

# Televised sport

Exploring the structuration of producing change and  
stability in a public service institution

Mona Kristin Solvoll

A dissertation submitted to BI Norwegian School of Management  
for the degree of Ph.D

Series of Dissertations 1/2009

BI Norwegian School of Management  
Department of Public Governance

Mona Kristin Solvoll

Televised sport - exploring the structuration of producing change and stability in a public service institution

© Mona Kristin Solvoll  
2009

Series of Dissertations 1/2009

ISBN: 978 82 7042 944 8  
ISSN: 1502-2099

BI Norwegian School of Management  
N-0442 Oslo  
Phone: +47 4641 0000  
[www.bi.no](http://www.bi.no)

Printing: Nordberg

The dissertation may be ordered from our website [www.bi.no](http://www.bi.no)  
(Research – Research Publications)

## Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed in various ways to this project. I am indebted to my *outstanding* supervisor Professor Tor Hernes for his very unusual mind.

I am grateful to the Norwegian Research Council for the funding of this thesis and to the Department of Public Governance at Norwegian School of Management, BI. Special thanks to the boys at the Centre for Media Economics and to Professor Rolf Høyer who brought me to BI. I would also like to thank the Department of Innovation and Economic Organization that generously welcomed me. Very special thanks to the Department Administrators Ellen A. Jacobsen and Berit Lunke for all their help and bright smiles.

I have received valuable inspiration from many “senior” colleagues, in particular professor Tore Bakken and Professor Lars Thue. Special thanks to Professor Nick Sitter, although he supports the wrong team. Thanks also to my proof-reader, Verona Christmas-Best and the members of the committee for their insightful, comments and criticism.

Without the camaraderie of my fellow doctoral students, this PhD work would have been unbearable. I am forever grateful to Stine “Barbara” Ludvigsen and Anne Louise Koefoed – I am proud to know such excellent researchers. Thanks to the old gang (Anne, Helene, Catherine, Lars and Lars) and to the study group *The Inspirea Girls* who helped me out in the early days.

I am grateful to Tor Bang, Gerhard E. Schjelderup and Berit von der Lippe who has trusted me with their beloved students. Special thanks to the process friends of the Mimosa 2005 – important days where I suddenly understood something...

My family and close friends have been a long lasting source of energy during this exhaustive period. Thanks for never loosing faith in me. Most of all, I thank my parents for their encouragement and support and thanks to Gary – AML.

Oslo, December 5, 2008  
Mona

## Abstract

This thesis has both an empirical and a theoretical ambition. First, the empirical concern is uncovering the processes that shaped and influenced the production of televised football in the Norwegian Public Service Broadcaster, NRK from 1960 to 1995. Secondly, I hope to provide some insight into the theoretical debate on how organisational change and stability act together.

If we accept the assumption that organisations are pursuing change and, at the same time, promoting stability, we need to seek a theoretical context that embrace how an organisation undergoes renewal while retaining much of its institutional inertia at the same time. Drawing on Giddens' structuration theory (1984), the thesis investigates how structures (rules and resources) provide temporal stability that enable agents to change them. In structuration theory, the structural principles are the most abstract elements of structures while the structural properties are the most concrete. My main concern has been how structures are *instantiated* in practice and how practices *constitute* structures. The term instantiation refers to the capacity of human actors to produce a more concrete realisation of some abstract structural principles, while constitution refers to a feedback device from larger concrete structural properties of practice to abstraction.

Empirically, the thesis illustrates how various *aspects* of public service broadcasting interact. It suggests an understanding of the "conceptual glue" which constructs and reproduces public service broadcasting as (1) a daily professional practice of producing and delivering program output, as (2) a policy organised within an institution, and (3) as an institution with a cultural ideology underpinning both programme making practices and the organising of a public service broadcaster.

# Content

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1</b>	<b>Research Topic</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2</b>	<b>The empirical case</b>	<b>3</b>
1.2.1	<i>Aspects of public service broadcasting</i>	6
1.2.2	<i>The place of sports programmes within NRK</i>	9
<b>1.3</b>	<b>Theoretical context</b>	<b>11</b>
1.3.1	<i>Views of organisational change and institutional stability</i>	13
1.3.2	<i>Research on televised sport</i>	19
<b>1.4</b>	<b>Research strategies</b>	<b>21</b>
1.4.1	<i>How to study institutional structures and actions</i>	21
1.4.2	<i>How to study institutional change and stability?</i>	23
1.4.3	<i>Sources and interpretation</i>	24
<b>1.5</b>	<b>How the thesis is organised</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2.1</b>	<b>Central concepts in structuration theory</b>	<b>27</b>
2.1.1	<i>Structures</i>	28
2.1.2	<i>Structural principles and structural properties</i>	31
2.1.3	<i>Agents</i>	33
2.1.4	<i>Practice and system</i>	35
2.1.5	<i>Structuration and organisation</i>	37
2.1.6	<i>Loss of sensation in the structuration theory</i>	39
<b>2.2</b>	<b>Structuration theory and organisational studies</b>	<b>42</b>
2.2.1	<i>Structuration in action</i>	43
2.2.2	<i>Legitimation as institutional and organisational structures</i>	46
<b>2.3</b>	<b>Continuity or transmutation of structures</b>	<b>51</b>
2.3.1	<i>Instantiation and constitute - from abstract to concrete and vice versa</i>	52
2.3.2	<i>Structuration, stability and change</i>	55
2.3.3	<i>The promise of the future is also the survival of the past</i>	60
<b>3</b>	<b>ACTIVATING STRUCTURATION THEORY</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>Empirical focus – how to study public service broadcasting</b>	<b>63</b>
3.1.1	<i>Public service obligations as structural principles of NRK</i>	65
3.1.2	<i>Policy and regulation as structures of NRK</i>	68
3.1.3	<i>Production guidelines as structural properties of NRK</i>	72

