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Football on television: how has coverage of the Cup Finals in Norway
changed from 1961-1995?

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Introduction

Live football has always been compelling television. As Frandsen (1996), Dahlén (1999) and Reimer (2002) argue, sport coverage played a significant role in the development of Swedish and Danish public service broadcasting. In Norway, the coverage of sport has been one of the Norwegian public service broadcaster, NRK's, main strategies to secure itself a position as a national, unifying media institution, both during and after its television monopoly (Author removed, 2009).

Although there has been much research effort put into media sport (see Tudor, 2013 for an overview), we lack insight into the actual production practice of televised sport and how it has developed over the years. As Tudor (2013:220) argues, 'Given the prominence of television coverage in the literature, it might seem somewhat surprising that there has not been more attention paid to the visual dimension'. In this article, I will try to fill these two gaps in media sport studies by doing a textual analysis of the visual presentation of twelve Cup Finals on NRK. The scope of my article is limited to a study of the broadcaster's production process which lies behind the sending of a message.

Gary Whannel claims the production of televised football draws on elements from three other television genres: the practice of journalism, entertainment and drama (Whannel, 1992). Using Whannel's argument, I will investigate (1) how the production practices of the NRK coverage of the Norwegian Men's Football Cup Final rely on journalism, drama and entertainment and (2) how this has changed during the period from 1961 to 1995.

My study will add to current understanding of televised sport in two ways. Firstly, it will add more insight into the relationship between the three production practices, in accordance with Whannel's model. In my study, entertainment and journalism tend to merge into what we know as 'infotainment', without downplaying the journalistic convention. The most surprising findings are that

drama has played a minor role. Elements from this genre increased significantly, however, in the 1990s when NRK met competition from a commercial public service broadcaster.

Secondly, my analysis will illustrate that the practice of producing the Cup Final in NRK has not followed a gradual and linear development. Rather, the production practice continually undergoes changes with smaller modifications and adjustments, constantly testing the legitimate limits for how the practice might balance between entertainment, journalism and drama without distressing the values of a public service broadcaster.

Previous research on televised sport

As Scannell (2014) claims, the 1975 British Film Institute's Monograph, *Football on Television* edited by Ed Buscombe in 1975 is the essential urtext within the field of television and sport. Founded on semiological analysis, Buscombe (1975:3) argued that the use of production techniques -- such as editing, framing, cutting speed, camera movement and placing -- adds an additional level of coding, which turns televised football into something more than simply reflecting a real match. In BFI's collection of essays, Barr's and Ryall's examinations of visual styles in two broadcast matches are particularly relevant for me as it draws a distinction between the analytical and entertainment driven styles of the coverage. These early essays also highlight the distinction between different types of audiences, i.e. dedicated football fans, sport interested viewers and the general viewing public (Merkel, 1994).

The majority of studies within televised sport have examined the role of media sport in transforming constructions of national ideologies and identities related to themes such as masculinity, morality, race, gender and ethnicity (see, for instance, Boyle and Haynes, 2000; Rowe, 2003; Alghasi, 2011; Pedersen, 2013). These studies are relevant to me as they highlight dramatic aspects of sport coverage by focusing on narrative, characters, conflicts and suspense while depending upon audience involvement in a narrative. As I am studying an annual national media event, it is interesting to find out whether NRK is using this event to constitute structure of national identity and the notion of a national unity.

Sport journalism, as a particular field of interest, has been analysed by, for instance, Helland (2003), Boyle (2006) and Horky and Stelzner (2013). Studies by Genovese (2010), Schultz and Wei (2013) and Vogan (2013) have been particularly interesting in my case, as these consider how the work of television sports reporters has changed in a historical perspective.

The entertainment value of TV sports programmes has been explored by a number of textual analyses (Rowe, 2003) and in relation to sports journalism (Boyle, 2006). A major contribution to the body of research has been made by Kirsten Frandsen (1996, 2008, 2010 and 2012). She claims, for instance, that the works of sport journalists include on the one hand, entertainment, fascination and events and, on the other hand, enlightenment and argumentative, critical journalism (Frandsen, 2008). In my study I wish to explore Frandsen's argument (2008) that entertainment and journalism can co-exist in sport coverage, and in some cases enlarge one another.

