It doesn't get better than what we make of it

The importance of the Eurovision News Exchange in TV coverage of foreign news



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Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of the Eurovision News Exchange (EVN) as a source for foreign TV news coverage for the Danish and Norwegian public service broadcasters: DR and NRK. With the theoretical approach of political economy, I have sought to expose existing structures in international news distribution that are influencing the broadcasters' coverage and the EVN's distinct features within the field. A central point of the analysis has been the particular logics of the EVN, as a cooperation of member broadcasters based on public service principles, opposed to the commercial logics of the major TV news agencies. The investigation showed that the EVN supplies a fair share of the sources of the investigated broadcasters' foreign news coverage, but also that this share does not represent a factual alternative to the share of the commercial news agencies. Certain tendencies in what kinds of themes and geographical areas the broadcasters use the two image suppliers for in their coverage are apparent, and the implications of the broadcasters' approach to the different sources are discussed. The public service background of the EVN, and its contributing members, was examined with regard to the content in the supplied news material, and a further possible democratizing role of the cooperation in foreign TV news coverage. The analysis found that the role the EVN has to the broadcasters' foreign news coverage depends on the individual broadcasters' financial situations. The cooperation also emerged as a necessary supplement to the commercial news agencies. The public service background further proved to both strengthen and weaken the EVN, and a partly unused potential of holding a democratizing factor in the international news flow, was largely connected to this dynamic.

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1 Introduction

When an unexpected news story breaks in any corner of the world, most national broadcasters are usually highly dependent on the services of international news wholesalers for coverage. Image suppliers such as the commercial news agencies ensure the broadcasters' ability to be anywhere at any time; to broadcast live pictures of an unfolding news story, or in other ways cover the events taking place in areas where the broadcasters for various reasons are not present with their own affiliates. Through the history of news media, there have been but a handful of international television news agencies supplying the pictorial basis for foreign news, and hence laying the grounds for the public understanding of world issues. The two current major operating video agencies are London-based Associated Press Television News (APTN) and Reuters.¹ Concerns arise, however, from the fact that the news we are presented from foreign countries often appears to originate solely from one of these two "Western" sources. The agencies are commercial enterprises and are hence subject to providing news coverage that corresponds with their customers' demands (Baker, 2004). Moreover, the agencies' prospects of economic balance or profits has been seen as a constraint to their contribution to the international news flow (Paterson, 2011, p.154). The last years have seen a general acceleration of the tempo in the TV news industry, with a significant rise in 24-hour news channels and an expansion in numbers of platforms, making deadlines increasingly shorter and more frequent; a development leading the broadcasters into increased dependency on the services of the international image suppliers. The commercial motives essentially driving the news agencies, added to their growing significance for the broadcasters, have aroused calls for an alternative, non-commercial image supplier (Paterson, 2011, p.155).

An image supplier whose services resemble those of the commercial news agencies, but whose business is nevertheless different, is the Eurovision News Exchange $(EVN)^2$, a division under the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). The primary contrast between the commercial news agencies and the EVN lies in the latter's organizational structure and foundational principles. The EVN is run as a co-operation mainly between European public service broadcasters. On a daily basis its member broadcasters share their own news stories,

¹ Although there have been up to four different actors in the international TV news agency industry in recent years, there have only been two actors for the most part. APTN and Reuters have been the only major operating international agencies since the mid-90s, and they are made up of mergers between preceding companies (Paterson, 2011, p.49).

 $^{^{2}}$ The EVN is an abbreviation used in some of the former research and it is also used internally within the EBUsystem. It stems from EuroVision News, but it will be used to refer to the Eurovision News *Exchange* in the entirety of this thesis (Cohen et al., 1996).

providing the total member mass with a basis of news stories; all coordinated by an administration centered in Geneva. An annual membership fee covers the operation's expenses.³ The acquisition, and provision, of news material from and to the EVN is based on a principle of unmonitored reciprocity: at times you receive, at other times you provide. The economic framework, and the level of control the members themselves hold over the collaboration, places it outside the regular mechanisms of the private market (Hjarvard, 1995, p.143). Therefore it is potentially detached from the very constraints of the commercial news agencies.

The commercial news agencies also represent an indispensible and well-working component in the international news production, but the call for a non-commercial alternative is an expression of the problem that they are simultaneously constraining our image of the world (Paterson, 2011, p.153). In the light of the news media's position in democracies, this study finds its point of departure in the combination of the extensive utilization of these agencies' services, with a scarcity of knowledge and interest previously devoted to their relationship with the broadcasters. This thesis will look at the mechanisms through which international video news material flow, and are obtained by the broadcasters. But where most of the existing research on the topic has treated the international production and distribution of news from a globalization perspective (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998, Clausen, 2003, Cohen et al., 1996), the starting point in this study is the EVN as a supplier and source in foreign news production. In this way, the investigation is not only positioned within traditional media studies, but also partly within journalism. The study sets out to contribute more knowledge of the structures of the production of foreign news, and to direct attention to important but neglected issues concerning patterns in the acquisition of images for this purpose.

1.1 Research Questions

It is within this backdrop I find my motivation to study the EVN. After becoming familiar with the methods of acquiring international news video material by working with the EVN-collaboration through a member broadcaster, I was surprised by how little attention the subject has been given, both academically and in general; and if the academic research on the international news agencies and their alternatives can be referred to as lacking, *public knowledge* on the matter seems close to non-existent. The ordinary TV-viewer, who

 $^{^{3}}$ Exact sum is confidential. See p.11-12 for a description of the financial model of the EVN collaboration. 2

ultimately comprehends the foreign news coverage and annexes it into a sum of existing knowledge, has little or no awareness of the origin of the images that make up the meaning conveyed. Another factor that sparked interest, was how the EVN's operation seemed at the same time well-working and frequently used by the member broadcasters, while run by non-profit and somewhat idealistic principles, in an otherwise profit-driven industry.

In this master thesis, I therefore aim to examine the EVN in the context of international news distribution and production, from a comparative angle through an analysis of two of its member broadcasters: Norwegian *Norsk Rikskringkasting* (NRK) and Danish *Danmarks Radio* (DR). The claim that there is a need for a non-commercial option in the international TV news agency industry constitutes an underlying intention. In line with most of the authors of the existing research, another object is the "pressing need" for further research on the sources of news (Paterson, 2011, p.155). The first research question is:

1) What is the extent and importance of the EVN as an international image supplier for the foreign news coverage of NRK and DR?

This question is meant to provide an overview to the EVN's position in its members' foreign news production. The first question further identifies that the broadcasters' use of the EVN will serve as the premise for the subsequent points of interest.

The second research question connects the importance of the operation of the EVN in relation to that of the agencies:

2) Can the EVN be seen as an alternative to the commercial news agencies? In which case: how?

It seems to be a common understanding that academic investigations of *alternatives* to the commercial news agencies in obtaining international news coverage are extremely rare. The number of studies on the flow of international TV news is limited in itself, as will be accounted for in Chapter Two. The activities of the commercial news agencies have been referred to as *hidden but powerful*; and further, because of the small amount of diversity between them, the *hidden* news agencies appear even more powerful (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998, p.7). This factor, together with the reasons mentioned above, has lead multiple researchers to point to what they perceive as an unsatisfactory discussion and theorizing around the news agencies' position in news production (Boyd-Barrett, 1998, Hjarvard, 1995, Paterson, 2010).

Investigating the EVN as an alternative will necessarily illuminate its distinguished features as an international image supplier, compared to those of the agencies. Research question number three seeks to connect these distinguished features of the EVN to its financial and political foundation:

3) Does the EVN's media political background in public service tradition have any impact on its operation as a provider of foreign news material? If yes: how?

The EVN is regulated by media policies through its contributing public service broadcaster members. It is also founded on public service broadcasting (PSB) ideology through the European Broadcasting Union. This ideological and financial outset is a different model than that which the commercial news agencies operate under, subsequently allowing the collaboration a different point of departure as a news distributor.

Research question four finally directs attention to the consequences to the contents the EVN distributes, generated by the features it is granted through its public service members:

4) Can the EVN be said to hold a democratizing task in the international news flow?

TV news provides us with a foundation for perceptions about the world we live in. It potentially exercises influence on freedom of speech and democracy, and journalism can hold the power to define and form public opinion (Allern, 2001, p.22). News is essential in the conduct of public discussions and politics, the importance of which is predicted to increase (Cottle, 2007, p.13). It is precisely with regard to the news media's societal task in constituting our perception of reality as a basis for democratic processes that it conflicts with the commercial principles steering the news agencies. The news coverage offered by the agencies is primarily steered by customers' needs and owners' interests, and not by considerations for an enlightened democracy. The EVN's foundation on PSB principles and its financial basis from its public service members allows the collaboration a different point of departure as a news distributor.

1.1.1 Clarification and terminology

As we will see, despite significant structural differences, the services that the EVN provides are in many ways very similar to those offered by its commercial counterparts. Consequently, I will employ parts of prior research on the commercial news agencies that is relevant for the study of the EVN. Another incentive for such an approach is that of the rather limited contribution of research on the field: the bulk of existing literature has focused on the news agencies, with only a few exceptions that have concerned the EVN collaboration. Parts of the analysis will be attributed a certain comparative angle of the various image suppliers, especially in the discussion of research question two.

The services of the international news agencies and the EVN have been referred to in different terms, for example as *(supranational) wholesalers, video 'wire' services, distributors* etc. When referring to them as companies carrying out a similar service, I will consistently do so by the term: *image suppliers*. This tag focuses on their core service of distributing and supplying video to an affiliated broadcaster, as for example opposed to information via written notifications, like that of the traditional press wire services.

I have operationalized the two superior processes of interest in the terms *output* and *input*. The *output* of the EVN regards the material it supplies to its members. Research questions one and two focus on this part of the EVN-mechanism. *Input* refers to the content-generating side of the news exchange, where the members themselves constitute its basis for supplying, through their contribution of news stories. Research questions three and four are more concerned with the *output*.

1.2 Theoretical approach

The analysis will employ a political economy perspective as the theoretical approach to the investigation. The approach is valid in the methodological development, but also, and especially, in the analysis. Since the EVN is an organization based in PSB, it is highly relevant to discuss its political and economic basis for operation, compared to that of the commercial news agencies. My analysis will follow the critical tradition of emphasizing connections between the terms of production in the members' foreign news coverage and the broadcasted coverage. The political economy approach makes possible a sketching of the broader context surrounding the production of foreign news, and clearer focus on the structures that international news coverage is part of.

1.3 Methodological procedures

The research questions denote the role of the EVN to its members as the object for research and analysis. In light of how the news exchange is structured with the members' direct influence on its services, the processes that will be investigated are those included in the relationship between the broadcasters' foreign news production and the EVN as a source (the output), as well as the relationship between the members as contributors and the collaboration (the input). The investigation is approached through an analysis of two cases: NRK and DR. The posed research questions call for a combination of methodological strategies for collecting data. A content analysis was carried out to give an impression of the quantitative extent of the EVN's influence on the NRK and DR's foreign news coverage. The second method applied was four qualitative interviews, meant to elaborate on the EVN's significance to its members, and the members' part in the contribution mechanism. The informants were strategically selected among the news staff at DR and NRK. Certain EBU documents were further used to clarify the public service background of the EVN. However, because there is an obvious lack of recent academic research on the EVN, the qualitative interviews were also a necessary supplement with regard to background of the news exchange and its impact on the EVN, its model of operation, contents and members.

1.4 Eurovision and the EBU

The EVN is a division of the EBU; an organization facilitating widespread interchanging of program contents, co-productions and assistance with various broadcasting services. The activities of the EBU all derive specifically from a platform of PSB objectives. The union was established in 1950, at a time when most TV channels in Europe were broadcasting monopolies. Even though it has expanded to also include broadcasters who are financed commercially, the principles of economic solidarity, voluntariness and an absence of the view of news as a commodity has been maintained as the organization's backbone (Hjarvard, 1995, p.155)⁴. In its latest strategy document, the organization defines its own core mission as making "public service broadcasting indispensible [sic]" (EBU, 2011b, p.1). How these principles are further embodied in the practical organization of the EVN will be explained more detailed shortly.

The EBU is made up of 74 active and 36 associated members, stretching across 56 nations (EBU, 2011a)⁵. The EVN was previously the largest single activity of the union, and in spite of multiple rearrangements within the organization, it still appears as a flagship activity in the union's own representational material (Hjarvard, 1995, EBU, 2011b). Via

⁴ Hjarvard is paraphrased from a section where he is specifically discussing the EVN, but by virtue of being a division in the EBU, the basic principles are transferable.

⁵ The number of EBU-members may be confusing with regard to the EVN, since, for example, some active members of the EBU are pure radio services, and hence do not take part in the EVN. The text will account for the specifics of the EVN-participants on p.12 under *1.4.5 Who are the members*.

distinguished news editors situated at the EBU headquarters in Geneva, the EVN operates a daily, 24-hour serviced transmission of news material between its members. In addition to the headquarters in Geneva, there are bureaus or affiliated offices in ten other cities around the world: Washington D.C., New York, Sao Paulo, Havana, London, Brussels, Rome, Moscow, Singapore and Beijing (Eurovision, 2012a). Compared to the commercial news agencies, the EVN has been described as "the important cooperative exchange of television news pictures between the large and influential publicly funded broadcasters of Europe" (Paterson, 2011, p.86).

1.4.1 Demarcation of area of interest

Aside from the daily transmission of news material, the Eurovision department operates generally three activities that will be excluded in this study. Firstly, the EBU operates a worldwide satellite transmission network, from which Eurovision operates distribution services of non-news character, like those of major sporting events and content from external organizations (Eurovision, 2012f). These will not be part of this project as they are not relevant for the object of study. Secondly, originating from the same network resources, Eurovision operates satellite transmission services for broadcasters in the field: for example assisting technically, and with infrastructure, for relay of video material or live signals from the location of a news event to the broadcasters' headquarters (Eurovision, 2012e). The third feature that will be omitted in this investigation is the interchanging of sports *news* items. Of the daily run-down of items transmitted through the EVN, a considerable part consists of stories classified as sports news. Editors separate to those coordinating the news items, but who are located in the same Geneva offices, administrate the sports news transmission at regular intervals during the day. This service is by all means an integral part of the EVN, and occasionally sports stories do qualify for coverage in the news section of the broadcasters' newscast. Yet, the focus of this thesis is news and I will therefore avoid integrating the sports news.

1.4.2 The daily operation

The EVN distributes news material via satellite mainly through three channels; one continuously transmitting singular news items, and two earmarked for live feeds of ongoing news events. In the course of a day, EVN-members and the commercial news agencies

together take part in the transmission, contributing news stories and live signals to all channels. Figure 1.1 shows a sample of the EVN's web-menu:

	PNN	NEWS/ ACTU	JALITES SPORTS	FUTURES	M	ESSAGES	Y	UPER P	OP	SUP	POR
May 2012	25-MAY	-2012	Show All Reve	rse Order			Tim	lings in r	ed are not	t cont	irmed
May 2012	Status: PRE F	Preliminary	, CNF Confirmed, REP Repe	etition, TBA T	o be ad	vised, TBC	Timin	ig unkno	wn, TRS	Trans	mitteo
May 2012 May 2012	Start-End	Status	Slug	F Origin	City	Source	Rota	Type	ID Item	Vid	eo
May 2012	01:00-01:02	TRS	UN Syria Douma	ZZEBU		USUNTV		EVN	613651		16:9
<u>May 2012</u> May 2012	01:03-01:05	TRS	Zimbabwe Pillay	ZZEBU	GNVE	USUNTV		EVN	613652	-	16:9
<u>Aay 2012</u>	01:44-01:45	TRS	Tokyo SE opening	ZZEBU	GNVE	JPNHK		EVN	608088	-	16:9
<u>Aav 2012</u> Aav 2012	03:00-03:02	TRS	Mexico narcosatanic	ZZEBU	WSHT	GBAPTN	R	EVN	613654	5	16:9
earch	03:02-03:04	TRS	US Bosnia war crimes	ZZEBU	WSHT	USCBSN	AR	EVN	613656	-	16:9
vision.net	03:04-03:09	TRS	Chen Guangcheng intv	ZZEBU	WSHT	GBRTV	А	EVN	613655	-	16:9
											16:9

Figure 1.1 Extract of the web-menu of the news exchange (Eurovision, 2012c)

The menu contains information such as the completed or scheduled timing of an item's transmission, a brief identification of content by means of a short title (slug), reference to whether the material is a news item (*EVN*) or another type (live signal, sports, regional etc.), and the source and location from where the transmission originates.

The annual number of news items transmitted through the EVN has risen steadily. The most recent figures I have obtained, show that 29 065 *news* items were interchanged in 2009 (Naets, 2010). Figure 1.2 shows the significant rise in the volume of news coverage distributed trough the EVN since its early days:

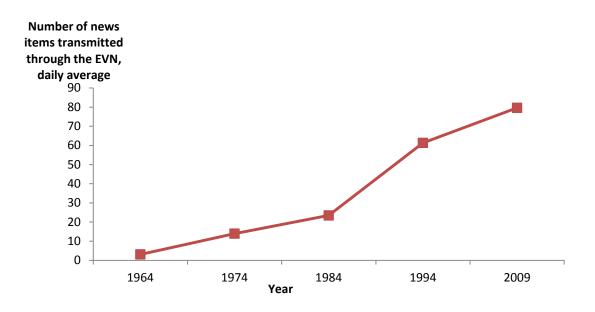


Figure 1.2 Development in number of interchanged news items, daily average (Cohen et al., 1996, p.4, Naets, 2010, p.2)

Based on a stream of offers and requests from the members and the agencies, the central news editors decide which items and live signals shall be transmitted during the day. The offers have been described as stories deemed newsworthy by the offering broadcaster, while the requests, on the other hand, are not necessarily newsworthy material to the same degree (Cohen et al., 1996, p.36). Regardless of the level of newsworthiness, both types of proposals are still a vital part of the EVN-mechanism, and have been referred to as "the heart of the [EVN-conference]" (ibid, p.31). The central news editors bring the suggestions and contributions from the members into their account of the current news outlook, and present the list at daily conferences held with the members on a radio circuit (*the fourwire*) (Paterson, 2011, p.87, Cohen et al., 1996, pp.19-31). The daily outlook is also transferred to the web pages.

1.4.3 What is transmitted

Let us take a closer look at the kind of material that is evaluated for possible transmission through the EVN. To my knowledge, the most recent published data on the contents transmitted through the collaboration is Stig Hjarvard's content analysis from 1990 (1995). Previous analyses show some consistency in content in previous years. Even though there have been great changes in news production since these analyses, the data will in any case serve as an introduction to the scope of certain areas of the collaboration. The analysis of my own investigation, in Chapters Four and Five, will shed light on the development. Before we look at the most recent data, let us first take a look at a ten-day analysis of the material distributed through the EVN in 1987. It shows that almost ³/₄ of the total 186 news items were classified in only three out of 17 categories: *internal law and order* (34,3%), *international relations* (26,3%) and *internal politics* (11,3%) (Cohen et al., 1996, p.63).⁶ The analysis Hjarvard (1995) carried out was a more extensive one: he analyzed the EVN content through 45 days in 1990. Although this investigation contained different categorizations than the one from 1987, some of the trends can be seen as similar. The topics transmitted most frequently categorized within *parliamentary/constitutional* (27,9%) and *military/terrorism* (15,9%). The third most frequent category, although markedly lower than the first two, was *diplomacy/negotiations* (8,7%) (p.221).⁷ When it comes to geographical dispersion of the content, 744 items, the vast majority, was coverage of Europe. Asia was identified as the second most frequently appearing region, in 222 items, and North America third, in 157 items. The least covered categories were Oceania (6), international organs (32), South America (105) and Africa (112) (Hjarvard, 1995, p.232).⁸

A few additional, more general, features of the interchanged material are interesting. Akiba A. Cohen et al. found in their content analysis that around 70 percent of the material requested through the EVN, were news stories of a certain universal interest, meaning: news stories that did not necessarily have a direct link to the country whose broadcaster placed a request for it (Cohen et al., 1996, p.37). Cohen et al. further sum up their ten-day content analysis in six general points. First, they perceived an obvious abundance of material: "the EVN feed almost always offers far more stories than most member services are likely to use in their news". Secondly, there was great variation in the level of editing that had already been executed on the transmitted items. Thirdly, they observed that some of the items were in fact not so much *stories*, but just detached sound bites from speeches or press conferences. The fourth point was that they were of the opinion that few of the images interchanged were of an

⁶ The remaining categories in Cohen et al.'s analysis, were all represented in between 3,2 and 0,5% of the total exchanged items, and were the following: *Transportation* (3,2%), *cultural* (3,2%), *natural disasters* (2,7%), *social relations* (2,7%), *other human interest* (2,7%), *domestic economics* (2,2%), *health-medicine* (2,2%), *housing* (2,2%), *labour relations* (1,6%), *ceremonial* (1,6%), *science-technology* (1,1%), *agriculture* (1,1%), *sports* (1,1%) and *education* (0,5%).

⁷ Hjarvard's investigation had a much larger scope than Cohen et al. 1994. The total number of investigated items was 1138 against the latter's 186. Hjarvard's analysis also excluded sports news items, which Cohen et al.'s did not. In addition, Hjarvard operated with 34 categories altogether. The further topics that appeared in 2% or more of the interchanged items were: *refugee/migration/racism* (5,7%), *public unrest* (5,4%), *weather/nature* (4,3%), *accident caused by humans/rescue* (3,4%), *political actors* (3,4%), *judicial system/crimes* (2,8%), *ceremony/symbol* (2,2%) and *economy/society in general* (2,0%).

⁸ I have reduced Hjarvard's geographical categories from regions within the different continents, to the main world regions. *International organs* consist of coverage of *the United Nations, the European Union, other international organizations* and *global/space*. Since one item may cover more than one region, the sum of the items exceeds the number of investigated items.

exciting or dramatic character. The fifth observation was how many of the different stories distributed via the EVN seemed repetitious, with similar-looking material covering the running stories. Lastly, the analysis suggested that much of the content was event-driven and did not pay much attention to background stories. As they put it: "EVN items are generally *today's* news, and rarely *tomorrow's*" (ibid, p.60-62). A large share of the transmitted items in the EVN is in fact supplied by the news agencies. The relationship between the EVN and the agencies will be explained further shortly.

1.4.4 Financial and operational foundation

In contrast to the commercial news agencies' relationship with the broadcasters, which is a traditional service-client model, the EVN is run as a non-profit co-operation, where the members in essence only pay for the technical facilities and administration of the collaboration through an annual fee (Hjarvard, 1998, pp.203-204). It is not possible to say anything about the size of the fee, as such details are "strictly confidential" (Dubin, 2012). What has been revealed, however, is that the membership fee is not constant, but a result of intricate calculations based on principles of solidarity: "The costs of operating the system (...) are shared between the participant (sic) according to a *collective cost-sharing system* in which larger TV stations *subsidize* the use of smaller stations" (Hjarvard, 1998, p.203).⁹ The fee is hence adjusted to each member's individual operating expenditure. New members also have to pay a "one-off entrance fee" that takes into account their individual financial capabilities and "the value which EBU membership represents for them" (EBU, 2011c). An additional factor in the payment equation is how the annual fee of the members is reduced for each news item contributed to the news exchange throughout the year. The size of the reduction, also subject to confidentiality, is similarly a result of another equation comprised of factors such as the broadcaster's size of audience, the number of member broadcasters to the EBU in the same country, and regulations of the largest possible difference in deduction compared to previous year (Moi, 2012).

The EBU member rules also identify specific operational obligations for its members, including: that they must reach 98 percent of the national households with their programming "with satisfactory technical quality" (EBU, 2011c). The programming must further be varied and balanced, and be directed towards all sections of the public, "irrespective of the ratio of

⁹ In Hjarvard 1995, a version of the cost-sharing system is referred to as being calculated from a *Basic Sharing Scale*, in which the members are placed according to the square of a ten thousandth of the number of licencees or TV-devices in the respective country (Hjarvard, 1995, p.263).

programme cost to audience" (ibid). The members are also obliged to produce a certain portion of their own programming themselves. With specific reference to news production, the members are required to keep "daily bulletins for which [they have] overall editorial control", where a minimum of one bulletin must last for at least 15 minutes and contain comprehensive cover of national news; especially politics (ibid). The raison d'être of for the members' relation to the union is further described as: "the ability to offer Eurovision and Euroradio programmes of interest to Members in other countries, and to engage in coproductions with other Members" (ibid).

1.4.5 Who are the members

The participants in the EVN are active members of the EBU, in addition to "certain thirdparty organizations (...) which provide services to EBU members and select broadcasting unions" (Eurovision, 2012d). Among the third-party organizations are the commercial news agencies, which distribute parts of their items via the EVN. This relationship between the agencies and the EVN is explained in more detail under the subsequent heading. There are 64 active members participating in the EVN, spreading across 51 countries (Eurovision, 2012d).¹⁰ The collaboration has expanded immensely since its establishment in 1964. The increase from the original membership of 21 members, has occurred during two main periods: in the 1970s when members from non-European countries were introduced (for example Israel and Jordan), and in connection with the processes of deregulation and privatization in Europe in the 1980s, when the EBU also allowed the new commercial actors in Europe to enter (Cohen et al., 1996, p.5).

Apart from their PSB foundation, the participants of the EVN are in many ways a diverse group of broadcasters: they have a variety of bases for funding, outlooks for news priority and available resources, viewer ratings and audience shares, etc. Based on internal research within the EBU, however, it is possible to draw up a certain overview of the member mass. In a 2010-report on the varieties in the funding mix of the members, it appears that most base their income on more than one source. Still, the large majority is "primarily relying on either licence-fee income or public funding (state subsidies), which are then complemented by other revenues" (EBU, 2010, p.1).¹¹ The report goes on to affirm that 60 percent of the

¹⁰ The members are for the most part from European countries. The non-European members are mostly broadcasters from African countries around the Mediterranean, and former Soviet-states in the Asian region: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

¹¹ The data from this report ought not to be read as absolute numbers, since some EVN members seem to be missing from the source data; for instance, several of the Nordic commercial broadcasters. Finnish MTV3 is

members have a licence fee as their main source of income. For about a third of the members other types of public funding represent the main source, while advertising and sponsorship represent the primary income for only four members (ibid). Of the total member mass, the Nordic broadcasters are the group of members who rely the most on licence fee income. The report further acknowledges an overall trend towards less advertising revenue among the members (ibid). The dependence on some kind of governmental grant is thus the prevailing type of financial base among most of the members. However, growing pressure on public service broadcasters is recognized, as many of them "are going through difficult times with severe cost-saving plans and budget reductions" (ibid, p. 9). Another, more recent, EBU-report on trends and developments in PSB TV news, confirms this observation. 52 percent of the responding member newsrooms stated that they had "experienced significant cuts in their news budget" during the latest year (EBU, 2011d, p.7).¹²

The 2011-study provides further up-to-date information on the conditions in member news programming. Nearly all members now serve a variety of platforms with their main news stories, and over a third of the members have established a designated TV news channel. Furthermore, more than half of the respondents provide all of their news coverage through additional online distribution (ibid, pp.4-6). The multiple platforms are part of what the report refers to, when describing the member broadcasters' newsrooms as being: "in the midst of a fundamental organizational and structural change, going from a linear production process focused on a limited number of daily TV news bulletins (...) to the complex, non-linear, cross-media, ubiquitous world of 24-hour news of today" (ibid, p.7).