<b>3.2</b>	<b>Theoretical focus - How to study structural change and stability</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>Analytical focus – How to study production practices for TV sport?</b>	<b>82</b>
3.3.1	<i>How to study structural properties</i>	84
3.3.2	<i>How to study structural principles and structures</i>	86
3.3.3	<i>The choice of research strategy</i>	88
<b>4</b>	<b>INCITING MOMENTS AND EXPOSITION</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>Instantiating television practice within the radio system</b>	<b>91</b>
4.1.1	<i>Radio and television: two practices – one instantiation process</i>	93
4.1.2	<i>Instantiating the structural property of enlightenment</i>	94
4.1.3	<i>Constituting the structural principle of universalism</i>	98
4.1.4	<i>Instantiating the structural properties of entertainment and information</i>	102
4.1.5	<i>Emergent structures for programme structure, range and output</i>	105
<b>4.2</b>	<b>Early television sports production practices</b>	<b>112</b>
4.2.1	<i>Analysis of the World Cup in Ice hockey 1958</i>	113
4.2.2	<i>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1961</i>	115
4.2.3	<i>Chapter summary - continuity from radio</i>	120
<b>4.3</b>	<b>Instantiating infotainment to prevent radio death</b>	<b>122</b>
4.3.1	<i>Constituting universalism: NRK Radio as “the” national medium</i>	122
4.3.2	<i>Instantiating information in radio sports productions</i>	123
4.3.3	<i>Instantiating structure of audience friendly radio programmes</i>	125
4.3.4	<i>Instantiating the structural property of audience demand in radio</i>	128
4.3.5	<i>A new radio sports practices – instantiating entertainment</i>	131
4.3.6	<i>Chapter summary – creating temporal stability</i>	133
<b>5</b>	<b>RISING ACTION</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>The need for structures</b>	<b>138</b>
5.1.1	<i>The “Bold and Challenging – strategy” of NRK TV</i>	140
5.1.2	<i>Conflicts within the structural property of enlightenment</i>	142
5.1.3	<i>Conflicts within the structural property of information</i>	144
5.1.4	<i>“Publicity Rules” introduced to resolve the tension</i>	146
5.1.5	<i>Changes in practices: from entertainment to infotainment</i>	149
<b>5.2</b>	<b>International influences on sports production in NRK?</b>	<b>152</b>
5.2.1	<i>Using sport in constituting television as a medium on its own</i>	153
5.2.2	<i>Sport instantiated as entertainment in the Olympic coverage</i>	157
5.2.3	<i>Audience-friendly practice within the BBC</i>	160
<b>5.3</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1963, 1966 and 1969</b>	<b>162</b>
5.3.1	<i>Instantiating a festival of national belonging in 1963</i>	163
5.3.2	<i>Instantiating journalism by focusing on the game in 1966</i>	164
5.3.3	<i>Instantiating professional entertainment in 1969</i>	166

<b>5.4</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1971</b>	<b>167</b>
5.4.1	<i>Instantiating entertainment with action camera</i>	168
5.4.2	<i>Instantiating information with camera techniques</i>	171
5.4.3	<i>Instantiating a national hero with “up close and personal”</i>	172
5.4.4	<i>Instantiating infotainment in the commentary</i>	174
5.4.5	<i>Chapter summary: Difficulties in instantiating structures</i>	175
<b>6</b>	<b>CLIMAX – NRK AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS MONOPOLY</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>6.1</b>	<b>Closing in on two perspectives of structures</b>	<b>179</b>
6.1.1	<i>Conflicts with the structural property of information</i>	185
6.1.2	<i>Televised sports as a defensive position</i>	188
<b>6.2</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1978</b>	<b>190</b>
6.2.1	<i>Instantiating information through camera alternation</i>	191
6.2.2	<i>Not using zoom and replay to instantiate entertainment</i>	192
6.2.3	<i>Not using plots and the syntax to instantiate entertainment</i>	194
6.2.4	<i>Instantiating enlightenment through “up close and personal”</i>	195
6.2.5	<i>Choosing action shots to instantiate entertainment</i>	197
6.2.6	<i>Instantiating information to football fans through team-pictures</i>	199
6.2.7	<i>Instantiating information in the commentary with game analysis</i>	200
6.2.8	<i>Attempts of personalisation and dramatisation in the commentary</i>	202
6.2.9	<i>Chapter summary – a constrained, but playful production practice</i>	203
<b>6.3</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1980</b>	<b>205</b>
6.3.1	<i>Instantiating entertainment through camera alternation</i>	206
6.3.2	<i>Instantiating information by focusing on the teams</i>	207
6.3.3	<i>Instantiating entertainment by focusing on drama</i>	209
6.3.4	<i>Instantiating infotainment through syntax and motivated shots</i>	210
6.3.5	<i>Instantiating infotainment through the use of replays</i>	212
6.3.6	<i>Chapter summary – loosening the constraints</i>	213
<b>7</b>	<b>NRK’S LOSS OF MONOPOLY AND FURTHER ON</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>7.1</b>	<b>First wave of competition</b>	<b>217</b>
7.1.1	<i>Constituting national unity as a structural principle</i>	218
7.1.2	<i>Combining the audience- and the programme perspective of structure</i>	219
7.1.3	<i>Continued focus on old structural properties</i>	221
7.1.4	<i>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1984: Motion, speed and action</i>	222
<b>7.2</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1986</b>	<b>225</b>
7.2.1	<i>Instantiating entertainment through more pictures and variation</i>	225
7.2.2	<i>Instantiating information through interviews during the match</i>	227
7.2.3	<i>Stronger focus on information about individual players</i>	227
7.2.4	<i>Instantiating enlightenment by focusing on the audience</i>	229
7.2.5	<i>Chapter summary: Improving the coverage through innovations</i>	229
<b>7.3</b>	<b>The relation between the commercial channels and NRK</b>	<b>230</b>
7.3.1	<i>TVNorge daring NRK on news, entertainment and sports</i>	230
7.3.2	<i>TV3 challenges NRK on international football</i>	232
7.3.3	<i>NRK’s reply: instantiating commercial scheduling structures</i>	232