Both the literature on the historical and the national dimension of televised sport is scattered in Norway. In an analysis of the 2000 UEFA European Football Championship, Helland (2003) compares the coverage of the state-owned broadcasting service, NRK, and the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2. Helland claims that NRK put greater emphasis on the informational and ceremonial aspects of coverage. I wish to explore whether NRK emphasised the same aspects in the early coverage of the national Cup Finals as it did during the UEFA Championship in 2000.

In terms of technical aspects of televised sport, several studies on "live" have informed my research. The work of Scannell (2014) and older studies by Morse (1983) and Marriott (1996) are of particular interest as they focus upon the *quality of live* and the immediacy effect. They also discuss the relationship between the live format and narratives. As Scannell argues: "Much of the routine coverage of a live soccer match simply *follows* the action through [camera] C1 and C2 (...) It is only when goals are scored that television's visual coverage moves into a different gear. It no longer follows the action. It produces its own visual narrative (Scannell, 2014:162).

Finally, most researchers within the media sport field acknowledge the conceptual framework of Garry Whannel (1992). I wish to explore this framework by using it explicitly as an analytical model.

The triangular model of televised sport

In 1992, Garry Whannel claimed that 'while television sport has its own distinct set of production practices, the professional ideologies framing this practice are structured by the three more general practices of journalism, drama and entertainment' (Whannel, 1992:61). With these three practices at the corners, we can plot forms and genres of television (such as current affairs, soaps, crime series and situation comedies) in a triangle. According to Whannel, 'television sport can be seen as sited at the intersection of these practices and is therefore placed at the centre of the triangle' (Whannel, 1992: 61).

Journalistic conventions assert the standards of impartiality, neutrality, balance and objectivity as guiding properties. In relation to televised football, the coverage presents facts and events in an observational mode – rendering the course of events, offering the audience immediacy and a live experience (Boyle, 2006). The unfolding real events is placed in the centre of a live coverage, whilst the cameras are merely 'flies on the wall', giving the coverage a great realistic effect. In addition, journalism also includes interpretations, analysis and commentary (Frandsen, 2012).

The practice of entertainment is primarily rooted in the principles of 'good television' which advocates a performative mode: 'high professional and technical standard, a broad appeal to a heterogeneous audience and an emphasis on exciting spectacle with personalities and action' (Whannel, 1992: 62-63). Although Whannel's concept of entertainment is rather vague (Dahlén, 1999), entertainment can relate to pleasure, identification and variation (Frandsen, 2010). In its simplest form, there is an aesthetic pleasure in merely watching a sporting performance. At the same time, televised sport offers both relaxation (escape from reality) and excitement in terms of expectations and unpredictability. Identification with a certain team or individual athlete serves as a strong motivation for watching a sport performance. The social dimension of pleasure is furthermore linked to the mobilisation of local, regional and national identification. Finally, entertainment is simply about variation, between the familiar, the known and the ritual of the game and the expectations and unpredictability of the game.

A dramatic convention can be used in a constructive mode to organise the whole sporting program as it highlights the narrative, characters, conflicts and suspense while depending upon audience involvement in a narrative (Goldlust, 1987; Tudor 2013). Although we could argue that there exists a 'natural' storyline in a real sport event (Frandsen, 2010), television is, to a certain extent, able to reorganise, represent and foreground some events as a different story. In a televised football match it is possible to construct heroes, villains and conflicts that may not appear that clear if one is simply watching the match live at the stadium. More than anything, sport is about national identity and the story is about nation heroes (Boyle & Haynes, 2000).

Historical case study

A historical case-oriented research, such as mine, tries to specify what it is that links variables to one another without focusing on correlation and causality between variables. An important issue in such cases is time. Although past events are linked together into a history and set conditions for and enable actions to proceed, they do not form a deterministic process. Rather, past events mark the selection of some alternatives over others. As Anthony Giddens (1991) argues, pre-existing traditional practices do not altogether disappear from the modern practice, but their status changes in certain ways. In order to include the interplay between past practices and present practices I have decided to focus on a yearly event within the Sports Department of NRK that has taken place since the early 1960s, the transmission of the Cup Final in football for men.

Another challenge in historical studies is how to deal with context, in my case the international development within sport coverage production practices. For instance, the coverage of the summer Games in Mexico in 1968 represented an immense step forward in the production of televised sport. With this transmission, Roone Arledge, the vice president of ABC Sports, almost single-handedly revolutionised televising sports production with technological improvements such as slow-motion, graphics, instant replays, side line microphones and cameras put on cranes, in jeeps and in the air (Vogan, 2013). His revolution also included narrative techniques such as "up close and personal", "The thrill of victory and the agony of defeat" and "the emotion always comes first". From my material, I

cannot say anything certain about the influence Arledge had on the Sports Department in NRK. However, as my analysis will show, NRK's technical coverage in 1971 improved dramatically compared to the coverage of the 1960s.