When it comes to geographic dispersion of journalistic resources for each member broadcaster, both within its own country, as well as globally, the report lists a variety of findings. According to the report, 13 percent of the responding members have between 20-25 domestic bureaus. Another 22 percent responded that they have between 16-20, 4 percent between 11-15, 26 percent between 6-10 and 22 percent 1-5. A majority of the responding broadcasters, then, have a minimum of six affiliated offices scattered throughout their area of broadcasting (ibid, p.7). The number of foreign correspondents also varies, but half of the respondents answered that they keep between ten and twenty. The largest numbers of these correspondents are stationed in Europe and North America; 91 percent of the member respondents were verified to have correspondents in these two Western regions. Further, 72

included, but Norwegian TV2 and Danish TV2, as well as Swedish TV4 do not seem to be part of the source data.

¹² This report is based on the responses from 32 of the member-broadcasters across 25 countries.

percent had correspondents placed in Asia and the Pacific, 63 percent in the Middle East, 50 percent in Africa, and 41 percent in South America (ibid).

Even though the broadcasters are of different characters there is still some coherence in their journalistic aims. When asked to define the most important criteria of responding members' "flagship" news bulletins, the three most common terms were described as *highest audience share* (56%), *impact* (47%) and *broadest reach* (43%). The market shares are clearly an important object for many of the members, and the report also offers some general notions about the viewing of news in Europe. The average audience share of the members' main newscasts range between 7 and 68 percent. There has been an overall decrease in the total average audience share over the last 10 years, dropping from 29,8 percent to 22,8 percent. The Nordic members hold the highest total average, however, showing 29 percent in 2010.¹³ Members from East and Central-Europe and the Russian federation, on the other hand, show the largest decrease of 14,2 percent in average audience shares since 2001, to approximately 15 percent in 2010 (ibid, p.9).

1.4.6 EVN's relation to the commercial news agencies

A significant portion of the items transmitted through the EVN are provided by the commercial news agencies: APTN and Reuters. Even though coverage from the news agencies has been part of the transmission since its origin, their contribution started modestly, before increasing rapidly. Going from a 10 percent share of the total distributed news items in 1965, the agencies provided 48,3 percent in 1994 (Cohen et al., 1996, p.4). Their share is also claimed to *skyrocket* in times of international crisis: for example, during the Bosnian civil war in 1995, as much as 84 percent of some parts of the transmission came from the agencies (Paterson, 2011, p.87). The origin of the relationship between the public service broadcaster cooperation EVN, and the commercially run international news agencies, was related to the EBU's, at that time, exclusive satellite transmission network. The EVN served as a "two-way delivery system" by transmitting video from the field to the agencies' headquarters for further distribution, while simultaneously transmitting the material to the EVN members who were also clients of the respective agencies (ibid, p.87). The nature of the relationship between the EVN and the agencies has been debated throughout its entire course; a source of complication

¹³ This number should not be interpreted as absolute, since some of the Nordic member broadcasters do not seem to be part of the sample. As far as I can see, NRK and Swedish TV4 are not among the respondents in this report. The Nordic average audience share may therefore be slightly misleading, especially since NRK consistently averages audience shares just below 60% (2011) for its main newscasts. See footnote 26 on p.35 for specific viewer ratings and audience shares for NRK and DR's main newscasts.

being the EVN's non-commercial, politically regulated nature, in contrast to the agencies' commercial bases, as enterprises regulated by the private market (Hjarvard, 1995, p.149).

The relationship may have stabilized, however. The current EVN news editors continuously evaluate which of the agencies' offered news items will be included in the transmission. And the use of agency-items is still restricted by the broadcasters' individual subscriptions. Even though the members can physically *obtain* both of the agencies' items that are distributed through the EVN, they are only able to *use* the material originating from the agency with whom they are clients. There is, however, an exception to this rule. If the agencies make identical offers to the EVN, the news editor will interchange only one of them, according to a set rota. If the chosen item in those instances is from Reuters, it will hence be attributed a so-called *common to* APTN, which means that members who are only clients of APTN will still be able to use the particular Reuters-item (Cohen et al., 1996, p.4). The paradoxical alliance of these actors of the international news distribution, characterized by both cooperation and competition, has been described in the following manner:

This extraordinary self-regulating system assures that everyone is happy, provides interesting opportunities for [the agencies] to play poker at the Eurovision table, and adds to the general streamlining and homogenizing effects readily evident when comparing...different news programmes (Wallis and Baran cited in Paterson, 2011, p.88)

As much as this relationship between the news agencies and the EVN is an interesting topic for discussion, it will not be subject to research in this thesis. The issue is highly current, but must nevertheless be excluded because of the restricted scale of a master thesis. The focus here lies instead on the member-provided element of the EVN, and the commercial news agencies are viewed separately, as additional wholesalers of news and as a basis for comparison. Further, in this relation, the *use* of agency-material by the two cases will be subject to closer analysis.

1.5 Structure

This thesis contains six chapters. Chapter Two will provide a review of the field of international news distribution and foreign news production by presenting and discussing the existing research. I will go on to discuss the theoretical approaches I have chosen to employ. Chapter Three will then unravel and debate the methods used to collect the data. In Chapters Four and Five, I will present and discuss my findings in accordance with the posed research questions and theoretical approach. Chapter Six will offer a review of the thesis and its key findings. In addition, I will give some concluding remarks alongside prospects for further research on the topic.

2 Theoretical foundation and perspectives

In order to fully comprehend the relations through which the EVN operates, and the role it has within the international news production mechanism, this chapter will begin by introducing prevailing research issues found within the field of international TV news production. I will then discuss some aspects of political economy theory to highlight the ways in which political and economic structures influence the media, as well as journalistic decisions and the finished news product presented to the audience. I will argue that the application of a critical political economy perspective is appropriate to understand the dynamics surrounding PSB. Taking into consideration the EVN's direct and indirect basis in the objectives of PSB, I will go on to discuss the basis of this logic and its intrinsic rationale opposed to that of commercial industry logics. The discussion will conclude by examining the delegation of the news institution's role within PSB, and through specific examples demonstrate the ways in which the complexity of the situation that surrounds the news institution impacts on news production.

2.1 Hidden and influential news suppliers

The amount of academic attention given to the power of international image suppliers in the production of international news has been characterized as greatly underreported. The researchers who have been engaged, have repeatedly highlighted an almost non-existent knowledge of this area of international news, requesting further research on the topic (Cohen et al., 1996, Ihlen et al., 2010, Paterson, 1998). The studies that do exist are primarily focused on the commercial news agencies. Taking into consideration the influence that these organizations have on broadcasters' global news coverage, the apparent lack of knowledge of their operation appears both paradoxical and concerning. The news agencies have in fact been called "hidden but powerful" (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998, p.7). Further titles such as *The Hidden Role of Television News Agencies (...)* (Paterson, 2010), *Invisible Giants, Quiet Revolution* (Baker, 2004), and even *The Known World of Broadcast news (...)* (Wallis and Baran, 1990), all indicate an *unknown* side to these actors. ¹⁴

Yet, the calls for increased attention to be applied to international news agencies and distributors extend beyond the ground covered by these titles. Hjarvard has advocated a need

¹⁴ Throughout the rest of this thesis, the term *news agencies* will refer to the international TV (video) news agencies, like APTN, Reuters and similar, and not the *press* news agencies, like global UPI and TASS, and more regional and national actors, like ITAR-TASS, DPA, NTB, Ritzau and so on.

for more emphasis to be applied to the production processes of the international news organizations, in order to establish theories to identify systematic structures (Hjarvard, 1995, p.94). Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen (1998) pointed to how "the links between modernity, capitalism, news, news agencies and globalization are an outstanding but neglected feature of the past 150 years", in their own contribution to the field, *The Globalization of News*. This anthology approached international news production from a globalization perspective, gathering contributors addressing both the commercial news agencies, as well as the EVN (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998). Lisbeth Clausen (2003) is another researcher who has contributed with an in-depth comparative investigation of the mechanisms in international news production, focusing on two national broadcasters, in *Global News Production*. Chris Paterson is responsible for a more lengthy contribution, looking primarily at the commercial news agencies in several titles spanning more than a decade (Paterson, 1998, Paterson, 2010, Paterson, 2011).

2.1.1 EVN research contributions

There are very few academic research titles that look specifically at the EVN-collaboration. However, Hjarvard (1995) delivers a thorough analysis of the EVN in his ethnography *Internationale TV-nyheder: en historisk analyse af det europæiske system for udveksling af TV-nyheder*. In addition to meaningful discussions of existing theories, Hjarvard's work offers both a historical analysis of the EVN, as well as detailed content analyses of the material transmitted through the collaboration. Cohen et al.'s Global *Newsrooms – Local Audiences* (1996) is a second exhaustive work written on the EVN. The 1996-monograph investigates the collaboration's practical design, and examines both the nature of the content distributed, as well as the audience's comprehension of it.

Cohen et al. confirm a lack of awareness of the EVN among the public, highlighting that the average European TV-viewers' knowledge of its operation is limited to that of the European Song Contest. Among American viewers, they further recognize a complete unfamiliarity of the news collaboration (Cohen et al., 1996, p.1). Apparently then, there is not only shortage of research; but also of public knowledge. Despite these few mentioned titles, in a recent contribution the complete industry gets interpreted as "almost entirely unresearched", the news agencies are further called "both omnipresent and (substantially) invisible", and their operations gets referred to as a hidden industry (Paterson, 2011, pp.x+9-10).

2.1.2 Two returning points of concern

The titles listed cover various aspects of the international news flow and production, but two main points of discussion return in most of them. First of all, concern is expressed over what is recognized as Western dominance in the supplied international news material, with a further homogenizing trend in the range of available topics and sources. The concern is that TV broadcasters worldwide seem to cover the exact same, selected few, international news stories - with identical images. Secondly, a general acceleration of the pace of news production is observed, and a further evident concern about the consequences of this shift in tempo for journalism and the news product. The accelerated tempo in TV broadcasting, distribution and production techniques has created a greater demand for news volume, at an increasingly rapid pace. This has lead to an intensification of dependence in the relationship between broadcasters and the international image suppliers. These two topics are highly interconnected and they amplify the impression of an enduring need for more research on the practices of the international news organizations. The relevance of the posed research questions is thus reinforced as we move on to examine the pressing tendencies in the field of international TV news closer.

Homogenization and concentration of Western viewpoints

Trends of homogenization and Western dominance have been identified in the available selection of source material in international news production. TV broadcasters have been proven to cover the same news stories, often by means of identical video images. Cohen et al. (1996) present an example from a content analysis of 19 European broadcasters, and their featured two lead stories over ten days.¹⁵ It transpired that at least two thirds of the broadcasters covered the same global news stories on the majority of the days investigated. During the entire period, only six of a total of 20 stories received coverage by less than two thirds of the broadcasters (p.89). In other words, the stories that the broadcasters chose to air as their top two stories coincided strongly across the investigated area. However, not only do broadcasters choose the same stories, they also use the same video sources and images. Another study, carried out over two days in 1995, shows that 80 percent or more of the international news coverage of smaller broadcasters consisted of material supplied by one of

¹⁵ The 19 broadcasters were, in the majority, spread across the European continent. They included: BBC and ITN of the UK, TF1 and A2F of France, ARD and ZDF of (West) Germany, Israeli IBA (both the Hebrew and Arabic newscasts), JTV of Jordan (both the Arabic and English newscasts), the German, French and French-Belgian versions of RTL of Luxembourg, BRT and RTBF of Belgium, and Spanish TVE (Cohen et al., 1996, p.73, footnote 3).

the commercial news agencies (Paterson, 2011, p.33). Even though these findings are almost twenty years old, homogenization in the international news is also prevalent in the contemporary media landscape. Despite developments in the field, and an increase in news outlets, Paterson describes the homogenization as an intensifying phenomenon even in 2011 (ibid, p.9).

The two main international television news agencies, APTN and Reuters, who supply the broadcasters with video coverage, are ascribed part of the blame for the observed trend: the agencies are constrained from offering a certain variety in the geographical locations and topics of the stories that are included in their service. They are commercial enterprises steered by economic considerations, and thereby forced to prioritize the demands of their largest paying clients. Since these clients are all major Western broadcasters, and more remote coverage is often costly to produce, culturally distant areas get less priority (Baker, 2004, Paterson, 2010, Paterson, 2011).¹⁶ On criticism from, among others, Kofi Anan on the disengagement in Africa by the world media, APTN's Nigel Baker reasoned to the Guardian newspaper that "Africa [accounts] for as little as 1% of the income of news agencies", connecting the absence of coverage with lack of revenue (Hodgson, 2000). In addition to the supposed down-prioritizing of coverage from certain regions, there has also been a decline in "the types of stories, the variety of perspectives, and the range of topics" offered by the agencies during the last two decades (Paterson, 2010, p.102). Paterson does not present further details on which kinds of stories are covered, and which are omitted, but his views are supported by Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2004). Their accounts of the contents of the news agencies are characteristically summed up in the following manner:

Elite nations are portrayed as having strong leaders constantly flying around the globe trying to broker peace deals and further the cause of international brotherhood. Their citizens, meanwhile, appear to be able to choose from a number of cultural pursuits, supported by stable business and innovative technology, while being allowed to make peaceful protests about important matters. Non-elite nations, in contrast, appear to be constantly embroiled in, or on the point of, violent conflict, either within or across their borders, while at risk from natural disasters. They have crisis-hit governments, untrustworthy leaders, volatile populations and when they do have elections, they do not meet the democratic standards of the west and are characterised by vote-rigging and violence (Clare cited in Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 2004, p.35).

By limiting the range of coverage, and giving priority to the topics and interviewees typically expected by their largest clients, the news agencies are thus suspected of "legitimizing status

¹⁶ Paterson names the "'most important' clients" for the agencies as: BBC, ITN, ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, NHK, ZDF, Australian networks "and perhaps only a few others". In other words: broadcasters with headquarters in the US, UK, Germany, Japan and Australia (Paterson, 2011, p.16).

quo news frames and reinforcing the exclusion of alternative perspectives on international affairs" (Paterson, 2010, p.101).

The discussion around the homogenizing development within the flow of international news is not unidirectional. Clausen advocates the concept of *domestication*¹⁷: that the national broadcasters, by employing "cultural filters' or 'gate-keeping' mechanisms" in the production process, give the international news coverage a local spin, consequently ascribing to it both universal and particular features (Clausen, 2003, p.8). The claim is thus that news stories are in fact being differentiated independently at the different national broadcasters. However, the argument is in turn dismissed by Paterson, who claims that the majority of the agency-supplied stories are only re-edited minimally before being included in newscasts, with the opposite effect that the news agencies, to an extent, get to dictate the national broadcasters' international news agenda: "there are a small number of global stories, and the media most people turn to are very contented to allow two news agencies to tell them" (Paterson, 2011, p.35).

The discussion around domestication can, however, be seen as a sidetrack to the discussion about homogenization and concentration of sources. After all, the essential concern in this regard is the fact that global stories are often not being covered by the agencies, due to a lack of possible national angling, and the consequential lack of interest from the largest agency-customers. Paterson recognizes the problem to be of such a grave character that it poses a threat to democracy: "National and transnational authorities (...) should recognize the threat to democracy posed by [such] source concentration in mainstream journalism and take action to promote diversity" (ibid, p.155). Paterson goes further in indicating that the EVN could be used as a measure to secure increased diversity in the selection of material for international news production, as he continues: "Creating a larger, global role for the Eurovision news exchange would put leading public broadcasters (...) back at the forefront of shaping the news agenda, thus promoting a more democratic global public sphere" (ibid). This proposal will become central in the upcoming analysis in Chapters Four and Five.

Acceleration in pace and demand for production

The second main concern recognized in the existing literature, is the ways in which an acceleration of pace and accumulation of outlets in the news media, have created a greatly increased demand for video material and live distributed TV-signals of any event

¹⁷ The term originates in Cohen et al. (1996).

characterized as having news value. In order to meet the amplified needs of 24-hour television, web news outlets, hourly newscasts etc., the reporters have become more dependant than ever on image distribution services like those of the commercial news agencies. The pan-European news channel, Euronews, is an example of an all-news, 24-hour broadcaster exercising an extreme type of "sit-down" journalism, by basing almost the entirety of their coverage on news stories they receive from news wholesalers (Baisnée and Marchetti, 2006, p.114). Even though the case of Euronews is not fully comparable to national broadcasters, like NRK and DR, it still reflects the increased possibility, and further trend, of carrying out *sedentary journalism* as opposed to *up and running journalism* (ibid). This development is explained mainly by two changes in news production:

on the one hand economic [change], with a tendency for reducing production and broadcasting costs insomuch as the non-stop news networks seek to cover increasingly large segments of the social and geographical sphere; and on the other hand technological, due to the massive arrival of new techniques in the 1980s and 1990s which totally changed production conditions for journalists (ibid, pp.114-115).

Financial cuts and enhanced technology thus facilitated a non-stop media model that shaped a type of journalism characterized by an "obsession for the fast broadcasting of news" (ibid, p.113). The establishing of rolling news channels prompted budgets increasingly shaped for constant and continuous operation, rather than individual news gathering (Paterson, 2010, p.103), as in the case of Euronews.

However, an essential part of these budgets is the relatively inexpensive form of producing TV news, permitted by the use of live images taken directly from an image supplier. The desire to tell news in this manner is rising in popularity, and for most rolling news channels it is their first choice of coverage (ibid). But these live signals, supplied by the news agencies, are problematic in relation to journalistic criteria, because in reality they create an experience of "a live window on history in ignorance of how it has been constrained and shaped by the priorities and practices of just two small sets of television news agency journalists" (ibid, p.111). The Euronews-study raises concerns for similar developments in the news production process: this type of "just-in-time" television newscasting leaves the reporters with less time to verify sources and carry out their own thorough investigations, potentially leading to *risky* journalistic practices. As the demand for rapidness of production increases, the broadcasters also become more dependent on the incoming video from the image suppliers (Baisnée and Marchetti, 2006, pp.113-117). Paterson has referred to this increased dependence of the broadcasters on the news agencies as a *symbiotic* relationship (Paterson, 2010). The intensification of broadcasting patterns and demands for live material,

combined with the fact that most of the broadcasters are subscribing to one or two of the same TV news agencies further reinforces the notions of homogenization.

2.2 Political economy approach

These two main points of concern raised by the researchers in the field, originate in the crucial influence external circumstances have on the form and content of news programming. But what is the nature of the connections between the news production and these external circumstances? What types of larger structures are these circumstances part of? And are they possible to avoid? The two concerns both illustrate the fact that the news that informs our knowledge of the wider world, is shaped by economic and political powers. In order to distinguish the impact of these structures on broadcasters' international news production, I have chosen to apply a political economy approach to studying the EVN as a supplier of news material. It allows us to discern how the various forms of financing and organizing of the media set their mark on the sum of its content and the public comprehension of it (Murdock and Golding, 2005, p.60). As will be explained shortly, the strong presence of PSB tradition and principles in the EVN's foundation and operation makes political economy an especially relevant approach.

Historically, political economy as a theoretical approach originates in classic economic theory. But as the initial economic theories yearned to be relieved from political, historical and moral perspectives, a division came about, deriving an economic and a political economic direction (Allern, 1998, pp.4-5). Today, two main courses of political economy can be identified in studies of media and communication. On the one hand, there is the critical political economy, and on the other, a neoliberal or liberalistic course. The latter tends to focus on the freedom of the markets and trade values as fundamental principles, where the audiences are seen as consumers with the power to decide what survives within the media market. On the other hand, the critical political economy has as its point of departure the media's role in power structures and democracy, and presumes the public's interest in these matters regardless of market interests. The most significant difference between the two branches, lies in the starting point of the critical direction: that the interests of citizens, who take part in a society, cannot be reduced to the benefits of purchases and sales in the market (ibid, pp.7-8). The critical line of political economy theory has been said to focus on "structured asymmetries in social relations" and how these imbalances further shape the exchange of meaning (Murdock and Golding, 2005, p.62). In other words, there is a

normative outset constituting the core of the critical direction: that the asymmetric power relations need to be equalized in order to achieve certain objectives of public utility. As we shall see shortly, governmental intervention, in the form of PSB, is a way of balancing the power structures.

Let us first take a more detailed look at the connections surrounding the news production, and which will be investigated in this study. A proposed definition of the political economy of *communication*, is that it focuses on "social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources" (Mosco, 1996, p.25). This definition accentuates the balance of power between state and market as major power holders, and the way in which this balance of power is in constant interplay with the actors that comprise the facets of news journalism. Vincent Mosco further stresses the view that all the components of the social field, including the media, are processes that develop and mutually constitute each other; removing the notion that "things, defined typically as fully formed structures, act on other fully formed structures" (ibid, p.7). By applying this theoretical apprehension, focus is directed towards the production and reproduction of structures. Similarly, Graham Murdock and Peter Golding explain that it is essential to the political economy approach to "[analyze] the way that meaning is made and re-made through the concrete activities of producers and consumers" (Murdock and Golding, 2005, p.63). The approach will thus guide attention towards the relations between the news journalists and their sources, as well as the EVN and its members as contributors of news material, and how these are processes that develop from a certain balance of political and economic organization. Or articulated more specifically: the analysis will emphasize the terms of production in international news coverage, to which the EVN both contributes and is contributed to, and these terms' coherence to a larger context in the PSB principles and traditions inherent in the EVN. The political and economic groundwork in PSB increases the relevance of the theoretical approach, since this will highlight the features intrinsic in the EVN's distinguished position (partly) outside the commercial market. From this theoretical stance, I will go on to explain the significance of PSB.

2.2.1 The public service foundation

Because the media is believed to entail a significant role in the democratic process, public service broadcasters receive various types and amounts of financial support from their national governments, in exchange for detailed conditions to their operation. The idea here is that "citizens must be adequately exposed to public affairs programming if they are to cast 24

informed votes, hold government to account and be properly empowered" (Curran et al., 2009, p.7). More specifically, the argumentation for public, as opposed to commercial, media actors is that:

Public broadcasting, in particular, is a crucial example of the 'corrective surgery' that (...) is necessary to compensate for the tendency of markets to under-serve minority audiences and to produce powerful private monopolies or oligopolies in the media value chain (Freedman 2008, p.147).

These normative principles are also recognized in the public service activity of the two broadcasters used as cases in this study. White paper number six from the Norwegian parliament outlines five main objectives for the operation of Norway's non-commercial public service broadcaster, NRK. They include the intention that NRK shall: promote and strengthen democracy, be universally available, strengthen Norwegian language, identity and culture, pursue high levels of quality, diversity and innovation, and finally, be noncommercial (Kultur- og Kirkedepartementet, 2007, pp.31-32). These principles are further reflected in the company's own statutes (NRK, 2012). In return, NRK receives approximately 96 percent of their total budget from licence fee income (NRK, 2011b). DR's public service remit is specified in a public service *contract* agreed upon between the broadcaster and the Danish Minister of Culture, which gets renewed every fourth year. The current contract articulates DR's cardinal purposes in four main objectives, similar to those at NRK. DR shall: strengthen the citizens' ability to act in a democratic society, unite and reflect Denmark, stimulate culture and language, and promote knowledge and comprehension (Kulturministeriet, 2011, p.5). Like NRK, DR receives the majority of their income, 90 percent, from licence fee, in return (Danmarks Radio, 2011b).

The forms of financing and regulation that apply to public service broadcasters vary across the European area and the EBU members. Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini have displayed the diversity among the European broadcasters regulative and financial structures (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Many of them receive substantial funding revenues, while others in fact make considerable income from commercial enterprise. And yet, many also operate at different levels in between.¹⁸ As illustrated through the EBU-members, the most common method for funding the public service broadcasters is still through licence fees, although state subsidies through designated items on the general state budgets are an increasingly common form of public funding of the broadcast media (Allern, 1998, p.10, EBU, 2010).

¹⁸ The commercial revenue making up the public service broadcasters of Europe's income, varies between 0 and 77,6% of the total income (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.42).

Not completely detached from commercial pressure

The EVN-members thus operate their PSB-service through the described, politically given, financial premises. Consequently, the EVN's image supplier service is erected on a PSB-tradition both indirectly through its members' individual commitments to their governments, but also directly through the PSB-ideology permeating the EVN member rules described in Chapter One. This is in contrast to the business model of the international news agencies, which are commercial companies, and hence subject to the industry logics of the market. The latter are establishments complying with the supply and demand in their area of business: namely the distribution and provision of international news stories. The EVN and the public service broadcasters can thus be viewed as carrying out their operation within a separate industrial sphere, in theory detached from commercial logics that include the strategic perceptions of TV audience as consumers, and editorial content as a commodity.

However, the mechanism is not that simple. Major developments in the media industry recent decades have altered the previous, more linear industrial logics of the PSB-actors. I will briefly draw up two aspects that have complicated the notion of PSB. First, the term public service broadcasting has expanded its meaning. Originally, it referred to the public, non-commercial broadcasters who had previously had monopoly status. The political deregulation and inclusion of competing TV-channels beginning in the 1970s, revised the idea of PSB. An example of the revision is how, initially, the term was applied by the noncommercial, public broadcaster NRK in the 80s in order to distinguish its position in contrast to that of commercial radio- and TV-broadcasters, after the termination of the broadcast monopoly in Norway. When a commercial variant of PSB was eventually implemented, in the formation of advertising-funded TV2 in 1991, the meaning of PSB shifted to refer to both NRK and TV2, now opposed to the commercial broadcasters not subject to any kinds of regulations nor grants (Syvertsen, 2004, p.179). These developments have made it difficult to give a precise explanation of what PSB involves today. As we have seen earlier, the PSBmembers of the EBU are a versatile group, with a multitude of financing and regulative designs. However, Syvertsen proposes that a minimum unifying feature of the group is the fact that they have all received certain privileges from the state, in exchange for carrying out important societal tasks (ibid). This will also serve as the valid definition throughout this thesis. The development of this wider definition of what constitutes a public service broadcaster has also impacted the EVN, resulting, as we have seen, in the news exchange broadening the membership to include commercial broadcasters.

Secondly, the commercialization of the media industry has also influenced the industry logics of media institutions that are still non-commercial, like NRK and DR, and to a certain degree the EVN. This deregulation and commercialization have brought about an increased transformation of news media into investment bodies in search of profits, similar to any other industry (Allern, 2001, p.209). In addition to being a political and cultural institution, the media organizations are now increasingly often businesses shaped by economic considerations (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.47). This development additionally challenges the cultural political understanding of PSB, that to a large part has served as the premise for its regulation (Syvertsen, 2004, p.18). Even though most of the public service broadcasters to various degrees are guaranteed income, the growing competition within the TV-market brought about by deregulation, has made high market shares a legitimizing factor for public funding. The non-commercial public service broadcasters thus get intertwined in the commercial industry logics, through the competitive situation they find themselves in (Allern, 1998, p.13). They must now strive for higher viewer ratings, similar to the commercial broadcasters who are funded through advertising, an alteration subsequently impacting on their programming in different ways (Allern, 2001, p.217). PSB exists, but in a different climate than when in its original form, bringing about a continuous reassessment of how the public service broadcasters see themselves.