<b>7.4</b>	<b>Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1989</b>	<b>237</b>
7.4.1	<i>Instantiating infotainment through camera alternation</i>	237
7.4.2	<i>Instantiating information and drama through replays</i>	239
7.4.3	<i>Instantiating infotainment by focusing on persons and situations</i>	240
7.4.4	<i>Instantiating information through interviews</i>	241
7.4.5	<i>Chapter summary: Constituting NRK as the “main” broadcaster</i>	241
<b>7.5</b>	<b>Second wave of competition</b>	<b>242</b>
7.5.1	<i>TV2 as another national broadcaster – particular for sport</i>	243
7.5.2	<i>NRK’s reply to TV2: Constituting both national unity and diversity</i>	246
7.5.3	<i>From moral legitimacy to measurable, pragmatic legitimacy</i>	249
7.5.4	<i>Analysis of the Cup Final 1992; entertainment and innovations</i>	251
7.5.5	<i>Analysis of the Cup Final 1995: individuals, actions and drama</i>	253
7.5.6	<i>Chapter summary: same, same, but different</i>	255
<b>8</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>8.1</b>	<b>Empirical contributions</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>8.2</b>	<b>Contribution to structuration theory</b>	<b>264</b>
<b>8.3</b>	<b>Contribution to organisational studies</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>8.4</b>	<b>Methodological contribution</b>	<b>266</b>
<b>8.5</b>	<b>Implications for further research</b>	<b>267</b>
	<b>APPENDIX</b>	<b>269</b>
	<b>Appendix 1: Camera information</b>	<b>269</b>
	<b>Appendix 2: Narrative techniques</b>	<b>272</b>
	<b>Appendix 3: Production guidelines</b>	<b>274</b>
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>275</b>



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Research Topic

If you were to watch a televised football match from 1960 and one from 1990 you would notice that, whilst there are many similarities between the two, they are also quite different. In particular, there will be at least two things with regard to visual content that might strike you. First of all, the modern coverage is a tight expressive coverage of the match. Through appropriate shot selection and replay options, the programme makers present an insightful, informed narrative. It is possible for them to dramatise action segments and manipulate time with multiple action perspectives and rapid exchanges between the large numbers of cameras. This gives the coverage dynamics and energy. There are also more slow motion- and replay elements that make it possible to both analyse and enjoy particular situations in the match. The amount of close up shots is most certainly higher in the later compared to the earlier coverage, which increases both the informative and entertaining aspects of the match. The more modern TV match also has better technological ability to heighten entertainment value, and thereby enhancing the viewers' enjoyment and the drama inherent in the competition. In sum, modern coverage places the television viewer in the centre of the action.

From the visual content of a television football match we can recognise that production practices within television programme making have in some ways changed dramatically, but also that they have in part remained quite stable. By conducting a detailed text analysis of television Cup Finals in football presented by NRK, the Norwegian public service broadcaster, one aim of this thesis is to investigate how the visual presentation of TV football has developed during NRK's monopoly. The reason for choosing the Cup Final in football as my empirical material is based on the strong position of the Cup Final within the Norwegian society since it was established in 1902. The Cup Final is the sporting tradition that strongest has upheld its position, and it is, even today, regarded as one of the biggest national events of the year.

Secondly, I wish to relate changes within the programme production practice to other aspects of NRK as a public service broadcaster. The aim of this exercise is to investigate how different parts of an institution interact. In

order to achieve this aim, three aspects of the programmes are examined: the visual content as presented to television viewers, the principal guidelines behind the programme making, and the underlying ideological themes of the entire institution. These aspects are, to put it simply, the *what* (the visual content of television football), the *how* (practice for producing football coverage) and the *why* (ideological theme) of televised football. To put it more succinctly, my main ambition is to understand how these three aspects are linked together. For instance, what does it mean if the amount of close up shots has increased over the years? Is it an effect of more entertainment-based practice and can it be linked to a transformation of the structure underlying the organisation that produces the televised football matches?

In general, the production of televised football draws on elements from other television genres (Whannel, 1992). It is partly inspired by entertainment, it is in its nature a documentary that draws on journalistic practice and it is partly motivated by the dramatic principles of storytelling (the typical narrative of a Cup Final, for example, is a David and Goliath story or a “Clash of the Giants”). But how has this particular television genre developed over the years? Has there been more emphasis on entertainment value in the coverage? Is there a stronger focus on a classic hero-driven story? Has the journalistic principle of neutral and objective coverage been downplayed? More importantly, how are these changes linked to changes within television broadcasting in general? Has broadcasting changed a lot since 1960, or is it more or less the same as it was some 40+ years ago?

In a theoretical context, these questions may be pursued as the relationship between institutional change and stability, because changes (or not) in production practices may be viewed as reflections of how an institution’s ideologies, structures and policies evolve over time. A corporate battle cry has, for much of the past decade, been change management. However, one can argue that for an institution not only to survive, but to develop, both change and stability are important. As Leana and Barry (2000) argue, the tension between stability and change, between reproduction and production is an inevitable part of an organisation’s adaptation to changing markets and at the same time represent an effort to reduce uncertainty. As such, stability is often overlooked as a basis for change. This is perhaps particularly true for public service institutions around the world that have experienced comprehensive privatisation programmes (McNulty & Ferlie, 2004; Arndt & Bigelow, 2000). For example, public service broadcasters in Europe have been confronted with the results of considerable societal changes as well as competition from the private sector. Still, there is agreement that the private sector alone cannot per se guarantee a pluralistic media landscape. In the context of increasing media concentration, the role of public service broadcasters has become even more crucial, as a counter-balancing factor and to ensure social and democratic cohesion (EBU report, 2002). During the past few decades, the

European public service broadcaster's main ideological objectives have remained more or less the same, but the programmes and the practice of producing programmes have changed to some extent.