A symptom of the difficulty of conceptualisation change has been described in relation to television as the 'problem of periodization' (Corner, 2003: 277). Corner expresses concern that the density of the historical moments 'can turn contingency and the circumstantial into pattern' (2003:275). The act of grouping developments into stages can place undue stress on certain relationships among the aspects of television as institution, the practices that take place and their programme output. I have therefore not categorised my empirical data into stages or periods, although I have found other such studies useful (Bastiansen and Syvertsen 1996; Dahl and Bastiansen 1999).

Empirical material and textual analysis

The main source of knowledge about NRK's production practice of covering the men's football Cup Final is to analyse the actual coverage. I have analysed parts of 12 coverages of the Cup Final between 1961 and 1995. The reason for choosing this period is because 'sport played a significant part in the growth of television, especially during its emergence as a dominant global medium between 1960 and 1980' (Whannel, 2009:205).

Originally, I wanted to analyse three matches from each decade, but in many cases, NRK could not provide me with a copy of a match. The final selection therefore consist of the matches from 1961, 1963, 1966, 1969, 1971, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1992 and 1995. During the coding and scripting process I realised that a production practice would not change during a match. The camera positions would not alter, for instance at half-time, nor would the producer change the cutting rhythm or the use of particular camera techniques. I therefore decided, in some cases, to only use extracts, collages or half of the coverage.

Analysis focuses only on the visual presentation of the football matches (not the linguistic discourses) as very little attention has been paid to this in media sport studies (Tudor, 2013). The material was grouped into seven main categories: camera information, camera techniques, camera

syntax, motives (content), narrative elements, overall mode and graphics. An overview of the subclasses in the seven categories is presented in table 1.

----- Insert table 1 here -----

After coding each match according to the seven categories, I evaluated each category using Whannel's model of the three production practices, entertainment, drama and journalism. For instance, a high percentage of long shots (both in terms of number of shots and the duration) would be ascribed to a journalistic practice as this provides neutral information by simply transmitting what is going on in the match (Buscombe, 1975). A large number of pictures of the audience have been interpreted as entertainment, while shots that clearly are motivated by particular situations during the match (so-called 'reaction-shots') have been ascribed as a dramatic aspects, as these shots construct storylines within the match.

In some cases, categories can be ascribed to more than one of the practices. Action replays are primarily present in the coverage to provide better information service for the viewers in signalling that something important has taken place – a production practice that belongs to the journalistic genre. Replays could be coded as entertainment as they detach the viewers from the live, on-going game both in time and space, making the real event into a television construction. On the other hand, replays often show highly dramatic tackles and injuries, constituting the players as heroes, villains and victims of a narrative. In 1975, Match of the Day Producer Alec Weeks suggested that action replays 'are for the mums and daughters really. The fan would be quite content to see a one-camera coverage' (cited in Fiske, 1990:143). I would argue that also fans (regardless of their sex) want to see the replays as they carry three functions: to explore, to explain and to engage. In my analysis, I have included all three genres and weighted them slightly differently depending on my interpretation of the context.

It is tempting to view television sport from a specific audience perspective and assign different styles of coverage to different kind of viewers. One might argue that marginal groups (such as the fans)

may want to see the flow in the game through a long view point of view, provided by the game camera. Other viewing groups (such as those not so interested in the finer points of football) may find these shots uninteresting, close to boring. They probably enjoy an entertainment driven style that focus on close-ups, audience shots and the use of narrative elements. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to adequately cover specific audience perspective, readers are referred to the work of Frandsen (2010) and Pedersen (2013).

Results and discussion

Fitting Whannel's triangular model?

My first research question asked how well NRK's production practices fit Whannel's (1992) triangular model. The analysis shows that about half of the matches in my material could be placed in the middle of the triangle, but that the convention of entertainment and journalism are more dominant than the convention of drama. This confirms the studies of both Helland (2003) and Frandsen (2008). Figure 1 illustrates how the 12 matches roughly correspond to Whannel's triangle.