Another way the public service broadcasters are included in these complex sets of relations to the market, is through their engagement in business with commercial actors. Relevant for this thesis, and as described in the beginning of this chapter, is the way in which the international news production relies heavily on the services of the international news agencies, and is consequently influenced by them. The broadcasters purchase the agencies' services, as clients of these major, international and profit-oriented organizations. In the next section, I will discuss the impact these complex market relations can have on the production of news.

2.2.2 News production – the primary task of PSB

Independent and impartial news coverage is referred to as one of PSB's main features (Feintuck and Varney, 2006, p.45). The news media are themselves institutions in democratic societies, and a vital premise in the processes of democratic systems, is that the citizens are capable of holding their elected officials to account (Curran et al., 2009, p.6). In order to do so, they must be sufficiently informed, which becomes the central task for the news media through enlightening, trigging debates and critically investigating existing structures of power

(Allern, 2001, p.21). The news media are expected to adhere to these obligations by providing their audience with the complete truth and a totality of relevant information. To mirror the real world has also been a way to describe the expectations of news journalism (ibid, p.47).

Yet, news can also be defined as the editorial material presented for an audience by media through their news outlets. This definition offers no further clarification on the nature of the stories that are transformed into news, versus those that are not, and thus accentuates the core problem with the ideal of the news media: stories and incidents in fact become *news stories* only after they have gone through journalistic interpretation, arrangement and prioritizing (ibid, p.52). The interpretations of what it is specifically that is the *complete truth and totality of relevant information*, not to say the *correct* level of actual *mirroring* of the world in the news, thus becomes highly questionable. There is an imbalance in this ideal image of news journalism, compared to its factual position in society. In other words: stories or events are not turned into news based on contingent premises; they are transformed into news stories through the somewhat subjective interpretations of ambiguous *news criteria*.

The features of news

So can we say anything objective about the nature of the stories we are presented with as news? A first assumption is that they are viewed as "important". The events that qualify as such have traditionally been judged against criteria such as essentiality, identification, sensation, current interest, conflict, proximity, and the degree to which fame and power are present (Allern, 2001, p.55).¹⁹ A study on how news employees at two Norwegian public service broadcasters, NRK and TV2, evaluated the news potential in stories, found that *trustworthiness* and *reliability* were the two criteria considered very important by the largest number of informants (Sand and Helland, 1998, p.62).²⁰ Paterson discusses similar key factors as guiding the news production at the commercial television news agencies. Some of the features he lists are the same as the aforementioned. Yet, in the work of international news agency journalists, values like timeliness, consequence, topicality and *visual quality* are also

¹⁹ Much of the academic research that has been carried out on foreign news production has used the so-called epoch-making article by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, *The Structure of Foreign News* (1965), as a point of departure for discussions on the news criteria in effect. However, Hjarvard (1995) offers a comprehensive critique of this article's position within the field. He summarizes that the reception of the article has viewed it as an extensive and consistent news theory that has gained validity through empirical research, where, in reality, it is rather a creative but loose connecting of good observations and ideas ("man i receptionen af Galtung & Ruge (1965) har set deres bidrag som en omfattende og consistent nyhedsteori, der har opnået validitet gennem empirisk forskning, hvor den i realiteten er en kreativ, men løs sammenføjning af gode iagttagelser og ideer") (Hjarvard, 1995, p.91). I have therefore chosen to base my theory on news criteria on more recent research contributions.

²⁰ *Trustworthy* and *reliable* are the English equivalents to the Norwegian words *troverdig* and *etterrettelig*.

listed as principal (Paterson, 1998, pp.93-94). The visual feature is repeatedly brought forward as a cardinal premise in news production. Nigel Baker, himself a director at APTN, emphasizes this attribute by stating that editorial content in newscasts mainly is "a trade-off between stories which are deemed important and those which are visually interesting" (Baker, 2004, p.65). The requirements for visual quality were also recognized in the study at NRK and TV2: The availability of *good images*²¹ was a feature judged important or very important by 94 percent of the informants (Sand and Helland, 1998, p.62). 69 percent of the informants replied correspondingly that a *lack of images would limit the relay of news*²² to a great or greater degree (ibid, p.55).

The access to images thus appears to contribute strongly in determining the sole existence of a news story: the incidents that are turned into news, is to a great extent reliant on which images are available from "the other end"; what kind of source material is available for the journalists to acquire from external sources (Allern, 2001, p.64). Inevitably, the access to images becomes even more critical in the coverage of international news:

Broadcasters write their stories around the video [the agencies] offer, and if they are not offered video images, they generally do not report, or at least will minimize, an international story. Many studies of television newsrooms have reported that the availability of visual images is an important factor in determining whether a foreign news story is included in a newscast (Paterson, 1998, p.82).

The crucial role of international image suppliers in this regard, is confirmed by Baisnée and Marchetti, who point out how the absence of available pictures prevented the Euronews newsroom from covering an otherwise "significant" news story (Baisnée and Marchetti, 2006, p.117). The relevance of the political economy approach to this study is thus highlighted once more. The decisions taken by the journalists in the production process, of what stories, among an endless selection, are subsequently presented to us, and from which viewpoints they are presented, are to a great extent bound by structural preconditions. The applied theoretical perspective links the decisions of the journalists with a critical structural perspective, thereby highlighting influential factors that affect the view the TV news audience is able to construct of the world.

External influences and commercial news criteria

A vital premise for the production of TV news is the sheer presence of images, as we will see exemplified in the forthcoming analysis. As a supplement to this, and the other relative

²¹ Good images is the English equivalent of the Norwegian expression gode bilder.

²² The Norwegian origin for the phrase is: *Mangel på bilder begrenser nyhetsformidlingen*.

criteria discussed, a set of "commercial news criteria" can be discerned. One of these, is the principle that the more resources required, in the form of working hours, staffing, money etc., to cover, follow up or reveal a story, the less likely it will become a news story (Allern, 2001, p.66). This commercial norm is for example strongly visible in the preference for presenting news through the relay of live signals accessed via image suppliers, as described in the beginning of the chapter. Concurring influences of economy to news production have also been referred to as *external factors*. These are, more specifically, circumstances originally placed outside the news institution's offices that nevertheless impact the production process; such as political and economic features, with the influence of sources as a prime example (ibid, p.57). Taken into consideration the previous commercial criterion, the news media's access to their sources can be tremendously cost effective for the former.

Since a source can be defined as "a person giving pieces of information, that is: *source material*, to a journalist"²³ (ibid, p.161), the news media's relationship with professional source organizations correspond with the ones they have with the international news agencies. The agencies' services consist of providing their subscribing clients with a continuous flow of news stories. Followingly, the cheapest way for the broadcasters to produce international news becomes to use as much of this incoming material as possible (ibid, p.65). An example of cost saving use of incoming material to cover foreign news stories is offered by Gunnar Sand and Knut Helland (1998): the broadcasters' otherwise exclusive correspondents often need to hire local camera crews to acquire pictures when reporting from foreign countries. Rent of labor, in addition to transmission of the video images back to the broadcasters' news desks, may make up a significant expense. Most often then, according to Sand and Helland's study, the solution can be to use supplied pictures that have already been paid for. NRK's correspondent in Berlin is cited to have called the news desk in Oslo to be briefed on available pictures, and then to have built his report around the description he received from the news desk, of images they had already received from an international image supplier (Sand and Helland, 1998, p.113).

2.3 Summary

This chapter has pointed out features of the political economy approach that are essential to the understanding of the composition of international TV news coverage, and consequentially our world perceptions. We have seen how structural developments in the media landscape

²³ My own italicization.

have brought about a competitive climate, causing a reinforced influence of commercial logics for the broadcasters, including the public service broadcasters who traditionally have been seen as operating within their own, non-commercial sphere. As the news media are viewed as an indispensable factor in democracies, it becomes important to disclose the news production relative to its external factors. A prevalent concern for the rise in importance of the international television news wholesalers to the national broadcasters, originates in the commercial nature of the former (Paterson, 2011). The commercial component to the public service broadcasters' news production, contextualized by the range of issues discussed above, thereby impel a closer look at the Eurovision News Exchange through the perspective of political economy. In the next chapter, we will see how this theoretical approach has influenced the methods applied and the data gathered.

3 Methods and data

This Master's thesis seeks to investigate the significance of the EVN to its member broadcasters in international news wholesale distribution by the use of a combination of methods. I have chosen to develop case studies of two EVN-members: the Norwegian NRK and the Danish DR, and carry out a comparative analysis of their use of and contribution to the news exchange. The study is mainly based on a content analysis and qualitative interviews. I have also collected some additional data from EBU-documents and -sources.

In this chapter, I will briefly explain my reasons for selecting the two cases. I will then go on to unravel the features of the content analysis and problems encountered in the investigation process. Furthermore, I will discuss the choices I made and the procedures I followed in the qualitative interviews. After a short description of the EBU-sources I have used, the final part of the chapter will offer reflections on more general methodological issues, together with an evaluation of the quality of the performed research.

3.1 Cases and strategies

According to Robert K. Yin (2003), a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p.18). The two chosen cases, NRK and DR, are broadcasters of news and, through their EVN-memberships, users of its image supplying service. They are also public service broadcasters, with all the accompanying implications, explained in the previous chapter. The *contemporary phenomenon* under investigation is the role of the EVN in these two members' foreign news coverage, a topic whose contextual boundaries are not easily discernable.

3.1.1 Selection of cases

What lies within and outside the field of interest surrounding the EVN as an image supplier for its members, is not readily apparent. Yet, the theoretical propositions discussed in Chapter Two establish a necessary guide to the most important aspects, further prompting the selection of NRK and DR as cases to study. Yin (2003) argues that when carrying out multiple casestudies, a *replication logic* should be applied to the selection of cases, as opposed to a *sampling logic*. He compares the replication logic to the selection of cases used in scientific experiments, and illustrates how this strategy is used in order to either predict similar results between the cases (*literal replication*), or contrasting results "but for anticipatable reasons" (*theoretical replication*) (ibid, p.54). The condition for such procedure, however, is that a rich, theoretical framework is developed alongside the study. The theoretical foundation further enables a generalization of the findings to be applied to new cases (ibid).

In light of the political economy perspective applied in this project, it became essential to select cases that are public service broadcasters and members of the EBU, as well as contributing parties to the EVN-collaboration. Strategic and practical considerations then laid the grounds for the decision to carry out the case studies on NRK and DR. They both have gains from, and obligations to, the EVN. Also, in addition to its obvious availability, the access to internal tools at NRK made the Norwegian non-commercial public broadcaster a natural choice for investigation. Limitations in available time and resources in the course of a Master's thesis further made it necessary to look for a practically feasible case study in close proximity to Oslo when selecting a second case broadcaster. Accordingly, the Nordic members of the EBU became the most natural alternatives.²⁴ The theoretical approach makes the financial basis of the broadcasters relevant. Thus, a natural point of interest was the commercial members' commitment to the collaboration compared to that of the governmentfinanced members. However, a count of the number of contributed news items through 2010, showed no obvious trends in this direction.²⁵ The political economy approach made yet another factor relevant in the selection process, namely the amount of resources the broadcasters have at disposal for their foreign news production. This became the first decisive element in choosing DR as my second case, with the intention that it would represent a theoretical replication to NRK with regards to available resources, after DR's news department was subject to heavy financial cuts and dismissals of staff in 2010 (Christensen, 2010). I believed this to be an interesting factor opposed to the seemingly economic stability in the NRK news department. Convenience issues then contributed to the evaluation, as I already had informal access to a contact at DR, who replied positively when approached about participating in the project.

DR was hence selected with a supposition that it would represent a theoretical replication to NRK in the study. It became clear during the qualitative interviews, however, that the economic cuts in the DR news department had not turned out to be especially

²⁴ The Nordic members of the EVN are, besides NRK, Norwegian TV2, Swedish SVT and TV4, Danish TV2 and DR, Finnish YLE and MTV3, and Icelandic RUV (Eurovision, 2012d).

²⁵ According to the Eurovision.net-website, the number of contributed news items through 2010, for the Danish and Norwegian government-financed members were DR: 145 and NRK: 152, while the number for their commercial counterparts were Danish TV2: 247 and Norwegian TV2: 30 (Eurovision, 2011).

influential on the news production after all. Neither of the DR-informants acknowledged any sort of concern or displeasure when confronted with questions about access to resources within the department. Therefore, during the study, DR transformed from a case intended to contrast the other case, towards a literal replication of NRK.

3.1.2 Applied research strategies

I chose a combination of research strategies, with the aim of providing different types of data. First of all, the content analysis was directed towards the foreign news stories broadcast by the two cases during four consecutive weeks in September-October 2011. Content analyses do not develop ideas in themselves, but rather establish a foundation from where assumptions or hypotheses about other parts of the communication process may spring (Østbye et al., 2007, Pickering et al., 1999). In addition to quantifying the use of EVN-material at the two broadcasters, then, the content analysis was further intended at generating a basis for the second, qualitative method. Four interviews with foreign news department staff, two from each case, then made up the qualitative method. The interviews were partly meant to provide a qualitative exploration of the use of EVN-material. Furthermore, they were mainly intended to add a broader understanding of the EVN-collaboration's feature as a provider of news material. The interviews may thus be seen as the project's main method, to which the content analysis and the additional sources were intended to provide supportive data.

The methodology has for a large part been guided by the theoretical approach of the project: since the essence of the EVN's operation is not founded on regular commercialistic market mechanisms, but made up by the apparently voluntary contribution by its members, it became significant also to explore the nature of the members' participation in the collaboration. Some preliminary questions further served as a starting point for the development of the design: How does the final link in the news production value chain, the newsrooms, use EVN-material in their foreign news coverage? How does the process from the idea of a news story to the actual broadcasted item evolve, and how does the EVN influence this process - however consciously or unconsciously, by the staff? How is the source material reflected upon before it is used in a news story, and to what degree is there opportunity to do so? The news stories distributed through the EVN are used in the news production together with material coming in from the commercial news agencies, and the broadcasters' own recordings from correspondents, stringers, freelancers and traveling reporters. How do they view the stories supplied through the EVN collaboration, compared to those coming from other sources? Moreover, in accordance with the critical political economy 34

approach of the project, a leading intent behind the design, most importantly in the interviews, was to expose the connections between market conditions, editorial routines and the norms of the news institution, as these are all significant components of the mechanisms in force in international news production (Allern, 1998, p.4).

3.2 Content analysis

The first part of the research design was a content analysis of the foreign news coverage at NRK and DR. The objective was to investigate the processes between the news production and its sources, through a quantitative overview of the extent of the use of EVN-supplied material. I have thought of these as the *output*-processes of the news exchange. Questions I sought to answer were: How much of the international news material transmitted in DR and NRK's newscasts comes from the EVN-collaboration? Is it more or less than the material they use from other sources? What is the nature of the EVN-accessed material that the broadcasters use?

3.2.1 Sample

The population selected was the foreign news items contained in the daily, main newscasts of DR1 and NRK1, respectively the *TV-Avisen* at 21:00 and *Dagsrevyen* at 19:00. Both DR and NRK air a range of newscasts and additional in-depth international news feature programs throughout the day and week, so it was necessary to make a demarcation. The two were selected on the background that they are the news programs with the highest viewer ratings, and they are to a large degree seen as the broadcasters' *main* newscasts. ²⁶ A few exceptions were made, however, since DR1 alters its schedule during the weekends.²⁷

Units of analysis

²⁶ DR's TV-Avisen 18:30 in fact sees higher market shares than the one at 21:00: 33.1% against 30%. However, the later edition has a significantly larger number of viewers, averaging 725 000 against 485 000 for the afternoon edition (numbers are average from 2010 and 2011 combined) (Bennike, 2011). NRK's Dagsrevyen had an average of 752 000 viewers in 2011, with a slight increase during the weekends. Average market share for *Dagsrevyen* during weekdays was 58.9%, with a slight decrease during weekends (Tolonen, 2012).

²⁷ The 21:00-edition is omitted on Saturdays, and on Sundays it is transformed into the magazine format 21Søndag. For that reason, the 18:30-editions were subject to analysis on the four Saturdays. On the two first Sundays, the newscasts at 18:30 were the analyzed editions, while 21Søndag were the editions analyzed on the last two Sundays. The inconsistency in the Sunday-newscasts analyzed was due to a misunderstanding regarding the viewer ratings on this particular day of the week.

The units of analysis in the content analyses were the foreign news items that appeared in the news-part of the programs, i.e. not counting the sports and weather sections. In this context, I defined an international news item as independent news stories that included recorded material, where the images, or parts of them, *displayed a location outside respective countries* (Norway and Denmark), and where the location was accounted for in voice-over or graphics. In other words: each foreign story with a separate storyline counted as one unit. This definition excluded live stand-up reporting from foreign locations. Likewise, the running of images as illustration in headlines, or as a teaser for stories displayed later in the program, were not counted as a unit either. The definition also excluded the use of short clips from foreign locations that were not referred to in voice-over or graphics.²⁸ Finally, it furthermore excluded stories with a foreign focus, taking place within the broadcasters' domestic borders; e.g. locally hosted meetings with officials from other nations for the discussion of foreign or international matters. On the other hand, the definition did include news items with a domestic focus, where all or parts of the images originated in a foreign country. This definition enabled the analyses to include all the news items that required some form of collecting of images from a foreign location in the production process, either through external sources or from affiliated staff.

Time sample

The investigation was carried out during 28 consecutive days in the fall of 2011: Monday 19. September - Monday 17. October. The period thus constituted foreign news items from 56 newscasts altogether. The news media are, from time to time, dominated by ongoing, large stories or media events, which may undermine the desire to investigate a "regular" period. For this reason, it is sometimes recommended to investigate a *constructed* week instead of a *chronological* week (Østbye et al., 2007, p.217). Even if I sampled a large quantity of newscasts, however, I would necessarily get results that were influenced by the particular period under study (Ihlen et al., 2010). Cohen et al. (1996) argue the same in their own 1996-study of the EVN:

when sampling a certain number of news items (...) at best what we can say is that we sampled what was presented by the media in a certain time and at a certain place. But given the variability in the world (and local) events and hence in the news, this week's sample will not necessarily be representative of last week's or that of next week (pp.146-147).

²⁸ The few occurrences of this kind, took place with short, single clips of unidentified archive material for various illustration purposes.

It is further suggested as "a partial remedy" to make large selections of the sample units and to spread them in time (ibid). However, the main purpose of my content analyses was not primarily linked to the thematic content of the international news coverage, but rather to its sources, and then subordinately its connection to theme. Hence, the *variability in the world events* was not that significant a factor in this context, and I presume my sample is adequate.²⁹

I therefore argue that the chronological selection is sufficient, as long as I had made sure to avoid any planned deviations. The selection of the sample period was thereby made on the grounds that by September, both broadcasters would have returned to regular news schedules after special and reduced summer editions. I also wanted to avoid scheduled extraordinary news events, like the 10-years anniversary of the 9/11 terror events in New York, and the Norwegian and Danish elections taking place on the 12. and 15. September, respectively. The strategy satisfied my intentions for the most part. Even though the Danish election was held four days before I started my investigation, the *TV-Avisen*-editions over the next weeks were largely dominated by the election result and subsequent governmental negotiations. The volume of election cover exceeded my expectations, and although it may have caused less prioritization to foreign news stories for a period, I think it in case showed through the order of appearance, more than through exclusion of stories. Therefore, this unexpected turn did not lead to significant impairment of the data.

Statistical measure of correlation

In the cross tabulations of the content analyses I applied the statistical measure *Cramer's V* to evaluate the level of correlation between the two cases. This measure is especially useful to investigate correlation between variables with few values, which is valid for my analyses. Cramer's V gives a standardized measure to the correlation, indicating a value within the range 0-1, where 0 means no statistical dependency between the dependent and independent variables, and 1 indicates perfect dependency. It is normal within the social sciences to view values above 0,3 as "indicating a relatively strong association" (Allern, 2007, p.78, footnote 22). In this connection, this means that the closer the value is to 1, the *less* connection there is between the two broadcasters' use, i.e. the larger the difference in use of sources. On the other hand, the closer the value gets to 0, the greater the similarity between the two broadcasters in use of sources.

²⁹ The fact that Cohen et al. (1996) used a ten day-sample for their analysis of the EVN, supports my presumption.

3.2.2 Variables and Categories

The variables were developed through a two-day test-run, and the final design consisted of 19 variables. The first two provided information about appearance: which of the two newscasts the unit appeared in, and when. The next eight variables specified the source origin of the images contained in each unit. In order to maintain mutually exclusive categories, it was necessary to establish multiple dichotomous variables for this measure, since one unit often was made up of material from more than one source.³⁰ Variable eleven further identified the main theme of the unit through eleven different categories. The final eight variables all specified geographical origin of the units' international images. Again it was necessary to operate with multiple variables in order to keep the categories mutually exclusive, since one unit could display several locations. The division of geographical origin into particular world regions was done according to the United Nations Statistical Division's (UNSD) categorization (United Nations Statistics Division, 2011). This implied some groupings that are worth specific mentioning. I included three of UNSD's regions in my definition of South America: Central America, South America and the Caribbean. Northern America only includes the United States and Canada, and since none of my investigated units originated in Canada, all appearances of North America refer to the US. Further, Europe and Asia are parted so that Russia is included in the former, while countries like Georgia, Cyprus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey are included in the latter. Some countries often associated with the Middle East, which is not an individual UNSD-region, are also included in Asia, such as: Israel, Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territory, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen and other countries of the Arabian Peninsula.³¹

I encountered a challenge with this design. Upon completion of the research period, I became aware that a certain type of multivariate analysis would be problematic: in those incidents where the foreign news items depicted events from multiple world regions at the same time as they contained material from multiple sources, it was impossible analyze a connection between source and geographical origin. The applied design only registered the geographical appearances and used sources within the news item, and not within each clip contained in the item. Luckily, the problem only applied to 14 of the 310 units analyzed.

³⁰ The variables also made possible a registering of both the distributor (EVN, APTN, Reuters) and, where relevant, the initial origin of the images (BBC, SVT etc). Note that DR only holds subscription with APTN, and when referring to *news agencies* in this thesis, in general only APTN applies to DR's case. Still, via special arrangements in the EVN, DR can sometimes use Reuters-material. Such use only occurred a few times, and are not registered with agencies as a source, but with EVN, since the material by necessity had to be accessed from there. See p.15 in the introduction chapter for more details on these particular arrangements.

³¹ See Appendix 1 for more details on the categorization of regional origin.

Since the number was so small, I solved the challenge by simply subtracting the 14 items from the total number in the relevant analyses.

To summarize, in addition to time and place of the transmission, three main features were recorded in the analysis: source of images, main theme and geographical location. These variables generated quantitative figures on the share of the international stories distinctly containing EVN-material, and further provided me with a basis for comparison with the share of use of the other sources. The recording of a main theme and geographical location contributed to a more nuanced comprehension in the use of EVN-material.

3.3 Qualitative interviews

The four qualitative interviews, with two respondents from each of the cases, were meant to serve as the weightiest part of the research and shed light on both the output-processes between the broadcasters' news production and the EVN-source, as well as the input-processes between the broadcasters as sources and the news exchange's content. The aim was to expand the source data from which I could analyze the extent of the EVN's role, as asked for in the first research question, as well as provide qualitative findings for the analysis of the three last research questions. The interviews were carried out semi-structurally: I had prepared an interview guide beforehand with questions covering the topics I was interested in.³² The questions were of an open character, but at the same time subject to thematic direction from my perception of what was meaningful and important. The structural openness allowed me to seek the informants' comprehension of essential aspects of the EVN, and its further position in their social reality (Lantz, 2007, p.30).

3.3.1 Informants sample

The informants were selected strategically to illuminate different sides of the EVNcollaboration relevant to the research questions. Two aspects of the role the news exchange has for its members in their international news production guided the sampling of informants: on the one side, the EVN as a supplier of material in the international news production, and on the other side, the members themselves as vital components as contributors to the EVN's supplying service. One foreign reporter from DR and one from NRK were selected to shed light on the first aspect. The reporters work hands-on with the news production, continuously making reflections on news values and the acquirement of adequate source material. Hence,

³² The interview guide is included in Appendix 2, p.111. Note that it is written in Norwegian.

the intention was for these two informants to mainly contribute with qualitative data on the perceptions of the EVN's execution of its service as a source. To illuminate the second aspect, I selected two Eurovision news contacts³³, since they are better suited to elaborate on the contribution from the members to the EVN. The reporters supplemented this view as well, through their potential production of stories, based on their own recordings, further shared through the news exchange.

The informants were as follows:

- 1. Harald Weider: Senior Eurovision News Contact and journalist at NRK.
- 2. Øyvind Rønning Nyborg: Senior reporter on foreign affairs at NRK
- 3. Bente Lundstrøm: Senior Eurovision News Contact and journalist at DR.
- 4. Jørgen Jacob Jensen: Senior reporter on foreign affairs at DR.

The selection of these informants was carried out theoretically and non-randomly, with a goal for the analysis to illuminate social processes and dynamics (Pickering et al., 1999, p.61).

I did at one point consider selecting editors instead of reporters as informants, because of their experience with both editorial as well as practical and economical priorities in news production. They are also more likely to pay closer attention to the competitive situation within the TV-market, and its impact on the news coverage. I finally decided that the reporters were more appropriate, considering their designated and continuous evaluation of news criteria, and their direct role in the production process. I reflected on the problem that the EVN news contacts could be biased in their answers, since the object of this study to a great extent is what serves as their bread and butter, and consequently could give them a falsely positive approach. I nevertheless concluded by reasoning that they are employed by their national broadcasters, and not by the EVN or the EBU, and I thus assumed a sufficient level of professional conduct and unbiased response.

I also considered interviewing the central news editors in Geneva, as they could give an alternative view of the input-processes in action between the members and the EVN, and of the totality of output offered. But I judged the members' input to the collaboration as imperative, given the theoretical focus on the influence of external structures on the image supplying service. With restricted amounts of resources, I therefore decided to stay with the initial thought of investigating the members' point of view.

³³ News contacts are staff working designatedly with the EVN at the member broadcasters. Cohen et.al describe the position as "journalists from EBU members [that] act as the liaison between their home service and the Exchange" (Cohen et al., 1996, p.6).

3.3.2 Practical undertakings

I carried out face-to-face interviews with each of the informants at their individual work locations. I had made appointments in advance, and all of the interviews were completed as first planned, except for one, which was postponed for a few weeks due to illness. The informants received a short introduction to the project and thematic basis of the interview beforehand, including an invitation to ask if they had any further questions regarding the process. Neither of them pursued this invitation. I therefore assumed that they were all comfortable with the proposed subject and their roles as informants; an assumption that was confirmed in the interviews. Altogether, the informants appeared co-operative, interested and willing to share their viewpoints.

