitor the wire services and other news sources. Second, to compose a running-order of news issues for the evening's Dagsrevyen. Third, to keep the overview of what assignments were ready, and to further organise the work in the news-room so that more news issues could be covered if needed. As part of this it was often necessary to allocate and re-allocate time to the different items. Fourth, to check all the completed news-items for content, quality and duration.

When it came close to transmission, operational news values other than those evident during the planning of the programme, and during the news-meetings, seemed to be relevant for the Editor-in-Charge. At an early stage the news issues had been included because of conceived relevance and considerations about format and logistics. Close to transmission the ready-made news-items were evaluated in relation to editorial guidelines, available time, the conceived quality of the items, and resources and efforts put into the production of a news-item. Even closer to deadline for the programme, the timing of the news-items in relation to the overall timing of the news programme seemed in many instances to be the determining factor for inclusion or exclusion of some of the news stories which did not have top priority (cf. Schlesinger, 1987). To check the exact duration of the overall news programme, the Editor-in-Charge in Dagsrevyen - as the Output Editor in International News - used the news-room computer.

From the previously presented quotation by the editor where he stated that the news policy is 'formed exclusively through daily priorities', it may look as if the presentation of news in Dagsrevyen was based on immediate editorial decisions, only. On one level such an explanation is valid in the way that the editors have considerable influence in making daily decisions which then produce more general editorial guidelines. However, as has also been pointed out in this section, there were important preconditions for such choices to be made; pre-conditions for the kind of events and news which was made available for the news-room. When asked the open question of what three factors were most influential in the news coverage of Dagsrevyen, the broadcasters replied as exhibited below:
TABLE 7.2.3.-1. THE FACTORS PERCEIVED TO BE THE THREE MOST DECISIVE FOR THE NEWS-COVERAGE BY DAGSREVVEN’S EDITORS AND REPORTERS:

The broadcasters responded to the following question:

Please mention the three most important factors which, from your opinion, are most decisive for the news coverage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Available pictures</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political agenda</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The press agenda</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic research</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasters’ attitudes and interests</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of materials</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News criteria</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Format considerations</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table clearly illustrates that the broadcasters had an awareness about structural factors guiding their work. In relation to the overall perspective of the present thesis, it is interesting to see that as much as 35 per cent of the interviewed broadcasters perceived available video pictures to be one of the three most important factors for the news-coverage of Dagsrevyen. Furthermore, from the analysis in the previous chapter of relations between 'the official Norway' and Dagsrevyen, it is also interesting to see that the political agenda is perceived to be the second most important factor.

7.3. Conclusions - Part III.

In this section, Part III - Contextual aspects - will be concluded. The conclusion also contains a summary of Chapter 7.

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234 This is from the structured interview to which 37 of the 48 editors and reporters (foreign correspondents excluded) in Dagsrevyen responded (see also Chapter 4 and Appendix 2). As the broadcasters were asked to mention three factors, and only the most dominant are included, the percentages do not add up to 100%. The question raised in Norwegian was: 'Nevn de tre viktigste faktorene som etter din mening virker styrende på Dagsrevyens nytetilbud'.

Part III began with Chapter 5, where relations to the Norwegian state were discussed in the light of privileges, obligations, and the ways in which the activities of the two television stations are controlled by national authorities. Until 1981, the NRK had the exclusive *privilege* to transmit broadcast signals from Norway, and the corporation also has the privilege of claiming licence fees. TV3 assumed the privilege to transmit, and while the NRK had certain formal *obligations* regarding its programming, TV3 had adopted informal obligations in order to be accepted by Scandinavian and Norwegian authorities, as well as by the audiences. While the activities of the NRK, to some degree, were indirectly *controlled* by the Norwegian authorities (especially since the Government had the right to review the licence fee every year) TV3, in many ways, was without any kind of formal control from the authorities.

Chapter 6 initially focused on the historic relations between *Dagsrevyen* and the Norwegian authorities. When *Dagsrevyen* began in 1958, it did so in the 'enlightenment era' of the NRK. However, there were contradictions between the enlightenment ideals and the news-reel tradition of which *Dagsrevyen* was also a part.

It was argued that the monopoly situation and the 'official role' of *Dagsrevyen* resulted in a *conceived obligation of complete coverage*. Furthermore, two different traditions of how to produce news video reports were discussed. These were partly based in the relations to the authorities, and were labelled the *fact-oriented* and the *experience-directed* traditions. Chapter 6 also presented two cases: the Seal Case and the Surveillance Case to further illustrate the uneasy relations between state interests and news production in *Dagsrevyen*. Although Chapters 5 and 6 focused on such relations, it is also clear that over a period of time these relations have changed. *Dagsrevyen*, along with the NRK as a whole, now operates in a capacity which features far greater independence in relation to the State than was the case during the early 1960's.

In Chapter 6 it was also seen how the relationship between *International News* and the market had resulted in a news programme intended to legitimise the overall service in the eyes of advertisers, audiences and decision-makers, to provide station-identity, and to 'retain' the viewers by providing news so that they would not change to other stations.

In Chapter 7, then, the news-production apparatuses of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were examined. It was pointed out that the design of the TV3 news production apparatus
and the activities in the news-room were based on a low-budget strategy which resulted in extensive reliance on some few news sources for the news-gathering; the wire-service and the two news-feed services. The broadcasters were close to being totally dependent on these sources. The organisation of the news-apparatus may be seen as a result of policy-decisions on how to produce a news programme in an inexpensive way - i.e. how to inexpensively (re)produce news within the genre of news. It was pointed out that in the daily news production process, the opportunities for an independent approach to news production in the TV3 news room were extremely limited. The examination clearly indicates that the intention of International News was to reproduce a dominant news-picture.

The news production apparatus in Dagsrevyen was quite differently organised from that of International News, since there were more resources and because the production process and news-policy favoured their own research and independent journalistic work on news. In relative figures, there were more women in the news-room of International News than in Dagsrevyen. In International News, the average age of staff was also significantly lower than in Dagsrevyen. In Dagsrevyen, the domestic news was covered by two sections; the section for general domestic affairs and the section for political domestic affairs. In regard to foreign news, Dagsrevyen, like International News, was often dependent on the feed for the visual presentation of this news. However, when it came to news-gathering, Dagsrevyen had reporters and correspondents who made it possible to carry out their own news research, rather than merely reproducing the dominant news-picture.

To examine how reporters in Dagsrevyen conceived the significance of different factors in news-presentation, they were asked to mention the three factors which they regarded as most important (see Table 7.2.3.-1). Interestingly, from their responses, it was apparent that they were most concerned about two kinds of factors; events which could become news (the political agenda and the press agenda), and factors constraining the production of the news; the availability of pictures and news-room economics.

In Chapter 3, a figure of sociological approaches to the news production process was developed (Figure 3.2.-1.). The figure was based on two main traditions of social theory (theories of industrial society and theories of capitalism) as well as on two different approaches to power (the action approach and the structural approach). From such angles the figure produced four different perspectives: News Work - Selectivity, News Work -
Vested Interests, News Work - Norms and Organisational Context, and News Work - Determinism. The perspectives were applied to articulate four assumptions about contextual aspects and news production processes.

On News Work - Selectivity: The Surveillance Case in Dagsrevyen, outlined in Chapter 6 may be analytically regarded as a case in which news workers may have succeeded in preventing news from being broadcast in accordance with their own and others' interests.

On News Work - Vested Interests: The Seal Case in Dagsrevyen, also outlined in Chapter 6, may be seen as a case in which the station management of the NRK tried to pursue their political interests in relation to powerful state actors, but were denied the chance to do so by a determined Editor-in-Charge. From another perspective (that of News Work - Norms and Organisational Contexts), it may also be considered as a case in which a professional news editor was able to prevent the station management from pursuing such interests by means of arguments based on ideals about independence from state influence.

In TV3, three cases in which the management had intervened in news production for commercial interests were referred. However, from the analyses in Chapter 7 it was seen that the Head of News, or other TV3 executives, were not greatly involved in the everyday news production process. Accordingly, there were few opportunities for pursuing commercial or political interests in the individual news items - although it had happened in some cases. The role of the news was more that of 'the loss leader' - a format to provide credibility for the overall programming.

On News Work - Norms and Organisational Contexts: In TV3, the broadcasters had somewhat limited opportunities to act like professional journalists in their every day newswork, since the news production process was so constrained by the lack of resources. Interestingly, quotations from broadcasters in the news-room, to some extent, showed how a discrepancy between professional ideals and actual working context was perceived by identifying sources of frustration. It may be said that although their professional contributions were constrained by structural factors, they had very strong ideas about how they wanted their working situation to be.
In regard to the broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* they were clearly aware that certain factors in the news-room were not compatible with the development of an ideal news production process.

On *News Work - Determinism:* Both in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* there were features which may be related to such a perspective in an analysis. In addition, some of these features might have been quite decisive ones for the news production process. For example, the state of affairs that the NRK was so dependent on its licence fee that it could not risk a confrontation with political authorities, and therefore, historically, adopted a careful stance towards politicians and the political system may be seen to have become a policy tradition in *Dagsrevyen.* Interestingly, this tradition was seen to be quite problematic by many of the broadcasters within *Dagsrevyen.* Moreover, it was seen to have become an important part of the everyday news policy.

In regard to *International News,* it may be argued that the whole broadcasting function was based on limitations from macro-economic factors; i.e. the station may be seen to have had no choice but to produce inexpensive news to legitimate its activities in a situation where money was invested in a company which was set up to compete in a commercial television market. From such a perspective it may be seen to have been this overall position and strategy which so significantly constrained the news work in TV3.

The four applied perspectives illustrate how different dimensions of the production process may be analysed. They further illustrate the need for a generic perspective on the news. Such a perspective will be further developed in the following two parts of the present thesis.

Before this part of the thesis is concluded, however, some further comments regarding broadcasters as informants about contextual factors and other factors reflected in the news production process will be made.

Part III of the present thesis has distinguished analytically between three different factors regarding the production in the news-rooms; context (including tradition), policy (station policy as well as news-room policy), and how broadcasters relate to such contexts and policies. Some of the research literature in the area of news production studies have tended to exclude the last factor, and easily give the impression that broadcasters are quite
unreflective about their own work situation (e.g. Glasgow University Media Group, 1976; Golding and Elliott, 1979; Schlesinger, 1987). Some may be. However, during the field work, I was content that the broadcasters were so open as to give me their competent analyses of their own working situation. Such analyses, as presented in this part, underscore the fact that although journalists are working within contexts which in some ways are determining their journalistic work, they may be both aware of and critical of this. Furthermore, they may be able to present their analyses about the situation to fellow journalists as well as to researchers. I will contend that in much of the research literature within the sociology of mass communication, this has not been sufficiently appreciated, as journalists to a certain extent, have been regarded as naive because of their 'official journalistic ideology'.

What has not been taken into account sufficiently is that journalists, in their everyday practices, have to relate to certain organisational norms in their work. The response to interviews performed for this thesis illustrates that journalists might not totally agree with these norms and the textual result they produce. It appears that there may often be an ambivalence between what is done within a certain context, and what the journalists believe should be done ideally. The researcher should be aware of this ambivalence.

From my experience, many of the broadcasters in the NRK, as well as in TV3, had a strongly developed analytical consciousness about what they were doing. As a researcher, however, one had to access opinions other than the 'official responses' and to uncover or decipher the 'unofficial analyses'. To do that, it was evident that one had to be in the news-rooms for some time. For example, from my experience discussing issues with many of the broadcasters within Dagsrevyen, I found that their criticisms and analyses of the station's relationship to the state were quite articulate.

Having said that, it is also important to state that the analyses provided by the journalists in interviews have not been regarded as facts or as truths, but as illustrations of how external factors may be reflected in cleavages.

In this part, it has been revealed that in regard to tradition, to finance, to news policies and to news production apparatuses there are significant differences between Dagsrevyen and International News. In the next part the news text produced in the two programmes will be examined to see if the similarities and differences in the presented news texts correspond
with the similarities and differences in context; the news content, the form and the ways in
which the programmes discussed address the viewers will be the focus in Part IV.
PART IV: TEXTUAL ASPECTS
Chapter 8: Subject matter - the content.

The aim of this part of the thesis is to address the issue of textual similarities and differences in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*. While the two following chapters will discuss the mode of formal composition and the stance of the two news programmes involved, the present chapter sets out to examine the subject matter. Previously, this has previously been analytically defined as the content in the individual news items; quantitative features of the news-items in relation to the kinds of social issues, news events, actors and geographical areas which are treated in the news items. In a way, such aspects of the genre of news have traditionally been the subject of the most extensive research. The aspects have frequently been related to a transmission paradigm, and have been analysed in relation to the informational and ideological potential of the news text as presented to the audience.

*Dagsrevyen* and *International News* were based within different traditions and frameworks. Since there were significant differences in technical, economic and human resources between *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*, common sense would expect the news texts of the two programmes to be quite dissimilar. Such considerations guided the assumptions about subject matter formulated in Chapter 3:

(a) Because of its nature as a news programme in a commercial channel, *International News* would include more entertaining news-items than does *Dagsrevyen*.
(b) Because of fewer resources, the news coverage of *International News* would be more restricted than that of *Dagsrevyen*.
(c) Because of its role as a news programme in a public service channel, *Dagsrevyen* would have a broader coverage of national news and national and international politics than has *International News*.

The basis for the content analysis is 19 programmes of *International News* and 19 of *Dagsrevyen* - 38 programmes altogether. The programmes were recorded on week-days, only, during two periods of two weeks in February and March 1990. The number of
programmes do not add up to 40 because one day (the same day for both programmes) was left out.\textsuperscript{26} The unit in the content analysis is the individual news-item (see Chapters 3 and 4). During this particular period of recording there were no major episodes which dominated the news picture. However, one event, or series of events, should be mentioned: the coverage of the conflicts related to the Baltic states' claims to national independence from the Soviet Union. In total, 26 (5.5\%) of the 469 news-items presented in \textit{International News} and \textit{Dagsrevyen} were on events related to these conflicts. Yet, such news-items did not dominate the news picture of the two programmes. It is, accordingly, reasonable to claim that the 38 programmes recorded may be representative of the programmes as such. A claim for such genuine representation is not urgent, though, as the data in the context of this research project was collected for a comparison of the two programmes. The more pressing issue is whether the two programmes were recorded during the same period of time. This is indeed the case.

One aspect of the news programmes which needed to be treated carefully was that while \textit{Dagsrevyen} carried both domestic and foreign news, \textit{International News} carried foreign news almost exclusively. The news-items in the two programmes were coded according to the location where news events were reported to have happened. The principle was that news events which were reported to have taken place in Norway would be coded as domestic news, while news events which had not taken place in Norway would be coded as foreign news.

8.1. Domestic and foreign news.

During the period recorded for content analysis, \textit{International News} carried 215 news-items, while \textit{Dagsrevyen} carried 254. As the title \textit{International News} suggests, most of the news in the programme was what has been defined as foreign news. The only news-item of Norwegian origin presented in \textit{International News} during this period covered Norwegian official reactions to nuclear bomb-testing in the Barents Sea, north-east of Norway. In \textit{Dagsrevyen}, the domestic news-items dominated the programme with a relative presence of 64.6\%, while the parallel figure for the foreign news was 35.4\%. On average, there were 13.4 items in each programme in \textit{Dagsrevyen}; 8.6 of all the items were on domestic news,

\textsuperscript{26} This was due to technical problems with the video recordings.
and 4.7\textsuperscript{257} on foreign news. In \textit{International News}, the average number of items in a programme was 11.3.

**TABLE 8.1.-1. DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ITEMS IN DAGSREVVEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Domestic news</th>
<th>64.6</th>
<th>0.5</th>
<th>35.2</th>
<th>165</th>
<th>Foreign news</th>
<th>35.4</th>
<th>99.5</th>
<th>64.8</th>
<th>304</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>304</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>469</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In regard to the length of domestic and foreign news-items, the average duration was; in \textit{Dagsrevyen}, 1 minute 54 seconds; and in \textit{International News}, 1 minute and 17 seconds. In \textit{Dagsrevyen}, the durations of the domestic items and foreign items varied; the domestic items, on average, had a duration of 2 minutes 2 seconds, while the parallel figure for foreign items was 1 minute and 40 seconds. As a \textit{programme}, \textit{Dagsrevyen} also had a longer duration than \textit{International News}. This may also have been reflected in the duration of the news items. From the above, it is seen that on average, the domestic news-items in \textit{Dagsrevyen} clearly had a longer duration than the foreign news-items, which, again on average, had a longer duration than the news-items of \textit{International News}. From the analysis in the previous chapter, these differences may be explained in two different ways.

First, regarding \textit{programme-policy} and the differences in the overall duration of the items, \textit{International News} had a policy of presenting short items. This was partly because the programme varied according to the national languages of the individual broadcasters involved; some groups of viewers would have some difficulties in understanding the language of some of the broadcasters. In addition, it was part of a general policy to present short items so that the audience did not lose interest; the items were kept short to keep the

\textsuperscript{257} Due to rounding, the numbers add up to 13.3, and not 13.4.
viewers interested in the programme. Such a policy may be seen to have reflected commercial considerations.

Second, there were logistical reasons why the foreign items in both programmes were shorter than the domestic items in *Dagsrevyen*. An average news feed story received from the feed-services in both programmes tended to have a duration between 1 and 1½ minutes. The feeds were edited into items, which would then often need to be quite restricted in length. This was in contrast to the *domestic news* in *Dagsrevyen*, because those items were usually made by crews from the news-room. In addition, the composition of domestic items would often differ from that of foreign items, as domestic items were frequently based on interviews. These interviews would often require more time than the items on foreign news. Accordingly, the domestic news in *Dagsrevyen* tended to have a longer duration than the foreign news.

The analysis in Part III of the thesis showed, on the one hand, that it was the policy of *Dagsrevyen* to produce its own news-items covering the most important news events nationally and internationally. On the other hand, the analysis showed that *International News* reflected TV3’s policy to produce news from whatever was available on the feeds. This was due to pressures produced by the lack of resources: the choice of TV3 to produce inexpensive news in a particular way resulted in a production apparatus which was restricted, and which resulted in few options in the every-day news-production process.

In the following tables, a distinction between domestic and foreign news is maintained. A differentiation is also made between the main categories of analysis (presented in italics), and the sub-categories. This is done to trace the overall features, as well as to allow for a more detailed analysis of the relations between categories of items and productional aspects. It is the *foreign news* in the two programmes which is most relevant, comparatively, and which will receive most attention. Having said that, short analyses of the differences between domestic and foreign news-items in *Dagsrevyen* will also be presented.

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258 Information from broadcasters in TV3.

259 For further analysis of the duration and composition of different items, see the following chapter.
8.2. News issues.

Given the historical and social role of the news media as contributor to public discussions and provider of images of the social world, an essential feature of news is the kind of social issues which are covered, constructed and reconstructed in the news.
TABLE 8.2.-1. ISSUES IN NEWS-ITEMS IN *DAGSREVYEN* AND *INTERNATIONAL NEWS*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News programme</th>
<th><em>DAGSREVYEN</em></th>
<th></th>
<th><em>INTER. NEWS</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic %</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>Total*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local domestic politics**</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National politics***</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis Baltic-USSR</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other internal nat. conflicts</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National politics/conflicts</td>
<td>(13.2)</td>
<td>(51.1)</td>
<td>(26.4)</td>
<td>(51.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European common market (EEC)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European east-west relations</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other inter. politics/conflicts</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internat. politics/conflicts</td>
<td>(3.6)</td>
<td>(21.1)</td>
<td>(9.8)</td>
<td>(14.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry/commercial activities</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial/tariff negotiations</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural/primary industry</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military: action/trade/industry</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry and military</td>
<td>(26.1)</td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
<td>(18.6)</td>
<td>(6.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime/legal</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare/social issues</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obituaries</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and welfare</td>
<td>(34.0)</td>
<td>(10.0)</td>
<td>(25.6)</td>
<td>(8.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy/disaster</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturb. by forces of nature</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues of disturbance</td>
<td>(15.8)</td>
<td>(8.9)</td>
<td>(13.4)</td>
<td>(12.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest story</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>(7.3)</td>
<td>(3.3)</td>
<td>(5.9)</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (n):</strong></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The one domestic item in International News is excluded from the table. As the item is one of 215, the exclusion does not influence the overall analysis.

** Local domestic politics = For domestic news, local politics. For foreign news, local politics in respective countries.

** National politics = For domestic news, national politics. For foreign news, politics within the respective national contexts.
1. Domestic and foreign issues in news-items in Dagsrevyen:

From the above table, it can be seen that the main category most extensively covered is Culture and welfare (34.0%), while Industry and military accounts for 26.1%. Moreover, National politics/conflicts (13.2%) is covered less extensively than Issues of disturbance (15.8%). Entertainment receives a coverage of 7.3%, while domestic news on International politics/conflicts accounts for 3.4%, only. Two sub-categories are clearly more prominent than others: that of 'Industrial/tariff negotiations' (14.0%) and 'Crime/legal' (13.4%).

The table also shows that the number of 'Human interest stories' was low; only three items, which indicates a percentage of 1.8.

The results from the analysis of domestic news in Dagsrevyen are quite different from foreign news in both Dagsrevyen and International News. The above table reveals that the two main categories National and International politics/conflicts are much better represented in the foreign than in the domestic news. It can be seen from the table that there are significant differences between other main categories, as well. An important category in relation to the assumptions formulated for the present analysis is Entertainment. In relative figures there are more entertainment issues in domestic news than in foreign news in Dagsrevyen (7.3 and 3.3%, respectively). As can be seen from the sub-categories, the difference is mostly accounted for by the coverage of domestic 'Sports'.

2. Foreign issues in news-items in Dagsrevyen and International News.

Table 8.2.-1. demonstrates that in respect to the differences in foreign news, the relative rank of the main categories among the two programmes is fairly equal.261 The two exceptions are Culture and welfare (10.0% in Dagsrevyen, 8.8% in International News) and Issues of disturbance (8.9% in Dagsrevyen, 12.2% in International News).

The assumption that there would be more entertainment in International News than in Dagsrevyen, seems to be fulfilled. There is a revealing difference in the two programmes, which may be considered to be a result of a more entertainment-orientated editorial policy in International News than in Dagsrevyen. The difference between the programmes becomes even clearer when we look at the two sub-categories constituting Entertainment:

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260 I.e. news on such issues originating from Norway.

261 In some instances it may be theoretically invalid to comment on differences in the single news issues because of the small number of foreign items in Dagsrevyen.
the difference is not constituted by the 'negative' difference in coverage of 'Sports' (2.2% in Dagsrevyen, compared with 0.0% in International News), but by the difference in regard to 'Human interest story.' The relative presence of this sub-category is as high as 6.5% in International News, while it constitutes only 1.1% in the foreign news of Dagsrevyen.

Although the relative rank of main categories is found to be quite equal, there are significant differences in the relative coverage of those main categories. In contrast to the assumption that Dagsrevyen would have a broader coverage of National and international politics/conflicts than International News, the relative coverage of National politics/conflicts in the two programmes is quite equal (51.1% and 51.0%, respectively). However, the assumption that the coverage of International politics/conflicts would be more extensive in Dagsrevyen has been realised: International News has a coverage of 14.5% of this category, while in Dagsrevyen the coverage rises to 21.1%.

Looking at some differences in the coverage of sub-categories from these two main categories, it is clear that Dagsrevyen has a much more extensive coverage of 'Crisis Baltic-USSR' than International News (14.4% and 4.7%, respectively). On the other hand, International News has the more extensive coverage of 'National politics' (24.8% versus 16.7% in Dagsrevyen). Regarding the main category of International politics/conflicts, a sub-category which is more covered in Dagsrevyen than in International News is 'European east-west relations' (10.0% vs. 7.0%).

In respect to the sub-categories more generally, there is a clear difference in the coverage of 'Tragedy/disaster' in the two programmes; International News has a more extensive coverage of this issue than Dagsrevyen (6.1% and 2.2%, respectively). In this category, International News includes more items from remote areas than Dagsrevyen, and reports from such areas would, in many instances, focus on tragedies. There is also a difference in the coverage of 'Environmental' issues in Dagsrevyen and International News (5.6 versus 3.3%, respectively).

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203 The category of 'Sports' included two issues, only; a small number from which no valid conclusions can be drawn.
3. Issues in news items - the overall output in Dagsrevyen and International News

When it comes to the overall output in Dagsrevyen and International News, the differences seem to be more distinct than the differences between the foreign news: in general, differences in the categories of the overall output in the two programmes may, to a considerable extent, be attributed to the difference between foreign and domestic news. The assumption about more Entertainment being featured in International News than in Dagsrevyen is supported by the figures in the table only to a very limited extent (6.5% versus 5.9%, respectively), while there is clearly a more extensive coverage of National and International politics/conflicts in International News than in Dagsrevyen. The analysis further shows that in general, Dagsrevyen covered more issues from the working sphere and from the social sphere than International News.

8.3. News events.

Many of the news events found news-worthy for presentation were predictable from the news-workers' perspective; the events had often been announced for them beforehand, and had been included in the planning diaries. Accordingly, in many instances the actual events had the function of being what Golding and Elliott (1979) labelled news pegs: newsworthy events on which to hang whatever material was considered to be relevant for inclusion.