----- Insert figure 1 here -----

The dramatic practice is only highly present in three matches, although several of the coverages have traces of constructive editing. Even in the 1966 match, the producer takes more control over the coverage as alternation between the camera shots turns the raw material into a media event. Compared to the coverage of 1961 and 1963, production is no longer simply 'radio with pictures', but a constructed television event. The explicit use of a story-line and narrative elements is, however, not present until the 1990s, except for the match in 1971. A few of the coverages stage the event as a national ritual in order to build national identity and strengthen Norwegian culture, but this is not a significant trait of the coverage.

Entertainment is either highly or moderately present in all the matches. The performative

mode forms a structure advocating 'good television' in terms of variation. The 1969 match could be described as a technically entertaining production, as there is a high degree of variation (zoom, pan, types of shot and types of motives) along with a rapid cutting pattern between the different cameras. With a few exceptions, the practice of entertainment is highly present from 1984 onward.

The practice of journalism is present in all the matches, but the degree varies somewhat. In some cases when the convention of entertainment is strongly present, the journalistic element is less dominating and vice versa. This might relate to the debate over whether the obligation to traditional journalistic values, such as accuracy and objectivity, conflicts with other values associated with entertainment (Genovese, 2010). In other cases, the two conventions follow each other closely, forming a 'new' practice – infotainment.

Below, I will present how an 'ideal' match in the centre of Whannel's triangle was produced (the 1971 match), along with matches that could be placed in each of the corners, representing drama (the 1995 match), journalism (the 1978 match) and entertainment (the 1984 match). Lastly, a match representing infotainment is presented (the 1989 match).

1971- Drama, journalism and entertainment

The match of 1971 can ideally be placed in the centre of Whannel's triangle. The distribution of pictures among the three cameras in 1971 indicates a syntactical rule of 'infotainment' between overview- and action pictures. The main camera, C1 provides neutral information by simply transmitting what is going on in the match in long shots, with smooth panning movements and only two zooms. When the ball is out of play, the action camera, C2, provides content exhibiting entertainment by offering a different perspective, angle and motives than C1. The work division between these two cameras is about 50/50, but the shots of C1 are twice as long as C2 shots. By going 'up close and personal' with the camera C2, the players are drawn closer to the TV viewers and this creates entertainment in terms of intimacy and personalisation. Most of the C2 shots (47 of 71 pictures) are in work when the ball is out of play, i.e. when camera C1 does not have any information to transmit. The entertaining content of C2 does not disturb the journalistic convention.

In terms of camera techniques, there are 11 replays in the second half of the 1971 match, given by both C1 and C2. Three of them show the celebration of the players after a goal has been scored instead of the actions leading up to the goals. One could, therefore, argue that in these cases entertainment value is preferred at the expense of a more analytical approach to the game. This was also the case in Barr's (Buscombe, 1975) analysis of British coverage by BBC and ITV in 1974.

As common in the 1960s and early 1970s (Buscombe, 1975; Whannel, 1992), NRK's producer is careful in the use of shots of individual players. However, there is strong focus on the Rosenborg player, Bjørn Wirkola, a former World Champion ski jumper. By establishing Wirkola as a hero in the story, the coverage represents an early attempt at constructing a story line in the television coverage. Similar, in his study from 1974, Ryall found that 'star players tend to be isolated in close shots more often than other players' (Buscombe, 1975:42).

For the 1971 coverage it is important to note that several technological changes took place in NRK at that time. First of all, NRK had introduced colour TV on New Year's Eve of 1971, secondly, the sports Department had been given more resources in terms of cameras and, thirdly, the production crew had been familiar with techniques - such as slow-motion, close-ups, split-screen etc. - which were introduced to broadcasters in the 1960s by Roone Arledge and ABC (Vogan, 2013).

1995 – A story of competition and rivalry, winning and losing

Although the Cup Final in 1995 included many elements from entertainment and journalism, the match stands out as the one that relies mostly on a dramatic convention. In this coverage most of the pictures are motivated by previous events. When there is a stop in the game, the work division between the cameras seems to have established a regular syntax. The story line in the coverage includes more focus on duals and conflicts between individual players along with situations leading up to a goal or a goal chance. This is made possible by the use of seven cameras positioned at different locations with different perspectives.