I had developed two versions of the interview guide, one for each of the work functions. Some questions nevertheless overlapped. Each version of the guide was divided into two main thematic parts. For the two reporters, there was one section about the use of EVN-material as a source, and a second section directed more generally towards priorities and routines in the daily news production. The EVN news contacts first received a range of questions about the practical side of offering and transmitting stories to the news exchange. The second section contained questions about a more general perception of the EVN mechanism with focus on the members' contribution, and the perceptions of PSB. All four interviews lasted for approximately one hour, and I recorded the audio with a digital recorder.

I did not experience complications at any stage in the interview process. I considered doing the interviews with the DR-informants in English. Danish is their first language, but they both understand Norwegian fluently, and likewise with my understanding of Danish. I decided, then, to carry out the interviews in our respective mother tongues, with the option of turning to English if necessary, to verify or clarify; an option that in the end was only utilized once or twice. In other words, understanding across our different languages did not pose a problem. With regards to any potential language barrier, I think it benefited the process that the interviews were made face-to-face. The direct presence of both participants in face-to-face interviews eases the understanding of what the other person is saying, at the same time as it encourages spontaneous reactions and reflections, in the end leading to better answers (Gentikow, 2005, p.84).

I transcribed the interviews as accurately as possible, shortly after they took place. I did this partly to increase the quality of the investigation, which I will discuss further in a later section. Recording the interview and then transcribing it was also the most practical method of getting the content recorded to paper, as it allowed me to refrain from large amounts of

noting during the interviews, and rather let me focus on steering the planned, as well as spontaneous, questions. I also assumed that the transcriptions could prove an essential tool in the analyzing process.

Finally, it is worth noting that when quoting from the transcribed interviews in the analysis, I have applied certain strategies to ease the understanding of the quotations. First of all, the quotes from the qualitative interviews are translations by myself from Norwegian and Danish to English. In the translation, I gave priority to the correctness of single words, rather than the flow of the language, to avoid a shift in meaning to the greatest level possible. Further, I have omitted some parts of the replies at several places in the quotations. These occurrences are indicated by (...). The omitted content is mostly filler words or additional information not relevant to the context. I have further substituted some of the spoken words and sentences with equivalents, marked within brackets. These incidents are where the informant, for example, uses "it" as a subject in the sentence, where the meaning of the "it" lies ahead of the quote. Another example is the reference to certain collaborators by their first name, or similar internal references. In these incidents, I have inserted more objective understandings of what the quote refers to within the brackets.

3.4 EBU documents and sources

It also became essential to obtain some quantitative figures on the scope of the contribution of news material from NRK and DR to the EVN. In addition to the qualitative interviews, such data was collected from the EVN's own website. The website includes a search feature, from where I gathered the details of the members' contribution.³⁴ It is possible to filter the search by participating broadcasters, and when combining it with specifications in time, I got a list with the number of contributed items for the period January 1. – March 31. 2010. The search-site additionally offers the possibility of clicking on each hit to see the accompanying script and a so-called shotlist³⁵ of the item in question. The hits of the search were then categorized as foreign or domestic news. The items covering domestic news were further categorized thematically on the basis of the manuscripts, into the same categorization used in the content analysis of NRK and DR's foreign news coverage.³⁶ This was the procedure used when gathering the data on the members' contribution. Here, too, I used Cramer's V to measure the correlation between NRK and DR statistically.

³⁴ The search function of the web-site is protected with login and password information (Eurovision, 2011).

 ³⁵ A shotlist is a run-through of the item through picture-frames extracted from the video at regular intervals.
 ³⁶ See Appendix 1, p.96-113, for the description of categories.

The remaining EBU-documents used as sources were internal reports of various kinds. The annual report is available on the EBU's web page. Two other reports I used were obtained via a login-account, which I have access to through work relations, on the same web page: *Funding of public service media* (EBU, 2010) and *PSB TV News – Trends and Developments* (EBU, 2011d). These are reports that have been produced in the EBU's own research unit, *Strategic Information Service*. The objective of this department is declared as: "to provide the basic tools for the EBU and its Members to understand relative positioning of Members and the markets in which they operate; to help them anticipate trends; to develop strategies; and to provide the evidentiary basis for legal and lobbying positions" (EBU, 2012).

3.5 Methodological reflections

As pointed out, the recording and transcription of the qualitative interviews were done partly out of considerations for the quality of the research. The notion of *reliability*, together with that of *validity* and *representativeness*, are concepts closely connected to methodological quality; first and foremost in quantitative research, but also - and more controversially- in qualitative research (Gentikow, 2005, p.56). The latter discipline has been accused of lacking all three, but I will apply the terms in a way that make them relevant to the qualitative part of the design as well. I will first discuss the reliability and validity in each of the methods I have used, as well as for the project as a whole, before I go on to discuss the notion of representativeness.

3.5.1 Reliability and validity

Validity and reliability are connected concepts. *Validity* concerns the extent to which the applied design and operationalizations are relevant to answer the posed research questions (Østbye et al., 2007, p.118). To put it another way, it regards the degree to which I have researched what I explicitly intended to. For qualitative research, validity may be understood more as *truth* or *trustworthiness*, as it focuses on the degree of accuracy with which a relation or conclusion in the study represents the social phenomena it refers to (Silverman, 2010, Østbye et al., 2007). *Reliability* may further be seen as an incorporated part of the validity, since it refers to "the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate

representation of the total population under study" (Joppe in Pickering et al., 2007, p.133). To what extent is the treatment of the data accurate and reliable?

Reliability

A suggested measure to increase reliability has been to document the research process: "For reliability to be calculated, it is incumbent on the scientific investigator to document his or her procedure" (Kirk and Miller in Silverman, 2010, p.289). To strengthen the reliability of the content analysis, I have therefore included the coding manual and a detailed description of variables, categories, operational definitions and procedures in an appendix (Appendix 1). Another prevailing strategy to establish reliability in quantitative research is to let others carry out repeated tests or counts of the investigation, or even repetitive counts by oneself. If the multiple testing brings up the same results as your own, you can be said to achieve reliable data (Østbye et al., 2007, p.223). Practical circumstances surrounding my object of research unfortunately did not permit the possibility of allowing another researcher to perform a test. This was due both to lack of time, and mainly to the particular access I had to the tools necessary for the recording of the data, which was not transferable to potential test-coders. Therefore, I have sought to compensate as much as possible through thorough accounting of the procedures in the appendixes. Processing the quantitative data through a statistical computer software, also contributed to increase the reliability of the content analysis.

With regard to the qualitative interviews, recording and transcription of the interviews results in more reliable research, since it permits others to check the data word by word. It also allowed me to guarantee my informants accuracy in the possible quoting of them. The informants have approved all statements quoted in the thesis. I will therefore argue that the qualitative interviews achieve a high level of reliability.

Validity

It has been claimed that the use of *triangulation* can be used to strengthen the validity of a research project, especially with regards to the qualitative component. By combining various approaches to the method and data used in the analysis, triangulation can compensate for other weaknesses in the research (Østbye et al., 2007, p.120). Similarly, the validity of this research design has been strengthened by the way in which the content analysis can support or falsify findings in the qualitative interviews, and vice versa. In qualitative interviews, one could argue that informants have a tendency to respond with "official versions" of the truth;

the versions they think are expected from them, instead of their sincere perceptions (ibid, p.121). Combining statements from the interviews with data from the content analysis may thus provide a richer and more nuanced understanding. In this way, triangulation may be seen as a contribution in strengthening the design.

The recording and transcription of the qualitative interviews may also contribute to a more valid research, since the transcribed words facilitate the possibility for repeated interpretations and a continuous and developing understanding of the topic. Had I just noted down keywords during the interview, I would not have had the chance to view the response in light of an eminently maturing comprehension of the subject (ibid, p.119).³⁷

A factor that may have contributed to a weakening of the validity is the fact that the informants, to some extent, were selected for convenience. Such a selection procedure is, according to Helle Neergaard (2001), neither goal-oriented or strategic, and leads to bias (p.34). The potential bias the convenient selection poses is difficult to avoid, but the prior explicit evaluation of the informants, together with the transcription of the interviews, offer a transparent account of the method used and procedures followed, at the very least allowing each to make their own evaluation of the bias that may be present. Finally, it is important to keep in mind that the EBU-reports used as sources in this project, are put together by the organization itself, under the purpose of promoting PSB and providing its members with information to enable them competitive advantages. As there are no guarantees of the academic standards of these reports, we need to be aware of their possible weak validity.

3.5.2 Research from the inside

My own position as a part-time employed Eurovision news contact at NRK while writing this thesis may also have had an impact on the quality of the project. First and foremost, the broader understanding and interest the work experience has given me of the field, its internal language, mechanisms and routines, have been advantages when selecting research methods, cases and informants. It has also been beneficial in gaining both formal and informal access to the subject area. My background has further enabled me to elicit more complete answers in the qualitative interviews than I might have received if I was new to the field. Additionally, I found myself in a better position to continuously assess the replies from the informants. I

³⁷ If the informants, on the contrary, had been intimidated by the tape recorder, and were influenced by that in their response, the reliability would be correspondingly weakened. In my case, the informants were experienced journalists, well acquainted with interviewing through recording devices, and I could not spot any indications of their response being influenced negatively by the equipment or the setting.

experienced that the fact that I shared common knowledge and interests with the informants increased the effectiveness and smoothness of the conversations. I also believe I was approached by the informants with a clearness I might not have received if they did not see me as holding a certain amount of inside knowledge.

Conversely, it is difficult to know whether my focus of interest has been lead in directions that are more relevant for work purposes than for the academic work, and thus may have restricted the evolution of the project. Also, my internal position could be seen as posing an ethical problem. The informants could be influenced by my double role both as a researcher and a colleague. Helge Østbye et al. (2007) refer to a notion of *ecological validity*: if, and in what way, the presence of the researcher is influencing the object for research (p.119). Three of the four informants in the qualitative interviews were colleagues or acquaintances from my work at NRK, and in all likelihood this relation influenced their response. The informants might have been especially interested in appearing "correct" since they were disposed to possible correction. Yet, I do not have any a management position or leadership role, and therefore have no power to influence the working situation in any way. Besides, I did not sense any falseness in the answers of the informants; some of them even surprised me with unexpected attitudes in relation to some of the topics.

Still, due to my position, I took extra care in asking open questions, trying to lead the informant as little as possible. I also strived for transparency throughout the project, by including the details on the applied methods in appendixes. Also, when referring to the informants' answers in the analysis, I have continuously made clear what questions prompted which replies. Finally, potential deviations between perceptions and reality will most likely be revealed by triangulation of methods. In sum, then, I think my inside experience has improved the quality of my research more than it may have distorted it.

3.5.3 Representativeness

A certain generalization of the data from the research sample to a larger population is a standard requirement in quantitative research. In qualitative research it is a more questionable goal, however, mainly since the sampling within this scientific direction does not claim representativeness (Gentikow, 2005, p.60, Silverman, 2010, p.139). How the two case broadcasters view the EVN, and how they use it and contribute to its operation, is not necessarily transferable to the way in which all of the other members relate to the news exchange. I will nevertheless argue that my findings may be relevant for understanding relations at some of the EVN-members that are similar to NRK and DR. The data from the 46

content analysis may be discussed with regards to generalizability. The sample was made from a replication logic, and I investigated the use of the EVN-material at two broadcasters that, in many ways, replicated each other. We have seen that the Nordic broadcasters stand out among the EBU's membership, as a group of broadcasters that receive especially large amounts of public funding, and more than most of the other broadcasters.³⁸ Within the EBU, NRK and DR are also "small" broadcasters in the sense that they both represent small countries and belong to a restricted language area, as opposed to, for example the UK, Spain and France, whose broadcasters reach a larger audience, both inside and outside their own boundaries, due to the universality of their language. NRK and DR may also belong to a certain cultural tradition for news production and storytelling. In this manner, the two may be seen as representative cases of other broadcasters that share these same features, for example other Nordic broadcasters.

With regards to the qualitative research, equivalents to generalization have been debated. Alasuutari suggests in Silverman (2010) to substitute "the statistical language of quantitative research" with theoretical cogency, and rather discuss the *extrapolation* of the analysis' "relation to things beyond the material at hand" (p.150). Barbara Gentikow (2005) similarly aims to shift the focus from a defensive and compensating position related to the generalizability of quantitative research, over to the (situational) complexity inherent in qualitative research, and thus suggests the notion of *analytical complexity* as an alternative (p.63). Instead of using generalization as a quality measure it is more suitable to refer to analytical complexity, since it simultaneously will execute the demands for reflexivity and self-reflexivity inherent in qualitative methodology. Consequently I view analytical complexity as the third measure of quality in my qualitative findings. I further believe my comprehensive account of the theoretical framework, in combination with the thorough presentation of the methods used and the data gathered, contribute to a high level of analytical complexity, ultimately enabling the analysis to offer valuable insights applicable to other contexts.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have sketched out the research design developed for this study, and given an account of the relevant considerations taken in the process. I have explained the background for approaching the research questions from a comparative approach, through cases selected

³⁸ See pp.11-12 in Chapter One for details on the funding situation of the EBU members.

from a replication logic. I further described the procedures followed when carrying out both the content analysis and the qualitative interviews, as well as when obtaining data from EBU sources. Lastly, I discussed the level of methodological quality in the research, through the measuring of validity, reliability, and the discussion of representativeness and analytical complexity. The data gathered with these methods will now be presented and analyzed in the next two chapters.

4 The Eurovision News Exchange as a source

In this chapter, I will describe and discuss the data generated from the content analysis and qualitative interviews, relating to the two first research questions. These two questions both focus attention on the EVN's output: the news exchange as part of the relation between the foreign reporters and their sources in the production of news. The first research question approaches the role of the EVN directly, as a source of video material in foreign news production. Based on the premises outlined in Chapter Two, I will investigate both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the cooperation. The second research question addresses the EVN in relation to the commercial news agencies. Using the same theoretical foundation I will carry out a comparative investigation of the application of video material supplied by both the EVN and the news agencies in the reporting of foreign news stories at the two case broadcasters.

4.1 First, there were pictures...

The first research question asks: *What is the extent and importance of the EVN as an international image supplier for the foreign news coverage of NRK and DR?* The EVN is one of three main sources for video material in international TV news production; the other two being the broadcasters' individually generated recordings, and that supplied by commercial news agencies. As discussed in Chapter Two, the visual quality of images, let alone the sole existence of them, is an absolute criterion for the production of news stories. Furthermore, access to images is increasingly crucial to the coverage of foreign news. This premise is the starting point for the analysis in the first part of this chapter.

4.1.1 The vast need

The amount of news stories that broadcasters are expected to produce and broadcast has increased vastly in accordance with the development of new platforms and news outlets. The competitive environments the broadcasters find themselves within are further contributing to stimulate the demand. This has, in turn, lead to a greater dependence on the foreign stories supplied to the broadcasters by the news agencies and the EVN. Such development was verified in the qualitative interviews. NRK's Øyvind Nyborg replied, when asked if there had

been any structural alterations within the department lately, with significance to the priorities within the production:

I don't know... but structurally-wise I feel like we use more [of the material we are supplied with] now than we used to. (...) You know, NRK has started with hourly newscasts on TV, right, and we have a wide morning schedule, too, and that means that a whole lot of material is used. A lot more is used of the EVN-material now, than only a couple of years ago, when they were stricter in [the prioritization of stories] (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

Unfortunately, it is not feasible to go back and investigate the level of utilization of incoming material at NRK and DR "a couple of years ago" (ibid). In the light of the pressing demand for footage to produce more news stories, however, it is still relevant to look at the current volume and nature of the use of material accessed via the EVN. Exactly how important is the EVN as an image supplier for NRK and DR? How much EVN-material do they in fact use?

My content analysis registered a total of 182 foreign news items in NRK's *Dagsrevyen*, and 128 in DR's *TV-Avisen*.³⁹ Each of these items could contain video images from one or multiple sources, coded as *own material*, *EVN-material*, *commercial agencymaterial* or *other sources*.⁴⁰ Tables 4.1 a)-c) present the share of foreign news items of the total news coverage, where the first three of these sources were used, at both broadcasters. Material from the commercial news agencies is included in approximately half of the foreign news items (Table 4.1c), material from the EVN is used in around a third (Table 4.1b), and material generated by the broadcasters themselves appears in about a fourth of the total foreign news stories (Table 4.1a). In the use of all of the sources we see that the *Cramer's V* is very low, which means that there are barely any differences between the two broadcasters.

³⁹ It is important to note here, that *Dagsrevyen* and *TV-Avisen* are produced in slightly different formats. While *Dagsrevyen* was normally scheduled to run for 40/45 minutes, *TV-Avisen* at 21:00, with the exception of its Sunday-edition, was normally scheduled for around half that amount of time (20/25). In addition, *TV-Avisen* normally trailed the news stories with one or several interviews or commentaries, resulting in that the newscast in sum would be composed of fewer cases, but with more time devoted to each issue, than was the case in *Dagsrevyen*. These factors are important to keep in mind when relating the findings at the two different broadcasters to each other. It is also essential to note that even though they are referred to as main newscasts, the *Dagsrevyen* at 19:00 and the *TV-Avisen* at 21:00 only represent a small part of the totality of the broadcasters' news programming.

⁴⁰ The *other sources*-category included various types of unidentifiable archive material, images obtained unilaterally between broadcasters and images shared internally between some of the Nordic EVN-members. 36 and 37 units, at NRK and DR respectively, contained images categorized as "other". See Appendix 1 for further details on this source, and Appendix 3 for a complete display of tables.

Table 4.1 a) Use of own material as source in foreign news coverage, September 19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Foreign coverage contains material	NRK	DR
originating from own staff?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Yes	26	27
No	74	73
Sum	100	100
(n)	182	128
	Cr	amer's V: 0.002

Table 4.1 b) Use of EVN-material as source in foreign news coverage, September 19. – October 17. 2011
(percent)

Foreign coverage contains material	NRK	DR
originating from EVN?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Yes	34	31
No	66	70
Sum	100	101
(n)	182	128
	Cr	amer's V: 0.038

Table 4.1 c) Use of material from commercial news agencies as source in foreign news coverage,September 19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Foreign coverage contains material originating from commercial news agencies?	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
Yes	51	46
No	50	54
Sum	101	100
(n)	182	128
	Cr	ramer's V: 0.044

A source for cover of the West

Let us now look at the nature NRK and DR's use of EVN-material in coverage of specific world regions. The two broadcasters both used EVN-material most frequently in their coverage of Europe and North America, and Tables 4.2 a) - b) display the share of EVN-material used in the total coverage of these two Western regions.⁴¹

⁴¹ See Appendix 3 for the use of EVN-material in coverage of the remaining world regions. Also, note that since one item could contain both a combination of sources as well as a combination of presented regions, I have subtracted the 14 units containing those features from the presentation of regions. See p.38-39 for more details.

Table 4.2 a) Use of EVN-material in coverage of Europe (percent)

Coverage of Europe contains EVN-	NRK	DR
material?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Yes	43	42
No	57	59
Sum	100	101
(n)	82	53
	Cr	ramer's V: 0.012

Table 4.2 b) Use of EVN-material in coverage of North America (percent)

Coverage of North America contains	NRK	DR
EVN-material?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Yes	50	25
No	50	75
Sum	100	100
(n)	22	20
	Cı	ramer's V: 0.257

At both broadcasters a major part of the news coverage of the two Western regions was produced with video material from the EVN. This source can be seen as the most significant source for NRK's foreign news coverage of North America, being present in 50 percent of these stories. However, when comparing this usage, it is important to keep in mind the low sum of items covering North America, compared to those covering Europe. DR's use of images from the EVN in coverage of specific regions shows great similarities with NRK's use. The heaviest use of EVN-material was registered in coverage of Europe, being present in over two fifths of the coverage. The low score on Cramer's V verifies statistically the similar use of EVN as a source between NRK and DR. There is a slightly stronger association, however, between the use of EVN-material in items concerning North America and the respective broadcasters. The use of EVN-material in these stories thus shows a greater difference - although, again, the number of units covering North America is low for both broadcasters, and therefore, the difference may not be significant.

These findings correlate with the existing knowledge of the dispersion of material *offered* by the EVN, as presented in the introductory chapter. The three most frequently covered regions in DR and NRK's foreign news coverage correspond with the three regions from which material was offered most frequently by the EVN, and likewise with the three least frequently covered regions.⁴²

⁴² See p. 10 in Chapter One.

Thematic varieties

Table 4.3 presents the thematic dispersion in the ways in which NRK and DR used the EVNmaterial in their foreign news coverage.⁴³

Main theme of items containing	NRK	DR
material from the EVN:	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Economy	27	13
Culture	18	13
Crime	10	3
International relations	13	13
Domestic politics	13	18
Violent events	8	18
Other	11	23
Sum	100	101
(n)	62	39
	Cr	amer's V: 0.297

Table 4.3 Use of EVN-material in foreign news coverage, by main theme (percent)

The largest share of thematic coverage for which NRK used EVN-material, were, by far, stories with the main theme of *economy*. DR, on the other hand, used material from the EVN most frequently in stories within the *other*-category.⁴⁴

Compared to the total coverage of each main theme at the two broadcasters, the EVN also proved to represent the most valuable source of all four sources, to NRK's coverage of *economy*. EVN-material was used in over half of the items with this theme.⁴⁵ EVN-material was also an especially important source for the foreign coverage of *culture*, being present in nearly half the items with this main theme. At DR, however, the EVN proved the most significant source for DR's foreign coverage of *domestic politics* and *economy*, where it was present in between 40-50 percent of the total coverage of these two categories.⁴⁶ The total number of items containing EVN-material at DR was lower than at NRK, and the comparison must therefore be seen accordingly. With regard to the range of thematic coverage, and with the exception of a few themes that were not, or were only barely covered, use of material from the EVN was detected in a wide range of themes at both NRK and DR.

⁴³ See Appendix 1, pp.96-113 for an explanation of what each category comprises.

⁴⁴ The *Other*-category here comprises the original categories of *supplementing issues, environment and health, protests* and *accidents and natural disasters*, in addition to the original *other*-category, as described in the coding manual in Appendix 1.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 3 for the percentages of EVN-use compared to total coverage within each main theme.

⁴⁶ The EVN also appeared in 50 percent of DR's coverage of *culture* when compared to the totality of the items covering each main theme. However, only ten units were categorized with *culture* as the main theme, and because of this low score, I have not valued the high percentage of EVN-use as significant.

When looking at the previous content analyses of the EVN, reviewed earlier, the findings in thematic use by NRK and DR do not correspond to the same extent as their use of EVN-material within coverage of regions. Without knowing the details of the prior categorizations, it appears that the most frequently supplied items by the EVN, from both analyses, correspond with my categories of *crime, international relations, domestic politics* and *violent events*.⁴⁷ Even though NRK and DR use EVN-material in their coverage of all of these categories, two of the most covered categories in my investigation, *economy* and *culture*, do not stand out as frequently distributed themes by the EVN in the former content analyses.

4.1.2 Irregular but extended service

Two main points of interest emerged from the interviews regarding the broadcasters' use of the EVN as a source. Firstly, the journalists have distinct preconceptions about the usefulness of the material that is supplied through the EVN. Secondly, the news exchange seems to have additional features to its main role as an image supplier, and these are features that may be argued to enhance the role of the collaboration for its members.

Various levels of relevance and quality

A notion that the video material the EVN provides can have uneven relevance and quality, influences the way the reporters at the two member broadcasters approach the EVN in their production of stories. I will first direct attention to the expectations present at DR. On multiple occasions, the foreign reporter at DR remarked that much of the material accessed from the EVN is not relevant for them to use, and that some of the contributions seem to be a result of members perceiving a set amount of "obliged material"⁴⁸ they ought to contribute on any given day, causing an abundance of useless stories. This statement links directly to one of Cohen et al.'s generalizations in their 1987-study, that the contents of the EVN was characterized by an "over-abundance of stories and footage" (Cohen et al., 1996, p.60). Jørgen Jacob Jensen listed as examples that they never⁴⁹ use material supplied by members

⁴⁷ See p.10 in the introductory chapter for the content analyses of Cohen et al. and Hjarvard, and Appendix 1 for a description of my own categorization.

^{48 &}quot;Pliktstoff"

⁴⁹ The informant used the word *never*, but the content analysis did in fact register that DR used images from the Serbian EBU-member, Radio-Televizija Srbije (RTS), in one of the international news stories broadcasted in *TV*-*Avisen*.

from the Balkans and the North-African countries. Jensen further related these reflections to technical qualities - or the lack of them:

You know, German TV, ZDF, who is broadcasting in 16:9 and high quality [format], (...), it is a little easier to use, right. And of course the Scandinavian countries... and the BBC... (...) There were some of those (...) former Eastern European countries who are broadcasting a different format and where there perhaps are not (...) professional photographers making it... (...) I mean, there are some countries that have a higher technical standard, like Denmark, Germany... and Norway and Sweden... than the rest, right; who are within the same tradition of how to report TV [news] and such (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12).⁵⁰

Jensen repeated, at a later point in the interview, his impression of German and British members as high-quality contributors, contrasting them with the countries from Southern Europe, in general, as often contributing very low quality material. Jensen's DR-colleague, Bente Lundstrøm, did not seem as negative regarding the usefulness of material from Southern European members. Even though she also mentioned Italian members as, at times, poor from the contribution side⁵¹, she explicitly stated that she was under the impression that the Greek, Italian and Spanish members contributed well with material covering "the EU-crisis": the internal EU process, following Greece's economic collapse in 2011. And despite the impression that the requirement for "high quality" is being fulfilled by the German members, Jensen reflected that, in his experience, DR must often work hard and chase the stories they want from them, in order to get the stories in time. Sometimes they do not even get the stories they need from German members in time, he mentioned at a later point, because the deadlines of the latter are later in the evening than for DR.

Finally, the DR-reporter has expectations that the EVN can provide stories from Europe especially well. When asked how DR could have been fit to cover international news without the EVN-collaboration, Jensen replied:

At least... it would have been less European [coverage]. It would have been more Denmark and the world, (...) and less Europe, less EU too. We cover relatively many (...) stories that in one way or the other are taking place under the direction of the EU, but which relates to the member countries, (...) where we use material from [the EVN] (ibid).

Uneven ability to contribute

The NRK-informants did not express quite as clear expectations to the material they receive via the EVN. Some reflections nevertheless coincided with the impressions already

⁵⁰ In reply to a question regarding the usefulness of material; if someone sometimes contributes material that is unfit to use.

⁵¹ Her expression was that "you cannot expect that they deliver".

mentioned. Firstly, NRK's foreign reporter, Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, replied that some of the material he receives from the EVN, he sometimes rejects because of a lack of sources, or because the material contains poor images:

No later than a week ago, some material came over from an Italian broadcaster, just on the verge of not being fit to use, because it was too dull, too poor.

A little later, Nyborg further acknowledged that:

There are those who never deliver, and if they deliver, they deliver late, and when they deliver, they deliver with poor... or completely absent translations (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview 21.12.11).