Institutional change is often associated with terms such as adaptiveness, improvement, creativity, innovation and transformation, and is, in many cases, linked to strategic directions in order to survive in a competitive environment. Stability, on the other hand, can be associated with terms such as conformity, consensus, consistency, continuity, maintenance, order, security and standardisation. In this respect, stability is directed towards maintaining the status quo in institutional features and thereby is often linked to legitimacy. However, I would claim that features of an institution can promote both stability and change simultaneously and that taking change and stability as opposite poles is not necessarily productive. Rather, I prefer to deal with stability and change as something that is continuously taking place within the same institution. This means that, for instance, some part of an institution could experience many changes within a short period of time (such as practices related to producing television programmes due to technological advances) while other aspects of the same institution (for instance its values and missions) are relatively unchanged or at least develop so slowly that they seem not to change.

My main theoretical intention for this work is to understand how ongoing changes within an institution in fact maintain an institution's overall stability. More specifically, my aim is two fold: firstly, I intend to show that adjusting, coordinating and modifying micro level changes are constantly taking place within an institution and that these changes are often directed at producing stability for the entire institution (March, 1981; Weick & Quinn, 1999). In this context, Weick and Quinn's term "continuous change" provides a useful point of departure, as it describes organisational change as a deliberate attempt to improve the performance of an organisation by focusing on internal processes. Secondly, I will illustrate how changes occur on the basis of something stable. March argues that "changes in organisations depend on a few stable processes" (March, 1981: 563) which is how some stable states of an institution constitute a source for change. This thesis, therefore, offers the view of change as a variety of actions resulting from stable processes. The argument is that institutional stability enables organisational change at the level of practices. In the following I will present an overview of the empirical case, my theoretical approach and my methodological strategy.

## **1.2 The empirical case**

Besides providing theoretical insight into the debate on institutional change and stability, this thesis also has an empirical ambition. In general, this is to understand how NRK, has maintained itself as a state owned public service

institution in the period between 1960 and 1992, while it was a public service monopoly. There is no single definition of institution in the broad and extensive institutional school of thought. However, Scott claims that:

*“Institutions are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. (...) Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous” (Scott, 2001: 48).*

This definition is consistent with Giddens’ (1984) definition of institutions as enduring social systems, understood as reproduced practices. As Scott, Giddens also emphasises that institutions are composed of rules and resources. In understanding institutions as nearly a “natural product of social needs and pressures – a responsive, adaptive organism”, Selznick argue that the phrase “social institution” suggests an emphasis on problems and experiences that are not adequately accounted for within the narrower framework of administrative analyses (Selznick, 1957: 5-6). These understandings of institutions are useful for my study, as I am particularly interested in understanding how the practice of producing programmes relates to the institutional features of NRK, such as the institution’s values, missions and policies. More specifically, I will focus on actions related to content production, i.e., on how NRK as a programme maker produces and presents football matches for television. The reason I have chosen to study the production practices for football is that this programme output offers a good understanding of institutional change and stability within NRK. The game itself does not change very much, thus providing a stable proxy against which change within the television game can be assessed. Sport, and particular football, has been an important part of NRK’s programme output since 1960. By following this dominant production practice of NRK, it is possible to study the relation between public service ideology, programming policy and production practices within this part of NRK. In addition, the Cup Final in football has been transmitted by NRK almost every year during its monopoly, which makes it possible to compare the production practice over time.

The production of television programmes relies on both production practice and its underlying ideological premise. The basic cultural and economical ideologies behind the development of NRK Television are well described in Norwegian media research<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, there are some studies of the general institutional tendencies of NRK’s programming in the light of

---

<sup>1</sup> Halse & Østbye, 2003; Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999; Syvertsen, 1992 and Gramstad, 1989

political debate, deregulation and commercialisation of the television market during the 1980s and 1990s<sup>2</sup>. In addition, there are several studies of particular programme genre within NRK and a public service framework, such as the development of news programmes, children’s programmes, TV documentaries and entertainment programmes<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, few studies have told the story of how institutional and organisational aspects of public service broadcasting relate to one another<sup>4</sup>. According to John Corner (2003), we can identify at least five different aspects of television as an object of study. In a few words, these are television as institution, as professional practice, as aesthetic framing, as socio-cultural phenomenon, and as technology. When studying television, these aspects can be given varying levels of attention, but the interactions between these aspects, can also be examined, which is the intention here. By investigation the visual content of television sport, I seek a better understanding of the “conceptual glue” that constructs and reproduces the processes of stability and change in a public service broadcasting institution. The levels that interact are analytical distinctions of (1) the physical programme output, (2) a daily practice of producing and delivering programme output, (3) a policy organised within an institution, and (4) a cultural ideology underpinning both programme making practices and the organising of a public service broadcaster. Figure 1.1 illustrates how these aspects relate to each other.

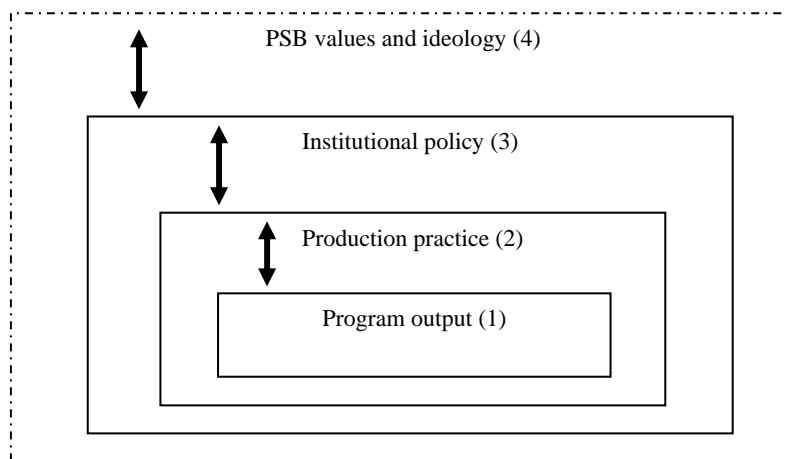


Figure 1.1 aspects of Public Service Broadcasting

<sup>2</sup> Enger, 2006; Førde, 2005; Ytreberg, 1999; Syvertsen, 1997 and Syvertsen & Karlsen, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Hake, 2006; Kjus & Kaare, 2006; Diesen, 2005; Waldahl et al. 2002; Sand & Helland, 1998; Bastiansen, 1995; Theisen, 1993 and Totland, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Ytreberg, 2002; Helland & Sand, 1998; Syvertsen, 1992 and Puijk, 1990.