263 The one domestic issue in International News is still excluded from the analysis (see * Table 8.2.-1.*).
TABLE 8.3.1. EVENTS REPORTED AS NEWS IN DAGSREVEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News programme</th>
<th>Dagsrevyen</th>
<th>Inter. News</th>
<th>Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic %</td>
<td>Foreign %</td>
<td>Total %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal statement etc.</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elections</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political travel/visit</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political events</td>
<td>(23.7)</td>
<td>(47.8)</td>
<td>(32.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting/confer. etc</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official report</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other report etc.</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change (person - org)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry/commercial activities</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other formal events</td>
<td>(45.1)</td>
<td>(22.2)</td>
<td>(36.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent mass action</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent m. act.</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accident/disturbances</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent military act.</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal action/trial</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events of disturbance</td>
<td>(20.6)</td>
<td>(37.7)</td>
<td>(23.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports events</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>(3.7)</td>
<td>(1.1)</td>
<td>(2.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The one domestic item in International News is excluded from the table. As the item is one of 215, the exclusion does not influence the overall analysis.

1. Domestic and foreign events in news-items in Dagsrevyen.

As much as 23.7% of the domestic news coverage is from Political events (which is often the news-area for which coverage may be pre-planned most easily), while 45.1% may be attributed to Other formal events. In all, these two main categories account for 68.8% of the domestic coverage of Dagsrevyen. While those two main categories are the most dominant, Events of disturbance accounts for 20.6%, and Entertainment for 3.7%. The one dominant sub-category is 'Meeting/conference etc.' (23.8%), which is also one of those events for which media coverage may easily be pre-planned. As was the case with the news issues, there are clear differences in the kinds of events reported in the domestic and the foreign news.
2. Foreign events in news-items in Dagsrevyen and International News.

In both Dagsrevyen and International News, Political events is by far the most dominant main category (47.8 and 49.5%, respectively). Within this category, Dagsrevyen reported more extensively on ‘Elections’ than International News (17.8 versus 13.6%), while International News reported more extensively on ‘Parliamentary proceedings’ than Dagsrevyen (12.1 versus 7.1%).

The above table further shows that, on the one hand, there are significant differences regarding the main category of ‘Other formal events’, it received a coverage of 22.2% in Dagsrevyen, and 12.6% in International News. The most important sub-category in producing this difference is ‘Meeting/conferences etc.’, as 18.9% of issues in Dagsrevyen, compared with 7.5% in International News are of this category. On the other hand, Events of disturbance received a broader coverage in International News than in Dagsrevyen (33.6% versus 27.7%). The sub-categories of typical ‘immediate news events’ like ‘Violent and Non-violent mass action’, ‘Accident/disturbances’ and ‘Violent military action’ all received a broader coverage in International News than in Dagsrevyen. The sub-categories of ‘Criminal action/trial’ and ‘Death’ received a broader coverage in Dagsrevyen than in International News. Moreover, Entertainment constituted by sports events, only, received very little coverage in Dagsrevyen (1.1%), and no coverage at all in International News.

It can be seen from the above presentation that political events have received near-equal coverage in the two programmes, while Other formal events have received a more extensive coverage in Dagsrevyen than in International News. The assumption that Dagsrevyen would have a broader coverage of national and international political events than International News is therefore only partly fulfilled.

3. Events in news-items - the overall output in Dagsrevyen and International News.

Again, as was the case with the news issues, the differences here seem to be more distinct than the foreign news coverage considered on its own. In the table there are two tendencies which are very clear, and which subscribe to the above comment about the assumptions about subject matter. First, in general, Dagsrevyen had a more extensive coverage of Other formal events than International News. The main reason for this was the coverage of the sub-category ‘Meeting/conferences etc.’. Second, International News had a more extensive coverage of Events of disturbance than Dagsrevyen.
8.4. Dominant news actors.

In *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* different kinds of actors (persons and institutions) were usually contained in the news-items. The following table demonstrates which actors are *featured in the news*. Only 7.5% of the news-items presented in the two news programmes incorporated *no* dominant actors.
### TABLE 8.4-1. DOMINANT ACTORS PRESENT IN NEWS-ITEMS IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News programme</th>
<th>Dagsrevyen</th>
<th>Inter. News</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic %</td>
<td>Foreign %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of state</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and representatives</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament and representatives</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political leaders</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National administration</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local administration</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local politicians</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military representatives</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police/legislation</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics/administr. - repr.</td>
<td>(40.9)</td>
<td>(76.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry representatives</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial/business repr.</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour movement representatives**</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers' organisations' repr.**</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour movement and emp.l's org.**</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business/industry - repr.</td>
<td>(24.3)</td>
<td>(2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other org./pressure groups repr.</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion - representatives</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academics/educational repr.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media representatives</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture representatives</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health service representatives</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General public</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic groups and representatives</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal/prison representatives</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and welfare - repr.</td>
<td>(23.7)</td>
<td>(13.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrities</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports representatives</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment - representatives</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>(3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others/combination of persons</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No persons in focus</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The one domestic item in International News is excluded from the table. As the item is one of 215, the exclusion does not influence the overall analysis.

** In many of the items in Dagsrevyen there were both labour movement repr. and representatives from employer's organisations. In the above categories there is a distinction between items where one side was present, and items where both sides were present.

1. Dominant actors in domestic and foreign news-items in Dagsrevyen.

As in the case of the previous sections, there is a clear difference between the domestic and the foreign news-items in Dagsrevyen. In the domestic news, the most extensively
covered actors are representatives of politics and administration, with the sub-category of 'Government and representatives' being the most dominant. Business/industry representatives and Culture and welfare representatives are represented almost equally in the domestic news of Dagsrevyen (24.3% and 23.7%, respectively). Moreover, in the foreign news of Dagsrevyen, Politics/administration representatives is even more dominant than in the domestic news (76.6%), while there are very few representatives from business/industry in the foreign news in relation to the domestic news (2.2%, only).

2. Dominant actors in news-items on foreign news in Dagsrevyen and International News.

The figures in table 8.4.-1. show that there is one dominant main category in both Dagsrevyen and International News; Politics/administration - representatives (76.6 and 55.7%, respectively). In both programmes, the dominant sub-category is 'Head of state' with a presence of 41.1% in Dagsrevyen, and 28.0% in International News.

The second best represented main category in both programmes is that of representatives of culture and welfare (26.1% in International News, 13.2% in Dagsrevyen). This is also a significant difference between the two programmes. In particular, the relatively high presence in International News of 'Other organisations - pressure group representatives' and 'Ethnic groups and representatives' contribute to this difference.

Representatives from business and industry were covered to a very small extent in both programmes. While such actors are dominant in 24.3% of the items on domestic news in Dagsrevyen, the parallel figure in the foreign news is 2.2%, and in International News, only 1.4%. Another finding is that there is a substantial difference in the figures regarding foreign news-items where no actor was involved. In 3.3% of the news-items in Dagsrevyen, there is no focus on any particular actor, whereas in International News the corresponding figure is 9.3%. The figures show that in regard to some sub-categories, International News has a broader coverage of different actors in the foreign news than Dagsrevyen. This finding may be explained by news-practices in the individual news-rooms, and will be further discussed in section 8.6.

There are few 'entertainment actors' in either programme, but there are more in Dagsrevyen than in International News (3.3% and 2.3%, respectively). There is also a
certain difference when it comes to the presence of the sub-category of celebrities (1.1% in *Dagsrevyen* and 2.3% in *International News*). This might, again, point towards a more entertainment-orientated policy in TV3.

3. Dominant actors in news-items - the overall output in *Dagsrevyen* and *International News*.

Again, the differences between the overall output seem to be in greater contrast than the differences between the foreign news in the two programmes. One clear feature to be commented on here, however, is that representatives of 'working life' - i.e. the category *Business/industry representatives* are scarcely present in the items from *International News* (1.4%), while 16.6% of the actors in items in *Dagsrevyen* are from this category.

In general, the analysis shows what could also be seen in the analysis of news issues: the overall news-coverage of *Dagsrevyen* was broader, and had a greater emphasis on actors from the sphere of 'working life' and from the cultural sphere than *International News*. In the following section, the geographical distribution of the news items will be looked into.

8.5. Geographic origin of the foreign news.

Table 8.5.-1. shows the geographic origin of the foreign news in the two programmes:
In the foreign news of *Dagsrevyen*, the category *East Europe* is dominant: 42.3% of the news issues in *Dagsrevyen* originate from that area. The parallel figure for this category in *International News* is 31.3%. However, in *International News*, other items from another area are more strongly represented, as 34.5% of the items originated from *Africa/the East* (the sub-categories of 'Middle East', 'Africa' and 'Asia'). The parallel figure for that category in *Dagsrevyen* is 21.1%, which means that news originating from *West Europe* was more dominant, with a coverage of 24.4%. The parallel percentage, for *West Europe* in *International News*, was 18.2%. The area (group of categories) for which there was least coverage on both channels was *America*, with 14.0% of the coverage in *International News* and 11.2% of the coverage in *Dagsrevyen*. 

TABLE 8.5.-1. GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF ITEMS ON FOREIGN NEWS IN *DAGSREVYEN* AND *INTERNATIONAL NEWS*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Dagsrev.</th>
<th>Inter. News</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe*</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Europe (24.4)</td>
<td>(18.2)</td>
<td>(20.1)</td>
<td>(20.1)</td>
<td>(61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union**</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Eur.***</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Europe (42.3)</td>
<td>(31.3)</td>
<td>(34.5)</td>
<td>(34.5)</td>
<td>(105)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/South Am.</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America (11.2)</td>
<td>(14.0)</td>
<td>(12.8)</td>
<td>(12.8)</td>
<td>(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East****</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa/the East (21.1)</td>
<td>(34.5)</td>
<td>(30.6)</td>
<td>(30.6)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supra national</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n):</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* West Europe = items from Western Europe except the Nordic countries and Great Britain.

** Including the Baltic states, which did not yet have their independence.

*** East Europe (including East Germany), except the Soviet Union.

**** This category also includes the arabic nations Egypt, Libya and Algeria.
To look at some differences in sub-categories in the two programmes, there is more news from 'Great Britain' in *International News* than in *Dagsrevyen* (10.7% and 7.8%, respectively). The difference is small, but could be expected from the location of the news-room of *International News* in London. It can also be seen that in *Dagsrevyen*, news items originating from the 'Soviet Union' (including the Baltic states) was the single category dominating the foreign news with 26.7%. The parallel figure for *International News* was 13.1%. The most dominant single category in *International News* was *East Europe*, with a coverage of 18.2%.

Another difference worth mentioning is the finding that there are more items in *International News* than in *Dagsrevyen* on 'Middle East' (9.3% versus 3.3%), 'Africa' (12.6% versus 10.0%) and 'Asia' (12.6% versus 7.8%). The analysis also shows that Sweden is the only Nordic country (except for Norway) on which there was any coverage in the two programmes; the table indicates that 1.1% of the issues in *Dagsrevyen* and 0.9 of the issues in *International News* originate from Sweden. There was no coverage on any other Nordic country other than Norway and Sweden in the two programmes, be it Iceland, Finland or Denmark. Even though *International News* was also received in Denmark, none of the items originated from there.

Two trends in the above table are found to warrant further discussion. First, it is relevant to discuss the almost complete lack of items from the Nordic countries in both programmes in relation to previous research on news values. Second, there is a negative fulfilment of the assumption about subject matter in the two programmes: that the news in *International News* would geographically be more restricted than that of *Dagsrevyen*.

First, as concerns the coverage of the Nordic area the empirical findings are in clear contrast to previous research on news-values. Such research has, to a great extent, underscored the assumption that the coverage of foreign news would decrease in proportion to increasing geographic and cultural distance (see for example Prakké, 1968; Hadenius and Weibull, 1978; Østgaard, 1967; and Galtung and Ruge 1962, 1965). From a production perspective, there were obvious logistic reasons why such an assumption was not met. This will be discussed in the following section, as part of a more general argument not only applicable to the geographical origin of the news, but also to the presented news issues, news events and the news actors.
Secondly, *International News* carried only one domestic news-item. However, regarding the foreign news, the programme had a broader geographical coverage of world events than *Dagsrevyen*. This is particularly evident in respect to the Middle East, the African continent, and Asia. The reasons for this will also be discussed in the following section.

8.6. Discussion and summary.

As mentioned, some of the differences in the two programmes may be explained by the simple fact that there were, on average, 4.8 foreign items in each programme of *Dagsrevyen*, while there were 11.3 items in *International News*. The coverage in *International News* would, like any other TV News programme (including *Dagsrevyen*), usually include a number of items based on a variety of issues, rather than many items based on but a few base-issues. However, the focus of the analysis here is on the relative distribution of news issues, news events, news actors, and the geographic origin of the news.

From the analysis in the previous chapter, it is possible to give explanations for some features of the presented news as analysed in the present chapter. It is clear that in the case of *International News*, restricted economic resources resulting from a corporate policy to 'make the news look like news' in a cost-efficient way did not allow for any extensive coverage of domestic Norwegian, Scandinavian or Nordic news. It was a stated policy in *International News* to present news illustrated by moving pictures. TV3 did not have the economic, technical or human resources for producing news from the Nordic area in such a way; primarily because it had been found to be much too expensive. As a result, there were few sources from which such news could be taken. The main source for background information consisted of three news-papers (one from each Scandinavian country), which usually arrived several days late in the news-room.

*Dagsrevyen* has an obligation to cover domestic news; an obligation which has resulted in a programme which has become a central component in the constitution of a Norwegian national identity. It is this obligation which takes most of the resources in the news-room, as nearly all the domestic items are self-produced for televisual presentation. *Dagsrevyen* carries few news-items from the Nordic area. On one level it can be explained by the fact

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26 The one domestic report (0.5 per cent of all the reports) in *International News* does not make a difference between the average of all items, and the average of the foreign items.
that Nordic news is not national news, and is therefore treated as foreign news. Although
the Nordic countries have certain routines for co-operation, these routines do not constitute
a sufficiently consistent basis for regular news-gathering. Moreover, the resources for
foreign news in Dagsrevyen have been drawn towards other areas. For example, this is the
case with the correspondents, who are based in cities which may be regarded as European
and international 'news centres'. The news is often taken from such dominant news
centres; in a situation where broadcasting time and the number of foreign items in each
programme are limited.

The coverage in Dagsrevyen of the series of news-reports on the conflict between the
Baltic area and the USSR is a clear example of how Dagsrevyen was able to determine its
priorities in order to establish its own coverage of foreign events. Of the items on 'Crisis
Balticum-USSR' there was a relatively greater number of reports in Dagsrevyen (14.4%)
than in International News (4.7%). Part of the reason for this difference may be found in
the fact that International News contained more foreign issues than Dagsrevyen, and that
this, in itself, made the relative distribution of foreign news in International News different
from that of Dagsrevyen. However, as Dagsrevyen (in real figures) contained more items
on the issue, the difference may also partly be explained by the fact that the NRK placed
two correspondents in the area to produce materials.\footnote{Materials from these correspondents were distributed via the EVN net-work.} International News was much
more dependent on its video agencies, which did not cover the Baltic area to the same
extent as the NRK. The fact that the Baltic states, historically, had been a part of the
Nordic area may not have been the main factor why the news had priority in Dagsrevyen.
A more relevant explanation is that the events in that area were seen to be 'hot' news on
the international political agenda. Yet, both factors may have contributed to the relatively
high coverage of the issue.

In addition, other differences in sub-categories of news issues in Dagsrevyen and Interna-
tional News may be explained from the analysis of the production apparatuses in Chapter
7. This is the case with the relative dominance of the issues of 'Sports', 'Environmental',
and the events of 'Meetings' in Dagsrevyen. In regard to 'Sports', it was, on the one hand,
very seldom that the two feed-services received by International News contained any such
reports. In contrast, the NRK often produced its own sports broadcasts, and received videos
and reports via the EBU network from other European countries, as well. In this way,
materials for the coverage of 'Sports' were easily available to Dagsrevyen. When it comes to environmental issues, they were more broadly covered in Dagsrevyen than in International News. The main reason for that is that in Dagsrevyen, there were two reporters who worked actively with the environment as an issue. This was not the case in International News.

In the case of events, the 'Meeting/conference etc.' category was particularly dominant in Dagsrevyen, with a relative coverage of 23.8%. One explanation for this from a productional perspective may be that the resources for domestic news were often used on news events which could be 'pre-planned' in the news-diary; news events about which the Dagsrevyen news-room would know they would be able to produce a news item. The broadcaster who commented that 'we get the news-picture in the post' (see section 7.2.2.) may have had this type of predictable event in mind.

To summarise the findings from the analyses of the foreign news, in the present chapter, the assumption that International News includes more entertaining news-items than Dagsrevyen is confirmed to some extent. From the analysis of news issues, it is particularly clear that the 'Human interest story' category received more coverage in International News than in Dagsrevyen. Although International News, in contrast to Dagsrevyen, contained no 'Sports' there were relatively more entertainment issues in International News than in Dagsrevyen. In regard to news events and dominant news actors, no particular support for the assumption was found, except that International News had a more extensive coverage of 'Celebrities' than Dagsrevyen. As discussed above, the more extensive coverage of entertainment in International News should be attributed to differences in policy; mainly the fact that International News had a clear 'entertainment-orientated' policy on the inclusion of such stories as the last item of the programme, while Dagsrevyen had not.

The second assumption was that because of the lower level of resources, the news coverage of International News would be more restricted than that of Dagsrevyen. One important aspect which may be seen to overwhelmingly support this assumption, is that International News did not carry domestic news at all. To look at the foreign news, it is clear that the news issues presented in Dagsrevyen covered more categories than International News. There was a broader coverage of social issues in the main category Culture and welfare in Dagsrevyen than in International News. However, if we look at the scope
of geographic origin in the foreign news, it can be seen that International News has a broader coverage of geographically remote areas like 'Middle East', 'Africa' and 'Asia'. From previous discussions about productional practices in Dagsrevyen and International News, it can be seen that as there was a continuous lack of space for foreign news in Dagsrevyen; the priorities would often be recurrent. In International News, the problem was the other way around, since there were problems with filling the programme encountered on a regular basis: priorities would most often be established according to what news was available, even if the feed material was perceived not to conform to the news-values preferred by the broadcasters. For example, the more extensive coverage in International News on 'Violent mass action' may be a result of the simple fact that International News would often include items from more remote areas to fill the programme, and thereby also focus on more dramatic news issues and events. Very often, the events focused on in such circumstances would not be routine events.

The third assumption for the content analysis - that Dagsrevyen would have a broader coverage of national and international politics in the foreign news - was only partly supported. The relative coverage of the main category of issues labelled National politics/conflicts received equal coverage, while the main issue of International politics/conflicts was, in relative figures, received considerably more coverage in Dagsrevyen than in International News.

In this chapter, the subject matter of the news programmes of International News and Dagsrevyen have been examined. In some cases, the examination has necessarily been based on a rather limited number of items. During the 19 days of recording, there was but one domestic news-item about Norway in International News (on average 11.3 items per programme, whether the one domestic item is included or not). In Dagsrevyen 35.4% of the news-items were on foreign news, while 64.6% were on domestic news (on average, 8.6 of the 13.4 news-items per programme were on domestic news, while 4.8 were on foreign news).

The analysis of the news policies and the production apparatuses indicate that the main explanation for these differences between the foreign and domestic news was the policy behind the news production process; i.e. the manner in which the news production process had been organised. In the case of International News, the news-room was clearly in a position where it was quite dependent on the limited available feed and wire services. This
was in contrast to *Dagsrevyen*, where most of the domestic news was produced 'first-hand', and where there were also far greater resources for producing foreign news independently. A parallel to this issue of independent production of news is that of costs involved in producing national drama for television. It may be quite expensive to maintain autonomous national drama productions for television rather than importing productions (which are cheaper because they are being sold to a wider market). Furthermore, in news, the costs for 'independent' national productions are high; the costs have to be paid for such news to be produced.

To conclude the chapter, it may be stated that there were differences in subject matter between the two programmes. However, the main differences were found in the coverage of domestic and foreign news, and were mainly produced by the overall differences in economic resources, and the news policies as 'implemented' in the production apparatuses of the two programmes. The differences in the analysed items were perhaps not as significant as might have been expected from the differences found in the examination of the production apparatuses in the previous chapter. The main reason for this may be seen to be that despite the variation in resource availability, the news production apparatuses of both programmes had been 'designed' to 'make the news look like news'. The previous and the present chapter have illustrated the amount of resources needed to produce and present 'first-hand' domestic news in a television news programme. The point illustrated by the cases of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* is that there is more than one way to make the news 'look like news'.

Chapter 9: Mode of formal composition.

In this chapter, the composition of the International News and Dagsrevyen news programmes and news-items are examined. What will guide the analysis is the assumption that because of different news policies and differences in resources in International News and Dagsrevyen, there will be differences in composition on a programme level as well as on the level of individual news items.

The examination in the present chapter begins with an account of how the two news programmes are situated within the overall output of the channels (section 9.1.). Then it will focus upon two different levels of the news programmes: the sequential structure (section 9.2.), and the structure of the news-items as individual segments within this sequential structure (section 9.3.).

The qualitative parts of the examination are based on textual analysis and field observation. The quantitative parts are based on the content analysis referred to in Chapter 4, and which was also utilised in the analysis in Chapter 8: 19 programmes of International News and 19 of Dagsrevyen - 38 programmes altogether.

9.1. The news programmes and the schedules.
Broadcasting may be characterised as being transient, because it is transmitted and received electronically, in contrast to news papers, for example: as soon as a television programme is transmitted it is, in effect, 'gone'. It may not be transported as a newspaper (except on video, which is a different medium from television). Time is a decisive factor for the broadcasting and the reception of television programmes, and not physical space, as for newspapers.

The manner in which the overall output of a channel is organised has been characterised by the term flow by Williams (1975: 86):
In all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organisation, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow. This phenomenon, of planned flow, is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form."

The organising principle on the *overall output* level in relation to time is the schedule. A schedule for programmes in broadcasting provides a regular, day by day (or week by week) slot in which the repetition of particular formats can take place (see Ellis, 1982: 116).

A correspondence between the schedules of television and people's everyday routines has been pointed out by several media scholars (e.g. Altheide and Snow, 1991; Hjarvard, 1993a; Scannell, 1988). Hjarvard argues that television broadcasts contribute to a construction of the viewers' identity or self-perception at different times during a 24 hour cycle. Such a 24 hour cycle, usually from one morning to the next, is very easily perceived in television news texts (as in other news texts), because news-items usually carry the implication that they have occurred within a 24-hour cycle - today.

The schedule is based on policy considerations, and indicates the institutional priorities given to, as well as the function of, the different programmes. When the programmes for this particular analysis were recorded, both *Dagsrevyen* and *International News* were centrally placed in the schedules of the respective channels. *Dagsrevyen* started at 19.30, and its clear function in the schedule was to start the 'prime-time' slot in the NRK television service.

*International News*, was transmitted at 22.00. It cut the TV3 television evening in two: before *International News* there were usually serials, and after that, movies were usually shown. The main reasons for the broadcast time of the news was that from 19.00 until 22.00 the news programmes in the Scandinavian public service television channels occupied the schedules in the respective countries, and TV3 regarded it as problematic to compete with these for the audience. Furthermore, as News at Ten in Britain had demonstrated, it was conceivable to draw the attention of viewers to news programmes during late evening. In addition, there was a more pragmatic reason: fewer resources were seen to
be needed to prepare for a late than for an early main news programme, as more time for preparation was available.²⁶⁷

As discussed in previous chapters, there was no news during week-ends on TV3. In International News there were promotions and advertisements of about 2½ minutes before and 2-3 minutes after the programme. As mentioned in Chapter 6, it was often the case that the time available for the news was limited for commercial reasons. The availability of advertisements influenced the duration of the slots, and thereby the duration of the news programme. As ScanSat was a British company transmitting by satellite to Scandinavia, there used to be no particular regulations for the television service, for example, limitations on the amount of advertising which could be transmitted per hour. It was a policy within ScanSat, though, to avoid being too controversial in these matters.

Both news programmes had a certain priority schedule-wise in that during national and international crises or accidents the programmes could be extended at the expense of other programmes, or extra news programmes could be broadcast.

9.2. The sequential structures of the news programmes.²⁶⁸

The composition of sequences - or the sequential structure - by which International News and Dagsrevyen were constituted is quite similar. It is apparent, however, that the programmes also had significant similarities to other television news programmes; for example, other Scandinavian television news programmes, The Nine O’Clock News from the BBC and News at Ten from ITV. In this sense, the two programmes generally conform to the genre of television news.

The same eight sequences could be identified in each of the two news programmes. They were:

1. The vignette sequence: The duration of both vignettes was about 12 seconds. The earth globe was featured in both. In International News, the globe with a world map first covered the screen totally, then rotated and shrank until it

²⁶⁷ Information from broadcasters in TV3.
²⁶⁸ For pictures from sequences of the two programmes, see Appendices 6 and 7.
nearly disappeared into the right hand corner of the screen, while still-pictures from 5 different capitals, and their longitudes, were exposed. By the end of the sequence, the small globe (which had almost disappeared in the right hand corner) was transformed into the logo for TV3 News. In Dagsrevyen a globe, appearing to be of steel and in 3-dimensions, came into the picture and decreased in size while rotating, until it was in the centre of the screen. Then Dagsrevyen, in red capital letters, came in from the right and rotated around the globe once before disappearing to the left. The 'N' in Dagsrevyen was left, however. It rotated around the globe once more, and stopped in front of it while it was flashed with a red light. In this flash the 'N' was established as the logo of the news programme. In the vignette sequence of both programmes there was accompanying music. The music and the logos established in the vignettes tied the vignette sequence to the next: the headline sequence.