Nyborg claimed that those who deliver well and those who do not appears to be somewhat random, but he continued to list "the Italians", as well as "the Swedes", as being tardy with regard to contributing material and providing translations. NRK news contact colleague, Harald Weider, had a similar, but more distinct, understanding of certain members who contribute material of variable quality and usefulness to the collaboration. Being asked if he thinks any members stand out as better or worse contributors, he replied that he values the culture items from Spanish TVE, that most of the German members are good at delivering items on special, planned news events, that Turkish TV is "pretty good", and that "Denmark is like us, I guess, perhaps only a little bit better on [European politics]" (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11). He also mentioned both Swedish SVT and Finnish YLE as unsatisfactory when it comes to contributions.

Another expectation Weider had, which is specific to some members, is regarding their inability to contribute items of a certain nature:

I know that BBC ... they don't contribute with foreign reports to the EVN. (...) As far as I can remember, they have a rule on this. I think the same goes for [the member] France 24; that they can't [offer their] foreign reports. (...) Many people sit and watch the BBC, and then they see (...) that they have [made a report from] somewhere, and they want the pictures, but there is no use in even asking the BBC for those pictures, because they have a policy of not offering foreign pictures. (...) I think it has something to do with the BBC World... that they want the exclusivity of that channel (ibid).

It deserves mentioning that Weider later countered this impression slightly, by noting that the BBC in fact, to his surprise, had offered some foreign items "recently". Despite this, the fact that NRK may not expect to receive foreign reports from certain (major) members is relevant for the significance the EVN can have to its members. The issue may be an example of the problem caused by the semi-commercial nature of some of the member broadcasters. Even though the BBC is a public service broadcaster, it may be restricted from contributing on equal terms as some of the other members, because of its position in the market through its

commercial channel BBC World. Here, competitive aspects in the TV market seem to be obstructing the BBC's PSB remit.

In most cases, the foreign reports of other members, means reports from outside Europe. The content analysis showed that both NRK and DR used EVN-material in numerous non-European stories. Hence, if member broadcasters are subject to internal regulations like Weider implies for the BBC and France 24, it is of central and potentially negative significance for the EVN's supplying of non-European news to its members. From this assumption, we can see how the increasingly complicated market relations of the public service broadcasters may, in this instance, effect the diversity in available news stories from non-Western areas negatively, in effect reinforcing homogenization through further dependence on the commercial news agencies' services. This may be said to weaken the significance of the EVN to its members.

Features enhancing the image supplying service

The second feature that stood out from the qualitative data regarding the position of the EVN to its members was the news exchange's role as a planning tool, both regarding the direct appropriation of video material, but also for other practical aspects of foreign news production. In describing short and medium term planning both the DR and NRK foreign reporters explained that throughout the day, they follow the EVN's online menu, which continuously shows transmitted and expected items, to get an overview of which international images exist. NRK's foreign reporter stated that he approaches the EVN's web-based menu upon arrival at work for practical reasons:

It gives a good overview, that EVN-page, I think. It has... well; it gives a good overview of timings, among other things. So a way I (...) use the EVN, is as a source for what is happening today, and when (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

DR's Jensen explained how he makes great use of the EVN-run online *forum*; where the members, in view of all the other participating broadcasters, request stories they are interested in, upon which the news editors in Geneva, or the members in question, attempt to fulfill the posted request and declare their progress on the screen. DR's news contact, Bente Lundstrøm, also talked about the forum as a well-functioning asset to obtain desired pictures, illustrating with an example⁵²:

Last week, we had an example with Portugal, with the two Danish ladies who fell down a trail, and died. I think, from the time I made the request, an hour passed till we

⁵² Lundstrøm's reply was prompted by the question if there are certain members who do *not* contribute in a way that is expected of them.

received the first report from RTP⁵³. And they were... it just arrived, and you could think... Madeira! Two Danish tourists who fell and died, I mean... that's probably not top news in Portugal, but they actually had a lot of cover, and it was fantastic (...). Sometimes it is a little surprising - (...) some countries you don't expect... where in fact: Wooosh, and it just arrives, right at once, right!

She later touched on the online forum again, claiming:

I think we have very much success with requesting things we really want on the forum, and often we also get it (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

Lundstrøm further explained how requests made well in advance of a planned news event,

sometimes even occasion cover. She referred to an incident when there was an event taking

place in the US that had news value in Denmark. Lundstrøm contacted the EVN centrally,

and a team was subsequently commissioned to cover the story.

The way Lundstrøm described how one can communicate with the EVN centrally to

receive desired material, is a feature noted at NRK as well. Weider brought up a recent

example of an international press conference NRK would have liked coverage of:

Yesterday I sent a request to [the news editor in Geneva]. (...) Interpol was going to hold a press conference today, which he didn't know about, and he was going to try to get some pictures from it, something in which we were very interested in. And as far as I understood, they had managed to [get the pictures] today (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11).

The EVN seems, then, to have an important role in DR and NRK's planning of their foreign news coverage, in relation to both anticipated news events of a certain size, and the smaller, unforeseen events of more restricted geographical interest.

Weider described how NRK also use the EVN-staff in Geneva as a hub to get

connected to production staff across the world:

We use [the EVN], or at least I do, (...) as a type of informational assistance in a way. If you need pictures from some place difficult, it is usually smart to go through them to get it; [ask them] if they know a broadcaster in that tiny village we are going to (...). They are often the first ones I call, if I need pictures from some place or the other, or help from some place, or a cameraman or... [places] we haven't been before, and where we don't know people that well, I often call the EVN first. And they are very helpful in that department (...), at least they always try to find a phone number (ibid).

However, despite this role as a hub for planning and obtaining video material and contacts, the EVN seems foremost to remain a source for *video material* and information about its emergence, and not necessarily a source for information on actual *developing news events*. DR's Jensen stated that he immediately goes to the EVN forum in the search for images as a news event breaks. However, when gaining information about the development of the

⁵³ Portuguese EVN-member.

situation, he uses web media, like "Google news, BBC and so on" (Jørgen Jacob Jensen,

interview, 10.01.12). Nyborg, at NRK, explained it in this manner:

I cannot expect pictures to be coming in as breaking news, so the primary sources would then be the written news agencies and web pages. And other radio- and TV-channels. But rather quickly after that, I would look to see if we could expect [some pictures] (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

One final issue becomes important to highlight with regard to the importance of the

EVN to its member broadcasters. Bente Lundstrøm expressed how DR sometimes use EVN-

material because she deliberately "pushed" the story on the editors:

It is necessary sometimes [to work] for [the images we receive], because there can be things that we are supplied, and not a soul discovers it. But if I go and push it (...) directly on an editor, and say: are you aware that we are getting this from Norway... and there actually have been some Breivik-stories from NRK, [with] an angle [our staff] haven't quite thought about (...) where it ends up as our lead story, right (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

Lundstrøm's remark suggests that the EVN's significance as an international image supplier to its members is influenced by the level of effort, or amount of resources, dedicated to tending the collaboration at the members' side.

We have now seen how DR and NRK make use of the EVN-collaboration. Let us then compare their use of the EVN to the way in which they use their subscription to the news agencies.

4.2 EVN and the commercial news agencies

The second research question asks: *Can the EVN be seen as an alternative to the commercial news agencies? In which case: how?* The proposition springs from the assertion put forward by Paterson (2011) in his extensive work on the other main source for video material in international news production: the commercial TV news agencies. Paterson expresses concern about the threat to democracy that the homogenization of the international news flow represents, and concludes: "There is no need for less television news agency output to the world's broadcasters, but there is a need for a new option – a non-commercial option" (Paterson, 2011, p.155). As mentioned earlier, the EVN has been suggested as the desired option, and I will discuss this as a supposition, through analysis of data from the content analysis combined with data from the qualitative interviews.

4.2.1 Foreign violence

To start out, let us first compare the use of EVN-material to the use of agency-material at DR and NRK to see if there are any significant patterns in the way the two sources are utilized. As presented in Table 4.1 a)-c) (p. 51), both DR and NRK used material supplied by the commercial news agencies distinctly more often in their foreign news coverage through the investigated period, than material supplied by the EVN. Of the 128 stories DR broadcast, close to half contained agency-material, against the approximate one third of items that contained EVN-material.⁵⁴ The figures were almost identical at NRK. Items with images originating from the agencies thus comprised the largest single source in the two broadcasters' international news coverage.

Table 4.4 offers an overview of the nature of the use of the news agencies as a source. We can see some slight tendencies in the type of news stories the broadcasters use the agencymaterial for, compared to the type of stories in which they use images from the EVN, as presented in Table 4.3 (p.53).

Table 4.4 Use of material from commercial news agencies in foreign news coverage, by main theme
(percent)

Main theme of items containing material	NRK	DR
from the commercial news agencies:	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Violent events	19	34
Economy	24	9
Other	22	20
International relations	8	14
Domestic politics	13	9
Culture	7	9
Crime	9	7
Sum	102	102
(n)	92	59
	Cr	amer's V: 0.265

When it comes to the main theme of the foreign news stories, both NRK and DR use agencymaterial in a large amount of their coverage on *violent events*. NRK further shows a significant peak in the use of agency-material in their stories on *economy*, which DR does not show, but apart from this, the agency-use at the two broadcasters is noticeably similar.

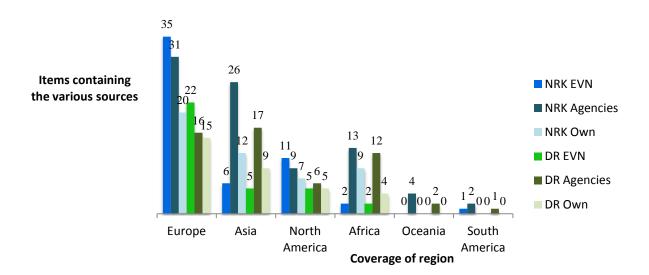
⁵⁴ Again, keep in mind that the total percentage makes up more than 100% since each news item could contain more than one source. Also, I would like to note once more that since DR only has subscription to one of the two main commercial news agencies, the reference to agency-material in their case is automatically from the source *APTN*. However, I will continue to refer to *agency*-material, since I do not distinguish between the two agencies when analyzing the data gathered from NRK.

The ratio of agency-use compared to use of all sources in the total coverage of each theme at the two broadcasters sheds light on the areas where the news agencies prove the most important source to its clients. The most striking aspect of the share of agency-material within these categories is the predominant use of this source in the foreign coverage of *violent events* at both broadcasters. Images supplied by the commercial news agencies were used in 87 percent of DR's coverage of this category, and in 77 percent of NRK's coverage of the same main theme.⁵⁵

Another observation with regard to the relation between source and theme is that the foreign cover of main themes that have the largest or second largest occurrences of material from the commercial agencies are identical to the categories with the heaviest use of EVN-material. Put more specifically: while NRK's coverage with the main theme of *economy* was the category based most heavily on the use of EVN-material, this main theme was, at the same time, also based most heavily on agency-material. The same pattern appeared at DR, where the largest use of EVN-material was in the coverage of the main theme *other*. DR's second largest use of agency-material also appeared in the coverage of the same category. This may mean that the broadcasters, to a large degree, use a combination of sources in the production of their foreign news stories.

4.2.2 Two peas in the same regional pod?

Some tendencies are also observed in the use of sources connected to the display of geographical location in the two broadcasters' news coverage, as presented in Figure 4.5.



⁵⁵ See Appendix 3 for more figures on share of use of agency-material across main themes.

Figure 4.5 EVN- , agency- and own material used in foreign news coverage, by region and broadcaster⁵⁶

First of all, NRK and DR have very similar patterns in the way they use agency-material and the material originating from the EVN in their coverage of specific regions. Both broadcasters use EVN-material a little more often than they use agency-material in the items that concern Europe. In addition, NRK uses EVN-material slightly more often than agency-material in stories from North America. Conversely, in the coverage of Asia, Africa and Oceania, agency-material is, by far, the source used most frequently for both broadcasters.

We see that even though EVN-material is used in some coverage of non-Western stories, NRK and DR are both inclined to use the video material they receive from the commercial agencies in their coverage of regions outside Europe and North America. Seen in light of the discussion in Chapter Two, the outlook for a dismantling of the status quo worldview, and an introduction of alternative voices and angles in the news, may therefore be characterized as poor. We can see from the data that NRK did in fact produce a significant amount of stories from Africa with material generated by their own staff, compared to the amount produced with material from the news agencies. These self-generated stories may, in turn, be contributed to the EVN. Overall, however, NRK and DR seem dependent on the agencies for coverage on non-Western areas. Further, they do not seem to be producing enough of their own news stories from around the world to counter the concerns for a continued homogenization of the international news flow.

4.2.3 The EVN can get closer

The image suppliers' varying abilities in providing coverage from the different regions, was to a certain extent echoed by the informants. At DR, the foreign reporter was clearly of the perception that APTN covers a larger global area. In answer to the question of how he uses the EVN- and the agency-material in different ways, he stated that he uses more from APTN "because they are more present around the world on the big stories" (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12). The likeliness of this statement is supported by the data from the content analysis.

On the other hand, Jensen described a difference in the visual qualities of the two image suppliers:

⁵⁶ Because each news item may contain cover of multiple locations simultaneously, it does not make sense to calculate the share of use according to total cover of regions. Also, as described in Chapter Three, 14 items that displayed multiple regions, at the same time as they contained material from multiple sources, have been omitted from this presentation.

A great disadvantage is that [many broadcasters] (...) do not tell stories the same way as we do. There isn't enough material to tell a complete TV-story (...), at least not in one feed, (...)... and the way in which we tell the story [is often] with a *case*⁵⁷: if we tell a story, there is a *case*. And [often that is not included in] the scripts we get. In them, there are usually some experts, or some people with opinions and so on, and then there are some cover-pictures. It's not like [there are] any sequences and... I mean; that footage is usually a little [poorer than] when you make it yourself, right. I think that is the greatest problem; that it doesn't live up to the requirements you have [at home].

- Does that go for both APTN and the EVN?

Yes, I would say so. It is worse with APTN, because they only make *cover* pictures and... I mean: APTN-material [hasn't told a story yet], while the material we receive [via the EVN] from the other countries has, after all, been used in a TV-story already. So I think, in general, it is slightly too little material (ibid).

Although Jensen claimed later in the interview that "you could be lucky" and receive a good case in an EVN-supplied story, the story would then most likely be lacking some other essential part, for example an expert, party representative, or the like (ibid). In general, he summed up that he is often short of cases, both in agency- and EVN-material.

Several of the other informants also reflected on the variety of quality in contents of the stories they are supplied. NRK's Nyborg remarked that he thinks a tendency in the EVN-material versus the agency-material is that the former may provide material where you:

can get closer to the different countries, and [to] the various countries' issues. While [APTN] and Reuters would... well, it's kind of like it is in Norway: that NRK is closer to what goes on here [in Norway], than for instance Reuters would be. [The agencies] are positioned a little further out on the sideline (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

Nyborg also suggested that he receives more thorough feature reports through the EVN than from the commercial agencies, specifically listing Danish, Swedish and French services as members he has received "a lot of great material" from (ibid).

Lundstrøm, at DR, pointed to a similar factor, when reasoning why she thinks DR chose to use stories they had received through the EVN in their cover of the EU and the recent financial crisis there:

As a state [broadcaster], you have easier access to your own EU-politicians [and] you are a lot more involved in the substance of your own country's economy (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

Harald Weider at NRK stated correspondingly that the stories they receive from the EVN are often "a little more personal", as they are usually stories that the other members have judged as encompassing high quality; and when certain members have judged a story in this way, "it is often pretty good, at least most of the times" (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11). Weider

⁵⁷ By "case", Jensen means the journalistic method of illustrating an issue through an example (person).

further underlined that the news agencies normally are a lot better and quicker at supplying the *general images*, or images fit to make clips in, in the editing process.

4.3 Summary

The data from the content analysis show that both NRK and DR in fact use material they receive from the EVN-collaboration in about a third of their foreign news coverage. It also distinguishes certain tendencies in the *type* of issues the broadcasters are inclined to use EVN-material to cover. And even though there are slight differences in the level of importance, the two broadcasters' most significant use of the news exchange is almost identical when compared. This is highlighted by the continuous low value measured through Cramer's V. The EVN is most valuable to the broadcasters' coverage of North America and Europe. To DR, this source is used most often in coverage of *other*, while it represents the most valuable source for their coverage of *domestic politics* and *economy* when compared with the totality of used sources within each category. NRK use EVN-material most often in the coverage of *economy*, and this is also the category to which the EVN represents the most valuable source, together with the coverage of *culture*, when compared to the total use of sources within each main theme.

Regarding evaluations and preferences behind selecting the EVN-supplied stories in the production processes at NRK and DR, the qualitative interviews offered data that could be recapitulated in two main points. The first is that the members possess certain preconceptions about the degree of usefulness of the material they receive through the EVN, according to where the news event takes place, or who the contributing member is. Even though some opinions coincided, the four informants have different notions about the benefits of the collaboration and different approaches to the questions. It is important to keep in mind that the difference in perceptions may be related to their various work positions and functions in the news production process. The opinions nevertheless reflect a general understanding of the totality of members as able contributors to varying degrees, with the differences existing between them in traditions of storytelling, prioritizing of resources, aesthetical foci, speed of delivery and degree of correlation with commercial industry logics.

The second point is that the EVN clearly has certain side-features that increase its value to the members. The most striking feature is its basis for planning, which all four of the informants mentioned, when replying to questions on how they use the EVN in their daily routines. Informants from both NRK and DR mentioned specific examples where they had

received material via the EVN that, to some degree, was tailored specifically to them. That means that they had experienced accessing coverage on the grounds of a request through the EVN, and not primarily on the grounds that a member covered the story and offered it to be transmitted. Finally, NRK's Weider also explained how he uses the EVN-staff in Geneva as a central contact-point to access material from other places in the world. One side-feature it became clear that the EVN does not hold to a significant degree is that of being an information service like the traditional press wire-services.

Both the content analysis and the interviews generated data showing that, even though Eurovision may only represent a spectacular music show to some, and has been a close-to unresearched phenomenon within journalism and media studies, the EVN-collaboration has indeed significance for NRK and DR's international news coverage. Regardless of more or less critical irregularities in the flow of news material it distributes, the core value to the investigated members seems to lie in the EVN's capability to meet individual broadcaster needs, combined with the extensiveness of its network.

The strong concern for the homogenization of the international news flow was the starting point for the second research question, and instigated the drive to investigate whether the EVN may be seen as an alternative to the commercial news agencies. Even though the percentage of the foreign news coverage containing agency-material is lower for NRK and DR than the 80 percent share detected with smaller broadcasters as referred to in Chapter Two, their use of around 50 percent of this source is still high. It is also significantly higher than the use of material from the EVN. However, what is even more noteworthy is that the alarming homogenizational trend in the international news flow is based on the tendency the news agencies are claimed to have, of directing attention to Western matters and in prioritizing coverage in accordance with an imagined interest of their largest Western clients. Against this concern, NRK and DR's frequent use of the commercial news agencies as a source, paralleled with the more infrequent use of EVN-material, in the coverage of non-Western regions, does not support the notion of the EVN as an alternative to the news agencies. The fact that the agencies, which are accused of reinforcing existing power structures, make up close to the entire coverage of violent events at both broadcasters, further repeats the notions of a need for an alternative.

The interviews did not offer further data indicating that the EVN-collaboration is *a complete* alternative to the commercial news agencies. However, some of the informants' perceptions about qualitative features inherent in the relationships between the member broadcasters and their journalists, present the EVN as a supplement to the services of the

news agencies. Taken into consideration the amount of foreign stories the broadcasters produce from material they generate themselves, further underlines the potential in the EVN's position compared to the agencies. Through all of the members' domestic and foreign bureaus, the sum of the "tentacles" of production in effect within the collaboration, could in theory contribute extensive amounts and types of world news. The next chapter will continue to focus on the contribution-aspect of the collaboration, which may further illuminate the EVN's potential as a non-commercial option to the international video news agencies.

5 Public service international news

The previous chapter analyzed the aptitude of the EVN as an international image supplier for NRK and DR, or what I have called the *output-side* of the EVN-mechanism. This chapter will focus on the *input-side* of the news exchange, and investigate the processes through which the image supplier keeps itself sustained with international video material. I will begin by analyzing the implications to the EVN of the member broadcasters' PSB foundations, as asked in the third research question. In the second part of the chapter I will proceed to analyze the contents of the members' contribution to the EVN, in connection to the notion of democratization within the flow of international news.

5.1 Depends on its members

The third research question asks: *Does the EVN's media political background in public service tradition have any impact on its operation as a provider of foreign news material? If yes: how?* The question directs attention to the EBU members' foundation in PSB, and how this tradition is influencing their relations to the EVN, as contributors of news stories. The core intention of using the political economy approach, is to "show how different ways of financing and organizing cultural production have *traceable consequences* for the range of discourses, representations and communicative resources in the public domain"⁵⁸ (Murdock and Golding, 2005, p.60). We will take a closer look at what these traceable consequences may be, after an account of the financial implications of PSB to the EVN members.

5.1.1 Financial premise

As discussed in Chapter Two, PSB may be seen as an attempt of *correcting market inadequacies*. A recent article supports this claim through findings that show how independence from advertising and similar commercial income, impacts both the nature of the broadcasters' news programming, as well as the news content's further influence on the public (Curran et al., 2009). Public service broadcasters are usually in a position where they can allow themselves broader news coverage at more optimal times than the completely commercial broadcasters can, since "the commercial media tend to be exposed to pressure to prioritize high-spending audiences in order to maximize advertising revenue" (ibid, p.19). In general, then, the conditions for contribution from members to the EVN can be seen as

⁵⁸ Own italization.

advantageous, since the EBU membership is made up of mostly state-subsidized public service broadcasters that are able to prioritize their news production. NRK and DR are especially advantageous in this regard, on the grounds that they belong to the group of EBU-members who are financed most heavily through a licence fee. As we have seen in Chapter Two, their income from this source amounted to over 90 percent of total income in 2010 (Danmarks Radio, 2011b, NRK, 2011b).⁵⁹

As already discussed, despite the fact that the majority of EBU-members rely mostly on state granted income, they are not free of financial pressure as they are affected by market competition. The EBU recognizes the current challenges in the political and financial climate surrounding its members, as accounted for in Chapter One.⁶⁰ We have established that contribution to the EVN does not generate any revenue for the providing member.⁶¹ In the midst of what seems like challenging economic times for the broadcasters, what may spark them to devote resources to contributing to a collaborative news exchange that is not directly part of their journalistic mission, and that does not generate any direct economic compensation or exchange value?

5.1.2 The basis of reciprocity

The EVN is organized as a network, where the content is administered through the central hub in Geneva. The news editors located there, are those who ultimately decide which stories are distributed to the members. However, as shown in the previous chapter, the eventual sum of stories interchanged is in effect largely influenced by the continuous line of offers and requests from the members. Nevertheless, the fact that the members are able and willing to provide content constitutes the primary condition for the EVN as an international image supplier. This premise for contribution is implicated in the complete member rules, in an introductory paragraph:

The Eurovision News Exchange, organized and coordinated by the EBU's Eurovision Operations Department, is based on the understanding that EBU Members offer to the other Members, **on the basis of reciprocity**, their news coverage of important events taking place in their countries and of potential interest to other Members, thereby enabling each other to provide a high-quality service in these fields to their respective audiences. In countries where two or more Members provide a news service, the offer

⁵⁹ The total amount of income from the licence fee was for DR: 3 493,3 million DKK , and for NRK: 4 573,3 million NOK.

⁶⁰ See p.13

⁶¹ The "compensation" each member broadcaster receives, in the form of an agreed reduction in the annual member fee per item contributed to the exchange, may objectively be seen as a type of revenue. Neither of the informants made any reference to this "compensation", nor did they show any engagement in, or even awareness of, this arrangement. I have therefore interpreted this as a purely technical feature bypassing the news production staff, in between the managing units.

from one Member does not release the other Member(s) in that country from the obligation to offer news coverage to the news exchange system (EBU, 2004, p.1).

The *EVN Rules* further specify various aspects of the legislation that applies to the *use* of the material distributed, for instance: ratifying that use is free of charge, that copyright rests with the contributing member, the members' right to formulate restrictions and embargoes to accompany their contributions, regulations on exclusivity etc. Yet, with the exception of the introduction, any further formal obligation as to the nature and amount of contribution that is required from the members, is absent (ibid).⁶² Hjarvard adds to the impression of a rather loose system of regulations, when stating that beyond the statutes, the level of participation within the EVN is to a large degree based on a principle of voluntariness (Hjarvard, 1998, p.203).

Despite the fact that the DR and NRK news contacts do not have any clear formal obligations with regard to what, and how much, they ought to contribute to the news exchange, both of them are of the opinion that their respective broadcasters manage to provide the news exchange with what is required and expected, of the most important news stories from their areas. The DR and NRK news contacts do mention a few exceptions where they sometimes are not able to deliver certain news coverage, and I will discuss the nature of this in the last part of the chapter. A collection of quantitative data of the input-side of the EVN, at least verifies the news contacts' impression that NRK and DR contribute a number of news stories to the collaboration. During the first six months of 2011, the EVN distributed 61 items from NRK, and 81 from DR.⁶³ In comparison, traditionally larger broadcasters, like the BBC, contributed 229 items, and the German ARD 339 items. In the same period, broadcasters from countries of a similar size to Norway and Denmark, such as Croatia's HRTV and Slovakia's RTVS, further contributed 71 and 13 items, respectively (Eurovision, 2011). This illustrates that neither NRK nor DR's amount of contribution stands out as especially high or low.

The amount of contribution thus varies widely from broadcaster to broadcaster, and the news contacts at NRK and DR recognized that they are sometimes not able to contribute

⁶² The only other mention of obligations to the contribution in the rules, is in relation to the lack of contribution, and is found in one of the rules applying to usage. The wording is no more specific than the introductory paragraph however, simply stating that: "The above-mentioned procedure also applies if a Member *ceases to provide news material to the EVN Exchange on a regular basis.*" (p.12)
⁶³ It is important to note here, that in 2011, both NRK and DR were part of one of the regional collaborations

⁶⁵ It is important to note here, that in 2011, both NRK and DR were part of one of the regional collaborations within the EVN. The Nordic Exchange was a transmission "window" taking place at 16:00 every weekday for many years up until 2012. Through this window, the Nordic members interchanged material of a more sub-regional character mainly amongst themselves, and with a dedicated coordinator. Still, the interchanged stories were accessible to the rest of the members to use as well (Eurovision, 2012b). This means that the total number of stories distributed through the EVN was in fact far higher, but I counted only the stories that were transmitted as *regular* news items, meaning that they represented newsworthiness for the larger member mass (these are items internally classified as *evn*, as opposed to the Nordic *ernn* in the exchange).

the stories requested by other members. NRK news contact Harald Weider highlighted some factors that can potentially prevent him from providing a relevant story to the news exchange, even though the item has been produced. When asked if NRK, on occasion, may not have the *capacity* to contribute stories, Weider answered with reference to a recent Nobel Peace Prize concert in Oslo: the event, which was covered by NRK, had not been contributed to the EVN because it took place after the EVN-staff had left work for the evening. Weider added that there had not been any requests from other broadcasters for material, but that "we have always used to do that, (...) send out an edit of [that concert]" (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11). He also referenced other possible obstacles in contributing items. Stories that are relevant for the EVN might, for instance, contain interviewees that need to be protected, or remain unidentified to a foreign audience, and therefore the journalist who created the story may object to its contribution to the EVN. Finally, Weider listed clearance of rights with regards to video originally recorded by freelance employees, as well as technical faults and sound issues, as other factors that may obstruct the process of contributing an item. Weider added explicitly, however, that complications of these kinds happen rarely, and that if an event is important enough, the staff will remain at work the necessary time, or will come in to work especially, to make sure the relevant material is provided to the news exchange.