For instance, whenever a dual ends with a stop in the game, C17 displays a shot of the 'victim' while C2 displays a shot of the 'villain'. If it is a particularly important incident, the player's name is

also displayed on-screen. The two reaction shots are followed by a replay of the situation, allowing viewers to judge the situation. If a situation also includes a possible controversial decision by the referee or one of the linesmen, these are also portrayed in a close-up or a medium shot.

Apart from the failures and successes of individual players, the most prominent theme in the story of the 1995 Cup Final is the match as a 'national festival'. This theme is fronted by an increase in pictures of the audience, both as large groups and individual fans, often given as a reaction shot after a particular incident on the pitch. This supports Helland's (2003) argument that NRK highlights the ceremonial aspects of the Cup Final.

1978 – An informative 'up close and personal' documentary

The most 'journalistic' coverage in my material is the match from 1978. Although there are four cameras at work in this match, the game camera, C1, has increased its domination compared to previous matches. It stands for 46 per cent of the total shots and 72 per cent of the total duration of shots, while its average length of shots is 18 seconds. The journalistic value is also present in the use of zooming out to create an overview and geographical orientation for the viewers. Another example is that the 10 replays in the 1978 final show no celebration scenes -- they are simply copies of previous shots provided by another camera.

Regarding syntax, there is a highly realistic documentation of events taking place on the pitch. What the viewers are watching is, by and large, determined by the actions of the game and not by the producer. Therefore, of the 150 pictures classified as action pictures, 102 pictures are simply static situations of players waiting for the game to start again after a pause.

In terms of the motives of the shots, there is an increase in the use of close-ups, but they are merely informative pictures that identify the players. Only 22 of the 119 individual pictures are motivated by previous actions in order to construct a story line. Pictures showing the team playing - the so-called game shots - are used for almost 70 % of the total match time. Gary Whannel claims this strengthens 'the claim of television to reflect events and minimise its own active construction of representations' (Whannel, 1992: 32).

1984 – Entertainment through joy, speed and action

The convention of entertainment is most strongly present in the Cup Final in 1984. In this match, entertainment is created through faster cutting rhythm as the duration of pictures delivered by camera C1 has been shortened (48 per cent of total duration compared to 79 per cent in 1980). There are two additional cameras compared to 1980, and more action pictures compared to previous coverage. In addition, the 1984 coverage emphasises the players celebrating and the audience cheering, both in terms of longer duration and more pictures than previously.

In this coverage, the syntax in goal situations resembles a 'modern' way of filming a goal situation: a C2 medium shot of the players celebrating the goal is followed by a C17 shot of the audience, followed by two or three replays of the goal from different angles and perspectives. The inclusion of two additional cameras contributes heavily to variation in the coverage.

The fast tempo in the cutting rhythm between the shots excludes the use of pan and zoom, without representing any loss of entertainment value or information for the viewers.

In an institutional context, the televised Cup Final in 1984 appears almost as a celebration of the medium itself. Bastiansen and Syvertsen (1996) have argued that NRK's self-confidence was low in the early 1980s and that NRK struggled to maintain a good relationship with its viewers. In this respect, the 'outburst' of celebration and entertainment in the Cup Final in 1984 probably helped improve the confidence and legitimacy of the broadcaster.

1989- Professional, controlled infotainment

In the coverage of the Cup Final in 1989, there are eight cameras that cover the match, which the potential to enlarge the entertainment value of the production. This potential is, however, constrained by the convention of journalism, especially evident in the tempo of camera alternations, the use of action shots and the tempo in camera cutting. For instance, there are in total 432 shots in the 1989 match, which is less than in 1986. On an average the shots last for 12.6 seconds, which is longer than in 1986. Consequently, the tempo is slower in the 1989 coverage compared to the 1986 coverage, which does not have a positive effect on entertainment value.

In terms of the distribution of close ups, medium shots and long view shots, the coverage of 1989 is more similar to the coverage of 1980 than to the coverage of 1986, which might suggest a 'set back' to more old- fashioned production practice. On the other hand, the high number of replays (in total 44, occupying more than seven minutes of the game) strongly transforms the realistic game into a TV event, which is an example of entertainment.

Also, in 1989, two journalists interviewed the managers during the match in a rather enthusiastic way. As Frandsen (2012) argues, sport journalists are allowed to express their own passion, excitement and judgement, which has been crucial for 'establishing and sustaining a relationship with the audience that is based on a shared fascination' (Frandsen, 2012: 11).