2. The headline sequence: The duration of this sequence was usually about 10 seconds in International News, and 25-28 seconds in Dagsrevyen. International News usually presented one headline story, which was visually based on video material. Since the headline presentation in this way relied heavily on moving pictures, the perceived quality of the video pictures as 'news' would often be a determining factor in the selection of the event/issue to be presented as the top news story. In Dagsrevyen, there were usually five headline stories. They were based on video pictures, stills or graphics. The perceived picture quality did not seem to be decisive for what item was defined as the top story.

3. Establishment of the narrator sequence: The duration of this sequence was very short - a few seconds only. In both programmes, the role of the anchor-person as the main narrator was established in this sequence with a greeting on the screen, and the name of the anchor subtitled, with a logo. For the overall flow in the programmes, this was a crucial moment: it was important that the role of the main narrator was established for the viewers for an implied continuity - a flow - within the programme. In Dagsrevyen there was one anchor person, while in International News, two: one of these would be established as the main anchor when greeting the audience. The main anchor would also end the programme.
4. The news-item sequence: Contained the news-items. This sequence will be examined more closely in the following section.

5. (in Dagsrevyen) and 8. (in International News) - The weather report sequence: This was the only sequence which was differently placed in the two programmes (for commercial reasons in TV3). After the news-item sequence in Dagsrevyen, the weather report came as the fifth sequence. In International News the weather report was not presented until immediately after the news programme was closed, as the eighth sequence. The reason for this difference was that a 'promo slot' introducing the weather report, as well as the weather map, clearly showed that the weather report was sponsored by the tyre manufacturer Goodyear. According to broadcasters, TV3 wanted to avoid openly displaying its relations to sponsors within the news programme, as it could result in audiences and authorities questioning the general integrity of the programme.

6. (in Dagsrevyen) and 5. (in International News) - The summary sequence: Towards the end of the programmes the most important news of the day was usually summed up. The duration varied according to how much time was available.

7. (in Dagsrevyen) and 6. (in International News) - The end of the programme sequence: The anchor person announced the next news programme, and said goodbye.

8. (in Dagsrevyen) and 7. (in International News) - The closing of programme sequence: In both programmes an overview of the studio was given, and there were on-screen credits to the Output Editor (TV3), The Editor-in-Charge (NRK), and the Producers. In Dagsrevyen, the technical leader in the control room was also credited.

The sequential structures of the news programmes may be illustrated as follows:
The figures emphasise the similarities in the organisation of the sequences in the two programmes.

In the next section the composition of the news-items will be examined.

9.3. The structures of the news-items.

As was discussed in Chapter 7, the resources and the apparatuses for producing news differed greatly in the two news-rooms. Except for the differences in duration in the two programmes, and the difference regarding the weather report sequence, differences in resources and policies could not easily be identified on the level of formal composition of the programmes as such. There were more significant differences in regard to the composition of the individual news-items.
In the 19 programmes analysed, the number of news-items was 254 in Dagsrevyen and 215 in International News. On average, this meant 13.4 items per day in Dagsrevyen, and 11.3 items per day in International News. Both in Dagsrevyen and International News, most of the news-items were based mainly on video pictures recorded outside the news studio.

### TABLE 9.3-1. MOVING PICTURES FROM OUTSIDE THE STUDIO IN ITEMS IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme: Dagsrevyen</th>
<th>Intern. News</th>
<th>AVERAGE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moving pictures:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>79.9%</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79.9 per cent of the items presented in Dagsrevyen were illustrated with moving video pictures from outside studio, while in International News the parallel figure is (77.7 per cent). The proportion of news-items illustrated by video pictures was therefore quite similar.

In the continuation of this section, differences in the news-items in International News and Dagsrevyen will be explored with regard to duration (9.3.1.) as well as to the composition of the news-items (9.3.2.).

#### 9.3.1. The duration of the items.

The duration of items differed considerably in the two programmes. Part of the reason for this was the different duration of the programmes. In Dagsrevyen, each item was, on average, 1'54'' (1 minute 54 seconds) long, while in International News, 1'17'' long (1 minute 17 seconds).
TABLE 9.3.1.-1. AVERAGE DURATION OF THE ITEMS IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Average time</th>
<th>No. of items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagsrevyen</td>
<td>1'54''</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. News</td>
<td>1'17''</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1'37''</td>
<td>469 (N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the differences are not so clear if the fact that all the news-items (except one) in TV3's recorded programmes consisted of foreign news is taken into consideration. If the domestic news-items in Dagsrevyen are discounted, we can see in table 9.3.1.-2. that the average duration of the news-items in Dagsrevyen decreased considerably; from 1'54'' (1 minute 54 seconds) to 1'39'' (1 minute 39 seconds).

TABLE 9.3.1.-2. AVERAGE DURATION OF FOREIGN ITEMS IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Average time</th>
<th>No. of items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagsrevyen</td>
<td>1'39''</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. News</td>
<td>1'17''</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1'24''</td>
<td>304 (n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When broken down, these figures do represent some inconsistencies, however. Of the 4 longest news-items during the period, 3 were presented in International News; their durations were 4'14'', 4'30'', and 6'40'', respectively. The longest Dagsrevyen news-item was 4'48''. The items with the longest duration in TV3 were all pre-recorded 'exclusives'. In some cases, such trips had been sponsored.

Table 9.3.1.-3. exhibits with more detail the duration of the news-items in the two programmes:
TABLE 9.3.1.-3. THE DURATION OF ITEMS (IN MINUTES) IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Dagsrevyen</th>
<th>Intern. News</th>
<th>AVERAGE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- +1/4</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1'-2'</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'-3'</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'-4'</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4'-</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table indicates a clear difference: in Dagsrevyen, 44.1 per cent of the items were between 2 and 3 minutes long, while in International News almost half of all the broadcast items (49.3 per cent) were between 1/4 and 1 minute long.

The tables presented in this sub-section have illustrated that on average, the news-items in Dagsrevyen had a longer duration than those in International News, and that this was not true to the same degree with regards to foreign news. Furthermore, it was illustrated that of the four items with the longest duration in the two programmes together, three items based on pre-recorded exclusives in International News had the longest duration. In the next sub-section the textual composition of the news-items will be examined.

9.3.2. The textual composition of the items.

In both International News and Dagsrevyen the different news-item sub-genres were applied differently according to a central dimension for television as a medium, whether the news-items were reported live or recorded. When this dimension is applied to the different news-items, the following table of the different sub-genres applied in Dagsrevyen and International News is generated (see section 4.2.2. for discussion of 'reporting instances' and sub-genres):
TABLE 9.3.2.-1. SUB-GENRES OF ITEMS IN DADSREVYEN:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RECORDED (n)</th>
<th>LIVE (n)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BULLETIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. ’piece to camera’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ‘dis’</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ’u-lay’</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDITORIAL COMMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. by reporter</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. by foreign corre.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>254(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x These items were always presented live by the anchor(s).
* Interviews could be found both as independent news-items and as parts of a news report. For an overview of interviews applied in news reports, see table 9.3.2.-3.

TABLE 9.3.2.-2. SUB-GENRES OF ITEMS IN INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RECORDED (n)</th>
<th>LIVE (n)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BULLETIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. ’piece to camera’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ‘dis’</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ’u-lay’</td>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDITORIAL COMMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. by reporter</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. by foreign corre.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>215(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x These items were always presented live by the anchor(s).
* Interviews could be found both as independent news-items and as parts of a news report. For an overview of interviews applied in news reports, see table 9.3.2.-3.
Tables 9.3.2.-1. and -2. highlight both similarities and differences in the two news programmes. The main similarity worth a mention, is that of the sub-genre feature: in both programmes, this element was noticeably similar, with the exception of editorial comments which were not carried in International News. In a way, it is paradoxical that Dagsrevyen, in a public service institution corporation, with its uneasy relations to the state, was the news programme to carry this sub-genre. However, when it came to controversial political issues, the commentator was usually very careful not to position himself too far from a consensual stand. During my period of observation no woman made editorial comments; the genre was dominated by men because they held the most senior positions in the newsroom. From the table, a relevant point is also that in both programmes there were very few news reports and interviews which were live items.

However, the tables do exhibit significant differences in the application of sub-genres. One difference is in respect to the application of bulletins: while 65.1 per cent of the items in International News were bulletins, only 18.1 per cent of the Dagsrevyen items were. In particular regard to the bulletin with commentaries from the anchor on edited news videos, which is labelled 'u-lays' here (Bulletin c.), the differences were significant. In Dagsrevyen, only 4.0 per cent of all the news-items were of this kind, while in International News this feature was dominant; 48.4 per cent of all the items were reported as 'u-lay' in International News.

The dominant item in Dagsrevyen was, in contrast to International News, the report. 78.3 per cent of all the items in Dagsrevyen were of this kind. The parallel figure in International News was 31 per cent. While reporters in Dagsrevyen were involved in 59.4 per cent of the items, reporters in International News were involved in 27.4 per cent. And while foreign correspondents in the NRK were involved in 18.9 per cent of the items, 'foreign correspondents' in International News were involved in 3.7 per cent of the items.

A further difference not indicated in the tables above, yet significant, was the application of interviews as part of the individual news-item (i.e. not independent items). These differences are displayed in the next table:

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269 Here the a., b. and c. bulletins in the tables 8.3.2.-1 and -2 have been summarised.

270 In this figure the reports from a. reporter and b. foreign correspondent are added to constitute the category 'report'.
In as many as 48.4 per cent of the news-items in Dagsrevyen there were interviews. The parallel figure in International News was 3 per cent. The interviews in Dagsrevyen were most prevalent in domestic news, however, as only 12.6 per cent of the foreign news-items contained interviews.

The high percentage of interviews in Dagsrevyen, and the corresponding low percentage in International News, is a noteworthy manifestation of differences in the application of sub­genres in the two news programmes. The table does not only point to the low relative presence of interviews in news-items in International News; it also points to a particular tradition in Dagsrevyen, or perhaps in public service news programmes in general. Many of the items including interviews in Dagsrevyen. Some of the items seemed to be quite inconclusive in the sense that there was little analysis, but more presentation of different viewpoints. Accordingly, the interviews may be seen to have had a function of being 'visual quotations' of interests, and a way of balancing the news coverage in relation to such interests.

More generally, to record independent interviews the news rooms needed resources; resources which were quite limited in the case of TV3. The differences in resources in the two programmes were also reflected in the number of items from correspondents. The NRK had a network of 12 permanently stationed foreign correspondents. As mentioned, during the period of analysis these correspondents were involved in 48 items (18.9 per cent). Interestingly, however, in International News, which had no permanent correspondents, 8 items (3.2 per cent) in which correspondents were involved were filed. These were made partly by freelance reporters who telephoned the news-room, and partly by travelling
reporters from TV3, who made video recordings and edited the material when back in London.

The data presented above exhibits some significant differences in the ways of reporting the news. It is apparent that the findings are related to both policy and tradition. What is further evident, however, is that the differences to a large extent were produced by the economic resources and the economic contexts in which the two news programmes were operating. From the perspective of the present thesis, it is clear that the news production apparatus of *International News* had been designed primarily to produce the news programme and the news-items in inexpensive ways. In Chapter 8 it was pointed out that such a strategy of TV3 had resulted in an almost total exclusion of Scandinavian news. From previous examinations in the present thesis, it is the strategies regarding production-costs combined with the news policy which should be seen to have resulted in the very restricted range of sub-genres applied for the coverage of the news-items in *International News*. Cost considerations have, accordingly, been of great consequence for the application of sub-genres and the analysis of differences between the two news programmes involved in the present analysis: cost considerations related to the overall programme policy, how the news production processes were organised in the two programmes, and the textual results of that organisation and production may definitely be seen to have been interrelated in resulting in the use of the different sub-genres.

From the tables above, it seems clear that the heavy reliance in *International News* on the two news video agencies, WTN and Visnews, for visual material may be seen to have resulted in the high percentage of 'u-lay'-bulletins (commentaries by the anchor on edited video material). The reason why such bulletins were so prevalent seems to be that in the news-room of *International News* there was a clear policy to base the news presentation on moving pictures. There were usually no more than six journalists present to prepare the programme: two presenters and four - or often only three - reporters. These reporters (or script-writers) usually produced one video report item each per day. Since the average amount of items per programme was 11.3, the 'u-lay' bulletin often had to be applied. Part of the reason why there were two anchor persons was that they had to prepare scripts for these items.

To a much greater extent, the items in *Dagsrevyen* were presented as reports. In *Dagsrevyen*, reports were based on self-recorded video materials. In particular, this was the
case in regard to domestic news, while parts of the visuals for the foreign news was also based on materials from the EVN network.

9.4. Summary.

This chapter has examined the mode of formal composition of the television news services of TV3 and the NRK; the news programmes as elements of the overall output, the sequential structure of these programmes, and the structure of the news-items. The organising principles of time, sequences and segments in broadcasting have been focused on and discussed in relation to the schedules, the programmes and the news-items in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*.

Both *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were centrally placed within the schedules of TV3 and the NRK, respectively. As was pointed out in Chapter 6, *International News* was seen to have important credibility functions for TV3, but this could also be said of the NRK's *Dagsrevyen*, which, traditionally, also had the function of opening the prime time slot of the evening's programmes.

Interestingly, the sequential structure of the two programmes, was very similar. The only difference found was that in *International News* the sponsored weather report was not included in the news programme, but presented after the news programme had ended. This was to avoid giving the impression that commercial considerations in any way influenced the news programme.

The durations of the programmes differed, though. While *International News* had a duration of about 20 minutes - dependent on the duration of the advertising slots before and afterwards - *Dagsrevyen* had a duration of 30 minutes (both times are inclusive of the weather report). The duration of the items also differed. While as many as 44.1 per cent of the items in *Dagsrevyen* were between 2 and 3 minutes' duration, 49.3 per cent of the items in *International News* were of between ½ and 1 minute long. There was a clear tendency in *Dagsrevyen*, however, for the foreign news-items to be shorter than the domestic ones.

In the section about the textual composition of the news-items, a distinction was drawn between the different sub-genres; *bulletins* ('piece to camera', 'dls', and 'u-lay'), *editorial*
comments, reports (by reporter or foreign correspondent), and interviews. The examination suggested that the dominant item in *International News* was the one which took the form of the anchor commenting live on pre-edited video material ('u-lay' bulletin) (relative presence of 48.4 per cent), while in *Dagsrevyen* the dominant items was the news report (relative presence of 78 per cent). The news reports in *Dagsrevyen* usually included interviews. Significantly, the visual parts of the news-items in *Dagsrevyen* included self-recorded material to a much larger extent than *International News*. It was argued that the differences in the application of sub-genres in the individual items may be seen as a significant manifestation of not only different policies and traditions, but also of economic resources guiding the policies and the traditions.

The conclusion of this chapter is that the *sequential structures* in the two news programmes were quite similar. The differences regarding the composition of the two programmes were found within the different sub-genres applied as segments within the news-item sequence, as exhibited in the tables above. To a large extent, these differences can be seen to have been produced by a combination of news policy and cost considerations in *International News*. 
Chapter 10: Stance and the presentation of news.

The concept of stance has previously been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4; it may be seen as a mode of basic organisation which determines a particular kind of presentation. This chapter will examine the stance of news programmes towards the audience, and in particular, focus on the stances of International News and Dagsrevyen. The examination is guided by the assumptions that:

a. Because of their different natures as news programmes in a commercial and a public service news channel, respectively, the news in International News and Dagsrevyen will differ textually in the way they approach the audience in respect to the presentation of the news programme.

b. Because both programmes relate to ideals descending from the institution (or formation) of news, textual conventions guiding the presentation of the news-items will be similar in the two programmes.

The focus of the analysis will be the way in which the two news programmes address the viewers. These conventions have a bearing on what events are selected for the programmes, as well as on how they are processed and presented. In Chapter 3, a conceptual framework to conceptualise the relations between the news genre, the news text and the news audience was developed (Figure 3.4.-1.). By applying the perspectives included in that figure, some conventions distinct for news production and news presentation will be further discussed: conventions for claiming authority and omniscience (10.1.), for expressing independence and impartiality (10.2.), and for expressing authenticity, immediacy and exclusivity (10.3.). Chapter 11 will then examine the productional aspects of the texts in relation to such conventions.

The data to be applied is partly a result of the content analysis in the previous chapter. The analysis will also draw on more qualitative textual analyses from video recordings, as well as from interviews and observations.
10.1. The textual claim for omniscience and authority.

Television, and in particular, television news, has a strong, undisguised enunciative structure, with the distinctive feature that someone intends to tell us something (Larsen, 1989). In intending this, the someone also aims to establish a point of view for the news presentations.

As demonstrated in Chapter 9, the sequential structures of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were very similar. Furthermore, in both programmes, the first sequence was a vignette, and in both programmes the main symbol in these vignettes were globes which, through different techniques, were transformed into the logos of the programmes. According to the executive producer of *Dagsrevyen*, the vignette sequence is immensely important, and the vignettes, which include advanced graphics and music, are expensive to compose. The vignette of Dagsrevyen from 1986 to 1992 had a duration of 12 seconds, and cost approximately £ 5500 to compose.

What, then, is the immense importance of the television news vignette? The vignette is obviously meant to communicate to the audience which programme it is, i.e. *Dagsrevyen* or *International News*. Equally importantly; the vignette is meant to communicate what kind of programme it is, and to establish a stance for a preferred decoding of the news programme with the audience. Accordingly, the immense importance of the news vignette can be seen as establishing an enunciative position, and a point of view.

This position may, through the codes in the vignette, as well as through other codes, be seen to imply that the news programme represents some kind of overview of the world events - what many scholars have called an olympian view (Gripsrud, 1989; Dahlgren, 1981; Larsen, 1974). It is this enunciative position of the news programmes which makes it relevant to claim that a news programme can be interpreted as textually defining an omniscient and authoritative stance towards the audience.

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271 For pictures from the two programmes, see Appendices 6 and 7.

272 Information from the Chief Producer of *Dagsrevyen*.

273 Dahlgren (1981: 293) contends: 'Throughout the programme, the viewer is presented with stories about events from all parts of the world, and is witness to reporters in many locations. This is, in a sense, an awesome display of power on the part of the TV News.'
In signalling such a position, the news organisations conform (textually) to the ideals for journalistic work and practices descending from the genre of television news and the social institution of news. The individual vignettes, and the individual news programmes, are able to position themselves as they do in relation to the audience because of the more or less institutionalised social conventions determining what the social and historic role of the news is, and how it should ideally be produced, presented and read.

In the everyday context of news production broadcasters would not usually subscribe to the claim that the enunciative position of the television news is omniscient and authoritative. Broadcasters are reluctant to indulge in what many of them would call 'theorising' about their own activities. However, among broadcasters there is a consciousness, distinct from the practical consciousness of the routinised every day practices, about how the news programme positions itself towards the audience. A statement from an interview with the scenographer who developed the new studio design for Dagsrevyen from January 1992 clearly indicates this. The scenographer was asked to characterise the enunciative position of the version of Dagsrevyen which was presented from February 1986 until January 1992:

'To put it crudely, the pictures we produced told the audience: here sits God and declares what the world is like, insisting that His version is true. He was always right. Even when He did interviews He was in total control.'

The scenographer here quite clearly articulated an interpretation of the enunciative position of the version of Dagsrevyen analysed here. In doing this, she pointed to another aspect of the news programme which, in addition to the opening vignettes, may be seen as contributing to an interpretation of the enunciative position as authoritative and omniscient. That is the role of the anchor persons in the news programmes.

In television news the anchor person's, or the main narrator's, presentation may be seen as an effort to prove that his/her version of the story is 'true' (see Chatman, 1978). Sperry (1981) points out that when the news is presented it presupposes an attitude by the audience where the narrator may be seen to have struck the right compromise between Truth and the listener's expectation of a coherent and effective form. The credibility of the

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229 Interview during a period of observation in January 1992.
Norwegian: 'Jeg synes at, for å si det veldig forkant, de bildene vi kom ut med var: Her sitter Gud og forteller om hvordan verden er, og det jeg sier er sant. Han hadde retten på sin side. Selv når Han intervjuet hadde Han total kontroll.'
narrator is the key to this understanding, and for this the anchor person must be perceived
to possess authority, Sperry claims. To gain credibility and authority in the news presenta-
tion is a classic narrative problem:

"In every narrative, the narrator - the authority who tells the story - is of primary importance, and
this must be true for the television news program as for any other narrative" (Sperry, 1981: 298).

Above, it is pointed out that the textual claim for authority and omniscience partly departs
from the genre and the social institution of news. In relation to the individual programmes
focused on in this research project it is relevant to examine how the textual authority and
omniscience is maintained in International News and Dagsrevyen.

This will be done by examining the studio context within which the news is presented
(section 10.1.1). In addition, the communicative codes immanent in the addresses by
different actors within the news programme are to be investigated (section 10.1.2.). In the
examination of the contexts - and the changes of contexts - within which the news was
presented it will become apparent that during the period the present thesis was researched,
major changes in conventions for how to present the news took place. These changes may
in general be seen as caused by the de-regulation of the television industry and the
proliferation of television channels, and in particular of the increasing domination of the
CNN in redefining conventions for news presentation (e.g. Larsen, 1992; Størensen, 1991).
However, as the changes are also related to other news media than television, some of the
changes, or the direction of the changes, may be seen to be generally caused by changing
overall conventions descending from the news institution.

10.1.1. The codes of the news studios.

Both news studios appeared in the programmes as having a cold and neutral look: the
colours were blue and grey in Dagsrevyen, and mostly grey in International News. The
back wall in Dagsrevyen was a blue carpet with the latitudes and longitudes of the upper
part of the globe inscribed on it. The back wall in International News was of grey coloured
glass.

In International News, two small monitors, and a part of the news-room, were exposed
through the top of the back wall. These features had no real functions, and broke with
what had traditionally been an unwritten rule for television news: that exposure of unnecessary visual elements in the news studio was to be avoided to ensure the effectiveness of what was until then seen as the most important function of the television news programme - the transmission of information from the news presenters to the viewers.

In Dagsrevyen, no monitors appeared during news presentation before 1992 (except in the closing sequence). The monitors present in International News could be seen as conforming to a new feature within the television news genre, specially employed and developed within CNN's newscasts. This new feature did not have so much to do with conventions for authority in the 'transmission of information' process, as with another convention for news presentation: the claim for authenticity, or for a kind of immediate relationship to events. During a period of observation, the Head of News in TV3 explained why the studio appeared as it did:

"[For me] an impractical environment is one in which one person sits down in front of a plain surface, and simply recites what is going on in the world. How does this person know that? We in the industry know how he knows. But how do the viewers know that he knows? What we wanted to do was to put the news casters into an environment where the audience find what is going on. We call it the news room. The audience may or may not know the term news-room ..., but it is the environment in which a person appears to be sitting.

Further, he explained about the problems in getting an open environment working well in the programme:

"What we experimented with was the idea of being able simply to look into the news-room. ... That idea was conceived of because first of all it was quite fashionable at the time, and secondly it was a way of putting some relief to the background instead of having the anonymity of a blank wall, against which the newscaster sat. My personal conviction is that it very frequently fails to be credible. We always found it rather awkward ..., because at the time when the news was going out, actually the least number of people were sitting at the desk. They were all doing other things. So the desk very frequently looked empty. And, indeed, if you look at the BBC 9 O'clock News, you look into their news-room, and there's nobody there at all. So it's self-defeating. It doesn't work in other words. It's only when you have a twenty-four hour news-show as CNN, or like Sky News, that you can expect your news-room to be busy preparing the next bulletin while the current bulletin is actually being transmitted. Then you see the people in the news-room.'

Finally, the Head of News also said that:
From the above it can be seen that it had been important for *International News* to find a new way of presenting the television news which was different from the traditional one. To draw on newly established conventions for this, *International News* had originally chosen a style quite similar to that of CNN. Later, this had been changed. According to the Head of News, an open solution 'failed to be credible', and TV3 had found a compromise between a more classical solution and that of CNN.

A feature in *Dagsrevyen* which differed from the classical ideal dominating the appearance of the programme before 1992 was the 'closing of programme sequence' where the audience were shown a wide angle camera shot of the studio. It included the studio assistant, a monitor (which was turned around so that the audience could see the front of it), some cameras, a clock and spotlights, in addition to the elements also present in the 'programme leader picture' (see Gripsrud, 1989).

The classical appearance of *Dagsrevyen* was then changed in January 1992.275 The scenographer quoted previously, stated about the new programme:

> 'Now He [God] has descended from his pedestal position. And perhaps we get a feeling that those who are now presenting the news are more human-like, and, consequently, are a part of something; something which makes us see that what they convey has been selected from available materials.'

A presenter who had taken part in the planning for the new concept also stated in an interview during observation that 'the new *Dagsrevyen* was intended to signify a break with the authoritarian programme tradition:

> "Traditionally we often say that we 'visit people in their sitting-rooms'. However, in this revised programme we 'invite people to our own sitting-room', in a way... The audience get to see some

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275 I was present in the news-room when the studio deck and the structure of the programme was changed in January 1992.

276 Norwegian: 'Nå har Han steget ned fra pedestal. Og vi får kanskje en følelse av at de som nå formidler er mere mennesker, og også en bit av roemning. Som gjør at vi ser at de formidler ut fra hva de har f审视 til vurdering.'
of our working instruments; they can see that there is some activity here. At least some, which we try to produce.\textsuperscript{277}

The Chief Producer of \textit{Dagsrevyen} stressed that it had been the intention to create a more informal tone in the studio. Elements like two presenters, a round table and a text generator-operator (placed behind one of the presenters) were supposed to loosen the previous static and one-dimensional background. In an interview during observation, he revealed:

'What was most important was to get away from the background wall ... and to position the presenters in the studio in a way which created space. ... This was to give the impression that we are situated in a television environment, where television programmes are produced. And that impression we have tried to cultivate by placing a monitor-rack in the back of the room.'\textsuperscript{278}

In a situation when \textit{Dagsrevyen} would have to compete with the news in the second Norwegian terrestrial channel planned to start broadcasting from September 1992 (the same year), the new design of the programme (including the monitor rack) clearly seemed to be motivated by changes in conventions for the presentation of the news at that time. The news programme which in particular had developed the applied conventions was the CNN.