Public service broadcasting (PSB) does not have a well-defined output, nor does it represent a unique production practice with specific characteristics. The output could, in principle, be produced by anyone in the marketplace. On the other hand, it is recognised that institutions set up to deliver PSB rely on constitutive elements of overall societal values<sup>5</sup>. These social forms are conventions, social norms, roles and rituals that implant moral guidelines and normative criteria for the organisations activities (Schlesinger, 2004). In this context, practitioners' rhetoric, professional values, the institution's "way of doing things" and guiding principles in terms of institutional policy can be mobilised as legitimating resources. In addition, these frameworks institutionalise judgement in terms of performance measurements, particular seen by the viewers or whoever relates to the institutional output. Such analytical distinctions are made on the basis of the theoretical understanding of institutions as presented earlier by Scott (2001), Giddens (1984) and Selznick (1957).

In the next two sub sections I will present in more detail the three aspects of public service broadcasting and the place of sport, particularly football, within the public service broadcaster, NRK.

### *1.2.1 Aspects of public service broadcasting*

The first aspect (*the why*) of television is public service broadcasting as an institution. This aspect of public service broadcasting as cultural institutions is deeply interconnected with the politics of the public sphere. Norwegian television service was incorporated into the already existing NRK radio monopoly in 1960. At this point, public service broadcasting was used as a term for describing the technological and economical features of broadcasting as a universal service for producing and distributing public goods. The original legislative documents, such as The Broadcasting Act of 1933, said little about broadcasting content output, except that NRK was expected to perform certain social and cultural tasks. As such, NRK was given a large degree of operational autonomy with regard to how this mission would be fulfilled.

Gradually, the term 'public service broadcasting' came to guide programme output. More specifically, it became a framework for regulating programme production and content. Reporting directly to a political

---

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Turner (Turner, 1997: 6) offers a comprehensive definitional account of a social institution: "a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures and organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment".

institution (the Ministry of Cultural Affairs), the broadcaster's institutional legitimacy came to rely heavily on political authority. The remit of conducting broadcasting as a universal service in terms of programming was based on two obligations. These were formulated as 1) serving the national interest and 2) contributing to a democratic and/or pluralistic society, including freedom of information and of expression.

At a second level (*the how*) of public service broadcasting, the two principles of NRK's obligations have been specified as elements of policy. Today, an internal commission controls the policy of NRK through a separate set of regulations that specify its mission statements objects in some detail. In addition, NRK makes an annual statement of its actions which particularly deals with the degree to which performance criteria have been met. Furthermore, the Public Broadcasting Council appointed by the Government and Parliament, monitors the actions of NRK. However, this body has no authority to impose any sanctions if the performance criteria are not fulfilled. The self-assessment process, therefore, is mainly linked to internal moral legitimacy within NRK, as it is mainly dealing with justifying the actions of the broadcaster. The policy is, in addition to national and democratic values, drawing on humanistic and character-building values. This means that policy is concerned with both the wants and needs of the general public and the wants and needs of specific groups, such as children and youth and ethnic minorities. As such, the level of policy is defined both from an audience and a programme perspective.

The first main obligation of NRK, acting "in the nation interest", can be divided into two policy areas. Firstly, as "the voice of the nation", NRK is supposed to strengthen the idea of a national identity and represent values, ideas and institutions that are common to the nation as a whole. Secondly, NRK has an obligation to protect the Norwegian culture and language. On the one hand, this means reflecting public taste and standards, and paying attention to political and cultural differences. On the other hand, NRK is obligated to pay particular attention to the culture and language of minorities through requirements to reach certain (shares of) audiences or satisfy certain public needs.

The second obligation of NRK (enhancement of pluralism and democracy) are specified and related to programme policy requirements concerning "a balanced and diverse output with high quality". In terms of broadcasting certain programmes types or certain programme genres, policy requires that programmes meet high journalistic or moral standards and values (such as diversity, independence, reliability, impartiality, objectivity, and seriousness, respect of privacy and human dignity). The programme perspective also includes requirements aimed at quality, innovation, diversity and the protection of so-called vulnerable programme genres (such as regionally produced programmes and programmes with minority appeal).

At the third level (*the what*) of public service broadcasting, we deal

with programme output. This level draws on programme values that rely on the so-called “Reithian trinity”, named after Reith, the founding Director General of the BBC from 1922 to 1938. In this way, programmes fall into three categories; information, education and entertainment. The categories are kept rather broad and vague, although it is possible to distinguish between, for instance, educational programmes, enlightenment programmes, light informative programmes (infotainment) and formal information (news programmes). The table 1.1 illustrates how the social and cultural obligations of NRK can be found again as policy and guidelines for production practices.