Changing production practices

My second research question asked how NRK's production practice for televised football has changed over time. From the analysis, it is obvious that the three conventions in Whannel's model (1992) have not developed in the same way or on the same path. Figure 2 illustrates how the dramatic convention has undergone a sequential change: stability of the journalistic convention and linear development of the entertainment convention in the period between 1961 and 1995.

----- Insert figure 2 here -----

Below I will discuss how the three conventions have developed over the years and their relation to each other.

Sequential change of the dramatic convention

The dramatic convention is mostly evident in the syntax -- the use of motivated and reaction shots along with narrative elements such as a story line and roles -- which forms a constructive mode of presentation. The development of the dramatic convention is best described as sequential change,

from non-exciting in the early 1960s, to a small, but significant presence in the 1970s and 1980s and to a rather dominant presence in the 1990s.

During the matches in the 1960s the producer focuses heavily on events taking place before the goals, but also alters rather boldly between the few cameras present. As such, he is taking some control over the coverage instead of simply transmitting the game. Turning the live event into a media event might be one reason for the overwhelming reception televised sport received from viewers in the early 1960s, despite poor technical quality (Dahl and Bastiansen, 1999; Vogan 2013).

Between 1971 and 1989, the dramatic convention established itself on a small, but significant level. The practice of going 'up close and personal' from 1971 is carried on in the 1978 match by focusing on Brann's striker in the role of the villain. The 'real' hero of the match, Hansen, who scored twice for Lillestrøm, is not given much attention.

An interesting aspect of the 1978 coverage is the attempt to construct a dual between the two managers, as 14 individual pictures of Billy Elliott of Brann and Joseph Hooley of Lillestrøm are broadcast.

As table 2 suggest, there is a rather similar distribution of types of shots in the 1980, 1986 and 1989. This suggests a more confident structuring of the coverage in terms of a narrative and a syntax that focuses on telling 'small' stories of particular situations on the pitch (such as goal chances, goals, injuries and conflicts), particularly in the match of 1980.

----- Insert table 2 here -----

With the two matches in the 1990s there was a large degree of predictability regarding which camera displays what kind of situation. There are more and quicker cuts than previously, and a firm syntax has been established between motivated pictures, reaction shots and close-ups. As such, the dramatic convention forms a more solid base for the production.

A stable, solid based journalistic convention

The journalistic convention is related to an observational mode of presentation with a realistic live effect -- substantial use of long shots showing the development of the game. The use of graphics, slow motion and action replay could enlarge the journalistic aspect by securing the viewers with accurate information. The journalistic convention has, in my material, always played a rather important part of NRK's coverage, offering TV viewers objective information and a good overview of what is going on. The first years the use of this convention differed before it established itself at an intermediate level in 1971 and remains at that level in the late 1980s. From 1989 and onwards the journalistic convention established itself at a high level.

As one can expect, the two teams are the main motive in the production and this is transmitted through longshots, mostly in an observational mode. The duration of these shots has decreased throughout the period: for instance, in 1971 the average length for a team-oriented shot was 26 seconds; in 1978 it was 19 seconds, while in 1984 the length was 15 seconds, followed by 14 seconds in 1992. The practice of team oriented long shots creates greater realism and transparency, and it gives a good overview of the positions of the players.

If the journalistic convention dominates too much, there is a risk of turning the coverage into a rather grey, down-to-earth and sombre experience, as for instance in the 1986 match. There are, however, some examples of experimental journalistic elements, such as the use of interviews with the managers during the match which replaced some of the celebration scenes after a goal. A similar journalistic innovation takes place in the 1992 match: there are pictures and sound of one of the managers speaking on a phone about tactics with, probably, someone in the management team.

The use of replays addresses several groups of viewers and could be ascribed to any of the conventions. In the 1989 match, the high number of replays (44) by several cameras occupied more than seven minutes of the game. The 24 replays of big chances and shots at goal are clearly an informative service to all kinds of viewers. For the football fan, a replay provides the opportunity to analyse the chances and experience the exciting moment with despair. For a viewer less interested in

football, the replay provides the opportunity to watch again what actually took place (in case the live event was missed). As such, replays address several viewers and broaden their experience of the match.

Linear development of the entertainment convention

Entertainment is related to a general performative mode of production, focusing on a high level of colour, action and emotions, exploring the uncertainty of the match's outcome. Except for a drop in 1978, the development is linear with regard to the convention of entertainment. 1969 and 1984 stand out as more entertaining in the early days, before the matches in 1992 and 1995 which represent a flare-up of intensity, speed and excitement.