The new and less rigid studio context in \textit{Dagsrevyen} undoubtedly represented a break with previous conventions for how to transmit information from the news presenters to the viewers. The previous conventions had been dominated by a neutral studio context, with a neutral looking presenter in the centre of the picture. Now this was changed. In relation to previous conventions, distressing elements had become an integral part of the news presentation; monitors, a text generator-operator, jingles, and camera shots of the whole news-studio in-between the presentation of news items. In addition, a new strict dress code was introduced so that the appearance of the presenters would 'fit' with the studio deck. In contrast to what had been the tradition in \textit{Dagsrevyen}, the dressing of the presenters became 'fancy' more than neutral.

\textsuperscript{277} Norwegian: 'Tradisjonelt sa sier man at vi kommer pa besok i stua til folk. Men i denne nye sendinga inviterer vi liksom folk inn i stua vir ... Publikum får liksom se noen av våre arbeidsinstrumenter, de ser at det er litt aktivitet her, hvortil fall frit, som vi prøver å legg.'

\textsuperscript{278} Norwegian: 'Det aller viktigste har vært å komme os ut fra dekorveggen ... og plassere programlene de slik i studio at vi skaper rom. ... For mere da å gi inntrykk av at vi befinner oss i et fjernsynsmiljø, hvor en producerer fjernsyn. Og den feltelen har vi da prøvd å fosette ved å legge et monitorrack helt bakom i rommet.'
The changes commented on in both *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were substantial. Although the differences in the two programmes were significant when the present study took place, it can be seen from the above discussion that the same trend which had motivated the design of the TV3 News did motivate the design of *Dagsrevyen* when revisions were made in 1992. More than taking an anti-authoritarian stance towards the audience this design textually claimed a different kind of authority; that of an immediate relationship to events informed by conventions for immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity. After all, the use of the new conventions still enable the news programmes to claim that they are news; a genre in which authority is a presupposition for the right to textually imply that what is presented as news should be regarded as nothing else - but news.

10.1.2. News presentation and the communicative hierarchies.

In both *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*, the roles of the anchor persons were established in a very short sequence - the 'establishing of the narrator' sequence. The sequence came immediately after the 'vignette' and the 'headline' sequences. Importantly, this was the moment in which the main narrator claimed the authority embedded in the narrator instance for the genre of news.

In both programmes, the anchor(s) were seated behind a counter indicating a certain distance and authority in relation to the viewers. The dress code of the presenters was strict in both programmes. The men wore a jacket, a shirt and a tie. The women wore similarly formal clothes. For both the men and the women the clothes and their formal and distant appearance was intended to create a role of a narrator claiming authority according to news conventions.

It is equally clear, however, that the female presenters in *International News* were usually more elaborately clothed than their female colleagues in *Dagsrevyen*. This difference might be seen as arising out of the fact that the female presenters in *International News* were younger than those in *Dagsrevyen*, and therefore had a different orientation towards clothes. Yet it was also a result of TV 3 corporate policy which made *International News* employ their own stylist for the news programme. The stylist gave advice on clothing, and was more radical in styling and making up the female news presenters than those respon-
sible for the make-up in the NRK. So, even if the authority of both news programmes can be said to have been based on formal dress codes, there was a certain difference in the two news programmes regarding the female presenters. In TV3 the appearance of the women presenters also seemed to have been of initial importance for employing them.

More generally, the news genre may be seen to be situated in a patriarchal structure in which women are often provided another role than that of men: from such a perspective, women's attractiveness was of importance for whom the commercial TV3 employed to present the news.

The communicative structure within International News and Dagsrevyen exposed three different lines of communication which could be distinguished in the news text. Of these, two could easily be deduced in both programmes (see Aarli, 1991), but the third was usually not present for the viewer.

First, there was the external line of communication from the anchor(s), reporters and actors participating in the news programme towards the audience. Second, there was the internal reporting line - the line of communication between the actors within the programme: between the two anchors in International News, as well as between the anchor(s) and the reporters, commentators and interviewees in International News and Dagsrevyen. The third line of communication was always there during transmission of the programme. It was very seldom seen in the actual programmes as such, however. That was the internal command line between the anchor(s) and the producer of the programme and his/her staff in the control room. The only times when this communication line was utilised within the programmes was when things went wrong during production of the live news programmes and there was extra communication between the control room and the studio. Even then, this communication could be done through the data system, on which the news-work in both news-rooms was based. Data terminals were present in both news studios.

The external line of communication was constituted by the relationship between the real presenter/journalist/interviewee and the audience. The typical way the anchor person addressed the audience was in the news presentation position. In this position the anchor

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279 Both male and female presenters had quite heavily made-up faces when they appeared on the screen. The reason for this is the necessity of massive light in the studio, which makes the skin look very pale and 'unnatural'.

280 Information from two of the broadcasters in International News.
person looked straight into the camera while reading the text off the 'auto-cue' from the
front of the camera. The camera shot was of a 'talking head'; that is, only the head and
shoulders of the presenter in view. In effect it looked as though the anchor person(s) tried
to achieve eye contact, and to talk directly to the viewers. This is an obvious illusion,
which nevertheless was an important feature of the 'news presentation position'.

According to Ellis (1982: 134):

'Direct address is recognised as a powerful effect on TV. Its most obvious form, that of an
individual speaking directly (saying 'I' and 'you'), is reserved for specific kinds of people'.

That an illusion of eye contact is based upon conventions is clearly illustrated by a
statement from 1970, before the text generator was used in Dagsrevyen. The statement was
made by Johansen, who is now chief editor of the section of foreign affairs in Dagsrevyen:

'It might also be disturbing to the audience if the broadcasters or politicians are too 'efficient' and
never look down into the manuscript. During my first period in the Nrk Television I got many
letters from viewers who urgently requested me 'not to look them straight into their eyes'. They
were simply not able to take in what I said.' (Johansen, 1970: 61)

If the anchor was seen to be successful in 'reaching' the audience it was said that s/he 'got
good well through' the screen. The 'news presentation' position was a privileged position within
the news programming. In the news studio only two other instances claimed eye contact;
those who presented editorial comments, and those who chaired a studio debate. International News carried none of these forms in their regular news programmes. The studio
debates in Dagsrevyen were a part of the weekend magazine format. These magazines
were not recorded for analysis. Dagsrevyen regularly, though not frequently, carried
editorial comments on national and international issues. In the editorial comments, the
commentator would address the audience in the same position as the anchor person, but
usually the studio background was different.

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281 Norwegian: 'Det kan også virke forstyrrende på publikum om programmedarbeideren eller politikerne er
for 'effektive' og aldri ser ned i et manuskript. Selv fikk jeg den første tid jeg var i fjernsynet mange brev fra
snere som inntrengende bønnfalte meg om 'ikke å stirre dem rett inn i synene'. De klarte rett og slett ikke å følge
med i hva jeg sa.'
In situations in the news-studio other than those mentioned, actors had to address the audience through the anchor (visually and orally). In two other instances, from outside the studio, broadcasters and people outside the news organisation had the privilege of addressing the viewers directly, by claiming 'eye contact'. Those instances were the 'stand ups' and the 'syncs'. The classic 'stand up' means that the broadcaster will address the audience visually through a camera on location outside studio. The 'sync' may be defined as a visual or oral 'quotation'. It was very seldom, however, that a person who was 'synced' addressed the audience from an 'eye contact' position.

This had to do with the different roles within the news programmes, and brings us to the second line of communication within the news programmes - the internal reporting line. This line quite distinctly illustrates the hierarchial structure employed in the presentation of news. The two most important features in deducing this hierarchy are the location from where the news presentation or news-item is made, as well as the position in relation to the camera - if there is 'eye contact', or if persons are shot from the side. Except for the addresses by the anchor person, the commentator, the 'chair' in discussions, the 'stand up' broadcaster, and the few instances of 'syncs' with eye contact, no one addressed the audience directly by 'eye contact' during the period in which the content analysis was carried out. The broadcasters recognised these as codes of practice, and instructed actors who did not know these codes on how things were to be done. It would usually be a short comment - 'just remember - do not look into the camera, OK'.

To point out the hierarchical structure of the news programmes then:

- The anchor person(s) was the one who was seemingly in control of the news studio and all proceedings during the programme. The anchor had 'eye contact' with the audience.

- The editorial commentator (only in Dagsrevyen) had the same enunciative position as the anchor. However, he was introduced by the anchor person, and

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This particular instruction was given in Dagsrevyen during observation. Norwegian: 'Bare husk på å ikke se i kameraet! OK?'
was not, as the anchor, in command of the proceedings within the newsroom.233

- The *reporters* never appeared in the main news studio without being interviewed by the anchor. The reporters then had to address the audience 'through' the anchor, and did not have the privilege of 'eye contact'. Outside studio, reporters had the privilege of 'eye contact' if they performed a *stand up* as part of a news report. Except for that, if the reporters were exposed, it would usually be in the context of carrying out an interview. The position of the reporter was then usually shot from the side or back in a two-shot of the reporter and the interviewee. These shots had an important function when the news-items were edited.

- The *synced* persons appeared in both programmes234. None of them had the privilege of 'eye contact' during the period of recordings for content analysis. This privilege is given in certain circumstances, however: a typical occasion when synced persons were given the privilege to claim 'eye contact' would be when the Norwegian King or Prime Minister addressed the people on the New Year's Eve and the New Year's Day, and parts of this address are broadcast as news.

- The *interviewees* were usually shot from the side. In the news studio they would address the audience through the anchor. Outside the news studio a reporter would not always be present in the pictures. In news reports the statements in interviews would often be carried as 'visual quotations' (see Chapter 11).

The hierarchical structure of the two programmes is in most ways similar to that in others, and in this way conforms to genre conventions. Nichols (1991: 130) describes the hierarchy in this way:

233 A variation over the editorial comment is the 'editorial comment-interview' in which the anchor person interviews the commentator, who answers questions which have been agreed on beforehand. This was used quite often during the Gulf War. The enunciative position of the commentator may vary during such interviews.

234 'Sync' in news language means 'bits' from situations or statements which are presented to subscribe to the convention of authenticity. See following discussions.
'Commentary appears directed toward us. On-screen narrators and hosts look into the camera lens, at us. Interviewers and interviewees present three-quarter poses, carefully aligned so as not to look directly into the lens. They look at each other, lest the process of interviewing seem irrelevant. This orchestration of the gaze also subordinates those interviewed to those who speak on behalf of the program or network - the host - by restricting access to the camera lens. Guests and hosts have different rights of access to the camera. Guests normally look about fifteen to thirty degrees to the side of the camera, presumably at the host. Frontality of face, eyes, and trunk is the favoured bodily position for commentators.'

From the description of the hierarchy, it can be seen that the structure in the two programmes was quite similar, although the 'editorial comment' element was not present in International News. The hierarchy is based on the privilege to address the audience directly through 'eye contact'. The anchor person can be seen to delegate different kinds of privileges to different kinds of actors, in different kinds of situations in both news programmes.

The sovereign position of the anchor within the enunciative structure of the news programmes is potentially threatened by the internal command line, however. This is the line of communication between the news studio (including the anchor), and the producer and the staff in the control room. During live television news transmission it is the producer, and not the anchor, who commands the proceedings.

The communication from the producer to the anchors is maintained through a small, almost invisible earphone. In International News the producer was in direct contact with both anchors during transmissions. In Dagsrevyen, the producer was in indirect contact with the anchor, only. S/he had to address the anchor through the studio inspector, who would then bring the message to the anchor. It was arranged like that to avoid the anchor being disturbed by unnecessary commands from the control room during transmissions.

The internal command line was never utilised during recordings for the content analysis in International News and Dagsrevyen. Nor did I see such an incident in International News before or after these recordings were made. What usually happened in Dagsrevyen when the problems with proceedings occurred instantaneously during presentation, or they could not be solved during pre-recorded news-items, was that the anchor person would lift the telephone and get messages direct from the control room.
The anchor person’s authority may in such incidents be seen to be severely threatened. The incident may easily become a textual manifestation of the fact that the enunciative position of the anchor is composed by the applications of different presentational codes and techniques.

To sum up this section on the textual claim for omniscience and authority, the codes for such an enunciative position had many similar features in the two programmes. That applied to the news studios, and the forms of reporting, as well as to how the presentational instances of the news programmes addressed the audience. Regarding some features, International News could be seen to be more informal than Dagsrevyen. The differences were produced by the more 'open' solution in TV3, the monitors in the news studio, the female dress code and style, the more informal tone maintained by the two anchors using each other’s first name during transmissions, and by the slightly more informal end sequences in TV 3.

10.2. The textual claim for independence and impartiality.

The textual claim for independence and impartiality may be regarded as crucial for the news-rooms to legitimise their news programmes. The claim is closely related to conventions about the genre of news. A normative, as well as ideological, dimension is involved here. The news text implies that it is, ideally, the result of the author producing the news according to certain norms and ideals which dictate how to relate to information, sources and actors when making news of events and of social processes (see Roscho, 1975; Tuchman, 1972; Østbye, 1989).

In International News and Dagsrevyen, the textual claims for independence and impartiality were related to the enunciative position of the news programmes: to the authority and the omniscience, as well as to the point of view of the news presentation. As previously pointed out, in Dagsrevyen, most news reports contained interviews. Interviews with actors with different attitudes towards issues covered in the news reports were often applied to ‘balance’ the report. This was particularly the case if political issues were covered. Accordingly, the application of interviews to ‘balance’ the news reports may be regarded as a textual claim for independence and impartiality within Dagsrevyen.
During the field work, I was able to observe how ideal norms for editorial and journalistic integrity in *International News* as well as *Dagsrevyen* were violated during the everyday production process. Such episodes will be discussed further in Chapter 11. The crucial point for the news producers seemed to be that the news text gave the *impression* that the textual result of journalistic and editorial activities within the news organisation conformed to certain ideals about the 'implicit author' of the news.

10.3. The textual claim for immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity.

Within the news programmes analysed, conventions other than authority, omniscience, independence and impartiality could also be read out of the programmes. The three most important conventions in the relationship between the production process and the news text in the case of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* to be commented on here, are the textual claims for *immediacy*, *authenticity* and *exclusivity*. It may be difficult to distinguish between the three concepts in regards to news. In this analysis, the concepts are, nevertheless, meant to cover different features which, analytically-speaking, may be distinguished from each other.

Immediacy in news has to do with *time*. Most news is conceived to be newsworthy for a very limited period - usually one day, only. Authenticity is some kind of a *claim for truth* and a claim for a kind of genuine relationship to events: that what is reported to have happened or to be going to happen in the news really has, or will, happen. The concept of exclusivity is applied to deal with the accentuation of *exclusive contributions* within the news programmes.

The textual claim for *immediacy* can be seen to be strongly present in the texts of television news programmes. The programme in itself is broadcast live. Furthermore, Ellis (1982) points out that announcers and newsreaders speak directly from the screen, simulating the 'eye contact' of everyday conversation by looking directly out of the screen and occasionally looking down. Ellis goes on to contend that it is as though the TV image is a 'live' image, transmitted and received in the same moment that it is produced:

"The immediacy of the broadcast TV image does not just lie in the presumption that it is live, it lies more in the relations that the image sets up for itself. Immediacy is the effect of the directness of..."
In addition to the immediacy claim present in the presentation of the live news programmes, the *live news-items* in particular contributed to an image of immediacy. Having said that, during the four weeks in February and March 1990, when the content analysis for the present study was recorded, only one live item was presented in *International News* and four in *Dagsrevyen*. *International News* brought a *live studio interview* with one of the reporters and presenters within *International News* regarding ethnic conflicts in Rumania. *Dagsrevyen* brought a *live telephone interview* from studio with a reporter covering a search for a group of ski tourists who were lost in the Norwegian mountains during a period of bad weather. Further, there was one *live telephone interview* with a local police man about an accident, one live editorial comment, and one live report. However, there were no *live pictures* from outside the news studio in the reports or the interviews. They were illustrated with maps and graphics.

These were the only live items during the period of content analysis, and accordingly, no live pictures from outside the studio were presented live in either programme. More generally, there were very seldom live news reports in *International News*. In *Dagsrevyen*, such reports were more frequent.

Even though there were few live reports in the two programmes during the period, live television news-items, as well as extra news bulletins, have traditionally enjoyed a high profile. This is especially the case in *Dagsrevyen*. The latest major events to be covered extensively were the Gulf War and the death of the Norwegian King Olav Vth, both in January 1991.

The convention of immediacy is not only related to live news-items. It may also be seen to influence which events and social processes are reported, and which are not. As will become apparent in Chapter 11, the production process was geared towards immediacy. Events which were not considered to be relevant in relation to the convention of immediacy were easily dismissed. Nevertheless, when the 'news to be' was initially selected for presentation, a claim for immediacy would also result in most news being reported as though it had happened that particular day. Even if the news was not up-to-date, or based on something which was going to happen in the future, the items would usually be
anchored in time to minor events which had happened, or would happen, the day the news was reported. As a reporter in Dagsrevyen commented:

'You try to focus on the immediacy-aspects of a case, those little things which ensure the immediacy. ... It is also a matter of form - it is incredible what may be done to ensure the actuality.'

In the news programmes analysed, the anchors anchored the news events in time by giving the information about 'when the news happened' during the introduction of the individual news-items. Below is a table based on this information, regarding the four weeks of recorded material for content analysis in International News and Dagsrevyen:

### TABLE 10.3-1. 'ACTUALITY' OF THE NEWS IN DAGSREVYEN AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News programme</th>
<th>Dagsrevyen</th>
<th>Intern. News</th>
<th>AVERAGE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Far' back in time</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesterday</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td>78.4%</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
<td>77.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further into future</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 255 214 469

*When the news was reported to have happened/going to happen.

The table as such does not indicate when the news happened, or was going to happen, but the 'actuality tag' of the news issues during the news presentation and the news-items. What the table indicates, then, is how the reported news issues were 'anchored' in time and in immediacy. According to the table only 16.9 per cent of the news-items in Dagsrevyen and 10.7 per cent in International News were not 'anchored' in time (unidentifiable). Of the items anchored in time, 78.4 per cent of the items in Dagsrevyen were anchored to 'today', and in International News, 75.7 per cent.

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*Norwegian: Du prøver å hente fram det som gjør salten aktuell, de små tingene som sikrer aktualiteten. ... Det er også et formspennsk - det er utrolig hva en kan få til å se ut som om det er aktuelt.*
The textual claim for *authenticity* in television news relies heavily on the application of actuality forms in television journalism - visual and verbal-visual quotes. Connell (1986: 147) labels these quotes 'actuality forms', and states that:

'... actuality forms are the practical mode of demonstrating the objectivity of television journalism. They are ritualised means of affirming that what has been selected from the available pool of definitions has not been invented by the broadcasters.'

The most important verbal and visual quotation techniques in television news are live and recorded interviews and 'syncs' - video news pictures, usually with synchronised sound, as an interview, or from a news event. As previously pointed out, in *Dagsrevyen* there were a significant number of interviews, as well as 'syncs'. In the recorded content analysis, 127 out of 254 news-items (50 per cent of all the news-items in *Dagsrevyen* during that period) contained one or more interviews. Regarding 'syncs' in *Dagsrevyen*, 35 out of 254 news-items - 13.8% - contained one or more syncs. In *International News* there were 215 items presented during the same period. Of these, 10 items (21.5% of the items) contained one or more interviews, and 22 items contained one or more 'syncs' (10%).

It was argued in section 10.2. that a high proportion of interviews and syncs in *Dagsrevyen* could be due to the NRK's adopted position of independence - a tradition for being 'objective' and 'balanced' which is partly explicable through the NRK's traditional relationship with Government and Parliament. In addition, it might be due to the traditions in the NRK which developed out of its monopoly situation. From this, it may be argued that the application of verbal and visual quotes in *Dagsrevyen* makes the broadcasters able to demonstrate that the interviewees, or the persons who are 'synced', actually say what they are reported to have said; i.e., that the news programme presents a representation.

This implies that syncs and verbal and visual quotations may be seen as important for the demonstration of *credibility*, as well as for independence and authenticity. The textual claim for credibility may in this way be seen as having its base in a transmission paradigm. Connell (1986: 147) makes the following comment about the actuality forms:

'They are, then, the key means by which the 'transparency effect' in television is realised, an effect which denies the productivity of television's specific practices.'
Such a textual function, underlining the authenticity of the televisual item, also involves the *stand up*. The classic 'stand up' is a news report, within which the reporter/correspondent ends with the words: 'This is 'correspondent X' for the 'broadcasting company Y' reporting from the 'place Z'. The analytical category 'stand up' in this analysis includes reporters/correspondents who are present in the pictures of the news-items. In this way, the 'stand up' may be seen as a celebration of specific televisual techniques.

During the period of analysis, 4.3 per cent of the items presented in *Dagsrevyen* were 'stand ups'. The parallel figure in *International News* was 1.9 per cent. Items including 'stand-ups' had a clearer role in indicating authenticity, and even exclusivity, in *International News* than in *Dagsrevyen*. This was further illustrated by the fact that when script-writers in *International News* went outside the news-room to make recordings for reports together with a camera man, those reports would tend to have a significantly longer duration than other reports in *International News*, and in this way also subscribe to the convention of exclusivity.

To sum up this section, textual claims for immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity are central features in both news programmes. There are, however, some differences between them in regard to these claims. The claim for immediacy was present in the image of live television as well as in how the news is 'anchored in time'. In both programmes authenticity was claimed by applying actuality forms. Regarding the application of interviews, or what was labelled visual and oral quotations, there was a significant difference between the two programmes.

10.4. Conclusions - Part IV.

Here, Part IV - Contextual aspects - is concluded. The subject matter, the mode of formal composition and the stance of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* have been analysed in the present part of the thesis. It has been found that in many ways, the two programmes were quite similar, but that some aspects were quite contrasting:

In regard to subject matter, the main differences were found to be related to the overall differences in news-policy which, as a result, meant that *Dagsrevyen* produced both domestic and foreign news, and *International News* foreign news, only. The huge resources
(economic, technical and professional) needed to produce 'first-hand' domestic news did not 'fit-in' with TV3 news-policy. The analysis showed that content-wise, the differences between domestic and foreign news in Dagsrevyen were often more pronounced than the differences between foreign news in Dagsrevyen and International News. However, significant differences were also found in regard to issues, events and actors, as well as to the geographic origin of the news in the two programmes. One feature which illustrated the commercial policy behind International News was the presence of human interest stories. Moreover, it was found that because of the very restricted news production apparatus, priorities in the programme would most often be established according to what materials were available on the feed, even if this did not conform to the news values preferred by the broadcasters.

As concerns the composition of International News and Dagsrevyen, the sequential structures of the two programmes were found to be quite similar, although the weather report in International News was not included in the actual programme. The reason for this was that it was important for International News to be perceived as independent from commercial interests. Interestingly, the main differences between the two programmes was found to be the contrasting ways in which the sub-genres for the individual items were applied. A substantial part of the items in International News were defined as bulletins ('piece-to-camera', 'dis' and 'u-lay'). In this context, these are items which were presented by the news presenter(s). Up to 48.2 per cent of the items in International News were 'u-lay' bulletins in which the anchor(s) commented live on pre-edited video material. In Dagsrevyen the 'news report'-items were dominant, with a relative presence of 78 per cent.

In regard to the stance of the two programmes, this chapter discussed how features from new conventions for reporting the news in CNN also came to be present in International News and Dagsrevyen.

The model for examining the stance of the news in the two programmes (Figure 3.4.-1.) invited a further conceptualisation of structures of enunciation and conventions of news. In this way, the model contributed to an analysis of similarities and differences in the two news programmes regarding the textual claims for news conventions, such as authority, omniscience, independence and impartiality, immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity.
The analysis in this part points to an intricate relationship between economic contexts, the resources for producing news, and the resulting output. By producing foreign news, only, and drawing mainly on the two news-feeds and one wire-service, TV3 had designed an inexpensive news production process for the news programme; the programme itself was seen as important to promote the image of credibility and seriousness for TV3 in order to attract advertisers, as well as to seek legitimate recognition by politicians and the audience (see also Chapter 6). Hence, in comparison to Dagsrevyen, the strategy of TV3 in respect to news production also implicitly illustrates the level of resources needed to maintain a national and domestic news coverage within the format of an integrated news programme.

On the background of this textual examination it is highly relevant to raise the following question: considering the differences in economic contexts, resources and policies, how come the contrast between the presented outputs of the two programmes was not even more striking?

A central concept in the answer to this question is, again, that of news conventions. In applying such conventions, the producer is able to construct an implied author. According to such conventions, the implied author is meant, by implication, to be conceived by the readers as one who conforms to the norms and ideals of the work. To what extent this textual implication - or textual claim - may be an illusion will be examined in the next part.

In addressing these issues, the next part of the thesis will examine productional practices and relations to textual claims. Central to this discussion will be the problem that TV news emphasises the division between producers and consumers of political information. As a result of that, the viewer is separated not only from the event portrayed, but also from the history of how that event became news 'knowledge'.