Institutional values and ideology	A universal service			
	In the nation’s interest		Pluralism and democracy	
Organisational policy	Strengthen national identity	Protect Norwegian language and culture	A balanced programme output	
Production practice for programmes	Entertain	Inform	Educate	Enlighten

*Table 1.1: Three level of public service broadcasting*

Generally, there is an agreement among Norwegian media researchers that the deregulation and commercialisation that took place in the 1980s and 1990s played an important role in facilitating changes within NRK programming policy (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). International developments and technological improvements for satellite and cable distributions combined with a general expansion of neo-liberalist political attitudes represented a great challenge to NRK as a public service institution and as to how it fulfilled its obligations. More pressure was put on NRK in 1992 when competition from commercial broadcasters increased due to the establishment of a commercial public service broadcaster (TV 2). From the early 1990s, more radical changes were implemented in NRK as a commercial public service policy developed within TV2, involving a reformulation and a recombination of the public service remit in general.

However, this thesis aims to demonstrate that, although the introduction of commercial television shifted the balance between the two guiding principles for programme output, there was also notable continuity of NRK’s mission, policy, production practices and programme output within the sports programme genre. Thus, the activities of NRK had a high degree of legitimacy, both within NRK and in its environment. The claim here is that NRK, through its programmes, managed to maintain its legitimacy by gaining wider support, in addition to political legitimacy. The mixed underlying obligations of programme categories including information, entertainment and education have been formulated in a diffuse and wide-ranging way, so that ambiguity and improvisation were kept alive. At the same time, it was sufficiently precise to provide guidance for the



programme productions. The main effect of this lack of clarity was a sustained dynamic of variation, i.e. a continuous balance between stability and change.

Overall NRK has always had more viewers than any other single channel in Norway and occupies a singular position as a major component of the national culture<sup>6</sup>. It is interesting to note that similar “old” European incumbent firms with a public service broadcasting remit have experienced a less fortunate development. Sweden’s public broadcaster’s market share registers a steady and gradual drop from 49 per cent in 1996 to 38 per cent in 2006. Gradual, but lower loss of market share is reported by both Denmark and Finland (Nordicom, 2008). In the case of NRK, it can be said that rumours of the death of public service broadcasting have been exaggerated. NRK has remained largely loyal to its initial characteristics, making the channel’s features recognisable and distinctly different from other Norwegian television channels (Medienorge, 2008). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that although NRK may outwardly seem modern and to how it was in the 1960s different, it is still the same broadcaster at the core. As such, NRK’s continuous institutional response to various contextual and institutional pressures cannot be characterised as a radical movement from one institutional template or archetype to another (Greenwood & Hinings, 1993) or as an episodic change (Weick & Quinn, 1999). The “old” public service broadcasting pattern of NRK has not been abandoned and replaced with a new institutional template as a reply to the changing external and internal conditions. Rather, some important characteristics stemming from the traditional template are still there, although some of these existing elements have been rearranged or restructured. This type of change was also recognised by Jan Mouritsen and Peter Skærbæk (1995) in their study of The Royal Danish Theatre. Besides demonstrating how particular institutional forms or procedures became sedimented in a series of organisations, they also recognised how certain social features or structural properties governed the *continuity* of those institutional arrangements (Mouritsen and Skærbæk, 1995: 94).

### 1.2.2 *The place of sports programmes within NRK*

As a particular type of content, sports coverage holds a high position within television broadcasting. From the very beginning, sport was viewed as a natural and important part of television and in Europe it was of particular

---

<sup>6</sup> In 2007, NRK1’s market share was 37,6 per cent; the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2, had 28,9 per cent while the commercial television channels TV3 and TVNorge had 5,4 and 9,5 per cent market shares (Source: Medianorge.uib.no/TNS Gallup/ Synnovate MMI).

significance for the public service broadcasters (Goldlust, 1987; Rowe, 2004). In fact, only a few days after the official opening of NRK Television in 1960, live pictures from the Olympics in Rome were broadcasted. When NRK's monopoly was abolished in the late 1980s, the production and delivery of sports programmes was exposed to market mechanisms. This led to massive escalation in the prices of broadcasting rights (Solberg, 2007). Hosting the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer and fighting for expensive sporting rights were means for NRK to maintain its position as the largest and also most influential broadcaster in Norway. Whereas most European public service broadcasters<sup>7</sup> gave up on the rights to show national league football quite early on, NRK was in the race until 2005<sup>8</sup>. After the arrival of the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2, the two channels would take the transmitting the Cup Final in football in turn. In general, NRK's sports output corresponds to, in average, 14 per cent of NRK's total programme output. This puts sport as the second biggest programme genre in NRK's portfolio after drama (15 per cent), but before informative programmes (13 per cent), programmes aimed at children and youth (13 per cent) and news coverage (11 per cent). NRK has openly admitted that the channel prioritises programmes that are able to attract large audiences, such as football, to legitimise the license fee (Helland & Solberg, 2006). In the report *The BBC and Sport* (BBC, 2004), the British public service broadcaster reveals similar attitudes:

*Sport on the BBC is at the core of the BBC's ambitions to continue Building Public Value (...). Three areas are critical to this and echo the sentiments of Building Public Value. Firstly, to remain at the heart of the national debate on sport the BBC must continue to invest in the acquisition and broadcasting of major events and harness the services and brands of the BBC to make the most of them (BBC, 2004:22).*

In itself, the overall strong position of sports coverage on NRK indicates that this genre has played a significant role in the development of

---

<sup>7</sup> "In 1988, ITV, the United Kingdom's commercial public service broadcaster, acquired the English Premier League exclusive rights in a deal that ended their sharing of the rights with the BBC, the non-commercial public service broadcaster. Four years later, ITV suffered the same destiny as their former partner when BSkyB (currently the leading British pay-TV broadcaster) bid away these rights. Due to their public service commitments, neither the BBC nor the ITV could afford to spend the same proportion of their revenues on sports programming as BSkyB" (Solberg, 2007: 292).

<sup>8</sup> For the season 2006-2008, the national football rights belong to the commercial public service broadcaster TV2 and Canal +, the leading pay-TV company in the Nordic region.