The cutting pattern of overview and breakdown between game camera C1 and action camera C2 forms the basis for variation in the coverage, and the faster the cutting path, the more entertaining the coverage is. For instance, in 1966 each shot lasted on average 12.5 seconds. In 1969, the shots lasted only for seven seconds, giving the coverage more dynamism and energy.

Similarly, the more cameras present at the stadium, the more options the producer have for variation between types of shot that have different perspectives and angles. Table 3 illustrates the differences between camera shots in four of the matches (1978, 1980, 1986 and 1989).

----- Insert table 3 here -----

C1's dominating position did not change much in this period. The number of C2 shots has, however, been reduced, both in terms of per cent of total shots (from 38 to 17 per cent) and in terms of per cent of total duration (from 22 to 7 per cent). The use of the two close-up cameras (C3 and C17) has, on the other hand, increased (from 76 shots to 117 shots). A large number of close-ups strengthens both affective involvement and identity formation, which are concerned with entertainment (Frandsen, 2010).

There are some contradictions in terms of entertainment in the four matches. For instance, in 1980 the camera syntax suggests that there is a greater degree of variety in camera shots, which has a positive effect on entertainment value. On the other hand, there are significantly fewer shots in 1980 compared to 1978, indicating that the tempo of the camera cutting was decreased, something that has a negative effect on entertainment value.

The 1989 coverage has its own audience-camera (C16), only providing shots involved with atmosphere. There are also three cameras dedicated to replays, which also give the producer more content options to choose from.

Discussion

In this part of the article I wish to discuss the results of my analysis and implications for both theory and practice. In addition, I will point out some limitations of the study and ideas for further research.

First: The connection between ideology and nationalism has, since Buscombe's study in 1975, been a core theme in media studies. In my material, national identity is not the main theme. One reason might be that the national identity discourse belongs to the linguistic discourses rather than the audiovisual (Tudor, 2013). In Helland's study (2003), the main differences between NRK and TV2 were found in the commentary and not in the visual presentations, similar to the findings of Scott et al. (2012).

Another, and more consistent, explanation from my analysis would be the prominent position of journalism in the coverages. It would not be professional, in terms of objectivity, to emphasise nationalism or any local distinctiveness, although they exist. When NRK met competition in the late 1989, there was a rise in journalistic convention, constituting NRK as a broadcaster founded on quality, professionalism, audience maximisation and to some degree innovation.

Nevertheless, nationalistic themes are present in a few of the matches that I analysed. The relatively large number of audience shots in 1963 might be interpreted as staging a festival of national belonging. The 1971 match clearly identified Bjørn Wirkola as a national hero. Similarly, the

close-ups of the team's English managers in 1978 could be an attempt to construct a (national) conflict. As stated earlier, the 1995 match is labelled as the most 'nationalistic' and 'ritualistic' coverage in my material, followed by the 1986 match and the coverage of 1989. Here, NRK's role as a master of ceremony is obvious, similar to the findings of Helland's study (2003). The ceremonial aspects of the 1995 match may be interpreted as NRK's effort to reposition itself as 'the' national broadcaster after the break-up of the monopoly. According to the General Director of NRK, other European public service broadcasters had given up the sports coverage too easily, and by that, signed their own death sentence (Rossavik, 2007). This position reflects a similar situation in the United Kingdom. As Boyle and Haynes argue (2000:69), 'the BBC's historical image of itself as the national broadcaster owes much to the centrality of its sporting coverage'.

Secondly, sport broadcasting is a particular, and much disputed, form of journalism (Boyle 2006; Genovese 2010; Frandsen 2012). As figure 1 suggests, there is a cluster of matches from my analysis in the fusion between entertainment and journalism, which suggest that these two practices can co-exist rather peacefully. As Whannel argues: 'There is on the one hand the impulse to describe the scene, show what's happening, give the audience an accurate picture, and on the other the impulse to get people involved, keep up the interest, add suspense, shape the material and highlight the action' (Whannel, 1992:26).

In my analysis, there is no evidence of 'traps' that may question the quality and honest attitude of sports journalism (Horky and Stelzner, 2013). The reason for this may be that, in some cases in the 1970s and 1980s, formal journalistic conventions and production guidelines within NRK constrained the use of entertainment techniques. Such guidelines were, for instance, the 1969-policy document ('The Little Blue Book') and the Rules of Programming (1975). In particular, all the coverage in my analysis emphasised journalistic professionalism in terms of fairness, neutrality, correctness and analysis. The only exception may be the heavy focus on Wirkola as the hero in the 1971 match.