DR news contact Bente Lundstrøm, on the other hand, claimed the occasions where DR was not able to provide requested material to the news exchange, were, on the whole, events that DR did not cover themselves. When Lundstrøm was asked about the potential obstacles in contributing stories, such as the occasions Weider mentioned, she replied that she is seated beside the head of the foreign news department; further insinuating that it is easy to access the means necessary to maintain effective delivery, when it comes to disposition of resources within the department. She continued: "He, too, has interest in that we are efficient in the [EVN]" (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.2012).

It doesn't get better than what we make of it

As we will see shortly, the way Lundstrøm depicted the head of the foreign news department at DR, represents a positive attitude towards the EVN recognized in several of her colleagues within the company and across the collaboration. It is also an attitude with clear ties to PSB-ideology. The goal of PSB has been described as *serving society*; opposed to the commercial media's goal of *making money* (Curran et al., 2009, p.19). Such notion of *serving society* seems to be a clear motivating factor, echoed in all of the four qualitative interviews. Lundstrøm distinguished a special attitude displayed by the "people working with public 70

service", in her reply to a question if she recognizes an affinity with PSB principles in DR's presentation of news:

You know, the [fact that] we would like to do something for (...) the public (...). We're not sitting [thinking]: (...) what's in it for me, you know, we share our material, and I think there is an attitude towards the way you present it, right. That said, when I look at TV2 ⁶⁴, I think they do much of the same. (...) Perhaps we feel a greater commitment: when [a news event is going on], it ought to be covered, and we ought to offer it [to the EVN] too. I think perhaps DR feels a bit more commitment there. I also think that, when [turned around, and] I call around [to other members] asking for help, there is this sense of it being a duty. Not in a bad way, but, [in the sense] (...) : we should be able to do that, (...) we are that big national Danish public broadcaster, so of course we should [be able to do that] (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.2012).

Lundstrøm concluded her point with an example: in connection with an ongoing anniversary for the reigning Danish Queen, DR had put together an "exclusive" concert for the Queen and her guests in the DR concert hall. DR was offering relevant coverage from the event to the EVN, about which Lundstrøm reasoned: "We could have chosen to say that: this costs, so you cannot have this, because we are not [the host broadcaster]⁶⁵. (...) But it may be that if you ask TV2, their attitude would be the same" (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

Accordingly, Lundstrøm detects a sense of duty in providing the EVN-collaboration with relevant news stories. She further described a feeling of personal pride amongst her DR colleagues, when she elaborated on contributing to the EVN:

I think Denmark is so small, that our journalists and photographers also get a little proud when their material is sent out into the world, and if they have seen something they made (...) on the BBC (...), they become proud, [which also makes it] a really good motivation - making it fairly easy to ask [colleagues] to make... or if you say that [the EVN] is asking [for this story], could you try to [produce] a little extra [material], or similar (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

The wider news staff at DR seemingly take personal pride in contributing material to the EVN, or at least in contributing stories that are used by another (large) member. Lundstrøm depicted similar attitudes displayed by her broadcaster's correspondents, while explaining how she often offers their reports to the news exchange: "Our correspondents are really eager to [contribute their stories to the EVN], so that's nice" (ibid).

⁶⁴ Danish TV2 is DR's commercial counterpart in Denmark. TV2 is also a public service broadcaster and a member of the EBU and EVN.

⁶⁵ *Host broadcaster* is the broadcaster responsible for covering an event and ensuring the further distribution of it. It is most often used in connection with larger sports events, but it also applies to coverage of planned news and cultural events etc. Especially within sports, the *host broadcaster* often gets commissioned the task from the organization responsible for the event (Host Broadcast Services, 2012).

Weider touched on a similar personal enthusiasm at NRK. After explaining the process of solving technical errors or problems with regional NRK offices, upon their submitting a contribution:⁶⁶

I think... those few times you need to make a phone call to one of the regional offices, they are very helpful with arranging things (...)... because I think they think it's very exciting that [stories] go out to Europe (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11).

Similarly, when describing the process of offering material to the EVN and what kinds of evaluations he makes at the different stages, Weider mentioned how even the editors may be markedly enthusiastic about contributing stories:

I just call across the table to check if the editor thinks it's ok to offer [the story], and 90% of the times they say yes, because they, too, think it's fun to offer. And it is a member-based thing, so... it doesn't get better than what we make of it ourselves (ibid).

At NRK too, then, the staff described by the informants come across as enthusiastic and personally motivated to assist in sharing their news stories, to their best ability, with the other EBU-members. The example cited in the previous chapter, of the apparently overwhelming assistance DR received from another EVN-member to cover a "Danish" news story unfolding in Portugal, indicates that such a line of thinking is not unique to the two case broadcasters.

5.1.3 It is something we do at the end of the chain

From the findings cited above, it can clearly be argued that the PSB foundation of NRK and DR prompts an ideological motivation with the staff to provide stories to the EVN, despite the absence of any immediate financial compensation. The content analysis showed that both NRK and DR use significantly more material from the commercial news agencies in their international news production. Jensen at DR has a clear opinion about why⁶⁷:

[APTN] is a lot quicker, and I know very well why that is, because the [EVN-] members... it's no business for.... Contributing material to the EVN is no business for us; it is something we do at the end of the chain, right. It's not the first thing we do. We think about ourselves first. And then about sharing, after that. But APTN is supposed to make a living out of it, and that's why they are first (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12).

The preference for using material from the news agencies rather than the EVN may thus be seen as deriving from the agencies' "goal of making money", as opposed to the PSB tradition of "serving of society", as discussed above. Jensen's claim suggests that the financial point of departure valid to the commercial news agencies is, to some extent, a contributing factor in

⁶⁶ In answer to a question regarding the reasons why NRK may sometimes not be able to contribute a story that has been requested by other members.

⁶⁷ Jensen's reply is to a question regarding which image supplier he expects to receive images from first, when producing a breaking news story.

the preferred position the agencies hold as suppliers of international video material in the news production of NRK and DR. No matter how much the personal motivations at the member broadcasters may be seen as the driving force for their contribution, the lack of financial motivation may, conversely, represent a weakening factor in the EVN-mechanism. However, it is important here to direct attention to the differences in the organizational structures of the agencies and the EVN. The qualities of the two, as international image suppliers, do not solely depend on how they are founded financially and ideologically. The different models of the two organizations also play an essential role, and the EVN's nature as a *co-operation* will necessarily restrict its service. The EVN-members are first and foremost public service broadcasters on a national level, positioned within the competition of their national TV-market. Where both the agencies and the EVN are international actors, operating on a global (or continental) level, the EVN's input depends on its members, who in essence are not focused on the international level when producing their own news coverage.

From Weider's description of possible difficulties in the contribution process, to Lundstrøm's satisfaction, on the other hand, with the *lack of* difficulties in delivering material to the EVN discussed prior, it is evident that the process of contributing involves, for the members, a range of considerations and preparations. In addition, this stage of the process inevitably requires resources. The members are in a position where they must prioritize their own coverage, broadcast to their national audience, and thus, the prioritizing of resources to contribute to the EVN becomes secondary by necessity. Where the agencies do not have the same national priorities, but rather an objective of distributing their material to their clients as rapidly as possible, the EVN is crucially dependent on the members having the resources to make the contribution, *simultaneously* or *after* securing their own coverage. When asked about the strengths and the weaknesses of the EVN as an image supplier, Lundstrøm replied by emphasizing the strong commitment that some of the staff working within the collaboration display, leading to access to high quality material:

[With those people] we receive material that actually beats the agencies and everything else. I mean, we get things that are good and interesting and it is prepared thoroughly in a different way, because there are people living in those countries who are making it. That said, you could also say that it seems like... well, those who work with the collaboration are the sections [within the departments] that are cut during times of [economic] crisis (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12).

While the PSB-background of the members may contribute to DR and Lundstrøm receiving high quality items distributed via the EVN: if the necessary resources to prepare and deliver those stories are cut, the *input* to the EVN will be reduced, and the amount and quality of the EVN's *output* will drop accordingly. Given the financial pressures the public service

broadcasters are currently experiencing in their respective markets, the risk of such cuts are obvious. Thus, even though the PSB-background of the contributing EVN-members impacts the EVN's service, other factors may be more decisive for its operation.

5.2 Diversification of the international news flow

The fourth research question asks *if the EVN can be said to hold a democratizing task in the international news flow.* The problem springs from the claim that the homogenizing trend recognized in international news coverage poses a threat to democracy, as proposed in Chapter Two. From this, *democratizing* can be understood in terms of differentiating or enriching the flow of available video material in international news coverage. *The international news flow* is in this context the totality of video images available to TV news production from around the world, mainly referring to the material distributed by the largest actors: the commercial news agencies, in addition to the EVN. In order to analyze democratizing features of the EVN, this part of the chapter will focus on the contents in the contribution from NRK and DR, as well as organizational and financial aspects of the collaboration that may affect the nature of the totality of supplied news stories. Before continuing with the analysis, however, we will first look at some findings that increase the relevance of this research question.

5.2.1 Standardized presentation

Some of my findings supported the claims that there exists a homogenizing trend in international news coverage. Øyvind Rønning Nyborg confirmed the perception that the material NRK receive from the news agencies is often characterized by a certain level of standardization, when answering to a question about the differences in the news stories NRK typically receives from various suppliers against those they produce themselves:

A lot of the material we receive is the kind of... *what goes around comes around*. [They create the kind of material] they know will work, making everything pretty similar, and thereby also boring. And clearly, a lot of the things I think *we* are doing, when we make the material ourselves (...); cultivating good TV-situations and such; a lot of that disappears in all of the agency material; [material] that, put a bit cruelly, sweeps over a building or an incident, and then a straight up [interview] with a person... with some kind of conventional background. (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

The news agencies are accused of reinforcing already established perspectives and sources in their content selection, and thereby leading to an exclusion of alternative voices (Paterson, 2010, p.101). Nyborg's description of the standardized nature of the coverage they receive

thus fortifies the idea that the news agencies advocate established journalistic habits in their coverage, and furthermore, display already existing power structures.

We have seen from the content analysis that both NRK and DR use substantial amounts of agency material in their coverage. When asked if there are any norms as to a minimum amount of re-editing of stories received from the agencies, before they are broadcast on TV-Avisen, DR's Jensen replied that unless he is "really, really, really short on time", he always perform some re-editing of the material (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.1.12). The notion of *domestication*, introduced in Chapter Two, has been argued to represent a process through which the reporters customize news stories that contain the agencies' standardized images, to further adapt the subject matter to a more local framework of comprehension. In the light of Jensen's statement, however, the idea of consistent methods of production mitigating the agencies' direct influence on the news production is weakened. We bear in mind the symbiotic interpretation of the relationship between the broadcasters and the image suppliers, caused by increased demand for production and swiftness, as Jensen's reply also indicates. If we continue, then, to couple the chance of letting the commercial news agencies dictate directly how the broadcasters present international news stories, with the agencies' habit of offering standardized images and story angles, the potential alarming outcome for international TV news coverage is manifested.

Exposing the continuation of Nyborg's latest citation sparks a need to further address the EVN's role in this international news flow:

...so I think... for [the] feature format there's not that great potential in agency material. But of course, via the EVN, we are often offered features where there has been put down more... put down more [effort] (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

5.2.2 Wild animals and royals

The interdependence in the relation between the output distributed by the EVN as an international image supplier, and the members' input in the form of their contribution of content, has already been established. We also know that the caliber of the stories received from the news exchange is perceived as different to the stories received from the commercial news agencies: EVN-items are more likely to include cases and have potential "to get closer" to the individual countries' domestic news. Let us, then, look at the nature of the stories the two investigated broadcasters contribute to the EVN, in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Nature of contributed news stories to the EVN, January 1. – March 31. 2011 (percent)

	NRK	DR TV-
	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Reports from Norway/Denmark	59	62
International reports	41	38
Sum	100	100
(n)	61	81
Cramer's V: 0.027		

Of the items contributed by NRK during the first six months of 2011, 41 percent were made up by stories categorized as *international feature reports*; news stories from other parts of the world than Norway. The situation is similar at DR, where 38 percent of the contributed items were international reports. This focus on contributing international feature reports of both broadcasters is the most striking finding in this part of the data. The *foreign* mindset was also verified in the interviews. Harald Weider pointed out that he thinks NRK are especially good at delivering international feature reports, describing those stories as: "in a way quite easy to offer... often quite fun to offer too" (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11).

Except for the stories within this category, however, the informants' perceptions of what kinds of stories they ought to contribute were not as clear. We have already seen that the EVN does not ask for detailed requirements from its members regarding the nature and amount of their contribution. When asked what kind of stories they are typically expected to deliver, Weider elaborated on the unexpected interests of other members in NRK's news coverage:

It's not obvious [to me which stories might be of interest to the other members]. I am often a little surprised when [I], typically, look on the forum [and see] what people are asking for. (...) I have the impression that [NRK's web-page] is a pretty good one, where many [of the members] go and take a look... and that's where they see [the story] about the German who caught an 800-kilo large halibut [up north], right. And then they want pictures of that, which we never have, of course. And (...) [those stories on a] moose inside a store and... bear attacking a photographer and those kinds of things... a lot of nature stuff... (...) Like [those fitting in as] the final story in different [broadcasters' newscasts] (ibid).

The contributions from NRK and DR on domestic issues spreads out unevenly across the thematic categories, but one main theme stands out within the contribution from NRK. Half of the domestic issues-items contributed, can be categorized with a main theme of *accidents and natural disasters*. With the exception of this category and the *international feature reports*, the material NRK contributes to the EVN spreads out in small amounts across most of the other categories, supporting Weider's impression of diversity in what other members wish to receive from them. At DR, Bente Lundstrøm also replied that she thinks it is difficult to say anything in general about the types of stories she offers to the news exchange. Nevertheless, she went on to list examples such as good international feature reports, anything about the royals; because she "knows the Germans will need it", and internal political issues that have broader interest in the EU or other countries; for example stories on the domestic discussion around the establishment of a new passport border control (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12). Lundstrøm's views are also in line with the quantitative findings: the contributed items spread out with a certain evenness across all the main theme categories. Thus, the contribution emerges as differing somewhat between the otherwise similar broadcasters. A strong Cramer's V of 0.589 further verifies the relatively significant differences in the thematic dispersion of contributed items between the two broadcasters.⁶⁸ NRK provided the collaboration with a great deal more material with a main theme of *accidents and natural disasters*. On the other hand, DR contributed quite a few items on *domestic politics, international relations* and *culture*, categories in which NRK delivered few, if any, items during the investigating period. DR also contributed more items than NRK.

Asked if she believes that DR's own internal news coverage is sufficient to meet the expectations for contribution to the EVN-collaboration, Lundstrøm replied positively; explaining that DR in general are able to provide the relevant news stories, and continuing: "It happens very rarely that there is a request for something we are not covering" (ibid). She then explained that when they occasionally receive requests for stories they cannot provide, it usually concerns stories of a more curious⁶⁹ character. She offered an example in connection with a large international summit on climate change that Denmark hosted in December 2009, the so-called Cop15. Apparently a hotel in Denmark introduced an offer: people could bicycle on a training machine to create energy, and then receive a free meal. Lundstrøm explained:

[It] was a major PR stunt [and] everybody was asking for it. And we were just not making that story, because we didn't want to use resources on that, and we thought it was a commercial story, right (ibid).

Harald Weider echoed Lundstrøm in the impression that NRK is able to provide the collaboration with the most important news coverage that is requested:

When you get those big [news] events, I think we are, by far, [sufficient to provide what is expected]... those type of: July 22., [National Day on] the 17. of May, the Nobel [Peace Price ceremony]... those kinds of things, we're good at that.

He goes on, however, to recognize that NRK is not always able to provide every type of story that is requested:

⁶⁸ See Appendix 3, p.120 for the complete dispersion across main themes of the contributed items, from the two broadcasters.

^{69 &}quot;Kuriøs"

...but when the Hungarian Prime Minister arrives for a [state] visit, we're not that good... we're not [necessarily] there. If it doesn't fit into [the current news situation], (...) we wont send [a production crew and record it] without charging for it. Or... accidents on the [Norwegian] Finse railway and (...) those kinds of difficult places to access... TV2 is better than us on that (Harald Weider, interview, 16.12.11).

Even though the informants suggest that there are certain types of requested stories they are not always able to deliver to the EVN, they seem confident that they manage to provide the "hardest" and most breaking news stories, in accordance with the fundamental *reciprocity principle* of the news exchange.

5.2.3 PSB-foundation impacts the EVN-content

If all the members contribute correlatively to NRK and DR to the EVN we can imagine the significance of the news exchange as a source, especially for coverage of Europe. The PSB-foundation of NRK and DR requires them to produce news that ought to counterbalance under-representation of minorities and minority-issues, thereby enabling a certain level of manifold focus in their news coverage. If not in NRK and DR's cases, however, the PSB-connection may also be seen as a limiting to the contents of the EVN-material.

Reliable sources?

To enable other members to make use of the contributed stories, both the journalism executed in each of the members' news departments, and the sources used must be reliable. There must also be a minimum of a common understanding of valid news criteria to the contributed stories. Because of the members' public service origins, they are in essence tied in various degrees to their countries' political authorities. The two foreign reporters at NRK and DR indicate that such relationships may sometimes compromise the applicability of the received material in their news production:

There has been... An example is things that have been produced by Russian broadcasters, which I have felt has been pure propaganda. Like during the conflict with Georgia, for example, a little over a year ago, we took considerations like that along the way (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).⁷⁰

Nyborg specified that he did not remember whether this material was distributed through the EVN or the commercial news agencies. That the issue still raises a relevant discussion, is emphasized by Nyborg's further elaborating on the type of reviewing of sources he applies to both the material supplied by the EVN and the agencies:

 $^{^{70}}$ In reply to being asked if he had ever judged material as not reliable enough to be used, even though he needed the material.

I read closely who the sources for the images are (...), and lately this has been highly relevant in connection with [the fact that] we receive a lot of amateur video from areas where the large news agencies are not present. For example in Syria. (...) And with time, [I] have covered quite a bit of war and conflicts, and the sources of the pictures are very important [in those cases]. It is often the case that an international agency has other types of pictures than [government-owned] broadcasters, for example, in areas of conflict (ibid).

DR's Jørgen Jacob Jensen could also relate hypothetically to the issue of reliability of the sources. On being asked if there are any members of the EVN that are more reliable than others, he replied:

Well, I think I would say that if [we receive] something from Serbia, about Kosovo, I would probably not use it⁷¹. Well, I would put... (...) Their angle on things are marked by the political situation, right. (...) But I don't think there's anything that... I mean, I haven't noticed that [we have received] any such unreliable [material] (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12).

Although neither of the reporters remembered any specific incidents, two conflicts were mentioned. Countries involved in these conflicts have public broadcasters that are EVN-members and that participate with contributions.⁷² Even though the news media of the Western societies are claimed, on the whole, to possess a relative independence from the national authorities (Hjarvard, 1995, p.484), the EVN may, as we see, distribute material that the members may choose not to use because of the close link between the attitudes of the government and the public broadcaster.

Knowledge-based provision

The PSB background of the members may hence represent a complicating factor regarding the usability of the content that the EVN supplies. In contrast, however, the same background may have a positive impact on the usability of the material. Jensen's reply to what the DR's obligations are, with regards to PSB, was that: it is to enable people to be "citizens in a democratic country, [and enable them to] have enough knowledge to [make democratic decisions]: be sufficiently conscious of what goes on around the world" (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12). When further asked if he keeps these principles in mind when carrying out his daily work, producing news stories, Jensen replied that he did not think so. However, he continued to indicate that he, at the least, is conscious of the principles to a certain constant degree:

I think it's wonderful to work someplace where your tasks are not just to entertain, but that you can also [enlighten] people, and... [provide] some understanding, [and it's] not

⁷² Russian members include *Channel 1 Russia* (*C1R*) and *RTR*. Serbia is represented by *RTS* (Eurovision, 2012d).

just about viewer ratings and so on, but about giving [people] (...) an opportunity to become more knowledgeable (ibid).

Øyvind Nyborg at NRK held a similar point of view as Jensen: that the news stories he produces ought to comprise qualities like *importance, reliability, diversification*, and:

that [the news] is made (...) with knowledge, [regarding] the [way] it is told. I think that is perhaps [one of the most important things] for me; that you acquire the most important [stories], but also that they are presented in an intelligent matter (Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, interview, 21.12.11).

On being asked if Nyborg brings these thoughts into his daily work in the news production, he acknowledged:

Yes, I do think a lot about [these things]. I think a lot about that (...) - trying to place things into an intelligent connection for people, I see that as [something] very, very important. So I bring that throughout my work (ibid).

He continued to describe a more general understanding of principles in the news production of NRK as: *principally and politically important*, stating that he thinks there is a common understanding across the department of which stories qualify as such. Both DR's Jensen and NRK's Nyborg are of the opinion that, according to their comprehension of their given PSB-mandate, their respective broadcasters are fulfilling its abiding obligations.

As we saw in the previous sub-chapter, the political economic foundation of NRK and DR in PSB, impacts on the news staff's willingness and ability to contribute stories to the EVN. The attitudes of the two foreign reporters further correlate with relating values. PSB represents a market corrective, and thereby breaks with "the logic of commercial provision" that brings about a targeting of audience as consumers. PSB has, on the contrary, been claimed to "address their audiences first and foremost as members of moral and political communities" (Murdock and Golding, 2005, p.66). Such logic is similar to the underlying principles of the two reporters, as described above: a type of *knowledge-based provision* prevails in their work in various ways. This aim to disseminate knowledge, then, is further entailed in the stories produced by the informants, which are contributed, and thus transforms, to the EVN's output.

Geographical presence

That the news production of the EVN-members, and hence the material distributed through the collaboration, is not based on a commercial logic, can also have consequences for the geographical dispersion of the members' international news coverage. We have seen how the commercial news agencies may down-prioritize coverage from distant parts of the world for economic reasons. The public service broadcasters are in a different position: following the prevailing knowledge-based logic, the prioritization of journalistic resources can be allowed a wider diffusion. NRK and DR both have rather broad networks of correspondents. DR has seven correspondents spread out in the US (two), China, Belgium (two) and Lebanon. One additional correspondent is placed in London, for the purpose of being deployed as a traveling reporter (Bente Lundstrøm, interview, 10.01.12). NRK also keeps seven correspondents placed in various parts of the world: the US (two), China, England, Belgium, Egypt and Kenya (Sæby and Imrie, 2010). As pointed out under sub-heading 5.2.2: international feature reports are an essential part of the investigated members' contribution. The correspondents may thus be viewed as a likely significant origin of news items distributed to the EVN from NRK and DR.

The worldwide feature reports, contributed to the EVN, are not confined to the correspondents' work, however. Both the DR and NRK reporters explained that they have good opportunities to travel in order to cover foreign stories. NRK's Nyborg added that traveling to some extent depends on there already being ongoing, or scheduled, news events, but he claimed that he is able to suggest his "own" cases as well. He further explained how his suggestions for traveling are seldom refused, and that the amount of such production is more likely to be restricted by lack of his own ideas and initiative, than grants from the management. On the whole, Nyborg seemed quite pleased with his opportunities to travel the world to record and produce international news stories. Jensen clarified an organizational division at DR: they have an individual editorial group in the news department that consists of traveling reporters. The staff that belongs to this group is constant, at least for six-month intervals, so Jensen explained: "If you're on the travelling editorial group, the [opportunities to travel and produce news] are good, if you are not in [that group], the opportunities are bad" (Jørgen Jacob Jensen, interview, 10.01.12). When asked about the scope of the production of this group, Jensen estimated that it has at least one reporter on a traveling mission per week. Even though the prospects for producing his own news stories from foreign countries in general were viewed as good, and had improved after the establishing of the editorial travel group a year ago, Jensen denied that he is able to travel and produce stories as much as he desires.

Nevertheless, the fact that the reporters and correspondents are able to travel and cover news from various parts of the world individually, is crucial for the public knowledge of the world situation. I have discussed earlier the news criterion that video material exists: in order for any story or incident to transform into a TV news story, (video) images must be available. The informants also go far in affirming this. DR's Jensen stated that the existence of pictures is fairly important for the scope the story gets within the news program. In addition, he expressed the feeling that the demands for existing images are higher, for example, with regards to coverage of European stories, than stories from Afghanistan. NRK's Nyborg referred to pictures as *the essence of the TV medium*⁷³, but admitted that if there were major breaking news events, the alternative of using a graphic map was sometimes used. Principally, though, his perception was this: *no pictures: no story*. The greater the possibility is, then, for correspondents and reporters to travel around the world and cover stories they are seeking out themselves, the greater potential for a more diverse EVN-output.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed different aspects of the EVN's input from NRK and DR, and the following implications for the news exchange's ability to supply the members with international news material. The EVN's media political background in public service tradition, through its members, impacts its capacity as an image supplier in a paradoxical way. On the one hand, there is a driving enthusiasm and desire to share within the collaboration, and these are forces that appear to serve as the basis from where the informants receive their motivation to participate and contribute. The reciprocity principle seems to be a sufficient guideline for both NRK and DR to share news coverage adequately, and the informants additionally perceive the same mindset with some of the other members. The financial origin of the two case members should also allow them to devote enough resources to a broad news programming and production.

On the other hand, however, the structure of the EVN-mechanism makes it critically vulnerable to *the variations* in the amount of resources the different members can dedicate to the input, at fluctuating economic times. The EVN is competing in a market different from that surrounding the origin of its content: the national broadcasters. DR's Jensen pointed to how this in effect weakens the EVN's position as an international image supplier, compared to the commercial news agencies. Their foundations in PSB may not be enough to maintain a constant, sufficient prioritization of EVN-input across the total member mass. In this connection, firmer guidelines for the members' contribution may be seen as an ultimate solution.

^{73 &}quot;TV-mediets vesen"

Repeated findings nevertheless reinforced the need for a discussion around the EVN's potential democratizing role in the international news flow. In one way, the EVN's employment in this regard, however, seems partially coincidental, as the informants expressed ambiguous perceptions about the types of stories they are expected to contribute to the collaboration. On the other hand, despite the vague notions about their contribution, the informants appeared to agree that international feature reports are an important contribution. Informants from both NRK and DR further believed that they supply the EVN sufficiently with important news coverage. The qualitative interviews brought out different ways in which the PSB background of the member broadcasters can influence the content of the contribution. The organizational point of departure of the members, as public service broadcasters, may complicate the level of reliability in the EVN-content. Coverage of war and conflicts, in particular, becomes subject to such potential fallibility, because of incidental close connections between authorities and the contributing broadcasters. Conversely, however, PSB evidently grants the members the aim of knowledge-based provision instead of commercial provision in their news coverage. By following this logic, the members are enabled to produce news with more focus on spreading knowledge, rather than entertainment. The noncommercial logic may further be seen as an incentive for a wider geographical dispersion of journalistic foci in the production, thus making the EVN-members inclined to cover distant, economically disadvantageous areas. This, in turn, may contribute to a more diversified news flow, consequently extending the basis from which the visual criteria of the news production can be exercised.