NRK, and suggests that any restructuring of NRK's sports production could have consequences for the channel. Furthermore, a basic premise of this thesis is that the production of sports programmes can be considered a manifestation of NRK policy and general remit. By this I mean that institutional changes within NRK may be evident through the physical artefacts of television sports programmes. If, for instance, there is a change in the abstract notion of NRK as a vehicle of promoting and protecting national values, this change ought to be reflected in changes (or not) within both the level of production practices and in actual programme output.

In my empirical context public service values, ideology and the organisational policy are framed as a structural aspect of broadcasting while the production practice are regarded as a performative aspect. Both aspects are necessary in an analytical sense, as neither is in itself sufficient to explain institutional change and stability. Sometimes the two aspects may conflict while in other circumstances they supplement one another. The level of programme output in Figure 1.1 is used in my analysis as artefacts or indicators of both the aspects. In sum, this work will offer some empirical insights into the field of media in general, and more specific into the case of public service broadcasting. In addition, the study expects to contribute to bridging the analytical gap in television sports studies of institutional analysis and textual readings. This issue will be outlined in section 1.3.2.

### **1.3 Theoretical context**

The theoretical issue underpinning this thesis is that of understanding how organisational change interacts with institutional stability. Several theoretical contributions already explain how an institution either changes or maintains its inertia by relating the process to either constraining or enabling mechanisms. Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to the link between these behavioural aspects of institutional development. Filling the void in understanding the internal dynamics of stability and change in an institution therefore constitutes a theoretical aim of this study. In order to articulate how an institution is formed, reproduced and modified through such interplay, the study draws on Giddens' (1984) work on structuration theory. This theory stresses that any action must be viewed as an ongoing recursive process; that structures (as constraining and enabling) shape agents, which in turn constitute (reproduce and produce) the structures through their actions. As such, structures are both the medium and the outcome of actions. Being a product of actions, structures are subject to transformation. On the other hand, being the means by which actions take place within, structures serve as a stabilising basis. This theoretical assumption has proved useful in understanding both the interplay between institutional stability and how a public service broadcasting structure is

linked to production of programme output.

According to Giddens (1984), structuration is the process of dynamic interplay of abstract structures<sup>9</sup> and concrete actions. In the public service model presented in section 1.1.1, content production is the most concrete activity of NRK. Production conventions, scripts, and guiding rules are rather concrete interpretive schemes that programme makers draw upon when they produce television programmes. The ideological reasons underpinning the institution's existence is, on the other hand, the most abstract structural element, while policy acts as a mediating level by which practitioners draw on institutional structures in their practices.

The main claim by Giddens is that structures both constrain and enable actions which in turn constitute the same structure. The interaction between an abstract level (ideology) and a performative level (production) have been the focus of some organisational studies influenced by the structuration theory. For instance, while studying how actors draw upon their own experience in their interactions with technology, Orlikowski (1992, 1996 and 2000) suggests that change is an ongoing improvisation in which change may be planned, inevitable, or discontinuous. As she points out, the "everyday action[s] of organisational members produce[s], reproduce[s] and change[s] their organising structures" (1996: 89). Each change then creates the potential for further change. Similarly, Barley and Tolbert (1997) focus on the identification and analysis of "scripts" as "behavioural regularities instead of mental models or plan". They argue that scripts can be analysed as "observable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristic of a particular setting" (Barley & Tolbert, 1997:98). In studying organisational routines, Feldman (2000, 2003) finds that the interaction between structure and process always changes. However, from a distance (either in time or space) every action appears simply as a variant on, or a recombination of, a set of "repeated patterns of behaviour that are bound by rules and customs" (Feldman, 2000:622). The model proposed by Feldman (2000) suggests that agency promotes continuous (and unintentional) change, in that stability and change stem from similar dynamics. Continuity implies something enduring and stable, but it does not exclude the idea of continuously changing micro processes taking place.

More importantly, Giddens (1984) argues that both continuity and transformation of structures are necessary for the reproduction of any social system. Structures are, therefore, both the medium and the outcome of the actions. This notion provides support for interpreting the aspects of public service as an interaction between the actions of an institution (in this case, producing television programmes) and the enabling and constraining

---

<sup>9</sup> For Giddens, structure is rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action (Giddens 1984: 377).

function of the institutional structures (obligations, policy and conventions). An important assumption of structuration theory is structuration as a process: Structures frame the contexts of human action, but in turn, social structures are always the product of human action. As a process, structuration shares similarities with Weick's (1995) notion of organising both as the effect and the cause of an organisation. Weick defines an organisation as something that "is fluid, continually changing, continually in need of re-accomplishment, and it appears to be an entity only when this fluidity is "frozen" at some moment in time" (Weick, 1995: 91). Put simply, we could argue that the process of organising serves as a stabilising mechanism "to create order out of chaos" (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1996: 3978). On the other hand, organising can also be conceptualised as "the process in which an organisation, or part of it, develops and changes its structure, either gradually or in dramatic leaps" (Lövstedt, 1993: 506).

In order to have a better understanding of the organising process of an institution, it is necessary to look at these different approaches in view of structuration theory in greater detail: This will be done in chapter 2. However, before moving on to that, and in order to give the reader an introduction to the conceptual and theoretical building blocks on which this thesis rests, it is necessary to place my research topic in a broader theoretical context. In the following sections, therefore, I will present studies of change and stability within organisational theory that draws on Giddens' structuration theory (1.3.1). The most relevant studies, their contributions and how they are relevant to my work are presented in table 1.2. In addition, I will present studies of televised sport within media theory (1.3.2) before delineating my research strategies (1.4) in which I also discuss their potential significance and implications for my study.