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247 Dahlgren contends that:

"The news narration only refers to events (or at best to previous news narration): it does not refer to the history of its own learning. The news demonstrates knowledge, but not how learning takes place." (Dahlgren, 1981: 295).
PART V: ENCODING TEXTUAL CLAIMS
Chapter 11: Textual claims, genre conventions and productional practices.

The assumption guiding the analysis of the present chapter is that norms governing how to present the news according to genre conventions will be influential in guiding the production of the news text so that it conforms textually to such conventions. In doing this, the chapter will illustrate how central such conventions are for the news production processes, as well as look into the space - limitations and possibilities - the conventions provide for producing news texts.

Previous empirical chapters have, to a certain extent, compared International News and Dagsrevyen in regard to production apparatuses and textual aspects. This chapter also includes such a comparison in an analysis of how the two news-rooms relate to (economic) resources on the one hand, and to the news genre on the other hand. However, the chapter will also examine some cases in the news-rooms during news production. The rather restricted production apparatus of International News did not produce many cases of different character which could be applied in a meaningful way for analytical purposes. This was in contrast to Dagsrevyen, in which the news-room recorded and produced the news itself to a much greater extent, and in which domestic and Scandinavian news was not excluded. Accordingly, cases from Dagsrevyen are over-represented here in proportion to those from International News.

Since the cases focused on are used as examples of critical incidents, they should not be regarded as representative for the activities in the International News and Dagsrevyen. The cases are examined because they may be seen as illustrative of how some textual claims are made. The analysis in the present chapter is based on empirical data from the two news rooms gathered in observations and interviews, and also on the examination of the contexts in Part III, and on the news texts in Part IV. The basis for the analytical approach was developed in Chapter 3. Section 11.1. comments on relations between the news genre, different formats and productional practices in Dagsrevyen and International News, while in section 11.2. some particular textual conventions for presenting news will be examined.
as productional and presentational strategies. The conventions are those of immediacy, and authenticity.

In the analysis of textual claims and productional practices, the concepts of implied author and real journalist are applied (see Figure 3.4.-1.). The concepts enable an analysis of a central convention which supposedly directs news-work to be made; that of 'independence' and journalistic and editorial 'integrity'. These are, by convention, related to ideal roles of the text-producer in news; roles constituted by a strongly articulated code for the ideal handling and presentation of news. Accordingly, the professional and social conventions about the autonomous role of the news institution may be seen to be linked to conventions for the news institution in general. In this way, the claim for journalistic and editorial integrity and autonomy may be regarded as central, both for the ways in which most news enterprises address their audience, and for the ways in which they claim that their activities are legitimate and socially beneficial.

In section 11.3, definitions and analyses of 'integrity' and journalist's and editor's opinions about integrity-related issues will be presented and discussed. The section further examines some cases to discuss discrepancies between productional practices and textual claims regarding ideals for autonomy. The examination will demonstrate how the textual claims are constructed and encoded in productional practices in ways which, on the one hand, might not necessarily conform to ideals about how the news should be produced, but on the other hand do conform to textual conventions.

Traditionally, broadcast news in Norway, as in other 'western' countries, has been seen to conform to an image of being 'objective' and 'balanced'. The news production apparatuses in both Dagsrevyen and International News were geared towards producing news which conformed to conventions about the appearance of the presented items and programmes. The examination in Chapters 8-10 showed that the presented news texts had many similarities regarding the coverage of foreign news. Although the applications of different sub-genres were in sharp contrast to each other, the form of the programmes and the information provided as regards the foreign news items were not dissimilar to the extent one perhaps could expect from the differences in the production apparatuses.
An argument about resources in relation to quality could be based on two opposite perspectives:

1. That few resources were needed to produce the (foreign) news.
2. That many resources were needed to produce the (domestic) news.

From the first perspective it may be argued that while the NRK allocated considerably more resources to the production of news than TV3, the content analysis in Chapter 8 demonstrated that the programmes often contained the same news presented as foreign news in Dagstreven, and in addition included foreign news from other continents than those of Dagstreven. A further argument could be that the pictures and angles of both programmes were usually those of the international news agencies, even in cases when the foreign news had been produced by Dagstreven. Accordingly, it may be argued that the content of the foreign news did not generally differ very much.

From the first of the above perspectives it may, moreover, be argued that in both news programmes the policy of the news institution may be seen to have been implemented in particular ways. Furthermore, although there are many ways of 'fulfilling the genre', the genre does, in itself, place limits on the scope for potential utterances. One of the Dagstreven broadcasters who had been abroad to study other public service news programmes commented on such an issue:

'And what struck me was really how incredibly similar it is. To sit and make a news programme you need some things which are very common all over the world. We can see that, as we use materials from countless TV stations ... from the EVN-feed. It is material from the whole world. See how similar the production is. It is no problem to include it in our broadcasts. It is nothing strange and peculiar.\textsuperscript{389}'

In line with this, from a more theoretical position, Larsen (1993) claims that general as well as specific conventions constitute the precondition as well as the limitations of representation; they make communication possible, but at the same time set limits for what

\textsuperscript{389} Norwegian: 'Og det som slo meg var egentlig hvor utrolig likt det er. ... Sitte og lage en nyhetssending krever liksom en del ting som er veldig felles over hele verden. Det ser en jo, for vi bruker jo stoff fra utallige TV-stasjoner ... i disse eurovisjonsendingene. Det er stoff fra hele verden. Se hvor likt det er laget. Det er ikke noe problem å plassere det inn i våre sendinger. Det er ikke noe fremmedartet og merkelig.'
events to represent and how to represent them. Gripsrud (1991: 230) in a related argument suggests:

'Since all forms of language (in the widest sense of the word) are rule-governed, based on social conventions, it follows that these conventions also limit the possibilities of any given 'language' or, by implication, 'sub-language', 'mode' or genre, with respect to their ability to contain and convey 'information' in the most general sense of the word.'

It seems that TV3 had been conscious about such aspects when designing the news production apparatus. From such a perspective, the news genre as applied in TV3 as well as in Dagsrevyen may be seen as a dynamic set of conventions about 'how to say' things organised as certain news-room practices. As the Head of News maintained while discussing the news-production policy and the use of news agency materials:

'On any one day, any 20 stories will be the top stories of the day which are pretty much the same in any medium's top-twenty stories of the day. There won't be a lot of difference.'

The point to be made here is that the few sources International News subscribed to was perceived, by TV3 executives, to enable the news-room to 'fill the format' of the news-programme with relevant material.

From the second perspective mentioned above, however, there were substantial differences between the ways in which the two programmes were organised, as well as in the production and the content of news. The policies and the production apparatuses, as referred to, were in many instances a decisive factor in determining what events could possibly be 'turned into news'. The most illuminating illustration of this is the fact that International News did not produce domestic news. The very limited production apparatus, based mainly on one news agency, two news-video services, four script-writers and two presenters allowed International News to relate independently to the outside world only to a very limited extent. The costs of producing the news - not only re-producing it from other sources - were so high that International News chose the policy to produce a programme based on news-video reports on foreign news.288

288 An alternative, which was implemented later, was seen to be a bulletin-service, only, of national domestic news for the three individual Scandinavian countries. Such a service was developed partly due to changes in satellite capacity and prices for transponders.
11.2. Immediacy and authenticity.

Schlesinger (1987: 87) says the following about immediacy in news:

'We become most clearly aware of the emphatic bias towards rapid turnover in broadcast news production when considering the key concept of 'immediacy'. Logistically, it relates to the speed with which coverage can be mounted.'

On the level of immediacy and programming in Dagsrevyen and International News, both programmes were broadcast live, so that the broadcast of the programmes themselves created an aura of immediacy.®®® Regarding the news-items, 'immediacy-anchoring' of the news issues in the programmes was mainly achieved in two ways. First, potential news would be included in the programme more easily if it was recent, and second, recent and/or potential news was 'anchored' in 'today' by the application of 'news pegs'. Strategies for producing immediacy-claims were found in both Dagsrevyen and International News.

During the news-production process, the broadcasters would often try to construct a claim for immediacy in the form of the individual news-items, or more correctly - they would, if feasible, apply forms which stressed the immediacy aspects of the news. The perceived news-value of an event would also heavily influence what economic and technical resources would be allocated to create textual claims. The most 'outspoken immediacy items' were those of live reports and interviews: live interviews or reports from outside the studio (sound, both with and without live pictures from the event/interview), live interviews from the studio, with the interviewer in the studio and the interviewee outside the studio, and live interviews in the studio. The Tables 9.3.2.-1 and -2 exhibited the different sub-genres in Dagsrevyen and International News in a quantitative analysis. According to the tables, there was one live report and two live interviews in Dagsrevyen, while in International News there was one live interview. During the periods of observation it became clear that while all three categories of live reporting could be seen in Dagsrevyen,

®®® In Dagsrevyen programme tests usually started between 10 and 5 minutes before transmission. Quite often, items were edited while the programme was being broadcast, to be included towards the end. International News would often run a test of the whole programme about half an hour before broadcast time, and all the items would usually be made ready by then. When International News changed into the 3 minute bulletin service [3 Minutter] during autumn 1990, the news was recorded about half an hour before it was broadcast. Interestingly, it was in no way possible to see from the text itself that the programme was pre-recorded. Accordingly, textually the programme still had the same 'immediacy-claim', because the convention for such programmes is that they are live, and as there was nothing which textually implied otherwise.
the live items (other than bulletins) were restricted to live studio interviews in *International News*. This was due to differences in technical and economic resources.

Some cases regarding the *claim for immediacy* will be considered below. As mentioned in the previous chapter, such a claim could be implied both in the presentational form the item took (i.e. what sub-genre) and in the commentaries provided by reporters or by the presenter. *One situation* which definitely implied immediacy, and often took a particular form, was that of an issue reaching the news-room while a programme was broadcast. The issue could come by wire services, or from other sources. The usual way of handling it in both programmes was that the anchor informed the audience that:

"We've just received the information that ....".*

A quite similar situation, but more unusual way of dealing with it, was that of an item in *Dagsrevyen* when the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated 21st of May 1991. The news arrived in the news-room while the programme was being broadcast, and was therefore presented as the last item. The anchor person introduced it the following way:

"Then we have just received the information here that the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, has been killed by a bomb.*

The anchor then gave some more information before he turned towards the Foreign-Duty-Editor, who had come into the news-studio, and started interviewing him about what had happened. The editor did not wear a jacket and tie, which was very unusual. He was interviewed for almost one minute, but did not have any further substantial information other than that given by the presenter about the assassination. The editor started by saying that:

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*Norwegian: 'Vi bar nettopp fâtt inn melding om at ...'. This particular quotation is taken from *International News*.

* I was present as observer in *Dagsrevyen* that day.

*Norwegian: 'Så har vi nettopp fått inn en melding her om at tidligere statsminister Rajiv Gandhi i India ble drept av en bombe.'
What landed on my desk less than five minutes ago obviously came as a shock. What we know

It was, understandably, perceived to be very important to broadcast the news, but at the same time it was difficult to give any further information. There was also another interesting aspect with that particular item, as the editor revealed that:

"The information about his death has been announced by all agencies, but there is only one source - the Indian news-agency PTI."

In contrast to what is usual in television news, the source and the manner in which the news-room had come to know the news, was revealed to the audience. Usually the audience was not informed about the sources, or about who had produced the presented pictures. This is often due to the textual claim for authenticity; an implicit claim that the information is being provided by the news-room itself, and illustrated with pictures which have been recorded by themselves. However, in this case the claim for immediacy may be seen to have been of such importance that the audience was told how the news-room had received the information about the incident. There was another, related reason for this, as well. The news was seen to be so important that for credibility-reasons related to accuracy one could not possibly take the chance of broadcasting inaccurate information. In this way, Dagsrevyen could 'cover its back'.

The presented news issue was a serious one, and the broadcasters regarded it as bad news. However, it was clear from the reactions in the news-room that they were happy they had been able to bring it out on such a short notice, and that they were pleased with the good claim. When the Foreign-Duty-Editor who had been interviewed about the news by the presenter returned from the studio to the news-room, many of his colleagues congratulated him for excellent work. One of the senior reporters stressed that the immediacy was underscored by his contribution to the programme:

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293 Norwegian: "Det kom jo som et sjokk akkurat det som da landet på mitt bord for mindre enn fem minutter siden. Det vi vet ....".

294 Norwegian: 'Meldingen er gått ut på samtlige byrker, men det er kun én kilde - det indiske nyhetsbyrået PTI.'

That was cracking, you handled the situation well. Just the thing that you were there. It was very professional, and you said it - 'five minutes ago we received the information that' ...296

The incident may be seen in contrast to another episode in *Dagsrevyen*, some few months earlier. This latter episode may be regarded as illustrative of the frustration broadcasters felt in a situation when they were *not* able to treat news according to conventions for immediacy, and were 'beaten' by other stations to an issue which they were supposed to, and could have, presented first. It is also illustrative of how the 'official' role of the NRK in relation to state matters may be in conflict with professional ideals for how to deal with news.

The episode is the reporting of the death of the late Norwegian King Olav Vth, who died on the 17th of January 1991.297 According to official procedures the information about a king's death is supposed to be reported first by the NRK, and within the NRK news-rooms there are manuals about how such an episode should be handled. However, the information that the King was severely ill, and later, that he was dead, was, on this occasion, wired first by The Norwegian News Agency298. The wire arrived in the NRK news-room immediately before the *Evening News*299 was to be broadcast. In the news-room it had been a hectic day because the Gulf War had just started. The presenter for the *Evening News* made the following comment in an interview during observation:

'We prepared for the usual war-broadcast. Immediately before I went to the studio, [editor X] told me that he had received information that the King was critically ill. I went down in the studio and got a lengthy message on my desk; heart attack and critical, but stable, condition. I had my own ideas about this. I read the message at the beginning of the programme. In the middle of the programme, I received the message that the King was dead, and that the information was confirmed by the Deputy Private Secretary Hagen.'300

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296 Norwegian: 'Det var râbra, den situasjonen takla dere bra. Bare det at du var der ... Det var veldig profft, og du sa det jo - 'før fem minutter siden fikk vi inn melding om' ...' 

297 I was present in the news-room during that period. 

298 Norwegian: Norsk telegrambyrå. 

299 Norwegian: Kveldsnytt. 

300 Norwegian: 'Vi forberedde oss på en vannlig krigssending. Rett før jeg gikk i studio sa [redaktør X] at det var kommet melding om at Kongen var alvorlig syk. Jeg gikk ned i studio og fikk en lang melding på bordet: hjerteinfarkt og kritisk, men stabil tilstand. Jeg tenkte jo mit da. ... Jeg leste meldinga først i sendingen. Måh i sendinga fikk jeg så melding om at Kongen var død, og at den var bekrefta av kabinettsekretær Hagen.'
However, the news about the King’s death was not broadcast until the end of the programme, after a break of about one minute following the weather forecast. The reason for this was that the Director General of the NRK and the Director for the NRK Radio insisted on the official procedures to be followed; i.e. that the news was to be broadcast simultaneously on NRK Radio and NRK Television. In the radio news department they were not yet ready to convey the information. Accordingly, *Evening News* had to wait, and the anchor came back on the screen after the weather report and told that an important announcement would be given in less than a minute. The screen picture then went into black, until the anchor person returned and announced the following:

> 'And this is the message we have received. Deputy Private Secretary Hagen has just reported that His Majesty King Olav the Fifth is dead. The short express telegram from the Norwegian Press Service says that King Olav the fifth is dead, only. We will be back with special broadcasts later.'

At this moment the information had already been broadcast on Swedish public television, and on the Swedish/Scandinavian television channels TV3 and TV4. In relation to the news production processes, several aspects were interesting in the reporting of this death. Here, however, only one of these aspects will be commented on: that of conventions of immediacy. In an interview I later made with the anchor person from the *Evening News* that day, he stated that:

> 'It is probably the most serious thing we report. I was on the phone during all the reports. The procedure in the case of the death of the King is a thick manual ... the situation that you could get this on the table during a broadcast had not been considered at all. TV3, TV4 and Swedish television reported the news before us. For me, who was in the studio, it was an extremely emotional situation. ... What a pity it is that we didn’t report this in a usual way, which we should obviously have been able to do. Our only real national competitor is the radio. They brought the news about the Gulf war first, and benefited on the King’s death - we had to wait for them. That is very demoralising when you work with the news. To be the first with something is a quite fundamental idea.'

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391 Norwegian: 'Og dette er meldingen vi har fått inn. Hans Majestet Kong Olav den 5. er død, har kabinettsekretær Magne Hagen nettopp meldt. I den kortfattede ilmeldingen gjennom NTB heter det bare at Kong Olav er død. Vi kommer tilbake med ektrasendinger senere.'

392 Information from interviews with broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen*.

393 Norwegian: 'Det er vel det mest alvorlige vi melder. Jeg lå på telefonen i alle innslag. Opplegget i tilfelle Kongens død var en tjuvsk bøt ... situasjonen at en kunne få dette på bordet midt under sending var altså ikke vurdert. TV3, TV4 og SVT var før oss med meldinga. For meg i studio var det en ytterst følelsesmessig situasjon.'
From this statement the presenter made it quite clear that in the same way as immediacy is a textual claim it is also a professional virtue, a virtue which was pursued during work in the news-room, and a virtue towards which the production apparatus was geared (see Schlesinger, 1987). When King Olav V died, such an immediacy-claim had been seen to be so greatly needed that an obituary for television had already been made; it only needed to be extended to include events during the last few months. That was done while the first part of the obituary was being broadcast.

In addition to the convention of immediacy, the convention of *authenticity* is also regarded as a professional virtue, and had materialised in the ways that the news-rooms were organised. The textual claim for authenticity may be seen as a textual claim for 'truth', or for some indexical or genuine relationship to events. In line with the argument by Nichols one may say that the textual claim for authenticity may be seen as a fabricated 'indexicality' between what has happened and what is reported to have happened. In Chapter 10, the main textual authenticity forms were defined to be those of verbal and visual 'quotations'; interviews, syncs and stand ups. 'Syncs' were defined as video news pictures, usually accompanied by synchronised sound, used to 'represent' events. As was discussed previously, in both news programmes it was conceived to be important to present verbal and visual quotations, or interviews and 'syncs', in the news items. Particularly in Dagsrevyen, interviews, and statements from interviewees, were often applied. What the actual interviewees said in the interview seemed to be of varying interest for the reporters. In some instances, the interviewees would not be interviewed until the reporter knew s/he would get what was wanted. One such case was when a reporter in Dagsrevyen tried to 'sell' an issue to the Editor-In-Charge to get the permission to make a news report. He said to the editor:

'I believe I can make [a politician] say that in this case the Ministry supports business interests before the interests of the consumers.'

**Norwegian:** 'Jeg tror jeg kan få [en politiker] til å si at i dette tilfellel støtter departementet næringsinteresser framfor forbrukerinteresser.'
In other situations, and especially when interviewing representatives of the 'official Norway' (for example, politicians), it seemed to be important to represent their views by 'letting them talk for themselves'. In this way, the interviewees were utilised to represent viewpoints. However, interviews could also be seen to have another important function; that of making it possible to illustrate an item by pictures, and speech, by the interviewee.

In order to illustrate this, consider the following case from Dagsrevyen - an item on a helicopter which had made a forced landing in the sea outside southern parts of Norway:

No-one was hurt, and the incident was not a very serious one. However, the landing took place about two hours before Dagsrevyen was broadcast, and it would make a news-item which could not be presented by newspapers before the following day; i.e. an exclusive (if the radio news did not get hold of it). To get information about the event, the Press Officer of 'The Military General Headquarters' was phoned. He did not know about the landing, and was accordingly informed about it by a reporter from the Dagsrevyen news-room. Nevertheless, the Press Officer was invited to come to the news studio to be interviewed live about the incident. When he came to the news-room, he immediately started to make telephone calls to get information about the accident about which he initially knew nothing. When the programme began he was in the news-studio to be interviewed. The coverage of the landing started with information from the presenter, which was followed by a report that covered most aspects of the incident. In the following live interview with the Press Officer which lasted less than one minute, no new information was revealed, although some minor points were clarified; for example, an explanation of controlled forced landing was given.

The incident with the Press Officer was interesting in the way that he was in the news studio as a conveyor of information, although he did not originally know about the...
incident, and he did not really convey any new information. Nevertheless, his appearance was seen to authenticate the incident by the broadcasters, and in this way he was seen to play an important role in providing variation to the programme.

Yet another example of how persons with a Defence background were used in the programme to increase the authenticity-claim in Dagsrevyen, and also had the role of being 'primary definers' (cf. Hall et al. 1978) was the following incident:

Before the Gulf War started, it had been decided that a former Chief of Defence, Mr. Bull Hansen, was to be the expert commentator on the development of the potential war in the Gulf. At a news-meeting in Dagsrevyen the day before the war started, one of the reporters asked if they were not going to make a live interview in studio with Mr. Bull-Hansen. The idea was turned down by one of the editors, who explained that:

'We need to economise on the effects, and take good care of the few we have at our disposal. Fredrik Bull-Hansen must not be presented live from the studio before it comes to war. If we want to use him, we will have to make recordings not to use him up.' (emphasis mine)

The result was that the interview was recorded in the Dagsrevyen news-room to be broadcast later.

Here it can be seen that the choice to include this particular 'primary definer' was made long beforehand. In contrast to the argument by Hall (1978) commented on in Chapter 2, the incident demonstrates how broadcasters consciously apply textual claims. Furthermore, it also illustrates that although textual claims are important, the broadcasters were continuously negotiating what 'level' to produce such claims on, in relation to the

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309 For a critique of Dagsrevyen in choosing to use a former Chief of Defence as the only expert commentator during the Gulf War, see Allem (1992). From my own observations and interviews it appeared that some of the broadcasters in Dagsrevyen, although not all, were quite provoked by the strong military logic behind the coverage of the Gulf War. One of the editors informed me that 'one of the dangers with such a military logic is that tactical/strategic evaluation of what's happening will easily dominate the coverage'. The Foreign Affairs Editor later wrote a book in which he was quite critical about the western news-coverage of the war (Johansen, 1991). However, he did not explicitly discuss Dagsrevyen.

significance of the issues, i.e. they continuously considered what kind of coverage different issues 'deserved'.

Such considerations were also important when the broadcasters decided how to apply the 'syncs'. 'Syncs' are, from a textual perspective, video news pictures from a news event, usually with synchronised sound. From broad definition the interview with the former Chief of Defence could be regarded as one sync. The term 'sync' however, is more often used to refer to the bits of pictures and sound which may be edited into an item to illustrate authenticity.

If available, the 'syncs' were extensively used in the news items to textually claim authenticity. In combination with claims for authenticity, the 'syncs' were also applied for different purposes. The most prevalent were:

1. For the analyses and judgements where it was perceived to be difficult for the reporters to show a personal opinion. As one of the reporters in Dagsrevyen maintained when asked why so many of the reports on political matters involved politicians as interviewees:

   "It is obvious that it's in the nature of a great deal of the political material that it will be like that because you want to verify it - to fix it on one person."31

2. For descriptions and portrayals of persons, moods, places and situations.

3. For providing an impression of 'truthfulness':
   a. in demonstrating that this has really happened.
   b. in demonstrating that a reporter has talked to persons for confirmations.
   c. in showing that the reporter/correspondent is on the spot, and is reporting from there.

In regard to 'syncs' from the news video-services, broadcasters in both International News and Dagsrevyen were looking for ways to apply these in their news video reports. Accordingly, in both International News and Dagsrevyen, the broadcasters were looking...
for 'syncs' in the visual materials they got through the news feeds to textually establish 'authentic versions' of what happened throughout the world in the news items. In *Dagsrevyen*, for example, an important part of the work as Foreign-Duty-Editor was to look for 'syncs' to be applied. The 'syncs' for foreign news in *Dagsrevyen* were usually received from EVN, CNN, or from other sources. As one of the Foreign-Duty-Editors informed me:

>'I am sitting here watching the EVN-1 feed [from the EBU], and I am looking at the pictures from New York to brief the correspondent on what we've got, so that he can make his commentaries on that. Picking out some 'syncs', among others. An important part of the job as Foreign-Duty-Editor is to arrange such things for the correspondent. ... The application of 'syncs' is very demanding - you have to find the right part, and then the correspondent has to be informed so that what he reports leads naturally into a 'sync'.'

The 'foreign syncs' would be applied in reports made in the news-room, which often included a telephone report from a correspondent. Telephone reports by correspondents were supposed to lead naturally into the 'syncs', and also correspond to the pictorial material. The 'syncs' were included in the news-items so that everyone watching the news could see that President Bush, for example, was actually saying what he was reported to have said. In this way the 'syncs' had a specific illustrative function for the news text, a function which the broadcasters were very aware of. As one person with editorial responsibilities commented while discussing visual syncs in telephone reports from correspondents:

>'Syncs give a particular impression of having been there. ... the television medium gives us some fantastic opportunities, through the use of technology, for illustrating events.' (emphasis mine)

When asked why they spent so much time to prepare the 'syncs' the editor claimed that the use of 'syncs' was extremely important to achieve the impression of *authenticity* and through that gain *credibility*. For that reason, the best syncs would usually be applied in the reports in which correspondents were involved, as the correspondents were considered

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32 Norwegian: 'Jeg sitter her og ser på EVN-1-sendingen [fra EBU], og ser på bildene fra New York for å briefe korrespondenten på hva vi har slik at han kan legge kommentarer på det. Plukker ut noen 'sync'er, bl.a. En vesentlig del av jobben som U-jour består av slik tilrettelegging for korrespondentene. ... 'Syncer' krever veldig mye arbeid - en må finne den rette biten og så må korrespondenten bli informert slik at det han sier kan gå naturlig inn til en sync.'