6 Review and concluding remarks

The intention with this project has been to investigate the EVN as a supplier of video material to the foreign news coverage of two broadcasters, NRK and DR. In this final chapter, I will recapitulate my findings and conclude, where possible, on the posed research questions. I will then point to the contributory aspects of this work, as well as its boundaries. Finally, I will discuss the prospects for future research suggested by this thesis.

6.1 The scope of the EVN's role

I would like to begin by reviewing findings relevant for the first research question. I asked: *What is the extent and importance of the EVN as an international image supplier for the foreign news coverage of NRK and DR?* The content analysis established that both broadcasters used video material supplied by the EVN in approximately one third of their foreign news coverage, which I consider a fair amount. Yet, the level of usefulness of the material they receive from the news exchange varies greatly. The use ranged from not usable at all, to use of high quality feature reports on domestic, as well as international, issues.⁷⁴ The EVN further appears to represent a considerable planning tool in the process of acquiring material for the foreign news production, a factor that increases its importance for both of the broadcasters in the study. It is through the analysis of the qualitative interviews that the value of the EVN emerges as increasingly significant for both NRK and DR.

The qualitative findings also underline how the diversity of the EVN membership effects its role as a supplier of international news. Earlier chapters have sketched out a diverse totality of members, who participate in the news exchange under a rather loose set of obligations. Even though the members prove to have some corresponding journalistic aims, the level of usability of the news material contributed seems to correlate with the members' various levels of economic strength and priority of resources, level of technical quality, timing-patterns in the news programming with corresponding deadlines, and the tradition of reporting. Furthermore, the ability of the members to contribute valuable material is also influenced by their level of entanglement within commercial business structures. Consequently, then, the original intention of PSB as a strategy for leveling out asymmetric power structures seems here to be contradicted by the power of the market.

⁷⁴ Presented through qualitative findings in Chapter four.

Another factor on the receiving members' side, that influences the degree of importance the EVN may have to the foreign news production, is the resources they have individually to *harvest* the reception of material. That the members have specially allocated resources is not only a necessary condition for sufficient contribution as pointed to in the previous chapter, it also seems to be a prerequisite for a satisfactory applicability of the material they are receiving. As NRK and DR are both seemingly prosperous public service broadcasters, with especially high income from licence fees, the significant role of the EVN to these cases may partly be seen as a result of their financial strength.

6.2 A possible alternative

The second research question discussed: *Can the EVN be seen as an alternative to the commercial news agencies? In which case: how?* The content analysis found that the commercial news agencies represent the largest single source for the foreign news production of the two cases. NRK used agency material in as much as half of their foreign news stories, and DR used close to the same amount. Thus, the news agencies were used considerably more often than material obtained through the EVN. The qualitative interviews confirmed some of the possible causes for the more frequent use of agency-material, in that they are quicker, cover larger areas and offer more general pictures. As revealed in the final section of the previous chapter, the ability of the news agencies to deliver video quicker than the EVN, is inevitably also a feature of their business model – or rather: *not* a feature of the EVN's model. With the pressure on deadlines and demands for production that currently surround the public service broadcasters, the agencies' apparent lead in the quickness in supplying news coverage, seems like an obvious competitive advantage.

With respect to the discussion in Chapter Two, however, the EVN's *potential* as an image supplying service gets highlighted. The point of departure for the research question was, as described in the first sections of the thesis, the clear concern voiced in the research literature for the increased homogenization of the coverage offered by the commercial news agencies, with a following augmentation of Western viewpoints and existing power structures in the international news. On these grounds, an alternative news provider was called for. But looking at the content analysis, it becomes clear that NRK and DR are both inclined to produce their non-Western news coverage, as well as their stories on foreign violent events, with material received from the commercial news agencies, rather than from the EVN. The latter thereby does not seem to represent a counterproductive alternative to the advocating of

existing power structures in the international news coverage. Still, through the perspective of political economy the EVN's distinguished business logics have been highlighted: it allows an exchange of news coverage that is fundamentally different to commercial exchange, based on a goal of economic profits. The EVN enables exchange of news through objectives like knowledge and enlightenment, which is produced relatively independently from commercial power structures. On this background, with the addition of the enhanced elements ascribed to the EVN's image supplying service discussed in the beginning of Chapter Four, I therefore argue that the EVN's service currently only represents a *potential alternative*, but nevertheless also a *necessary supplement*, to that of the commercial news agencies in the foreign news production of NRK and DR.

6.3 PSB strengthens and weakens

The EVN's potential as an alternative to the commercial news agencies springs partly from its political and economic foundation. The third research question further asked: *Does the EVN's media political background in public service tradition have any impact on its operation as a provider of foreign news material? If yes: how?* PSB is a credited remedy against failures in the media market brought about by commercial logics. This basis has been viewed as beneficial for the workings of the EVN, since the public service broadcasters to a larger degree are in a position to prioritize news production in their programming. This, in turn, makes it possible for the members to share a solid input with the news exchange. NRK and DR are both broadcasters with especially good aims for contribution, considering their strong non-commercial, financial outset. As we could see from the EBU's own report, the organization acknowledges the tightening political and economic pressures on the EVN-members. Reversely, then, the news exchange is especially vulnerable as an international image supplier, to cuts and downsizing brought about by such pressures, since the collaboration's output is essentially reliant on the members' input.

The EVN's media political background, which in one way can be seen as a guarantee for news produced unaffected by commercial economic structures, can also be seen as the collaboration's Achilles' heel, when compared to the news agencies. In addition to the differences in business models and markets within which the EVN and the agencies operate, the perception at DR of the cause for preferring material obtained through the latter, originates in features brought about by the commercial business logics. However, the PSB-logics may not only be viewed as a weakness to the EVN's operation, it may also serve to strengthen it. The reciprocity principle serving as the rationale behind the collaboration has a strong ideological resemblance to PSB. The informants described a prevalent positive attitude for sharing their material with the other members. Further, despite the absence of any explicit rules or demands for the members' contribution, both DR and NRK are both of the opinion that they ought to contribute, and that they are doing so as expected.

Thus, the motivation to share does not spring from direct revenue or repayment for the effort invested in clearing an item for transmission, but in a feeling of duty and pride. These principles are in line with the EBU's founding principle, described in the introduction, of not viewing news as a commodity. This motivational factor, highly influencing the EVN, can be attributed to a public service ideology. At the same time, the freedom that the reciprocity principal and loose member rules offer to the members may ultimately reduce the EVN's ability to remain competitive within the international news distribution market. The public service members are under great competitive pressure in their respective markets. The articulation of clearer member conditions could be one strategy to improve the EVN's position in the international image supplier market.

6.4 Democratizing below its potential

The fourth and final research question inquired: *Can the EVN be said to hold a democratizing task in the international news flow?* Again, the homogenization recognized in the international news coverage initiated the research question. The streamlining in the contents of different broadcasters' news programming, recognized by Wallis and Baran in the introductory chapter, was validated by NRK's Nyborg's observations of standardized images. When the commercial news agencies are used to the extent shown, as a source for the already low amount of coverage of non-Western matters, the concern is additionally strengthened.

Even though the EVN does not seem to balance out the standardization in geographical patterns of coverage, it has a potential as a democratizing effect on the international news flow. Through its members, the collaboration has access to an extensive network of foreign correspondents and traveling reporters. Africa was a continent used as an example of a region from where news material too rarely is made available. But as we could see in the introduction to the EVN, 50 percent of the responding members in the report keep a foreign correspondent in this region of the world.⁷⁵ Consequently, if all members are as able as NRK and DR seemingly are, to contribute stories on current issues of distant countries, the

⁷⁵ See p.19.

EVN may be ensured an increased geographic and thematic diversity in the range of stories it can offer. Thereby, it enables itself a democratizing role in relation to the concern for homogenization. A further democratizing factor may be found in the logics of knowledge provision: this PSB-principle allows for a news presentation distinguished by a distinct focus on knowledge and enlightenment. The items made available through the EVN may thus be of a different character than those from the news agencies with the possible limitations imposed by their logic of commercial provision.

The EVN may in some cases also be in danger of creating the opposite of a democratizing effect on the international news flow. Because of the close ties between governments and broadcasters in some member countries, the coverage of conflicts offered through the news exchange, contributed by one of the involved countries' broadcasters, may have the character of political propaganda. The EVN may thus be said to have a democratizing effect on the international news flow when it comes to geographical dispersion and enlightening character of the contents, but it may also, in some instances of war coverage, be seen as holding a compromising effect. In any case, it appears clear that the EVN's potential in representing a democratizing effect on the international news flow is much greater than that which is currently exploited.

6.5 Concluding remarks

Altogether, this thesis has drawn attention to the EVN as an international image supplier, by analyzing processes in the relations between the members' foreign news production and their use of sources, and between the EVN-collaboration and its members as contributors. A key finding has been how the EVN's impact is closely tied to the resources set aside at the individual member broadcaster to tend the collaboration. The reason for this link is both because the contribution of material, further sustaining the EVN's news distribution, requires certain resources, and because a certain amount of resources seems necessary in order to promote the received items, which are not always the leading stories, to the appropriate outlet among the members' manifold news programming.

The level of significance the collaboration has to NRK and DR may also be connected to an additional aspect of their seemingly wealthy financial basis. Based on their financial situation, they have greater room for prioritization of news. Therefore, they may have more room in their programming for the more thorough and lengthier feature-items, which seem to be supplied by the EVN more than the news agencies. The political economic background of the members therefore seems a significant factor in the position the EVN may have in the international news supplier market.

6.6 Additions and limitations

The EVN clearly holds a significant position for NRK and DR, but considering the relatively similar nature of the two broadcasters, the analysis can not automatically be generalized to other members, who might for example be dependent on advertising income; with the consequences this has on programming and production, as well as further contribution to the EVN. However, I believe it is possible, with the analytical complexity discussed, to relate the findings to some of the other EVN-members, and especially those of a similar character as NRK and DR.

Because of the prior limited academic attention that has been given to the field of international news flow, the amount of nuance in existing discussions of problematic, as well as beneficial, aspects of the use of image suppliers as a source has been limited. My thesis therefore represents an empirical contribution to an academically unfamiliar area. I have contributed with documentation of the use of specific sources, as well as reflections from key actors in the international news production. Analytically, the thesis further reinforces the relevance of applying a political economy perspective to identify and discuss processes within international news production.

The commercial news agencies have been used as a figure for comparison to the EVN throughout parts of the thesis. However, the empirical knowledge offered on the agencies is restricted to the specific comparisons. As they have not been the main focus of investigation, we have no grounds to know the degree to which certain findings on the EVN as a source in foreign news production may also be valid for the news agencies.

Gaining details about dispersion of resources within the broadcasting organizations, as well as within the individual divisions, and so acquiring more knowledge on the direct amount of resources available in the news production, could have given this study an additional, interesting dimension. My analysis has been restricted to the general numbers of total budgets, and the share of income derived by the licence fee, with the correlating non-existing income from advertising. Additionally, it would have enriched the project to combine my data with contemporary data from content analyses of the services of the agencies and the EVN. After all, my analysis is only based on what the *broadcasters* ultimately produce. There may be additional structures and routines within the individual broadcasters' news production

further impacting what kind of coverage is prioritized. It does not follow that the broadcasters' coverage correlates with the video material available from the agencies and the EVN.

6.6.1 Prospects for future research

A natural way to follow up this research may therefore be to investigate the use of sources in international news coverage in relation to a content analysis of the source material the image suppliers have supplied. An updated comparative analysis of the content distributed by the commercial news agencies and the EVN is also timely, and could point to significant structural differences between them. Finally, a thorough analysis of the commercial members' relationship to the EVN compared to that of the non-commercial members is also a highly interesting approach, in order to analyze more thoroughly how the differences in commercial and non-commercial industry logics impact the news exchange. The EVN's significance to the member broadcasters seems to be increasing, just like the commercial pressure within TV news in general.

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Interviews

Bente Lundstrøm, news contact, DR. Interviewed 10.01 2012 in DR-byen, Copenhagen.

Harald Weider, news contact, NRK. Interviewed 16.12 2011 in NRK Marienlyst, Oslo.

Jørgen Jacob Jensen, foreign news reporter, DR. Interviewed 10.01 2012 in DR-byen,

Copenhagen.

Øyvind Rønning Nyborg, foreign news reporter, NRK. Interviewed 21.12 2011 in NRK Marienlyst, Oslo.

Appendix 1 Coding manual and specifications

Variable 1:

Broadcaster and newscast

- 1: NRK Dagsrevyen at 19:00
- 2: DR TV-Avisen at 21:00

Variable 2:

Day

- 1: Monday September 19.
- 2: Tuesday September 20.
- 3: Wednesday September 21.
- 4: Thursday September 22.
- 5: Friday September 23.
- 6: Saturday September 24.
- 7: Sunday September 25.
- 8: Monday September 26.
- 9: Tuesday September 27.
- 10: Wednesday September 28.
- 11: Thursday September 29.
- 12: Friday September 30.
- 13: Saturday October 1.
- 14: Sunday October 2.
- 15: Monday October 3.
- 16: Tuesday October 4.
- 17: Wednesday October 5.
- 18: Thursday October 6.
- 19: Friday October 7.
- 20: Saturday October 8.
- 21: Sunday October 9.
- 22: Monday October 10.
- 23: Tuesday October 11.
- 24: Wednesday October 12.
- 25: Thursday October 13.

26: Friday October 14.

27: Saturday October 15.

28: Sunday October 16.

Variable 3:

Item contains broadcaster's own material?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 4:

Item contains material accessed through the EVN?

- **1:** Yes
- 2: No

Variable 5:

If yes in variable 4, identification of origin broadcaster⁷⁶

- 1: GBITN
- 2: USPOOL
- **3:** USCBS
- 4: USVNR
- 5: USUNTV
- 6: SYARR
- 7: DEZDF
- 8: USNASA
- 9: DEPOOL
- 10: RURTR
- 11: DEARD
- **12:** RSRTS
- **13:** FIYLE
- **14:** FRPUE

⁷⁶ I consequently refer to the various member broadcasters and other EVN sources with a four-, five- or sixlettered source name, which is standard abbreviation within the EVN-system for identification of source. The two first letters refer to the country of origin, and the next three or four to the name of the source. NONRK and DKDR are of the most obvious examples. Category 5 and 35 are for example both images from UNTV, but produced in headquarters located in two different countries, and are thereby only distinguished by the "countrycode".

- **15:** GBRTV
- **16:** FRCANP
- **17:** CNCCTV
- **18:** PLTVP
- **19:** TRTRT
- **20:** JPNHK
- 21: DKTV2
- **22:** SYORT
- 23: DKDR
- **24:** BECUE
- 25: SESVT
- **26:** ITRAI
- **27:** BECEE
- 28: USSTAN
- **29:** BEVRT
- 30: GBBBC
- 31: NONRK
- **32:** ROTVR
- **33:** SKRTVS
- **34:** THMCOT
- 35: CHUNTV
- 36: FRPOOL
- **37:** ILIBA
- **38:** USCBS + USVNR
- **39:** USPOOL + USUNTV + SYARR
- **40:** FIYLE + ROTVR
- **41:** BERTBF + BEVRT + BECUE
- **42:** USPOOL + USCBS
- **43:** SESVT + SETV4
- 44: DKDR + NOOFF
- **45:** USCBS + GBBBC
- **46:** PLTVP + CZCT
- **47:** EGERTU + DEARD
- **48:** BEVRT + GBRTV

49: RURTR + BECEE
50: FRCANP + FRTF1 + USCBS
51: ITRAI + GBBBC + BERTBF + BEVRT
52: BERTBF + GBBBC + ITRAI

Variable 6:

Item contains material received from agencies?

- **1:** Yes
- 2: No

Variable 7:

If yes in variable 6, identification of agency

- 1: Reuters
- 2: APTN
- 3: Both

Variable 8:

Item contains other material?

- **1:** Yes
- **2:** No

Variable 9:

If yes in variable 8, identification of type of other

- **1:** Unknown archive
- 2: Own archive
- 3: SVT via Nordif
- 4: Unilaterally accessed material
- 5: Unknown
- **6:** YLE via Nordif + unknown archive
- 7: Own recording of SVT's newscast
- 8: DR via Nordif
- 9: Bought from Journeyman
- 10: DR via Nordif + own recording of DR's newscast
- **11:** Unknown archive + unilaterally accessed material

- 12: Unilaterally obtained from other broadcaster + from other source + YouTube
- 13: Unidentifiable YouTube-source
- 14: SVT via Nordif + own recording of SVT's newscast
- 15: SVT via Nordif + own recording of SVT's newscast + unilaterally obtained from SVT via fiber
- **16:** Unknown archive + own archive

Variable 10:

Item contains material from definable source, but where distributor remains unidentifiable

- 1: USUNTV
- 2: CHUNTV
- **3:** BEPUE
- 4: FRPUE
- 5: USNATO
- 6: BECUE
- 7: USVNR

Variable 11:

Main focus of the foreign news item

- **1:** International relations
- **2:** Domestic politics
- 3: Crime
- 4: BLANK
- 5: Culture
- 6: Protests
- 7: Violent events
- 8: Accidents and natural disasters
- 9: Economy
- 10: Environment and health
- 11: BLANK
- **12:** Supplementing issues
- 13: Other issues

Variable 12:

Material originates geographically in Europe outside Nordic countries?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 13:

Material originates geographically in the Nordic region?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 14:

Material originates geographically in North America

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 15:

Material originates geographically in South America?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 16:

Material originates geographically in Asia?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 17:

Material originates geographically in Africa?

- 1: Yes
- 2: No

Variable 18:

Material originates geographically in Oceania?

1: Yes

2: No

Variable 19:

If yes in variable 15 or 16, is the material from a country in the Middle East?

- 1: Yes
- **2:** No

Specification of variables and categories

The variables were developed through a two-day test-run of the investigation. The initial design included the measuring of length of foreign items and total newscasts, but I decided to drop these variables in the content analysis. I judged that the tracking of appearances by the different sources in the foreign news coverage was a sufficient measurement according to the posed research questions.

Variable 1

The first variable distinguishes whether the sample unit is taken from DR's *TV-Avisen* at 21:00 or NRK's *Dagsrevyen* at 19:00. A few exceptions were made, which are accounted for in Chapter three.

Variable 2

The second variable specifies from which date the sample unit is collected. The investigation was carried out during four weeks in the fall of 2011, Monday 19. September - Monday 17. October. A total of 28 days, and foreign news items from 56 newscasts altogether, were investigated.

Variable 3-7

Variable three specifies if the foreign news item contains material originating from the respective broadcasters, i.e. if the material have been filmed or obtained otherwise by the broadcaster's own or affiliated staff.

Variable four identifies if the item contains any material from another EBU-member accessed via the EVN. When material of this kind appears, *variable five* defines the origin of the pictures; i.e. the member broadcaster contributing the material to the EVN. Details on the origin of the EVN-items are accessed easily through the scripts and web pages of the EVN-collaboration. With some exceptions, each of the categories in variable four defined *the one member broadcaster*⁷⁷ who had provided the video material in question to the EVN. Quite a number of times, however, the foreign news items were made up by a mix of EVN-sources. The various compositions of sources are hence marked as individual categories, since they for the most part only appear once. Despite that this categorization may be somewhat disorderly, the data recorded in the variable are still small enough to be comprehensible.

⁷⁷ Reuters represents an own category in this variable, for reasons specified under variable six.

Variable six recognizes if the foreign news item contains any material accessed via the commercial news agencies. If the item contains material from APTN or Reuters, then *variable seven* identifies which of these is the source. NRK subscribes to both APTN and Reuters, while DR only holds subscription with the former of the two. Hence, category three in variable seven applies exclusively to NRK-units. On certain occasions, however, DR may use Reuters' material in which they access via the EVN.⁷⁸ Since the Reuters-material in these incidents necessarily has been obtained through the EVN exchange, this use of agency-material by DR has a distinct category in variable 5.⁷⁹

Variable 8+9

Variable eight specifies if the item contains material that is not categorized by any of the former variables three, four or six. In case other material appears, *variable nine* specifies the type of other material. Category one occurs most frequently. It marks the origin of some of the pictures as *unknown archive*. Units containing this kind were most often what looked like archived material originally received from one of the commercial agencies. These pictures repeatedly illustrated prior events, and I was unable to find recent distributed items that included them, from any of the image suppliers. Category two similarly defines parts of the material used in an item as *own archive*. These are again pictures I cannot trace in any recent items received from any of the image suppliers. Material categorized as *own archive* were the ones I judged in all likeliness to be of the broadcasters' own archives, of different reasoning. For example in a DR-story on the new Danish Prime Minister's first appearance in the EU in Brussels, the item contained archive pictures which I thought I recognized from earlier election cover. I could not be absolutely sure, but it was more likely that DR had an own camera team following the Danish stateswoman, than an agency, and hence I marked the item as containing *own archive*.

Several of the categories in *variable nine* refer to material accessed via *Nordif*, which is the name of a joint computer server that SESVT, DKDR, NONRK, ISRUV and FIYLE share. Nordif is the main tool for exchanging material unilaterally for these five broadcasters. When I could not find that material had been accessed via any of the other variables, I occasionally identified exchanged material through Nordif, by access to the Nordif web interface at NRK. Another way of obtaining material not included in any of the former variables is by fiber transmission. The Nordic broadcasters SESVT, DKDR and NONRK

⁷⁸ This exception is accounted for on p.15 in Chapter one.

⁷⁹ DR-use of Reuters-material is registered as EVN-origin category 15.

have fiber circuits established in between them, ensuring direct permanent lines. The broadcasters practice an open policy in using each others' news pictures. This combined with the fiber line's practical ease and rapidness, makes this a frequent alternative to obtain news material. This fiber line is what is referred to in several of the categories as *unilaterally obtained via fiber*.

Category four, *unilaterally accessed material*, refers to material that the broadcaster has gained access to by direct contact with the origin. One example is an NRK-story about a Norwegian who had been kidnapped in Lithuania. The running-order of the newscast informed me that the pictures had been obtained unilaterally from a Lithuanian TV-station, a TV-station without an EBU membership and therefore not part of the EVN-collaboration. Another example is a DR-story on a Norwegian Member of Parliament, caught buying sexual services from a prostitute while on vacation with party colleagues, by a camera team from Norwegian TV2. The pictures were credited on-screen NOTV2, which is also a member of the EVN. The EVN rundown that particular day and the surrounding days, did not show any exchanged items from NOTV2 on the case, and thus I reasoned that the pictures must have been obtained directly from the source. Category five identifies pictures that I cannot trace anywhere, and where I receive no indications on there origin. The remaining categories are either self-explanatory or a combination of the ones already described.

Variable 10

Some of the pictures distributed via the EVN do not originate with member broadcasters, but international organizations like the EU, NATO, the International Red Cross etc. These pictures are offered for distribution through many channels, however, resulting in that the commercial news agencies often distribute this material parallel with the EVN. The NRK editing program allowed me to define the distributing origin of the material used in their news stories, but when investigating the DR-units, I did not have the same tool. Consequently, variable ten acknowledges material where the origin is identified, but where the distributor remains unknown. The categories specify video material of this kind from the United Nations: UNTV (both transmitted from the US and Switzerland), the European Union: PUE and CUE (transmitted from Belgium and France), and VNR – handouts from various organizations.

Variable 11

The main theme of the foreign news items is recorded in *variable 11*. I used the categories from a recent investigation of the foreign news coverage at Norwegian public service

broadcasters NRK and TV2 (Ihlen et al., 2010), as a point of departure, but I developed a few additions and revisions according to the present material. The categories were mutually exclusive, which means I was forced to make judgments on what stood out as *the single main* theme in several items with somewhat differing thematic lines.

Category one identifies items dealing with international relations. The most typical items categorized as such, were the ones where the main message concerned cooperation, disputes and/or discussions in between nations or representatives of nations, often through larger international summits or meetings. Many of the items focused on international discussions in unions and networks like the European Union (EU), United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (like that of Palestinian application for UN membership), reactions by politicians and other representative staff on globally or regionally relevant issues (like reactions and predictions on Nobel peace prize), or relations between two nations that have implications for the larger world and to the sustaining of regional or world peace (like commotion between Kosovo Albans and Serbians, or negotiations and relations between Israel and Palestine). Some news items did not stand out as clearly, but were nevertheless recorded in this category. These were items of more local character, still regarding relations between two countries, or representatives of nations or international organizations, as the main subject (like the Norwegian Foreign Minister in talks with governmental representatives in Congo, Israeli settlers refusing to leave settlements on the West Bank, or military cooperation across nations etc).

The *second* category was labeled *domestic politics* and distinguished the items that mainly concerned internal political and democratic issues within distinct nations, first and foremost the coverage of elections. Other typical items recorded as such, were news about politicians declaring a candidacy, or restrain of candidacy, for elections, other details on parts of the election processes, results, formation of governments subsequent to elections, and domestic trends in politics. The category also incorporated items that focused mainly on certain particularly hot issues that were being debated and/or voted on in specific countries (like a revision of the Greek taxation law and the prohibition of bullfighting in Spain). Internal issues within specific nations that were not necessarily "up for" election, but were still projected as important matters in the public sphere and thus viewed as potential political issues, were also placed in this category (like the increasing significance of Sharia-courts among Muslims in the UK).

Category three was labeled *crime*, and was developed through the sampling period to also include planning or revealing of terror, in addition to crime and corruption. The news

items recorded as such typically had a main focus on any part of a judicial process: either that someone had been arrested suspected for committing a crime or planning terror, the discovery of a criminal act, mediations before a possible trial, the legal procedure of a trial, or reactions from any of the actors during a trial. A common denominator for many of the items placed in this category was that the content revolved around a courtroom. In certain items where there was doubt about the categorization, for example to what degree the sentencing of former Ukrainian Prime Minister Timochenko rather should be termed as *domestic politics*, the extensive displaying of the ongoing trial in a courtroom directed the item into category three. Other category three-stories that were more difficult to place, were items offering personal stories about people's own perceptions of criminal acts they had been exposed to or threatened with, politicians being accused of violation of law and consequently stepping down, or traditions/rituals carried out in the aftermath of a criminal act, like that of funerals.