As argued in the previous section, NRK's response to the first wave of commercial competition in the late 1980s was deeply fixed in journalistic principles. Even in the coverage of 1986, when NRK was preparing for competition, the joyfulness from the Cup Final in 1984 is left in favour of a more 'down-to-earth' informative and analytical practice. For instance, some of the players' celebration scenes after a goal were replaced with interviews of the managers. My analysis does not support Boyle's (2006) view that sport journalism has become less journalistically driven, nor Genovese's findings that 'the need for entertainment or drama in sports television production oftentimes wins out over the pull of journalism' (Genovese, 2010: 163). However, both Boyle (2006) and Genovese (2010) are more concerned with modern sports commentary while I have done a historical analysis of the visual coverage.

Thirdly, although the position of the journalistic convention is solid and stable throughout my analysis, the entertainment values gained a stronger position during the period, particularly after the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2, entered the market. This might suggest that the Sports Department, as well as the rest of NRK, was instructed to provide more entertainment (Dahl and Syvertsen, 1996). It also suggests that the entertainment convention did not stress journalistic values, but that the two production practices merged into infotainment.

In order to understand the missing conflict between entertainment and journalism, it is important to bear in mind that sport has always been entertainment and that entertainment has always played a significant role in NRK's programs. As in the case of many public service broadcasters, the old so-called 'Reithian trinity' of information, enlightenment and entertainment, also constituted the values of NRK, although this has been in the process of redefinition.

In order to better understand the potential tension between entertainment and journalism, I would suggest that we need a clearer conceptualisation of both 'entertainment' and 'journalism', as well as 'infotainment'. The broad and vague terms in Whannel's model (1992) represent some conceptual difficulties and would need more attention in order to be developed further. Clearly there is also a difference in the journalistic principles in a live transmission of a match compared to pre-

and post match analysis and 'sports news'. Secondly, both the entertainment and journalistic values would differ in an analysis of the visual coverage compared to an analysis of commentaries. We need studies that include both parts. Thirdly, it would be highly valuable to apply an audience perspective while analysing televised sport in order to investigate the relationship between different styles of production and different kind of viewers.

Conclusion

Both Raymond Boyle (2013) and Paddy Scannell (2014) claim that sports content has always been at the cutting edge of new innovations in media technology. This is also the case in my analysis, wherein the production practice of televised football has constantly changed in terms of small adjustments and fine-tuning. While drawing on a variety of elements from journalism, entertainment and drama in the Cup Final coverage, NRK never lost ground on its public service merits. To the contrary, the broadcaster managed to 'keep up with the times' and at the same time nurture its fundamental values.

In a time when media sport researchers focus 'beyond television' (Frandsen, 2012; Hutchins and Rowe 2012; Boyle, 2014), a legitimate question is to what extent does a historical analysis of televised football matches add relevant insight to the literature. My reply would be three- fold. First, Whannel's (1992) model of drama, journalism and entertainment in media sport has, as far as I have noted, not been used as a particular analytical tool. I have tried to cultivate this useful model in order to strengthen the analytical approach in media sport studies.

Secondly, my study represents an attempt to put focus on the visual dimension of media sport. As previously argued, this has been a neglected field of research (Tudor, 2013). To me this comes as a surprise; sport in media is mostly portrayed through either moving images or still photos, independent of type of technical device.

Thirdly, the value of historical media studies would nurture the understanding of the media of today, particularly in terms of understanding a media institution's production practice. As my study has illustrated, a production practice can be viewed as simultaneously enduring and changing.

The way NRK has produced the Cup Final over the years has, on one hand, changed radically in terms of number of cameras and technical elements (such as replay, slow motion etc.). On the other hand, the production practice has remained rather stable (for instance, the position and the use of the main camera and visual syntax after a goal). As such, production practices are an ongoing process that both creates stability for an organisation and, at the same time, encourages more profound organisational changes. As Schultz and Hernes (2013:18) argue in their study of how different memory forms provide organisational identity reconstruction: 'what are considered central and distinctive characteristics of the organisation in the past can change, just as the ways in which central cues from the past influence claims for the future'.

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