33 Norwegian: 'Sync'er gir et annet inntrykk av å ha vært der. ... fjernsynet som medium gir noen fantastiske muligheter teologisk sett for å kunne illustrere hendelser.' (min understreking).
to have a high status as reporters, and also had the role of 'eye-witnesses' in a different way from the foreign reporters who were situated in the news-room.

To focus more generally on the use of correspondents in the NRK, they contributed both in radio and in television. They did make their own programmes, as well as longer reports in 'The Foreign Affairs Magazine'\(^{314}\). However their main contribution was in the news-items for news-programmes. In the news-reports in *Dagsrevyen* the correspondents were used in four different ways:

1. They would make news reports (correspondent reports) from the area they covered with an NRK team or a hired team and edit the material in that area, or when they came back to the *Dagsrevyen* news-room.
2. They would contribute with telephone reports. These could be illustrated by a nameplate, only, or by video pictures provided by news video agencies.
3. If they were in Norway for a short stay they could comment on video reports based on pictorial material received from the news agency feeds.
4. They would function as expert commentators in interviews during the programmes.

The technical development has, in many ways, changed the function of the correspondents. The classical correspondent item used to be that of completing a special assignment, or contributing with telephone reports. Nowadays the correspondents no longer have the function of 'first hand' sources of stories in their particular area to the same extent. This is because telegrams from the news agency services may be received on screen by all reporters in the *Dagsrevyen* news-room at the moment they are made by the agency. As the news-room usually has access to more agency services than correspondents, it is often better-informed about major events. Furthermore, the availability in the *Dagsrevyen* news-room of recent pictures from major events has also increased because of satellite technology. For the production of the textual claim of authenticity the voices of the correspondents are now increasingly edited with pictorial material to show that *Dagsrevyen* is present where the news happen.

\(^{314}\) Norwegian: Utenriksmagasinet.
An example of how such claims may be produced is presented below. The episode, which was observed in Dagsrevyen some few hours before the Gulf War became a reality, may illustrate how a textual claim from a correspondent was encoded:

The Foreign-Duty-Editor was phoned by one of the NRK correspondents in the Middle East. The editor said he had been waiting for the correspondent to phone. He was quite eager, and told the correspondent the news-room had just received a feed with some pictures from outside the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. There had been fierce demonstrations against the U.S. involvement in the Middle East:

'Now we have just received some pictures from your part of the world. From the American Embassy in Baghdad - there are demonstrations. They are jumping about screaming and gesticulating. That's the only thing we've got. Those are the pictures we've got [from Baghdad].'

The correspondent who called was situated in another Middle East country, some distance from Baghdad. He did not know about the demonstration before the editor told him about it. The correspondent was told to make a report, but he did not have access to the same wire service facilities as they had in the NRK news room. He was therefore briefed on background information as well as on what pictures were available from the feed on to make the report. The editor and the correspondent then discussed in some detail how to angle the story, and what should be said. When the correspondent had read his report over the phone to the NRK news-room, the pictures from the feeds and the telephone report were put together in the Dagsrevyen news-room by the Foreign-Duty-Editor. In the resulting report, EVN pictures were presented from Baghdad, with commentaries by a correspondent who happened to be in the Middle East region, but was not in Iraq. The reporter had been only partly

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313 While the described episode took place, there were several correspondents in the Middle East. At the time the particular episode took place, I was sitting at the desk of the Foreign-Duty-Editor, and could hear what was being said between the correspondent and the editor.


315 This information was given in super-text.
informed about the incident on which he reported, and had not seen the EVN pictures.

The way in which the report about the demonstrations in Iraq was made was in no way rare; the episode is more typical than atypical of how foreign news is reported in Dagsrevyen and in other broadcast news-rooms. The recorded episode illustrates that in reporting the news, different techniques were adopted. The applications of these techniques were, to a great extent, made to make the news reports and news programmes conform to conventions of news-reporting and illustration. In the case reported, the convention was clearly that of authenticity; the text may be seen to have been produced the way it was to implicitly say 'we report to you from the places where things are happening - here is our eye witness in Baghdad (who is really in some other country, but he does report from the Middle East).

One regular occurrence was that correspondents would report, on the telephone, from areas in which they were not present. In such cases the nameplate, or subtitles, would inform the audience where the correspondent was situated. However, this way of reporting was not exclusively due to the need to construct textual claims for authenticity, as in the above example. In some cases, the correspondents would report from areas they were geographically supposed to cover, and in other cases from areas about which they had expert-knowledge. Since the correspondents in Dagsrevyen often did not have access to the same wire services as the news-room in Dagsrevyen, a quite frequent occurrence was that the correspondent gave the audience information which originated from the news-room, on pictures received in the same news-room through the news-feeds. During the Gulf War, the lack of information for the correspondent resulted in a quite amusing episode at the desk of the Foreign-Duty-Editor.\footnote{Also during this incident I was sitting at the desk of the Foreign-Duty-Editor.}

The editor received a wire that a missile had hit the town where one of the correspondents in the Middle East was situated. 10 minutes later, when that particular correspondent phoned up to ask if he was supposed to file a report, the Foreign-Duty-Editor informed him that:
"The town you are in has been hit by a missile ..."\footnote{Norwegian: "Det har smelt i den byen du er i ..."}

And the correspondent responded:

"What?!!"

In spite of the serious war and the dangerous situation, the editor and the correspondent saw the comic aspects in the episode, and both laughed.

More generally, the episodes referred to should illustrate the fact that there was a general concern in *Dagsrevyen* about presenting "authentic" items. Such concerns were also clearly articulated in an evaluative report from 1991 about the future news-coverage in *Dagsrevyen* (NRK-*Dagsrevyen* 1991):

> The committee has discussed the application of telephone reports. We hold the opinion that the correspondents should be used in other ways. It functions well when the correspondent files short reports, preferably eyewitness descriptions. Often the foreign reports are better when the story is put together by the Foreign-Duty-Editor, where contributions from the correspondent are one element. The committee proposes that *Dagsrevyen*, to an increasing extent, use the correspondents live in interviews with the presenter.\footnote{Norwegian: "Utvalget har drøftet bruken av telefonrapporter. Vi mener korrespondentene bør brukes på en annen måte. Det fungerer bra når en korrespondent leverer korte rapporter, gjerne øyenvitneskildringer. Oftest blir utenriksaker bedre når historien sys sammen av u-riks, der korrespondenten er ett element. Utvalget foreslår at *Dagsrevyen* i større grad tar inn korrespondentenes direkte til intervju med programlederen."}

Within the NRK the correspondent jobs were unquestionably attractive. As an experienced reporter contended:

> The correspondents are important. The jobs are important carrots for reporters of foreign affairs. The NRK news departments have to justify internally and externally that it has many correspondents. This is done by the correspondents filing reports; 's/he was personally on the spot'. Even though the items could have become better by making them in the news-room."\footnote{Norwegian: "Det er viktig å ha korrespondenter. De er viktige grunner for de som er ansatt i utenriksavdelingen. NRKs nyhetsavdelinger må legitimere innad og ute at det har mange korrespondenter. Det blir legitimert ved at leverer ting - var personlig på stedet. Unnsett om det kunne lages bedre hjemme."}
The statement illustrates that although the correspondents would work in many different ways, to a large extent what justified their jobs was their role in providing authenticity to the news.

In regard to textual claims for authenticity, in some ways CNN set new terms for reporting the news; for example, during the Gulf War. During that war there was a monitor of the CNN programmes in the Dagsrevyen news studio. The monitor could be seen by the presenter and persons who made editorial comments. It was arranged so that if there was 'hot stuff' on CNN it could be broadcast directly to the Dagsrevyen audience, with Dagsrevyen comments to the monitor in the studio. This was an interesting move by the NRK, as CNN, in many ways, was a competitor of Dagsrevyen. In relying on CNN in this way, Dagsrevyen could easily lose some of its authority regarding news. On the other hand, claims for immediacy could be cultivated.

Owing to the influence of CNN, the NRK news room was much more liable during the Gulf War to contact correspondents and get their versions as 'eye witnesses' in news reports to show that NRK television news was 'on the spot' and could bring up-to-date authentic and exclusive information. One thing which the Dagsrevyen-crew learned from CNN was that of individual correspondents being allocated a certain amount of time to report live on telephone on pictures they had not seen, but which had been very briefly described to them (in such cases the telephone reports were not prerecorded and edited as in the above case on the demonstrations in Baghdad). In some cases during the Gulf War the correspondents would also report live on telephone, or be interviewed live, while more than one short pre-edited 'issue video report' would be run as the correspondent talked about a specific issue. The correspondent would have been shortly briefed beforehand on what 'issue reports' had been made, and asked to talk about those issues in the interview with the presenter. Two such issues in one interview were for example 'border cities' and 'planes'. The video tapes were run from the control room by the producer of the news programme while the programme was being broadcast.

The above examples should clearly illustrate that the techniques were applied in the news rooms to enable the news people to make reports corresponding with conventions about the appearance of news, and also that these prescribed conventions were changing. The cases

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322 This is based on personal observations as well as statements from journalists in the news room.
were presented and discussed because they were found to be illustrative of how perceptions of genre conventions had been decisive for the ways in which the news was reported; textual conventions had materialised in certain news-room practices, as the news texts were produced to 'fit in with' conventions and textual claims.

11.3. On editorial and journalistic integrity and autonomy.

The textual claim of journalistic independence, integrity and autonomy is, according to more general ideals about the application of the news institution, central for a news text. The claim includes implicit and explicit 'textual statements' that the news has not been influenced by other interests, and that the news-editor and the news-room has had editorial control over the production of the news. Some cases where external forces may have intervened in the production of individual items in Dagsrevyen and International News were mentioned in Chapter 6. Examples of cleavages in the news-room produced by commercial considerations and relations to the state in the two programmes were also discussed there. The textual claims for integrity did not (as was also found to be the case with claims for authenticity) necessarily correspond to productional ideals for the actual claims. As a result, the public may, in a way, be seen to be 'cheated'. From the Figure 3.4.-1., there may be a lack of correspondence between the work methods of the 'implied author' and the 'real journalist'. This problem is discussed by Ellis (1982: 112), in making a distinction between 'fiction' and 'non-fiction':

'The distinction rests ... at a level at which we simply have to trust the integrity of the programme-makers. The distinction between fact and fiction depends on the source of the material that is manufactured into narrating images and sounds. If fact, it is supposed to come from the world that exists beyond the TV institution and the home of the viewer. If fiction, it is the imagined and created vision of a particular person or persons. Hence arguments about documentaries and their supposed truthfulness very quickly become arguments about the integrity of the programme-makers involved, for it is with their guarantee of the source of the material that the distinction between fact and fiction rests.'

[^323] In some ways the claims for independence, integrity and autonomy are related to claims about objectivity, which traditionally have been very important for broadcasting news. However, neither in Dagsrevyen, nor in International News, did any ideology of 'objectivity' seem to be strong. However, in Dagsrevyen ideals about 'balance' and 'impartiality' had a much stronger position than in International News.
The issue Ellis points to here is that according to social conventions in 'non-fiction' (for example news), the audience expects the textual claims to correspond with productional practices. In this way, the audience expects that the news is really produced according to the conventions about how it should be produced. It may be argued that this issue is at the heart of the subject of editorial and journalistic integrity. One problem here is that the public has very few opportunities for 'checking' that the textual claims for integrity and autonomy are actually 'true'. It is with respect to this that the producer of a news text, through the genre conventions related to the news as a social institution, may be seen to have the role of 'guaranteeing its own truthfulness'.

From the theoretical discussions in the previous chapter, and from the previous cases presented on textual claims in this chapter, it is relevant to examine discrepancies between textual claims for integrity and ideals regarding the production of news as critical incidents in *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*. Such discrepancies are analytically relevant to examine in their own right, but they are also important indicators of how conventions have resulted in productional practices, and how dominant such conventions may be seen to be in news-production.

However, before focusing on such discrepancies, the following section will examine how broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* and *International News* defined integrity themselves.

### 11.3.1. On broadcasters' perceptions of journalistic integrity.

Three of the reporters in *Dagsrevyen* here stand as representatives for what broadcasters in that news-room seemed to agree on about integrity in interviews:

"Without credibility we cannot make news - the integrity is the most essential factor. At the moment that we are accused of not having integrity, we are finished."[^234]

"Without integrity we cannot make news. If we present things which are wrong, or present the news in a way which distort factual events, then the audience will not believe us. If we don’t believe in what we broadcast, that we are correct, fulfil some, you can say, formal obligations, we will destroy..."

[^234]: Norwegian: "Uten troverdighet kan vi ikke lage nyheter, og integritet er det viktigste. I det øyeblikket vi beskyldes for ikke å ha integritet, da er vi jo fedige da."
ourselves journalistically. There is nothing more important for us than credibility: and that is much easier to break down than to build up.\(^{226}\)

"... Under no circumstances should the question be raised whether you have other motives for presenting the case than those which are obvious."\(^{226}\)

The Assistant Chief Editor in Dagsrevyen defined editorial and journalistic integrity as:

"That is to be free to make items independent of special interests. Also personal interests."\(^{227}\)

To further look at some definitions of integrity in the NRK, the Code for Broadcasting Practice of the NRK (1990, para.11) states that:

'No programmes are to contain items with commercial advertising. Programmes which wholly or partly are produced with financial or other support from outside the NRK, must be produced in a way which ensures control and fully maintains the integrity of the NRK. Special care has to be demonstrated in regard to news and current affairs programmes, children's programmes, and religious programmes."\(^{228}\)

To look at the definitions of integrity by the broadcasters in International News, they were very similar to those in Dagsrevyen. One of the broadcasters claimed:

'\(...\) That I am free to write what I consider correct from my judgment of a journalistic material - in collaboration with the editor, of course. The day I feel my integrity is threatened I will leave the news-room. It has never gone so far that I have not been able to be answerable for things.'\(^{229}\)

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\(^{226}\) Norwegian: 'Uten integritet kan vi ikke lage nyheter. Hvis vi presenterer faktiske feil, eller presenterer nyhetene på en slik måte at vi gir en forvridning av det faktiske forhold, så vil vi ikke bli trodd. Dersom vi ikke blir trodd på det vi sender, at vi er korrekte, oppfyller en del, kan si formelle krav, så vil vi ha ødelagt oss selv journalistisk. Det finnes ikke noe viktigere for oss enn troverdighet. Og den er det mye raskere å bytte ned enn å bygge opp.'

\(^{227}\) Norwegian: '... Det må ikke kunne stilles spørsmålstegn ved om du har andre motiver for å komme med en sak enn de som helt åpent ligger i sakten.'

\(^{228}\) Norwegian: 'Det er at vi skal være fri til å lage reportasjer uavhengig av særinteresser. Også personlige interessenter.'

\(^{229}\) Norwegian: 'Ingen programmer må inneholde inslag med kommersiell reklame. Programmer som helt eller delvis er produsert med finansiell eller annen støtte utenfra, må utfornas slik at NRKs styringsrett og integritet opprettholdes fullt ut. Særlig aktørsוטhet må utvises når det gjelder nyhets- og samfunnsprogrammer, bunnpogrammer, og livsvisprogrammer.'

\(^{229}\) Norwegian: 'At jeg er fri til å skrive det jeg antar er korrekt utfa den vurdering jeg kan gjøre av et journalistisk materiale - da selvforpliktet i samarbeid med redaktør. Den dagen jeg kjenner min integritet er truet forlater jeg redaksjonen. Det har aldri gått så langt at jeg ikke har kunnet stå for ting.'
Another stated that:

"There is not supposed to be any direct influence."

It can be seen that it seems easier for the broadcasters to define integrity in terms of what to avoid rather than in positive terms. Furthermore, from most of the statements it can be seen that integrity was perceived as a precondition for credibility in the news programmes' relation to the audience; integrity may be seen as a concept applied to productional aspects, and credibility to the audience reception of the news. The statements above should clearly show that the integrity for the broadcasters is unquestionably seen as an important ideal to relate to when producing and reporting news.

In general, broadcasters defined the concept of journalistic integrity in very similar ways, which basically came down to editorial and journalistic independence. An interesting aspect regarding the broadcasters' perception of journalistic integrity in the two news-rooms was that while those in Dagsrevyen were most concerned about the integrity in relation to both external and internal forces and sources, the broadcasters in International News were most concerned with journalistic integrity in relation to inside forces, as, for example, their own station's commercial interests. As mentioned in Chapter 6, I was told about three incidents in which the news-room had been instructed by TV3 executives to broadcast items which were economically supportive for either TV3 or for its sponsors. Understandably, as the TV3 broadcasters very seldom related to first-hand sources because of the very limited news production apparatus, the threats to integrity from external forces were perceived as very limited.

One interesting aspect regarding the perception of integrity in TV3 was that the lack of resources did not seem to count in a negative way for the broadcasters. In both Dagsrevyen and International News integrity was defined from a very 'Weberian' understanding of power: an ideal that the broadcasters more or less individually should be able to resist pressure from inside or outside the station. Contextual factors (for example lack of resources and the news policy) were perceived to have little relevance. One representative comment from a TV3 broadcaster about integrity in relation to the allocation of resources was the following, which was not really very critical:

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33 Norwegian: 'Det skal ikke kunne skje noen direkte påvirkning.'
'... We are dependent on available resources. This channel has made a clear choice in not investing in news.'

The statement was meant more as a criticism towards TV3 station-policy than towards integrity-practices in the news-room.

Chapter 6 discussed the manner in which constraints by the market and by the state formed the every-day activities of the news-room examined. During observations in Dagsrevyen, a questionnaire-survey of how integrity was perceived in relation to external powerful institutions was conducted. The results are exhibited in the following table:

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3 Norwegian: '... Vi er avhengige av tilgjengelige resurser. Denne kanalen har gjort et klart valg ved å sette på nyheter.'
TABLE 11.3.1.1. **DAGSREVYEN - PERCEIVED INTEGRITY OF NEWS COVERAGE IN RELATION TO POWERFUL INSTITUTIONS BY EDITORS AND REPORTERS:**

The broadcasters responded to the following statement:

*Dagsrevyen ensures its integrity and independence in the news coverage in relation to:*[^322]

**INTEGRITY:** FULLY AGREE <-------------------> FULLY DISAGREE

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

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<tr>
<td>c. Government</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Monarchies[^333]</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Defence/military</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Intelligence services[^334]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Police/legislative</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Business interest[^335]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Employers’ org.[^334]</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>101%</td>
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<tr>
<td>j. Trade Unions[^337]</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>101%</td>
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<tr>
<td>k. Pressure groups[^338]</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:**

The table is based on information from questionnaires (see Ch.4, and Appendix 2). The answers from 37 journalists and editors were filled in during structured interviews during one week. The number of respondents was close to every reporter and editor present in the news-room during that period; excluding correspondents, there were in all 48 editorial and

[^322]: Norwegian: 'Hvilken grad vil du si deg enig i følgende påstand: Dagsrevyen ivaretar sin integritet og uavhengighet i nyhetsdekningen i forhold til.' - 'Helt enig ---- Helt uenig'.

[^333]: Norwegian: Kongehus.

[^334]: Intelligence services. Norwegian: Etterretning og overvåking.

[^335]: Norwegian: Næringslivsinteresser.


[^337]: Norwegian: Arbeidstakerorganisasjoner.

[^338]: Pressure groups other than those mentioned above, as for example environmental movements. Norwegian: Interesse- og pressgrupper.
journalistic personnel in Dagsrevyen. Of these 48 persons, 11 were not present in the news-room during the period of interviews.

The table shows that there were three main institutions towards which Dagsrevyen was perceived to ensure the least integrity. That was towards 'Monarchs', the 'Defence/military' and the 'Intelligence services'. In the continuum the three institutions, in addition to 'Business interests', are most infrequently represented under column 1; only 26 per cent of the broadcasters fully agreed that Dagsrevyen ensured its integrity towards the 'Monarchs'. The parallel figures for both 'Defence/military' and for 'Intelligence services' were 20 per cent. Furthermore, the three mentioned institutions are those most frequently distributed towards the right hand side of the continuum. 6 per cent of the editors and reporters in Dagsrevyen fully disagreed that the news-coverage ensured integrity and independence towards the 'Monarchs', while the parallel figures for 'Defence/military' and 'Intelligence services' were 3 per cent for both (column 5 in the continuum). Perhaps equally interesting regarding the three institutions and perceived integrity are the figures in column 4, which show that 21 per cent, 11 per cent and 17 per cent of the broadcasters, respectively, disagree to quite a high extent that Dagsrevyen ensures its integrity. From this it may be concluded that the three mentioned institutions were those seen to be most influential on the news coverage in Dagsrevyen.

The two instances towards which Dagsrevyen was perceived to have most integrity were the 'Employers organisations' and the 'Trade Unions'. The figures in Table 11.3.1-1. correspond well with the previous discussion about relations to 'the official Norway' in Chapter 6. The perceived lack of integrity should probably not be seen as the product of direct interference, but more like how differences in both practising and perceiving integrity were produced by cleavages in the news-room. Furthermore, the table may also be seen as a result of broadcasters' perception of, and reactions to, different kinds of 'rule books' produced by the cleavages in Dagsrevyen.

Anxhow, it was surprising to see that the figures were distributed so far towards the right hand side in the continuum. On the one hand, it may illustrate that the broadcasters were

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339 For general discussion of such aspects in relation to the media in Norway, see Reinton, 1990. See also Allen (1992, 1993) for discussions about relations between Dagsrevyen and its sources. About British experiences about relations between the state apparatus and the media, see Tulloch, 1993.
aware of, and were seeing, the dangers of powerful institutions influencing the news coverage in an everyday capacity. On the other hand it does raise questions about the policy regarding integrity, independence and autonomy in the Dagsrevyen news-room.

11.3.2. Integrity and discrepancies.

This section examines some cases in which the journalistic and/or editorial practices may be questioned in regard to integrity more explicitly. The section will distinguish between episodes regarding individual activities on the one hand, and more general news-room activities on the other. The individual activities focused on are advertising campaigns, different aspects regarding sponsoring, and media training courses. Of more general news-room activities, the production processes behind some of the presented reports will be examined. For reasons mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the section will focus mostly on Dagsrevyen. The cases are included more for their illustration-value than for their representativeness.

In Dagsrevyen, as in the NRK generally, it was not uncommon that broadcasters would stand as models in advertising campaigns. During the period when I was observing, there were two particular incidents of this which were heavily discussed inside and outside the news-room. In the incident, two of the anchor persons had been modelled in campaigns for insurance companies, and each received a significant sum of money for this. In respect to such cases, the NRK has a Code for part time work, and in these cases the participation of the involved persons had been approved by the management of Dagsrevyen.

However, such participation does raise issues of integrity. For example, it should ideally be an issue about whether reporters involved will be able to treat the companies, from which they received payments, in a journalistically relevant way. Or as one of the broadcasters explained in an interview:

'I think it is as simple as this; you don’t bite the hand that feeds you'.

One broadcaster with editorial duties revealed that:

30 See for example the newspaper Arbeiderbladet 14th of January 1991. The companies were Dial and Vital.
31 Norwegian: 'Jeg tror det er så enkelt som at du biter ikke den hånda du fle mat fra'. 
'We need to be independent of organisations, of the TUC, of employers' organisations, of political parties, etc. In every situation we are to be neutral. That, I mean, easily explained, is editorial and journalistic integrity. This touches upon the discussions we have had on whether broadcasters in the NRK should participate in particular advertisements, projects in which broadcasters are doing ads, for example for certain insurance services, at the expense of others. And the question is whether those journalists, who have got for example 50 000 NOK [approximately £ 5000] in fees, are they independent when they get the microphone in front of them and make reports about these matters? I don't think so. They are not independent. It will be problematic for them to keep a critical distance from the company from which they have received their money.'

Despite such concerns about advertising campaigns, it was not uncommon for broadcasters in Dagsrevyen to participate in them, although the companies behind the campaigns may not have been as likely to be involved in the news as insurance companies. An argument for participation in such advertising activities from the broadcasters' point of view was that the NRK itself paid badly in relation to other news-corporations, and that they should be allowed to do such things to improve the income and thereby stay in the NRK.

A surprising variant of broadcasters benefitting personally from their role as presenters was seen when it appeared that one of the presenters was sponsored by a tie-manufacturer and received free ties. The news was revealed in the newspaper Dagbladet (28th of April 1990). In the paper, the Chief Editor of Dagsrevyen was given the right to reply. Amongst other comments, he stated:

'It must be absolutely clear that in the NRK we are not to pursue advertising for clothes or other products. This also includes ties. ... We cannot permit that they are sitting there like advertising posters.'

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Norwegian: 'Vi må være ubundet av organisasjoner, av LO og arbeidsgiverforening og partier osv. I enhver situasjon skal vi forholde oss nøytralt. Det mener jeg, ganske enkelt forklart er redaksjonell integritet, og journalistisk integritet. Dette berører den diskusjonen vi har hatt gledende om hvorvidt medarbeiderne i NRK her delta i spesielle annonser, prosjekter hvor medarbeiderne går ut og averterer for, for eksempel spesielle forsikringsløsninger, på bekostning av andre løsninger. Og spørsmålet er om disse journalistene, som har fått for eksempel 50 000 kr i honorar, er de uavhengige når de får mikrofonen for seg og skal lage en reportasje om dette? Jeg tror ikke det. De er ikke uavhengig. De kan vanskelig gå ut med en kritisk belysning av det selskapet de har fått pengene fra.'