Category four was discarded during the sampling process, and the fifth expanded some, from stories with main focus on culture and entertainment, to include topics like religion and science as well. This category was named *culture*, and the term comprises both what is associated within art and entertainment, in addition to what is associated with traditions and rituals within a civilization. The most typical stories categorized here were the ones that had a main focus on events like cultural awards and corresponding ceremonies, satellite-launches and the technology surrounding it, features on artists and actors, official visits by the pope, or research and science. A few items did not appear as obviously as category five-items as the previously listed, yet they were categorized as such. Among others were items on official international visits by Norwegian royals. These stories were also possible to view as category one or twelve, but since the King and Queen are not part of the political government, I viewed the items to be more fitting as cultural issues than politics. The strong focus on culture and cultures in these items also made them more suited for category five than twelve. Another example of more doubtful category five items, were the stories on Michael Jackson's doctor, on trial for the guilt of the pop-singer's death. I considered ascribing these items to category three, but based on the strong element of entertainment present in the trial, I put them down for category five. Finally, one of the news stories concerning the prohibition of bullfighting in Spain, had a much stronger focus on the culture of the bullfighting, rather than the political debate of the prohibition, leading it to a category five instead of two.

The *sixth* category, *protests*, refers to news items mainly focusing on protesters and/or demonstrations. It is important to underline that the news items sorting under this category,

are the ones that focused on the actual protest marches, without anchoring them significantly to other ongoing news events or discussions; the main focus was that of the protest happening and sometimes developing. A great number of the total news items did contain pictures of rallies and protesters. Still, only a few of them were categorized here, because a majority of these items in fact were subject to contextualization, mostly within economy, leading to the recording into category nine instead. The most typical items in category six, then, were stories of random protests around the world, not linked to issues described by any of the other categories (like that of a protest in Hong Kong against a new law regulating use of house maids), and protests in Europe and the US against economic issues, but where these issues were not addressed significantly or elaborated upon.

Category seven, violent events, refers to items mainly concerning warfare, violent actions and/or military operations. The most typical of these items were the stories covering military progress in warfare (like the advance of the anti-Gadhafi forces in Libya), the violence caused by bombs and soldiers (like car or suicide bombs, or violent soldiers attacking protesters in Yemen), unrest between the forces of different nations and reports of violence in connection with warfare. A number of items in category seven contained video of protests and demonstrations, but were not categorized as such because of the stronger element of violence present, or interference of military. Likewise, some items on international military cooperation could have been viewed as category one-items, but were placed in category seven instead, because the degree of military focus was larger than that of international cooperation.

The next category *eight* includes the news items with main focus on *accidents and natural disasters*, including severe weather. The typical category eight items were the ones about train accidents and plane crashes, flooding, typhoons and accidental explosions.

The *ninth* category contains news items with main focus on *economy*, a voluminous group of items. The average item was either coverage of national or international economic decisions (like the American President or the EU making decisions for the economies of their respective areas), the economic situation or development in a country or region (like the reactions and developments in economically suffering European countries, or the EU), industrial developments as an effect of economic causes (like lay-offs and unemployment) and/or strikes and protests because of specific economic causes (like numerous strikes and general strike in Greece). Some items that were more unclear, but still qualified as economy, were for example feature stories on the situation in local communities, which could have been defined as domestic politics, but the degree of economic contextualization tied it to category nine (for example a story about an Italian village claiming sovereignty from Italy and printing

up their own currency). There were also several items of protesters rallying the streets, which could have been deemed as category six items, but since the main attention was given the economic circumstances provoking the protest, the items fell into the ninth category. Likewise, certain items on national parliaments' decisions were recorded in category nine instead of two, because the main focus was not on the internal political process, but rather the process' influence on economic issues (for example voting in the Slovakian parliament on an EU financial aid package, resulting in the President's resignation).

Category ten refers to the news items that focused mainly on *environment and health* issues, including news coverage about different types of aid, for example that from organizations and governments to developing countries. Items recorded in this category include stories about scientific health cases (like research projects or scientifically spectacular surgeries), political debates on issues related to environment and health (like a Danish decision to increase the VAT on unhealthy food), incidental events with severe implications for the environment or people's health (like the running aground of a cargo ship outside New Zealand, spilling disastrously amounts of oil into the sea), and implications on environment and health from severe weather or natural disasters (like the drought in Horn of Africa, leading to fighting over emergency aid). Some items were not categorized as easily, for example an item on the Norwegian royals' visit to the US, which was considered a category five-item, but was nevertheless recorded as a category ten item because of its foremost focus on the scientific excellence of a hospital that the royals were visiting.

The *eleventh* category was discarded during the development of the content analysis, and category *twelve* was constructed to group the items whose main international approach was primarily that of illustrating a domestic issue. This category was named *supplementing issues*, short for *cases or issues supplementing domestic focus*. The items of this category were for the most part made up of long segments of national material, with the addition of an international focus. Typical stories recorded in category twelve were political plans and decisions illustrated with examples from foreign countries (like the national discussion around the projection of a toll ring outside Copenhagen, added with interviews from a similar case in Stockholm, and a story on the political debate in Norway about alcohol advertising, illustrating some of the factors with pictures from the EU parliament). Some of the items in this category could have been placed in other categories on the surface. An item on the homicide of a Norwegian student in London, where ideal organizations are lobbying for the extradition of the Yemenite suspect, could immediately be viewed as a category one or three-item. In this particular story, however, I interpreted the chief intention of the international

pictures to represent a supplement to a national story, and for that reason recorded the item in category twelve. Likewise, stories on Danish forces in Afghanistan could easily be viewed as category three or seven-items. In a few of them, however, the focus was on people in Denmark related to the forces in Afghanistan, like the Foreign Minister in an internal debate about the carriage of war prisoners via Danish airbases, thus I categorized it as a case supplementing a domestic story.

Finally, category *thirteen* denotes those news items that did not fit into any of the other categories. Among these items were stories of a more curious character, like the last day of legal drinking on the subway in a German city, obituaries on various people, like Apple-CEO Steve Jobs and Nobel peace prize laureate Wangari Mathai, and other types of commemorations and anniversaries. The stories recorded in this category were often short and contained a shallow totality of information.

Variables 12-19

These seven variables refer to the geographical origin of the foreign material contained in the foreign news stories. Each variable represents an individual world region, and the categories in all the variables alike, marked whether the item contained pictures from that region or not. The reason for such design, as opposed to a single variable with categories constituting the separate regions, was to be able to register multiple locations for each foreign news item, which was often the case.

The definition of countries into the particular regional groups, was made on the background of the United Nations Statistical Division's (UNSD) categorizing of regions, with the exception of the Nordic region (United Nations Statistics Division, 2011). The Nordic region includes the countries and areas that are included in the Nordic news collaboration: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Faroe Islands. The use of the UNSD division does create some connotations that instantly may look unfamiliar. For example, Turkey is a country that in many cases is associated with Europe. Using the UNSD's regions, however, puts Turkey solely in the Asian region. Likewise, Russia is defined as solely Europe, while one often thinks of it as partly Asian. Further, countries like Syria, Yemen, Lebanon, Palestine and Israel, all belonging to Asia according to UNSD, are often related to neighboring countries that are included in a different region: Africa. Nevertheless, these countries are often associated with a separate region, not part of the UNSD's categorization: the Middle East. Because of what can be detected as a particular media interest in so-called Middle East matters, in contrast to the seemingly low interest in matters of other African

nations, the final *variable 19* distinguishes if the pictures' original locations are within the Middle East area. Thus, variable 19 only applies to the cases that are recorded as originating in Africa or Asia. In this context, the countries included in the Middle East are according to Store Norske Leksikon: Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Syria, the Palestinian territories, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi-Arabia and Yemen (Store Norske Leksikon, 2009).

There are a few supplementing details that are worth mentioning. *Variable 14* specifies whether the news item contained pictures originating in North America. None of the units recorded as positive in this variable contained pictures originating in Canada. In reality, then, this variable refers to the US, since the UNSD categorization of North America only consists of Canada and the US. There were also some deviations to the categorization. One unit is not recorded in any of the regions, because it contained pictures originating from outer space, provided by NASA. Finally, some of the items consisted of material that originated in Kosovo, but this nation was not registered anywhere in UNSD's categorization. I still counted Kosovo as Europe, since its neighboring countries are defined as such by UNSD.

Procedures

The collecting of data was made by access of NRK's internal tools, like *Quantel*; a combined editing program and database for all video material (both raw-material and complete, edited items), *ENPS*; databases with the running-orders of all newscasts containing so-called metadata for each news item⁸⁰, and additional relevant sources of information and communication. I also used both broadcasters' web-services, in addition to the homepages of APTN, Reuters and Eurovision (NRK, 2011a, Danmarks Radio, 2011a, EBU - Eurovision, 2011, Associated Press, 2011, Reuters WNS, 2011)⁸¹ DR's newscasts was viewed via their web-pages, but information on DR's incoming source-material was to a certain extent also accessed through NRK.

The origins of the pictures used in the foreign news stories were determined on the background of various indicators. In general, the material that the broadcasters received from external sources was traced manually by reeling through the latest received material associated with the topic of the news story, until I could identify the visual plots with the

⁸⁰ The metadata contained in the running-order computer program, includes information like the anchor's introduction of each item, length of item and total newscast, identification of anchors, editor-in-chief, reporter, photographer and editing staff, camera-order and so on, but most often do not identify source of material.
⁸¹ NRK and DR homepage are accessible to all, EVN- and APTN-website are accessed via log-in. Reuters-website is accessed via computers linked to the NRK internal network.

exact same angle, cutout and camerawork as in the casted news story. The access to NRK's editing program simplified this procedure immensely, since it allows you to open all video in a certain view that includes the names of the origin of all the individual segments in the news story. This allowed me to find the origin of the material, turning the tracing process quicker and more efficient. The DR news stories, on the other hand, were all traced manually.

The identifying of variable three: whether the pictures originated with the broadcasters' own staff, was usually clearly evident, at least with NRK's stories, through inclusion of the photographer and the reporter's names in a supertext graphic (*name tags*) on the screen. Besides, I was again assisted by NRK's editing program in tracing the video that originated with NRK themselves. Another evidence was that the reporters most often appeared in a stand-up at some point in their own foreign stories. And when they did not, their microphone with the broadcasters' logo was usually seen in segments that included interviews. A further indicator was in the introduction of foreign news stories by the anchor in the newscast, she would often express that the stories that were about to be displayed originated with their own personnel. There were a few instances, however, where I could not be 100 percent sure that the pictures in a story were DR's own. These were stories where neither the reporter nor any name tags appeared. In these few instances, I still recorded the item as DR-material, on the background that the reporter had made a story from the same area the previous day, combined with the fact that none of the agencies or the EVN had provided material covering the same story.

The identification of variables 4 through 8 was done by the means of the same procedures as those for variable 3. Variable 9, identifying which other source was used in the news items, was done through same procedures, but partly based on access to information and tools at NRK.

Appendix 2 Interview guide

Timing:

December 2011 + January 2012.

General, introductory part:

Introductory

The back ground for the interview in the project Først og fremst for bakgrunn, men kan bli relevant å bruke sitater. Understreke at de får sitatsjekk How it will be documented How the data will be used and how the respondent can access them the respondent's informed consent the structure of the interview

Questions for foreign reporters

Del 1 om bruk av EVN som kilde:

Hvordan forholder du deg til EVN som kilde rent praktisk I løpet av en dag på jobb?

Oppfølging:

Hvordan velger du ut hva du bruker fra EVN i produksjonen av saker? Hvordan bruker du EVN til forskjell fra stoff fra byråene? Jobber du med dem på forskjellige måter?

Kan du fortelle om gangen i arbeidet ditt når du får nyss om en stor, uanmeldt utenriks nyhetssak. Hvordan mottar du informasjon om utviklingen, og bilder til å lage saker av?

Follow up:

Feks. pågripelsen av Gaddafi.

Hvor forventer du å få bilder fra først, de mest brukbare bildene? Hvem er hovedkilde for informasjon om innkommende bilder? Byrå eller EVN? Andre? Hva slags type faktasjekk og/eller kildekritikk utøves på bildene som kommer inn fra byråene og EVN?

Follow ups:

Hvordan vurderer du påliteligheten i stoffet dere mottar? Er det noe forskjell i påliteligheten mellom de forskjellige kildene? Er det noe forskjell i vurdering av pålitelighet mellom bilder og medfølgende manus? Har du noen gang opplevd at det har kommet bilder som enten har blitt brukt eller vurdert brukt, som viser seg å ikke være det det så ut til å være umiddelbart? (hvis nei, spore konkret om feks stillbildet av en død Osama Bin Laden) Hvordan foregår denne vurderinga?

Er det feks. noen usagte regler om hvordan man bruker innslag man har mottatt fra byråer/EVN med tanke på hvor mye den må klippes til? Er det noe forskjell her mellom byråstoff og EVN-stoff?

Av de innkomne bildene som brukes i nyhetssaker, oppfatter du at det er en tendens i hva slags type stoff byråene tilbyr kontra EVN?

Hvilken betydning har EVN-samarbeidet for utenriksdekninga i NRKs nyhetssendinger?

Follow up:

Har du reflektert noe over styrken og svakhetene ved EVN-samarbeidet i forhold til nyhetsbyråene? Har evt. "samarbeidsmodellen" noe å si for brukbarheten av materialet dere mottar derfra?

Hender det at det er noen bilder dere kan ha bruk for som EVN-samarbeidet ikke kan skaffe til veie? Er det evt. noen tendens i hva slags type materiale det er?

Del 2 om prioriteringer og rutiner i nyhetsproduksjonen:

Er du underlagt noen økonomiske retningslinjer i produksjonen av utenriksstoff? I så fall: hva slags føringer gjelder?

Follow up:

Hvordan er mulighetene til å lage egne utenrikssaker versus å bruke innkommet materiale?

Hvem bestemmer eventuelt prioriteringene? Hvem bestemmer hva korrespondentene skal lage av saker og hvilke saker som det skal sendes ut reportere for å lage? I hvor stor grad har eventuelle strukturelle endringer innad i avdelinga/redaksjonen hatt innvirkning på hva som blir produsert av utenriksnyheter? Føler du stort sett at NRK/DR har/får nok ressurser til å dekke de viktige utenrikssakene tilstrekkelig?

Hvordan kan du tenke deg at NRK/DR hadde vært skikka til å dekke nødvendig utenriksstoff uten byråabonnementer og EVN-samarbeid?

Har du noen oppfatning om NRK/DRs oppgaver som allmennkringkaster, og I så fall: hvordan vurderer du dine føringer/prioriteringer opp mot disse?

Questions for EVN news contacts

Del 1, om tilbud og levering av saker til EVN:

Hvordan forholder du deg praktisk til EVN i løpet av en dag på jobb?

I hvor stor grad er daglige rutiner knytta opp til EVN? Hvor ofte og hvordan henvender du deg til EVN? Hvorfor?

Har NRK/DR god nok dekning av nasjonale/innenriks-saker til å kunne tilby til EVN det som har interesse utenfor deres egne grenser?

Hender det du får forespørsler fra EVN om nyhetssaker NRK/DR ikke dekker? Hender det du får forespørsler fra EVN om nyhetssaker NRK/DR ikke kan levere? Hva er evt. bakgrunnen for det? (mangel på tid/ressurser, konflikt med egen redaksjon, journalistens ønsker..)

På hvilken måte har størrelsen av tilgjengelige ressurser (personale/økonomisk) innvirkning på hvordan dere leverer bilder fra nyhetshendelser i eget land til EVN? Noen mønstre i evnen til å levere? Feks hvis det foregår store saker i eget land, blir det da mindre kapasitet til å levere til EVN? Evt. like stor eller større?

Hvordan fungerer det i praksis med etterspørsel og levering av saker til EVN? Hvilke vurderinger gjør du deg i de forskjellige stegene i prosessen?

Er det noen journalistiske/redaksjonelle krav til innslagene som tilbys? Mest tilbud eller forespørsler? Ressursbruk, eventuelle interessekonflikter, eksklusivitet etc. I hvor stor grad er andre deler av redaksjonen involvert i utveksling av NRK-/DRsaker? Finnes det noe generell holdning til EVN blant resten av redaksjonen?

Hva slags saker tilbyr du typisk/vanligvis, og hva slags saker tilbyr du ikke til EVN? Følger det standarder, evt. i hvilken grad er det avhengig av dagssituasjon og arbeidsmengde ellers?

Hvordan avgjør du hvilke saker du skal tilby/akseptere å sende ut? Er det klare retningslinjer fra EVN? Eller fra egen redaksjon? Velger du alltid selv eller andre i redaksjonen med på beslutningsprosess? Hvilke av sakene som NRK/DR sender ut tror du blir mest brukt/er mestpopulære/etterspørsel etter?I hvor stor grad utveksles saker fra korrespondenter/reisende reportere?Klare retningslinjer fra Geneve og/eller egen redaksjon om hva slags/hvilke saker sombør utveksles?

Hender det DR leverer saker til APTN/Reuters? Evt. hvor ofte? Hvordan fungerer i så fall det? utbyttemessig, ekslusivitet, restriksjoner?

Finnes det noen holdning i andre deler av redaksjonen til å levere saker til APTN/Reuters? (stas, nedprioritert, ikke-eksisterende..)

DEL 2: om hvordan EVN fungerer og parallellen til allmennkringkasting

Hva synes du er styrken og svakhetene ved EVN-samarbeidet som bildekilde for utenriksstoffet til NRK/DR?

Til sammenligning med nyhetsbyråene? Hva har "samarbeidsmodellen" å si for hva slags stoff som blir tilgjengelig gjennom EVN? Hva har evt. modellen å si for temaene eller områdene som sakene som utveksles dreier seg om?

Noen spesielle/generelle temaer eller områder medlemmene er sterke eller svake på?

Har du opplevd at andre medlemmer av EVN ikke kan levere forespurte bilder til utveksling? Hva oppfatter du er årsaken(e) til medlemmenes evne/manglende evne til å levere forespurte bilder?

Er det noen spesielle som går igjen som bra eller dårlige bidragsytere til EVN?

Har EVN-samarbeidet noe betydning for utenriksdekninga utover som bildeleverandør? Evt. på hvilken måte? (bruker NRK/DR EVN-samarbeidet til noe annet enn å få utenriksbilder?)

Hva er din oppfatning om NRK/DRs oppgave som allmennkringkaster? Og hvordan oppfatter du Dagsrevyen/TV-Avisens utenriksdekning når det gjelder disse oppgavene? Samsvarer utførelsen med -oppgavene?

Er det noen prinsipper som ligger i bunnen for arbeidet ditt, enten personlig, eller som forventes av arbeidsgiver/gruppa? Evt. hvilke? Hvordan gir disse prinsippene utslag i arbeidet ditt?

Appendix 3 Tables

1. Use of various sources in foreign news coverage, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

Table 1. Use of own material as source in foreign news coverage, September 19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Foreign coverage contains n originating from own staff?	naterial	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	26	27
	No	74	73
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	182	128
		Cr	amer's V: 0.002

Table 2. Use of EVN material as source in foreign news coverage, September 19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Foreign coverage contains a originating from EVN?	material	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	34	31
	No	66	70
	Sum	100	101
	(n)	182	128
		Cr	ramer's V: 0.038

Table 3. Use of material from commercial news agencies as source in foreign news coverage, September19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Foreign coverage contains a originating from commercia agencies?		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	51	46
	No	50	54
	Sum	101	100
	(n)	182	128
		Cr	amer's V: 0.044

Table 4.Use of material from other sources in foreign news coverage, September 19. – October 17. 2011 (percent)

Item contains material origi	nating	NRK	DR
from other sources?	-	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	20	29
	No	80	71
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	182	128
		Cr	amer's V: 0.106

Use of EVN material in foreign coverage of regions, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

Table 5. Use of EVN material in coverage of Europe (percent)

Coverage of Europe contair	ns EVN-	NRK	DR
material?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	43	42
	No	57	59
	Sum	100	101
	(n)	82	53
		Cr	ramer's V: 0.012

Table 6. Use of EVN material in coverage of North America (percent)

Coverage of North America EVN-material?	a contains	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	50	25
	No	50	75
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	22	20
		Cr	amer's V: 0.257

Table 7. Use of EVN material in coverage of Asia (percent)

Coverage of Asia contains I material?	EVN-	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	15	15
	No	85	85
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	40	33
		Cr	amer's V: 0.002

Table 8. Use of EVN-material in coverage of Africa (percent)

Coverage of Africa contains	s EVN-	NRK	DR
material?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	7	12
	No	93	88
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	27	17
		Cr	amer's V: 0.074

Table 9. Use of EVN material in coverage of South America (percent)

Coverage of South America	a contains	NRK	DR
EVN-material?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	33	0
	No	67	100
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	3	2
		Cr	amer's V: 0.408

Table 10. Use of EVN material in coverage of Oceania (percent)

Coverage of Oceania contain material?	ins EVN-	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	0	0
	No	100	100
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	4	2

3. Dispersion of EVN material in foreign coverage across main themes, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

 Table 11.
 Use of EVN material in foreign news coverage, by main theme (percent)

Main theme of items containing	NRK	DR
material from the EVN:	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Economy	27	13
Culture	18	13
Crime	10	3
International relations	13	13
Domestic politics	13	18
Violent events	8	18
Other	11	23
Sum	100	101
(n)	62	39
	Cr	amer's V: 0.297

Table 12. Use of EVN material in total coverage of main theme, percent

a)

Coverage of economy containing	NRK	DR TV-
material from EVN	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	53	42
No	47	58
Sum	100	100
(n)	32	12
	Cr	amer's V: 0.102

b)

Coverage of culture containing		NRK	DR TV-
material from EVN		Dagsrevyen	Avisen
	Yes	48	50
	No	52	50
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	23	10
		Cr	amer's V: 0.020

c)

Coverage of crime containing material	NRK	DR TV-
from EVN	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	35	9
No	65	91
Sum	100	100
(n)	17	11
	Cr	amer's V: 0.296

d)

Coverage of international relations	NRK	DR TV-
containing material from EVN	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	36	17
No	64	83
Sum	100	100
(n)	22	29
	Cı	amer's V: 0.217

Coverage of domestic politics containing material from EVN		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
	Yes	25	44
	No	75	56
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	32	16
		Cr	amer's V: 0.191

e)

Coverage of violent events containing	NRK	DR TV-
material from EVN	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	23	30
No	77	70
Sum	100	100
(n)	22	23
	Cr	amer's V: 0.087

f)

Coverage of other containing material	NRK	DR TV-
from EVN	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	21	33
No	69	77
Sum	90	110
(n)	34	27
	Cr	amer's V: 0.144

4. Use of material from commercial news agencies in foreign coverage Of regions, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

 Table 13.
 Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of Europe (percent)

Coverage of Europe contair	ns material	NRK	DR
from commercial news ager	ncies?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	38	30
	No	62	70
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	82	53
		Cr	amer's V: 0.078

Table 14. Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of North America (percent)

Coverage of North America material from commercial r agencies?		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
-	Yes	41	30
	No	59	70
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	22	20
		Cr	ramer's V: 0.114

Table 15. Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of Asia (percent)

Coverage of Asia contains ma	aterial	NRK	DR
from commercial news agenc	ies?	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	65	52
	No	35	49
	Sum	100	101
	(n)	40	33
		Cr	amer's V: 0.136

Table 16. Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of Africa (percent)

Coverage of Africa contains material		NRK	DR
from commercial news agencies?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	48	71
	No	52	29
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	27	17
		Cr	ramer's V: 0.221

Table 17. Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of South America (percent)

Coverage of South America material from commercial magencies?		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	67	50
	No	33	50
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	3	2
		Cr	amer's V· 0 167

Cramer's V: 0.167

Table 18. Use of material from commercial news agencies in coverage of Oceania (percent)

Coverage of Oceania contains material		NRK	DR
from commercial news agencies?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	100	100
	No	0	0
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	4	2

5. Dispersion of commercial news agency material in foreign coverage **across** main themes, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

Table 19.Use of material from commercial news agencies in foreign news coverage, by main theme
(percent)

Main theme of items containing material	NRK	DR
from the commercial news agencies:	Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
Violent events	19	34
Economy	24	9
Other	22	20
International relations	8	14
Domestic politics	13	9
Culture	7	9
Crime	9	7
Sum	102	102
(n)	92	59
	Ci	amer's V· 0 265

Cramer's V: 0.265

Table 20. Use of material from commercial news agencies in total coverage of main theme, percent

a)

Coverage of violent events containing material from commercial news agencies	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
Yes	77	87
No	23	13
Sum	100	100
(n)	22	23
	Cı	ramer's V: 0.127

Coverage of economy containing material from commercial news agencies		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
Y	Yes	69	42
	No	31	58
S	um	100	100
	(n)	32	12
		Cr	amer's V: 0.248

c)

Coverage of other containing material	NRK	DR TV-
from commercial news agencies	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	59	44
No	41	56
Sum	100	100
(n)	34	27
	Cr	ramer's V: 0.143

d)

Coverage of international relations containing material from commercial news agencies	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
Yes	32	28
No	68	72
Sum	100	100
(n)	22	29
	Cr	ramer's V: 0.046

d)

Coverage of domestic politics containing material from commercial news agencies	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
Yes	38	31
No	63	69
Sum	101	100
(n)	32	16
	Cı	ramer's V: 0.062

Coverage of culture containing material from commercial news agencies		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV- Avisen
	Yes	26	50
	No	74	50
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	23	10
		Cr	amer's V: 0.233

f)

Coverage of crime containing material	NRK	DR TV-
from commercial news agencies	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Yes	47	36
No	53	64
Sum	100	100
(n)	17	11
	Cr	amer's V: 0.106

6. Use of own material in foreign coverage of regions, NRK and DR, September 19. – October 17. 2011

Table 21. Use of own material in coverage of Europe (percent)

Coverage of Europe contair material?	ns own	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	24	28
	No	76	72
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	82	53
		Cr	amer's V: 0.044

Table 22. Use of own material in coverage of North America (percent)

Coverage of North America own material?	a contains	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	32	25
	No	68	75
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	22	20
		Cr	ramer's V: 0.075

Table 23.Use of own material in coverage of Asia (percent)

Coverage of Asia contains of	own	NRK	DR
material?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	30	27
	No	70	73
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	40	33
		Cr	amer's V: 0.030

Table 24.Use of own material in coverage of Africa (percent)

Coverage of Africa contains	s own	NRK	DR
material?		Dagsrevyen	TV-Avisen
	Yes	33	24
	No	67	77
	Sum	100	101
	(n)	27	17
		Cr	amer's V: 0.105

Table 25. Use of own material in coverage of South America (percent)

Coverage of South America contains own material?		NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	0	0
	No	100	100
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	3	2

Table 26. Use of own material in coverage of Oceania (percent)

Coverage of Oceania contai material?	ins EVN-	NRK Dagsrevyen	DR TV-Avisen
	Yes	0	0
	No	100	100
	Sum	100	100
	(n)	4	2

7. Contribution of news material from NRK and DR, January 1. – March 31. 2011

Table 27. Nature of contributed items, January 1. – March 31. 2011 (percent)

		NRK	DR TV-	
		Dagsrevyen	Avisen	
Contribution of reports from Norway/Denmark		59	62	
International reports		41	38	
	Sum	100	100	
	(n)	61	81	
		Cramer's V: 0.027		

Table 28. Main theme of contributed domestic items (percent)

	NRK	DR TV-
	Dagsrevyen	Avisen
Accidents and natural disasters	50	4
Other	19	26
International relations	8	18
Crime	6	18
Domestic politics	0	18
Culture	17	16
Sum	100	100
(n)	36	50
Cramer's V		

130