Norwegian: 'Det må være helt klart at vi ikke i NRK skal drive reklame for klær eller andre produkter. Dette må også gjelde slips. ... Vi kan ikke tillate at de sitter der som reklameplakater.'
However, nothing happened with the issue in *Dagsrevyen*. The presenter involved heard nothing about the issue, although one year later yet another editor held:

"It is unheard of that such things happen."  

Individual broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* would also from time to time be invited on expenses-paid trips by different companies and organisations. As was the case with advertising campaigns, such invitations had to go through the *Dagsrevyen* management to be approved.

"All enquiries about paid trips must go through the editorial management. And we are the ones who pick out who makes the trip. And there are things we reject and there are things we approve of. But the basis of our judgement is always the same - that we are to be independent in relation to what we cover. ... Those who have paid the trip shall not be able to come in and control the report before it is broadcast, or in any other way hinder us in producing the news."  

One condition for allowing broadcasters to go on such trips, then, was that they were not to be expected to make any news from it. While I was present as observer in *Dagsrevyen*, one of the broadcasters went on such a trip with an oil company to South America. According to broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* an interview with the top executive of that involved oil-company was shelved in an NRK archive after the trip; it had been recorded under the precondition that editorial judgements would decide whether it would be broadcast. There are several examples of such trips having been made by *Dagsrevyen* broadcasters.

Another, quite common, activity for *Dagsrevyen* reporters was to hold and participate as instructors in *media training courses*. From structured interviews in *Dagsrevyen* it turned out that more than 35 per cent of the broadcasters had been involved in such courses.

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244 Information from the presenter during observation.

245 Norwegian: 'Det er uhørt at slikt skjer'.

246 Norwegian: 'Når det gjelder henvendelser til oss om betalte turer, så skal de gå gjennom redaksjonsslede. Og vi skal plukke ut hvem som gjør det. Og det er ting vi sier nei til, og det er ting vi sier ja til. Men utgangspunktet er alltid det samme - at vi skal være uavhengig i forhold til det stoffet vi skal dekke. ... Den som har betalt turen skal aldri kunne komme inn og kontrollere reportasjen før den sendes, eller på noen måte hindre oss i å lage stoff.'

247 The interviews are the same as referred to in Table 11.3.1.-1.
The courses were held for companies and organisations which intended to learn how to relate to the media, and especially to television. When interviewed about the courses during observation, the broadcasters in *Dagsrevyen* took different attitudes, and the courses certainly had different characters. Involvement might not have been unproblematic in relation to the integrity issue. When asked about media courses and integrity, one broadcaster responded that:

> "What I believe is the really big problem is the course activity, ... where news-people in the NRK contribute as assistant lecturers. What are you teaching, then? My opinion is that there we are into teaching techniques, manipulation, ways of escaping. All interviewing is based on techniques. ... And I am anxious that some of these techniques are disclosed in such courses. Even though it has - because so many are involved in this - become an ideology that it is important to educate those we are going to relate to. That is utter nonsense, that argument doesn't hold water. When you then maybe in the next instance risk meeting them [the course participants] when you are going out to make a report, ... then I think things may go terribly wrong."

There are several interesting aspects with this statement, of which two are commented on here. First, even if the practices criticised by the reporter were also in some instances carried out for idealistic purposes (for example in relation to charitable organisations), it does raise serious issues about relations between *Dagsrevyen* broadcasters and news-sources, -informants and -interviewees. Second, there was the question of who could afford, and were interested in paying for, such courses. In general it would possibly be those who were most in need of learning the techniques referred to and who could also afford it. That would be organisations and enterprises which had resources to spend money on the courses, which would potentially be news-worthy, and to whom it was important to produce 'good contacts' and a positive image in the news. It was therefore surprising that one of the reporters said that:

> 'It is from such media courses that I get the most relevant insights into what is happening in Norwegian business life.'

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348 Norwegian: 'Nøe jeg tror er det virkelig store problemet er kursvirksomheten, ... hvor ofte medarbeiderne i NRK ofte er med som undervisere. Hva er det du lærer bort da? Jeg mener at der er vi virkelig inne på å lære bort teknikker, manipulasjon, måter å komme seg unna på. All intervjuering er basert på teknikker ... Og jeg er engasjert for at en del av disse teknikkene blir røpt på slike kurs. Selv om i og med at det er så mange som gjør det her i huset er det også blitt en ideologi på at det er viktig for oss å oppdra de vi skal snakke med. Det er tall, den argumentasjonen holder ikke. Når du da kan sjå i tillegg i neste runde ... risikerer å møte dem [kursdeltakere] når du skal ut og lage en sak, ... da tror jeg det kan gå veldig galt.'

349 Norwegian: 'Det er gjennom slike med kurs jeg får best følelse med hva som skjer i norsk næringsliv.'
To learn how to treat the media did not necessarily need to be based on motives for manipulation. However, often the participants of such courses would be the sources and the representatives towards whom it should ideally have been important for Dagsrevyen representatives to keep a certain critical distance. The fact that powerful persons and institutions had learned techniques to manipulate the news-coverage of Dagsrevyen was confirmed by a reporter, who argued that the media-courses were a problem because the participants would often learn about how to manipulate potential news-items. The reporter said:

"It is a problem that persons of power know our Code and exploit it for what it is worth."\(^{399}\)

In stating this, the reporter in particular referred to episodes in which interviewees had prevented recorded interviews from being broadcast because they had second thoughts about their contribution, or because the reporter had been too critical in his/her questioning. Before the new Code was applied, interviewees themselves had the copy-right to material which had not been broadcast. They could, accordingly, prevent interviews from being broadcast if they knew about their right. In contrast to many others, persons in powerful positions, or persons who worked with external information, would often know this. For this reason, several of the broadcasters in Dagsrevyen also found it problematic that news-people from NRK news services in many instances took new jobs in information departments in different kinds of enterprises.

Up to now, different kinds of individual activities among reporters from Dagsrevyen which might have been in conflict with integrity-ideals related to the news institution have been focused on. Below some further issues regarding textual claims for integrity in Dagsrevyen, and potential discrepancies between such claims and journalistic practices, will be examined. The discussion will focus on programme- and news-room practices. The cases examined happened while I was present as observer.

Most of the cases illustrate how the broadcasters negotiated how to produce news with the right textual claims through different kind of productional practices. Other cases are also included because they illustrate how textual claims were claimed even if there was a clear discrepancy between the claims and the ways in which the news text was actually

\(^{399}\) Norwegian: 'Det er et problem at maktpersoner kjenner programreglene vare og utnytter det til siste rest.'
produced. To put it differently; some of the cases focused on here are included for analytical purposes as they represent a discrepancy between the implied author and the journalistic practices of the real journalists.

A group of Norwegian telecommunication-technicians from the Norwegian Telecom went to Iraq after the Gulf War to help to establish a new telecommunication network. A one minute 'u-lay' bulletin from their departure was presented in Dagsrevyen. This was the comment which followed the video pictures and was read by the presenter:

"Thirteen Norwegian tele-technicians went off to Iraq today, and it is the Norwegian Refugees Council which is responsible for this excursion. The tele-technicians are going to establish communication with radio-telex between UN stations in four Iraqi towns. Nearly all telephone lines in the country were destroyed during the Gulf war. This slows down the relief work considerably, and also negatively influences the security of the Kurds. The Norwegian tele-technicians are joined by 14 Danish colleagues, and the work in Iraq will go on for three months."

It turned out that the pictures had been recorded by the Telecom, and had been offered to Dagsrevyen, which had agreed to broadcast them. When I asked a person with editorial duties if it was common practice for organisations and companies to have their own recorded material presented as news-items in Dagsrevyen, he answered:

"The main principle is that we only cover the news from where we have been ourselves because coverage is found interesting. But it does happen that we accept such videos. It is up to the Editor-in-Charge to consider this. We seldom accept contributions from special interest groups, political parties etc."

Another example of a news-item based on pictures not originally recorded by the ENG-section for news purposes was that of a Norwegian firm which had developed night vision equipment. The item, which was presented as a report, was broadcast on a Sunday when

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351 Norwegian: Televerket.

352 Norwegian: "Tretten norske teleteknikere dro idag til Irak, og det er Det norske flyktningefond som er ansvarlig for denne turen. Teleteknikene skal opprette samband med radioteleks mellom FN's stasjoner i fire irakiske byer. Praktisk talte alle telefonlinjer i landet ble ødelagt under Golfrigen. Dette forsinket hjelpearbeidet kraftig, og går også utover kurdernes sikkerhet. De tretten norske teleteknikere får følge av 14 danske kolleger, og arbeidet i Irak det skal vare i tre måneder."

353 Norwegian: 'Hovedprinsippet er at det bare dekkes hvor en har vært sjøl fordi det er interessant å dekke. Men det hender at en tar imot slike videoer. Det er opp til vaktjefen å vurdere. Tar sjølden imot fra interessegrupper, politiske partier m.v.'
not much other material was available. It was based on materials from a promotion video for the firm which had developed the technology. The video had been made by a person who was a reporter in Dagsrevyen, but who had been on leave when the video was made, and by another person in the NRK. The pictures from the promotion video were utilised in the news-report. It was a person other than the commentator in the promotion video who read the commentaries on the item in Dagsrevyen. There were several aspects which might be considered doubtful with such practices in relation to integrity-issues. One is that the way into the news-room for those interested in using the news for public relations and marketing purposes may become very short if Dagsrevyen broadcasters were hired. When commenting on whether the episode was perceived as problematic for Dagsrevyen, one central editor responded that:

'... If we are to cover production development, research and that sort of thing, which I willingly admit is also news-worthy, we probably do get into the situation now and then that we make PR for a firm.'

When asked whether it was problematic that the persons who had made the promotion video were so closely connected to Dagsrevyen, he further stated that:

'Yes, no, that is a border-line case where we have to be really cautious. On the other hand, regarding those binoculars, it is special that - if it had been an easy-chair I would have had much more serious doubts. Then we would have said no. But in regard to such a specially advanced product I would not have had serious doubts even if our people were involved in this.'

During observation in Dagsrevyen it also turned out that companies and organisations covered Dagsrevyen's expenses when producing news items. In this way, some of the items were sponsored in some way or another. Such sponsoring could take place in different ways. One was that of aviation companies inviting reporters on shorter or longer trips. One of the reporters commented, rather cynical, that:

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104 Norwegian: '... Skal vi gå inn og dekke produktutvikling, forskning, den type ting, som gjerne jeg inntreffer også er nyttetstoff, så kommer vi nok opp i den situasjonen at vi av og til gjør reklame for et firma ...

105 Norwegian: 'Ja, nei det er et grønsetillfelle hvor vi må være meget varsom. På den annen side, når det gjelder den kikkerten der, så er det spesielt at - hadde det vært en ny lenestol så ville jeg vært mye mer betenkkt. Da hadde vi sagt nei. Men på et så spesielt avansert produkt, så ville jeg ikke ha så store betenkeligheter om våre folk har vært involvert i dette.'
"This may be called *bought broadcast time* in Dagsrevyen. Braathen [a Norwegian aviation company] is going to collect a new type of airplane in Seattle - report on planes with reduced noise. Braathen opens a new air-way to Spitsbergen - report." (emphasis mine)

When interviewed about the reports made about an aviation company, an editor held:

"Although we go to the US to see a new airplane, we claim the right not to make an item. And the item we make is not to have any particular angle. The material is to be considered exclusively from pure news criteria. And we reserve the right to be critical. Those who have paid the trip will never be allowed to come in and control items before they are broadcast, or in any other way prevent us using materials."  

He was then asked if he perceived such practices to be a problem, and replied:

"It *may* be a problem. But it has got to do with our resources." 

In another case, an Asian embassy sponsored a trip for an ENG-team to that very country:

"We went there with a team, reporter, etc. But it was paid-for by an [Asian] embassy here in Norway. And there is, then, presumably an understanding that in such situations the coverage shouldn't be too unfriendly, I suppose." 

Three news-items were made from this trip - all for the magazine-part of Dagsrevyen during week-ends. One of the reports was about the king of that country changing from winter-residence to summer-residence, and the rituals involved in that. Another report was on social problems related to prostitution, and yet another about the production of drugs and changes in agricultural practices in that area. While the first report was very descriptive, the second and the third took a more critical approach.

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385 Norwegian: 'Selv om vi reiser til USA for å se på et nytt fly, så skal vi kunne la være å lage stoff. Og det stoffet vi lager skal ikke ha noen bestemt vinkling. Det skal utelukkende være det rent nyhetsmessige aspekt som skal være, som skal legges på det stoffet. Og vi skal kunne være kritiske. Den som har betalt turen skal aldri kunne komme inn og kontrollere reportasjen før den sendes, eller på noen måte hindre oss i å lage stoff.'

386 Norwegian: 'Det kan være et problem. Men det har med våre ressurser å gjøre.'

387 Norwegian: 'Vi reiste dit med team, reporter og slike ting. Men turen var betalt av [en asiatisk] embassy her i Norge. Og det ligger da underforstått at her kan man ikke være for uvenslig, vil jeg tro.'
While talking more generally about news-items which were sponsored, one of the editors said that:

'Commercial sponsoring we would never let pass. But we do co-operate with charitable organisations, and do accept invitations under certain conditions ... I do see the risk in being short of money, as we are, and do even see the danger in collaborating with more idealistic organisations. You do not believe there is any danger if the organisation is charitable and the aim is good. The danger in regard to one's integrity is there all the time. Accordingly, you have to, in any case, since we are in the situation that we can not avoid it - we have to be extra conscious. ... None of those we collaborate with decide how we make things, or what we make. ... So the premises for that are quite clear. Even though we have clear premises for how to do things we nevertheless have to be on guard and be careful. So that the next time there is something negative to do on the Red Cross, on Save the Children, or on Norwegian Church Relief, or Norwegian Organisation for Political Asylum, we are in a position to pursue that story.'

It was quite surprising to realise that the above incidents took place, as there were no 'traces' of them in the presented news texts of the involved programmes. For me, as a researcher and a viewer, some of the cases mentioned above are clear examples of a discrepancy between textual claim and actual practices.

In the news-room of Dagsrevyen, there seemed to be an unsettled attitude about such issues. When asked if it was paradoxical that news-reports were sponsored, and that viewers were not informed about it, a senior member in the NRK news-room replied:

'Yes, I can see the problem. ... This is an issue about what to reveal, and what not to reveal. That is an issue which has not been considered well enough by the NRK.'

When I talked to broadcasters about the practices of sponsoring news items, they made the point that the sponsors were in no way able to influence on what was reported - that the

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306 Norwegian: 'Kommersiell sponsoring ville vi jo aldri gå med på. Men vi samarbeider jo med ideelle organisasjoner og tar imot invitasjoner under visse vilkår. ... Jeg ser faren ved å være fattige, som vi er, og ser faren ved at vi til og med går inn sammen med slike mer ideelle organisasjoner. For man tror ikke det er noen fare, bare det er ideelt, og at formålet er godt. Faren for integriteten er hele tiden til stede. Så må man hvertfall, siden vi er i en situation at vi ikke kommer utom det - vi må være ekstra bevisst. ... Ingen av de vi samarbeider med bestemmer hvordan vi lager ting, eller hva vi lager. ... Så premisseene for det er ganske klare. Selv om vi har helt klare premisser for hvordan vi skal gjøre ting må vi likevel være på vakt og være forsiktige. Slik at neste gang det skulle bli noe negativt vi må gjøre om Røde Kors, eller om Redd Barna, eller Kirkens Nødhjelp, eller NORAS, så skal vi stille oss slik at vi kan kjøre det løpt.'

307 Norwegian: 'Ja, jeg ser problemet. ... Det er et spørsmål om hva som man egenlig bør oppgi og ikke oppgi. Det er et vurderingsspørsmål som jeg synes NRK har tenkt for lite gjennom.'
journalistic and editorial integrity would not be violated. The crucial question then was, however, would *Dagsrevyen* for example have made the trip to make the three reports from the Asian country if their expenses were not covered? When asked this question, an editor answered quite openly 'no'.

There was a concern among the broadcasters about such integrity-issues, and not all were happy with the practices in *Dagsrevyen*. As one senior reporter stated about sponsored news-items:

>'The viewer doesn’t understand why we now present a report from [the Asian country], except that *Dagsrevyen* has been there. ... These things help to form the journalistic content. In relation to the main issue about journalistic integrity, we have to take into consideration that we are in the process of being exploited. But we do need to hold it up against the issue of whether it may be of interest for the viewer.'

When asked whether the audience should have been informed that the making of the three mentioned items from Asia had been produced with economic support from an embassy in Norway, a senior member of the news-room in *Dagsrevyen* replied:

>'An interesting question. It is obvious that according to traditional thinking I believe we would feel like this in relation to the viewer; 'take this report with a pinch of salt'. We don’t really want that sort of reaction. What we want is rather to say that ‘this report has become like it is in spite of the trip being paid by’ ...'

In general it seemed that what was seen to justify the described practices was the possibility to fill the news-format with items found to be relevant to present as news, and regarded as interesting for the viewers. The news-rooms were obviously short of money in relation to what they wanted to do to fill the formats of the programmes. As one reporter in *Dagsrevyen* told me when I informed him about my research project:

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36 Norwegian: 'Seeren forstår jo ikke hvorfor vi nå har en reportasje fra [et Asiatisk land], bortsett fra at *Dagsrevyen* har vært der. ... Disse tingene er med på å forme det journalistiske innholdet. I forhold til hovedproblemløsningen om journalistisk integritet må vi være klar over at vi er iferd med å bli brukt. Men vi må holde det opp mot om det er av interesse for seeren.'

369 Norwegian: 'Et interessant spørsmål. Det er klart at utfra tradisjonell tenkning ... tror jeg vi underforstått ville føle oss sånn i forhold til seeren at ’so på den reportasjonen med en viss klype salt’. Det ønsker vi jo ikke, i og for seg. Vi ønsker vel heller å slå at denne reportasjonen har blitt sånn på tross av at denne turen er blitt betalt av ...
An interesting issue you should examine is how the lack of resources influences our news-picture. Lack of resources - how does that influence the news coverage? Inexpensive news is good news for us."\(^395\)

From the cases presented here, it is clear that the broadcasters had cultivated the relations between representation and presentation, between implied authors and real journalist, and between productional practices and textual claims.\(^395\)

The examination of productional practices in this section illustrates how the work of the broadcasters in the news-rooms was directed towards fulfilling perceived demands and possibilities in relation to the news genre. Or as an editor contended in a statement about integrity referred to in section 11.3.1; the news had to fulfil certain 'formal obligations'. In regard to such obligations, they may be produced in different ways - ways which the readers may not necessarily be able to 'trace' when they see the programme. The way in which such claims are constructed, then, is very much up to the policy of the station and of the news-room.

Some of the cases referred to were quite surprising as they seemed to be in clear conflict with the ideals for news production related to the news institution. These were ideals with which the broadcasters said that they had to work in accordance with, so as not to lose their credibility. Furthermore, the viewers presumably would suppose that these ideals were directing the news production processes, and not only the textual claims.

From an analytic point of view the news genre may be seen to provide both constraints and possibilities. Or in other words, genre conventions provide a certain 'space' within which the broadcasters may operate. In many ways the directing principle within this space was not commercial considerations, or considerations related to 'the official Norway', although such factors may be reflected in the news-coverage. The directing principle may be seen to be to fulfil the news formats in the best possible ways. If some productional practices were dubious, they were, to a certain extent, accepted as long as the audience was certain to be unable to perceive them so that credibility was not lost.

\(^394\) Norwegian: 'En interessant problemstillig du burde ta opp er hvordan manglende ressurser påvirket vårt nyhetsbilde. Ressursmangel - hvordan påvirket den nyhetsdeknings. Billige nyheter er gode nyheter for oss, altså.'

\(^395\) During observation in TV3, there were strong indications that also in International News items had been sponsored in the same way as in Dagsrevyen.
11.4. Conclusions - Part V.

Since the TV3 news-apparatus was very limited and there were few variations in the news production practices in *International News*, a certain emphasis has been put on *Dagsrevyen* in this chapter. The chapter started with a discussion from a genre perspective about contrasts between *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*. It was found that *International News* in a way had succeeded in producing a news-programme which could claim to be a news programme, with all the ingredients of such a programme organised in a way which made the programme 'look like news'. The basis for this was, obviously, a realisation of genre aspects of the news. However, it was also pointed out that the very limited resources available for the TV3 news-production, and the way in which the news production was organised, imposed extreme limitations on the range of possibilities available in the production of news. It was further pointed out that producing domestic news with news-video reports, as *Dagsrevyen*, requires far more resources than reproducing agency material.

Furthermore, the production of textual claims of immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity were investigated. With reference to different cases it was demonstrated how such claims were paralleled by certain productional practices.

Some issues related to editorial and journalistic integrity and autonomy were then examined. Firstly, how broadcasters defined and perceived such ideals: while the definitions by the broadcasters were quite strict, structured interviews in *Dagsrevyen* showed that the broadcasters had quite ambivalent feelings about the integrity of their programme. In particular many of the broadcasters disagreed that *Dagsrevyen* ensured its integrity in relation to the institutions 'Monarchs', 'Defence and military' and 'Intelligence services' (Table 11.3.1.-1). Secondly, some cases in which a question could be raised as to whether there was a discrepancy between textual claims and productional practices regarding the news were examined. In some of these cases, which may be regarded as 'critical incidents' it was pointed out that the production of textual claims for integrity may not necessarily conform to the ideals about how ought to be produced.

The chapter has also discussed how the broadcasters negotiate their roles, functions and practices between ideal and practical possibilities. Accordingly, quotations about practices regarding integrity presented in this chapter contain contradictions in cases where the
broadcasters seemed to feel they had gone too far (as for example in the case about the three reports from Asia). Furthermore, it was interesting, from a research point of view, that the definitions of integrity were based on a Weberian conception of power to a large extent. In cases where Dagsrevyen representatives went on expenses-paid trips, editors still had the idea that the content would not be influenced by this. This was the case even though they had to admit that the reports would not have been made if the trips had not been paid for. Such a Weberian conception of power may easily justify a problematic relation to external forces regarding not only the news content, but also the news agenda.®

On a productional level, then, the present chapter has illustrated the different ways in which news may be produced within the 'space' provided by the news genre in different ways. On a textual level, it has illustrated how there might be a discrepancy between the news as produced and the news as presented. In addition, from a theoretical perspective, the chapter has attempted to illustrate the relevance of a genre perspective in examining the relationship between productional practices, genre conventions and the institution of news.

365 For a further discussion of source relations, see Schlesinger, 1990, and Ericsson et al., 1989.
PART VI: CONCLUSIONS
Chapter 12: Conclusions.

The starting point for the present thesis has been the debate about news in commercial and public television. The thesis set out to address the issue of how the social institution and formation of news was 'implemented' - or arranged, inflected and recombined - in a public service and in a commercial broadcasting corporation. In pursuing this, the thesis has empirically examined the inter-relationship between the news text and the news production contexts and processes of the *International News* and *Dagsrevyen*.

The main research questions raised regarding the two programmes were:

1. What elements constituted the production processes in the two channels?
2. What characterised the news programmes; the content, the composition/form and the presentation?
3. What were the relations between productional aspects and the output/text of the news programmes?
4. To what extent did finance, news policy, organisation of the news departments and the news-production processes produce similarities and differences in the two programmes?

To prepare for the empirical analysis of these questions, the thesis elaborated a theoretical framework based on the distinction between a *transmission perspective* and a *cultural perspective*. The thesis has argued that a further examination of that distinction allows a theoretical as well as empirical treatment of aspects of context, of text, and of the relations between them.

The findings which were made on the basis of the four research questions and the assumptions formulated in Chapter 3, are summarised below.
12.1. Public and commercial news.

1. On contextual aspects:

Chapter 5 examined how relations to the state and to the market had resulted in different structures of privileges, obligations and control for the two television services and the news-rooms. While the NRK was granted the privilege to transmit by the state, and had also its main income from the licence fee, TV3 assumed the privilege to transmit, and started satellite broadcasting without any licence. The main privileges for the NRK may be seen to be granted on the basis of formal and informal obligations; those of a universal service, balanced schedule and content, and programming according to national interests. TV3 had no formal obligations, although the company itself applied informal obligations to the television service regarding programme profile and advertising practices. This was mainly to build an image of seriousness in a Scandinavian context. It was also to build such an image of seriousness that the news had become an integral part of the programming. The activities of the NRK in relation to privileges and obligations were controlled by Government, Parliament and the public in different ways. This was not at all the case for TV3, which, nevertheless, also had taken on informal obligations because of its intentions to be established as the first terrestrial commercial channel in Sweden.

In Chapter 6, then, the news-production in International News and Dagsrevyen and the relations to the state and the market on news-room level were addressed. In an examination of the historic role of relations between Dagsrevyen and 'the official Norway', two recent cases were discussed. An overall theoretical perspective in the examination was that a study of 'influences' on the news production was inadequate, and that the relations to the 'official Norway' was a factor constituting the everyday working context in Dagsrevyen. The thesis also examined the way in which relations to 'the official Norway' were manifested as tensions and cleavages between individuals as well as between sections in the news-room. From such a perspective the examination showed that the relations between 'the official Norway' and Dagsrevyen seemed to be changing towards a greater autonomy for Dagsrevyen, as for most other news media during this period. Although relations of 'officialness' take new (and different) forms, this should be a feasible argument.

Tensions and cleavages were also present in International News, although they were related to the market, and not to 'officialdom'. The broadcasters' ambivalent attitude towards working with news on the one hand, and having such limited resources, on the other hand, was further discussed. While Dagsrevyen is a programme which grew out of a
news-reel tradition, *International News* was designed much later, and for very instrumental purposes. The programme activities of TV3 were examined in relation to political legitimacy, general credibility, station-identity and general commercial considerations, and may be said to have had three functions in the schedule; to legitimise the overall service in the eyes of advertisers, audience and national decision-makers; to provide station-identity for the overall television service; and to 'keep the viewers informed' so that they didn't switch to other channels for news services.

In regard to the *production apparatuses*, examined in *Chapter 7*, the differences between *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were significant. While the production apparatus of *International News* was almost exclusively designed for re-producing news from one wire service and two news-video feeds, the news production in *Dagsrevyen* was to a greater extent based on a 'first-hand' policy; especially with regard to domestic news. Although a substantial part of the foreign news in *Dagsrevyen* was based on news-feeds from EVN, and also on CNN, *Dagsrevyen* with its 60 journalists and editors, 12 correspondents, and ENG staff and equipment, covered domestic as well as foreign news in a very different way from *International News*.

2. *On textual aspects:*

Following the theoretical and analytical perspectives developed in *Chapters 2 and 3*, the three different levels of the news text analysed were the subject matter, the mode of formal composition, and the stance of the two programmes. Regarding *content*, the main difference found in *Chapter 8* was that *International News* did not, for economic reasons, carry Scandinavian and Nordic news, since it was seen to be too expensive to record, edit and present materials from that area. Pictures from Scandinavia and the Nordic area were very seldom available from the two news-video feeds Visnews and WTN, on which *International News* based its news-coverage. Accordingly, the 'choice' to broadcast international news (excluding Scandinavian and other Nordic countries) may be seen as one of 'economic necessity' within the chosen design - an integrated news programme mainly based on news video items. The restricted production apparatus in TV3 gave rise to the situation where priorities would most often be established according to what news was available on the two feeds, even if this material was not perceived to conform to the news values preferred by the broadcasters.
The assumption that *International News* included more entertainment than *Dagsrevyen* was met to some extent: *International News* had a more entertainment-orientated policy. The composition of the programmes and the news-items was examined in *Chapter 9*. Both programmes were centrally placed in their respective schedules. The overall programme structure, or the sequential structures constituting the programmes, was found to be very similar. So were the elements constituting the different sequences. The differences were found in the sub-genres applied in the individual news-items; the different application of sub-genres to news-items was clearly the factor which most consistently reflected the differences in policy and resources between the two programmes.

For the analysis of the stance of news presentation in the two programmes (*Chapter 10*), a model of author, narrator and reader instances had been developed (*Chapter 3*), and was applied to conceptualise textual relations between broadcasters, the news genre and the audiences. Textual claims in relation to stance were examined; omniscience and authority, independence and impartiality, and immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity. The stances of *International News* and *Dagsrevyen* were found to be very similar, although some aspects differed considerably. The stance was found to be closely linked to ideals and conventions which govern news-presentation - i.e. from a productional perspective, 'what the news presented should look like in order to look like news'.

3. On relations between productional and textual aspects:

Such conventions were further examined in *Chapter 11*, where some productional strategies for applying, or encoding, textual claims were analysed. As the productional practices in *International News* were very restricted due to the lack of resources, the analysis was mostly based on the practices in *Dagsrevyen*. Conventions of integrity were closely focused on, both in regard to the attitudes of broadcasters and to the manner in which textual claims for integrity were produced. Some cases, or *critical incidents*, in which there was a clear discrepancy between textual claims and productional practices were also examined. The cases were found to be illustrative of the ongoing concern in this thesis: of how the genre of news, and the conventions according to that genre, are implemented - or applied - in the news production process.

4. Finance, policy and news:

To address the overall research issue, then, the thesis has examined the relations between finance, policy and news in a commercial and a public service channel. The examination
has shown that in broadcasting corporations there is a definite concern about generic aspects of the news - or 'what news should look like in order to look like news'. Furthermore, it can be seen that such concerns are part of a corporate policy and of the overall attitude of professional broadcasters. One main finding from genre concerns in the newsroom, is that International News was able to 'make the news look like news', with very limited resources. In organising the news programme, TV3 had also been very concerned about not giving the impression, textually, that commercial interests in any way influenced their news coverage. However, from the analysis it is clear that economic considerations combined with the policy to establish credibility and seriousness - a promotional function of the news - resulted in a severely limited news production in International News. Although there were also limits for the activities of Dagsrevyen, especially in the area of foreign news, these were of a very different character than those of International News.

12.2. Further implications.
The findings raise questions about the definitions of television news and the activities of producers in 'making news look like news'. Furthermore, they highlight potential problems produced by strategies to minimise resource-expenditure and maximise textual claims in policies to establish credibility and seriousness in the production of news. These issues are discussed below.

In regard to the formats and the content of the news in the last instance, it seems to be up to the audience to decide whether or not to trust the presented news. As was pointed out in Chapter 11, the audience is not usually given the opportunity by the broadcasters to find out where the information, and the pictures which makes television news become so authentic, actually come from. Hence, the audience may easily lack conceptual and analytical tools for developing opinions and making decisions in relation to the presented text. Television news producers, unlike those in newspapers for example, very seldom provide the audience with information about where the news comes from, and how the news-room came by it. In a case examined in the previous chapter, Dagsrevyen was sponsored to make three reports from an Asian country. Although the trip was sponsored, it seemed important for the broadcasters not to inform the viewers about the background for the reports. Such information was seen - obviously - to be liable to result in a loss of credibility in the viewers' perception of Dagsrevyen. It can be seen that adherence to news
conventions had resulted in a discrepancy between journalistic ideals and professional practices.

Strategies to minimise resource expenditures and maximise textual claims may also be seen as the background for the growth of news-agencies. In relation to the role of the international news-agencies and their influence on the news presented around the world, the discussions have been going on for quite some time. A relevant point concerning the research questions raised in the present thesis is put forward by Jeremy Tunstall (1977: 46):

'... news agencies have largely shaped the presentation of international news in all countries around in the world; these agencies do not merely play a major part in establishing the international political agenda, but they have done so now for a hundred years. And for a hundred years they have been the main definers of world news values, of what sort of things become news.'

With its almost total dependence on one wire service and two news-video companies, it should be appropriate to point out that in re-producing news from these sources, the potential scope of the news may easily be very limited. The Head of News in TV3 showed a clear appreciation of such problems when I presented my project. He then made the following comment:

'OK. You have to take a look at the chain of events, so that you go into the news agencies, who supply us with news; and see how much news is actually available on one day in order to better understand what we do with the news. ... You're already starting at a very narrow - we've already had the news filtered by the time it comes to us. What we do with it is that we don't take all of the news ... What we've got is that much, that much or that much, and then we go even tighter.'

Small broadcasting companies, in particular, seem very dependent on news agencies in their news production. It is a trend, not without traditions, which is at work. As has been discussed, TV3 changed its news format after the field work for the present thesis was completed. The three-minute news bulletins are now based on ready-made bulletins telefaxed from Radio Network (a small news-room in Stavanger, Norway, providing radio network news for local commercial radio stations). In a London studio of TV3, the

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36 Norwegian: Radio Nettverk.
bulletins are read by presenters who are not trained as journalists, but are television presenters, only. In reality, TV3 does not actually work with the news itself. The company buys a news-service provided by telefax, and then presents a recorded news programme. For the audience, the programme appears to be live. According to the contract between TV3 and Radio Network, Radio Network has the full editorial responsibility for the news presented in TV3.\textsuperscript{296} TV3 is obliged, by contract, not to make changes to the faxed material.

When another Norwegian commercial television service, TV Norway\textsuperscript{290}, started including news programmes, it based its news-bulletin-service on materials from one news agency, only - the Norwegian News Agency\textsuperscript{291}. This dependence on agencies may look like a new trend. It is not. The NRK Radio News and several Norwegian newspapers were established in the same way, with news based exclusively on information from the same press agency.

That does not mean, however, that the issue is unproblematic from an analytical perspective. Such issues raise serious questions about the formation of news - to what extent does the public benefit from this, and to what extent will the social institution of news be changed and diversified? Furthermore, far from providing a diversity in news content, it seems to result in a homogenisation. The growth in the number of news programmes is not reflected in a growing diversity of news sources, as dominant news-agencies are becoming even more dominant in their supplying of news.

To conclude the thesis, what then, is the relevance of the present research?

In the field of mass communication, there has been a gap in empirical research on the productional level into how news formats and news texts are products of a broader social text with its own conventions. Furthermore, there has been a gap in research on how such conventions are continuously applied and re-defined for different purposes: purposes which are not necessarily in line with social ideals about how and why the news should operate.

\textsuperscript{296} This information is based on interviews with the previous Head of News in Radio Nettverk, as well as on one day of observation in November 1990.

\textsuperscript{290} Norwegian: TV Norge.

\textsuperscript{291} Norwegian: Norsk Telegrambyrå.
The thesis has provided conceptual tools and empirical insights into how a commercial satellite channel and a public service television channel relate to the market, to the state and to the institution (or formation) of news. The importance of economic resources, and the ways in which such resources have been used in policies to maximise textual claims, have been stressed.

In pursuing such aspects, the thesis has also produced knowledge about how social and professional conventions are "implemented" in the news production process to 'make news look like news'. The focus has been on the news production processes, on the news-programmes, and on the dynamics between conventions, news production and news texts. The news-rooms' relations to sources, as well as to external decision-makers and audiences, have not been analysed explicitly, but as contextual factors in relation to the research questions raised.

The study may be regarded as an attempt to further develop what has been labelled a 'culturological approach' to news production processes (Schudson, 1989). Such an approach may be based on the analysis of news in relation to the social, organisational and professional use of conventions descending from the institution of news.

One perspective within news production processes which should be further addressed is that of an externalist perspective, including an analysis of strategic and tactical action of sources in relation to the media (Schlesinger, 1990). Moreover, further research may combine a culturological perspective of cultural givings with an externalist perspective to examine how such cultural givings are used (and in some cases exploited) by news sources.

The analytical framework developed in the present thesis may have the potential to contribute to such an approach to news production processes.
APPENDICES
Appendix 1. The quantitative text and content analysis.

A. THE VARIABLES:

1. Item serial no. 1,2,3,4
2. Length of item (seconds) 5,6,7
3. Headline
   0. No
   1. Yes
4. Place in running order: 9,10
5. News issue:
   01. Local domestic politics
   02. National politics
   03. Crisis Baltic-USSR
   04. Other internal national conflicts
   National politics/conflicts
   05. European common market (EEC)
   06. European east-west relations
   07. Other inter. politics/conflicts
   Internat. politics/conflicts
   08. Industry/commercial activities
   09. Industrial/tariff negotiations
   10. Agricultural/primary industry
   11. Military: action/trade/industry
   Industry and military
   12. Education
   13. Cultural
   14. Crime/legal
   15. Communications
   16. Welfare/social issues
   17. Obituaries
   Culture and welfare
   18. Tragedy/disaster
   19. Disturb.s by forces of nature
   20. Environmental
21. Development
22. Sports
23. Human interest story
Entertainment
99. Others
6. News event:
01. Formal statement etc.
02. Parliamentary
03. Elections
04. Political travel/visit
Political events
05. Meeting/conference etc
06. Official report
07. Other report etc.
08. Change (person - org)
09. Industry/commercial activities
Other formal events
10. Violent mass action
11. Non-violent m. act.
12. Accident/disturbances
14. Criminal action/trial
15. Death
Events of disturbance
16. Sports events
Entertainment
17. Unidentifiable
99. Others
7. Dominant actor:
01. Head of state
02. Government and representatives
03. Parliament and representatives
04. Political leaders
05. National administration
06. Local administration
07. Local politicians
08. Military representatives
09. Police/legislation
Politics/administr. - repr.
10. Industry representatives
12. Labour movement representatives
13. Employers' organisations' repr.

Business/industry - repr.
15. Other org./pressure groups repr.
16. Religion - representatives
17. Academics/educational repr.
18. Media representatives
19. Culture representatives
20. Health service representatives
21. General public
22. Ethnic groups and representatives
23. Criminal/prison representatives

Culture and welfare - repr.
24. Celebrities
25. Sports representatives

Entertainment - representatives
26. No persons in focus
99. Others/combination of persons

8. Geographic origin of the news: 17,18

01. Norway
02. Sweden
03. Denmark
04. Finland
05. Iceland
06. Pan Scandinavian
07. Great Britain
08. Western Europe (others)

West Europe
09. Soviet Union
10. Eastern Europe (others)

East Europe
11. North America (incl. Canada)
12. Central/South America

America
13. Middle East (incl. Egypt, Libya and Algeria)
14. Africa (ex. Egypt, Libya and Algeria)
15. Asia
Africa/the East
16. Supra national (not national areas)
17. Unidentifiable
99. Other

0. No national Norwegian news
1. National news
2. Northern part of Norway (Nordland, Troms and Finnmark)
3. Mid Part (Trøndelag)
4. Western Part (Møre- og Romsdal, Sogn og Fjordane, Hordaland and Rogaland)
5. Southern Part (Vest-Agder, Aust-Agder)
6. Central Part (Telemark, Buskerud, Vestfold, Østfold, Akershus, Hedmark, Oppland)
7. Oslo
8. Unidentifiable
9. Other

10. Norwegian news - pictures from: 21, 22
0. No Norwegian pictures
1. National pictures, no specific geographical origin
2. Northern part of Norway (Nordland, Troms and Finnmark)
3. Mid Part (Trøndelag)
4. Western Part (Møre- og Romsdal, Sogn og Fjordane, Hordaland and Rogaland)
5. Southern Part (Vest-Agder, Aust-Agder)
6. Central Part (Telemark, Vestfold, Østfold, Buskerud, Akershus, Hedmark, Oppland)
7. Oslo
8. Unidentifiable
9. Other

11. Actuality - when did the news happen: 23
1. Today
2. Yesterday
3. Further back in time
4. Tomorrow
5. Further into future
6. Unidentifiable
9. Others
### Modes of Presentation - Audio

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<th>Mode</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>Audio, studio - anchor person(s):</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Audio studio, live phone interview</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Audio studio - comment:</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Audio studio - reporter live:</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Audio studio - reporter recorded:</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Audio studio - live interview:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Audio studio - recorded interview:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Audio studio - other:</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Audio studio - unidentifiable:</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Audio outside studio (o.s.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- correspondent live</td>
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</tr>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - correspondent recorded</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - reporter live</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - reporter recorded</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - interviews live</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - interview recorded</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Audio o.s. - other</td>
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</tr>
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<td>28.</td>
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### Modes of Presentation - Visuals

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<td>Visual studio - recorded pictures</td>
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<td>Stills - 'graphics/plate'</td>
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<td>33.</td>
<td>Stills - person ex institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Stills - others</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Diagram</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Visuals outside studio (o.s.)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- live pictures</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Visuals o.s. - recorded pictures</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Visuals - others</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Reporter on spot in picture</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
40. Archive pics.  53
41. Others  54
42. Sync (both sound and picture)  55
43. Which programme  56
44. Items: Sub-genres  57
   1. Bulletin a
   2. Bulletin b
   3. Bulletin c
   4. Editorial comment
   5. Report a
   6. Report b
   7. Interview
   9. Others
B. CODING SCHEDULE:

1. Item
2. Length (seconds)
3. Headline
4. Place
5. News issues
6. News event
7. Dominant actor
8. Geogr. origin
11. Actuality

MODES OF PRESENTATION - AUDIO

12. Studio - anchor
14. Studio - comment
15. Studio - reporter live:
17. Studio - live interview:
18. Studio - rec. interview:
19. Studio - other:
20. Studio - unidentifiable:
21. Outside studio (o.s)
   - correspondent live
22. O.s. - corr. recorded
23. O.s. - reporter live
24. O.s. - reporter recorded
25. O.s. - interviews live
26. O.s. - interview recorded
27. O.s. - other
28. O.s. - unidentifiable

MODES OF PRESENTATION - VISUALS

29. Studio - live pictures
30. Studio - record. pictures
31. Stills - ‘plate’
32. Stills - map
33. Stills - person ex inst.
34. Stills others
35. Diagram
36. O.s - live pictures
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>O.s. - recorded pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Visuals - others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Visuals - reporter on spot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Archive pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Sync</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Sub-genre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2. Structured interviews in
Dagsrevyen

1. Age: ______ years.

2. Gender:
   - [ ] Female
   - [ ] Male

3. What do you consider as your social background?
   - [ ] a. Middle class
   - [ ] b. Working class

4. How long have you been working in Dagsrevyen?
   ______ years ______ months.

5. Terms of employment in Dagsrevyen?
   - [ ] a. Free-lance
   - [ ] b. Part time
   - [ ] c. Full time, temporary
   - [ ] d. Permanent position in present function
   - [ ] e. Permanent position in another function

6. What function have you had, and what do you have in Dagsrevyen?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have had</th>
<th>Have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ENG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Script</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Planning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Producer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Presenter</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Foreign correspondent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Editor-in-Charge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. (Sub) Editor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Editor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Journalist, section for general domestic affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Did you have work in the NRK before you started to work in Dagsrevyen?
   a. Yes
   b. No

8. How did you get the job in Dagsrevyen?
   a. By working free-lance for Dagsrevyen
   b. Applied for a permanent position
   c. Applied for a temporary position
   d. Was asked to work in Dagsrevyen (head-hunted).

9. Please give information about your education?
   a.____________________________________________________________
   b.____________________________________________________________
   c.____________________________________________________________
   d.____________________________________________________________
   e.____________________________________________________________

10. Please mention your last three employers, the NRK excluded (full time work):
    a.____________________________________________________________
    b.____________________________________________________________
    c.____________________________________________________________

11. Have you worked for other employers than the NRK while you have worked in Dagsrevyen. If, please mention the last four:
    a.____________________________________________________________
    b.____________________________________________________________
    c.____________________________________________________________
    d.____________________________________________________________

12. Do you have, or have you had, commissions of trust in press organizations?
13. Please mention which two Norwegian newspapers you prefer to read:
1. ______________________
2. ______________________

14. Please mention which two foreign newspapers you prefer to read:
1. ______________________
2. ______________________

15. Please mention which two Norwegian periodicals you prefer to read:
1. ______________________
2. ______________________

16. To what extent do you agree with the following statement:
Dagsrevyen ensures its integrity and independence in the news-coverage in relation to:

FULLY AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 FULLY DISAGREE

a. Parliament __ __ __ __ __
b. Political Parties __ __ __ __ __
c. Government __ __ __ __ __
d. Monarchs __ __ __ __ __
e. Defence/military __ __ __ __ __
f. Intelligence serv. __ __ __ __ __
g. Police/legislative __ __ __ __ __
h. Business interests __ __ __ __ __
i. Employers' org. __ __ __ __ __
j. Trade Unions __ __ __ __ __
k. Pressure groups __ __ __ __ __
17. Please mention the three most important factors which in your opinion direct the news coverage in Dagsrevyen.

1. __________________________________________________________
2. __________________________________________________________
3. __________________________________________________________.
Appendix 3. News-room functions in

*International News*

**Administrative staff:**
1 Head of News: Overall administrative and editorial responsibility for TV3 News.
1 administrative assistant: Assistant to Head of News.
2 librarians: Responsible for the video and photography library (the archives).

**Editorial staff:**
1 Input Editor: Responsible for the gathering of news.
1 Output Editor: Responsible for the news programme output. The Output Editor shared on-screen credit in the closing sequence of the programme.
1 News Assistant: Assistant to Input Editor.

**Journalistic staff:**
3 script-writers: Drafted scripts and read commentaries on news-reports.
2 presenters: Some of the script-writers also functioned as presenters and vice-versa.

**Programme/technical personnel:**
1 Director: While the Output Editor was responsible for the content of the programmes, the Director was responsible for the productional aspects. The Director shared on-screen credits in the closing sequence.
3 technicians: These operated the cameras, the lights and the sound in studio. They also recorded the news-video feeds from news-agencies, and edited the video footage into news-items. When needed, they operated ‘electronic news-gathering’- (ENG-) equipment. ENG is based on video technology for recording. In an ENG-team there are usually two persons: one on camera (ENG-camera), one on sound -
and in addition, often one reporter. There might also be one person responsible for the lights.

1 aston/dls-operator: Operated aston and the 'digital library system'.
Aston is the sub-text machine, and the 'dls' a computer-based system which made it possible to store still-pictures, maps etc. for transmission.

1 graphic designer: Produced maps and other graphics stored in the digital library system for transmission.

1 autocue operator: Operated the autocue, which is the device the presenter reads the text from, and which is placed in front of the camera. In effect it appears as if the presenter looks straight into the camera when reading the news.

Others included 1 make-up artist who was responsible for the visual image of the presenters.
Appendix 4. News-room functions in

*Dagsrevyen*

**Administrative staff:**
1 Chief Editor: Overall administrative and editorial responsibility for *Dagsrevyen*.
1 Assistant Chief Editor: Administrative and editorial deputy.
2 administrative secretaries.
2 secretaries and switch-board operators.

**Editorial staff:**
1 Editor of Foreign Affairs\(^{172}\).
1 Editor of Political Domestic Affairs\(^{173}\).
1 Editor of General Domestic Affairs\(^{174}\) and Planning.
5 Editors-in-Charge\(^{175}\): These functioned as Editors-in-Charge and co-editors for the different news programmes during the day. The Editor-in-Charge shared on-screen credits in the closing sequence of the programme.\(^{176}\)

**Planning staff:**
1 Editor of General Domestic Affairs and Planning (also mentioned above).
2 production consultants: one for domestic and one for foreign news.
1 technical co-ordinator: for foreign news.

**Journalistic staff** organised into three sections:
7 reporters in the section for foreign affairs.

---
\(^{172}\) Norwegian: Utenriksgruppa.
\(^{173}\) Norwegian: Innenriksgruppa.
\(^{174}\) Norwegian: Allmenreportergruppa.
\(^{175}\) Norwegian: Kveldsredaktør.
\(^{176}\) Norwegian: Kveldsredaktør.
6 reporters in the section for political domestic affairs.
12 reporters in the section for general domestic affairs.
3 Special Task Correspondents: two on cultural matters, and one on news issues related to the oil-industry.
12 Foreign Correspondents, including one on temporary contract.
5 Presenters.

**Programme/technical personnel:**

1 Chief Producer: Overall responsibility for the productional aspects, as well as the programme design, of Dagsrevyen.

9 Producers\(^{377}\): The producers in Dagsrevyen had the same function as the Director in International News: they were responsible for the preparations of the productional aspects of the news-programmes, and for the transmission. The producer shared the credits in the closing sequence.

9 scripts: Assisted the editors of the programmes during preparations, and the producer during transmissions.

4 Floor Managers: during transmissions a go-between in the news-studio for the producer in the studio control and the presenter in the studio. Guided interviewees into the news studio.

4 News-room assistants: Assistants for the producer during programme preparations. Operated the autocue, as well.

2 Graphic operators: Prepared graphics.
2 Aston-operators: Operated the sub-texting machines.

Sub-texting/translation: Based on free-lancers - number varied.

6 ENG video-editors: Edited video material for transmission.
7 ENG-camera operators.
7 ENG sound operators.

Technical personnel in the studio control during trans-

\(^{377}\) Producers in Dagsrevyen had the same function as the directors in International News. They were responsible for the productional aspects of the news-programme.
missions: The personnel came from a 'technical pool' within NRK-Television. For every programme to be transmitted there was 1 vision mixer, 1 sound mixer, 1 person on remote controlled cameras, 1 person on still-store and 1 technical leader who was also responsible for the studio lights. The technical leader\textsuperscript{378} shared the credits in the closing sequence.

\textsuperscript{378} Norwegian: Teknisk leder.
Appendix 5. Approximate staff needed to make one programme of *Dagsrevyen*

2 Editors-of-the-Day  
2 Foreign-Duty-Editors  
1 news-presenter  
3 foreign affairs reporters  
4 political domestic affairs reporters  
8 general domestic affairs reporters  
- Correspondents

7 persons on ENG sound  
7 persons on ENG camera  
4 video editors

2 Producers  
2 Scripts  
1 Floor Manager  
1 News-room assistant  
2 Graphics  
1 (or more) translator/subtexting  
1 News-room assistants  
1 Aston

5 Technical personnel in studio during transmission.  
- Translators.
Appendix 6. *International News* -
pictures from the programme.

Pict. 1: From the vignette sequence - the TV3 logo established.
Pict. 2: From the establishment of the narrator sequence - the main narrator is established.
Pict. 3: The word is given from the main anchor to the other anchor.
Pict. 4: From the news-item sequence - a recorded interview in studio.
Pict. 5: From the closing of programme sequence.
om att levnadsstandarden ska öka.
Appendix 7. *Dagsrevyen* - pictures from the programme.

Pict. 1: From the vignette sequence - the *Dagsrevyen* logo is established.

Pict. 2: From establishment of the narrator sequence - the narrator is established.

Pict. 3: From the news-item sequence - a *sync* of the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Pict. 4: From the closing of programme sequence - the weather presenter and the anchor 'speak informally'.

Pict. 5: From the new *Dagsrevyen* 6th of January 1992 - establishment of the narrator sequence.

Pict. 6: From the new *Dagsrevyen* - closing of programme sequence.
MARGARET THATCHER
STATSMINISTER

DDR drives stadig i stor grad etter kommunistiske linjer.


Andersen, M. B., H. Ørning and R. Waldahl (1993): 'TV-nyhetene i nyhetsbildet - En sammenliknende undersøkelse av NRKs og TV2s nyhetsdeknings'. Department for Media and Communication, University of Oslo.


NOU 1983:30: Rapporten om massemedier.


Ot.prp. No 47, 1986-87: Lov om nærkringkasting.