### *1.3.1 Views of organisational change and institutional stability*

The literature on organisational change is rather extensive and "offers a continuing challenge to investigators that thrive on frameworks" (Weick & Quinn, 1999: 364). Implicitly, this study acknowledges rational adaptation perspectives on organisational change, which propose that organisational actors monitor their changing general and local environments and alter structures and practices in order to promote organisational survival (Cyert & March, 1963; Thompson, 1967). The concept of "transformation" (Tushman & Romanelli, 1985) involves sharp and simultaneous shifts in structure, distribution of organisational power, control mechanisms and strategy. Greenwood and Hinings (1996) theorise transformation as a change of an archetype, which is a configuration of structures and systems of organising with a common orientation or underlying interpretative scheme. Transformation shares similarities with what Weick and Quinn (1999) label

as episodic change. From this perspective change can be seen as Lewinian (1951): inertial, linear, progressive and goal seeking, motivated by disequilibrium and requiring outsider intervention. The analytical framework draws on a three-phase model of “unfreeze”, “transition” and “refreeze”. This punctuated equilibrium model also resembles Pettigrew’s (1987) conceptualisation of transformation that views it as a change in dominant ideologies, in cultural systems of meaning, and in power relations within the organisation. In a narrative language, change is defined as the transition from one stable state to another or as a “change from one state of affairs to another” (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 15). In this context, change is understood an alternation of three states; from harmony, via an interruption causing disharmony and disequilibrium, to another state of harmony (Czarniawska, 2004: 19).

In addition to the models of change already discussed, this study takes notice of traditional institutional theory, which views organisations as continuously adjusting and changing their technical environments in terms of customers, suppliers, competitors and regulatory groups (Selznick, 1949; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). On the other hand, this study also reflects the basic tenet of perspectives that see environments as social constructs and thereby recognises institutional actors as highly constrained to bring about change (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott & Meyer, 1994; Zucker, 1977). Stressing the inertia of particular institutional components (Hannan & Freeman, 1984) and structured routines (Nelson & Winter, 1982), traditional institutional theory emphasises the reluctance of established institutions to change, especially while operating in highly institutionalised environments encapsulating the norms, standards and expectations of relevant stakeholders.

The model of Greenwood and Hinings (1996) suggests analysing episodic change as the interplay between “exogenous” and “endogenous” dynamics as constraining and enabling dynamics. On the one hand, institutional context and market pressure constrain the organisation, while on the other they interact with enabling dynamics, such as interests, values, power dependencies and capacity for action. According to Pettigrew (1987), the constraining function of the context should not be abstracted in the analysis of process of change. Rather, organisations are contextually embedded phenomena with structures that give change form, meaning and dynamics. One of the central messages is that change is highly contextually sensitive. An analysis therefore requires attention to multiple levels of context, from the macro institutional level to the meso organisational level to the micro production practices level (McNulty and Ferlie, 2004).

In contrast to such views, NRK is an example of an incumbent firm that has successfully adapted and responded to environmental change by sustaining its previous position as the main market leader within Norwegian broadcasting industry. Indeed, the success of NRK raises the question of

how certain incumbent firms were able to develop and implement new structures and routines that met the requirements of the new broadcasting landscape after the monopoly was broken. Part of the answer could be that it was the inertia of NRK's organisation that actually enabled it to act and change. As March argues, "neither success nor change requires dramatic action. The conventional, routine activities that produce most organizational change require ordinary people to do ordinary things in a competent way" (March, 1981: 575).

With regard to the relation between stable processes and change in institutions, a number of organisational theorists have suggested that stability is primary to change, that "any change is observable only in contrast to some stable state" and that organisational change can "be explained as aberrations from the stable state, as sudden upheavals which disrupt organisational stability" (Poole & van de Ven, 1989: 564). However, to take stability or change as the primary term and to subordinate the other would be an inadequate way of explaining the symbiotic relationship between change and stability. Hernes (1976) argued that the same basic approach should be used when studying both stability and change. It could be, therefore, that what we are dealing with is merely simultaneous changes happening at a different pace and scale. McNulty and Ferlie see convergent change as "fine-tuning within the parameters of an existing archetype" (McNulty & Ferlie, 2004: 1392) whereas evolutionary change occurs slowly and gradually and revolutionary change happens swiftly and affects all parts of the organisation simultaneously (McNulty & Ferlie, 2004: 1024).

Dealing with multiple and interrelated changes across a system as a whole, the Lewinian perspective of change is not sufficient. An alternative view offered by Weick and Quinn (1999) is continuous change. Seen from this perspective, change is a pattern of endless modifications driven by organisational instability and reactions to daily contingencies. Change is viewed as a redirection of what is already underway. As opposed to Lewinian change, continuous change is Confucian (cyclical, processional and seeking rebalance). Weick and Quinn (1999) argue that these two points of view are mainly a matter of different perspectives on the organisation:

*"The contrast between episodic and continuous change reflects differences in the perspective of the observer. From a distance (the macro level of analysis), when observers examine the flow of events that constitute organizing, they see what looks like repetitive action, routine, and inertia dotted with occasional episodes of revolutionary change. But a view from closer in (the micro level of analysis) suggests ongoing adaptation and adjustment. Although these adjustments may be small, they also tend to be frequent and continuous across units, which mean they are capable of altering structure and strategy. Some observers (e.g. Orlikowski, 1996) treat these ongoing adjustments as the*

*essence of organizational change. Others (e.g. Nadler, Shaw, & Walton, 1995) describe these ongoing adjustments as mere incremental variations on the same theme and lump them together into an epoch of convergence during which interdependencies deepen. Convergence is interrupted sporadically by epochs of divergence described by words like revolution, deep change, and transformation." (Weick & Quinn, 1999, p.362)*

In order to overcome the challenges in dealing with different types of change and different perspectives, I have turned to sociology and the work by Anthony Giddens. Although structuration theory has been available since the publication of Giddens' "The Constitution of Society" in 1984, it still remains largely unexploited by organisational studies (Scott, 2001)<sup>10</sup>. The theory of structuration involves a different conception of the process of production and reproduction of social systems by assuming structures to have a dual nature. Structuration theory has therefore been seen as having great potential for the study of technology and communication in organisations. Table 2.1 gives a short overview of some of these studies that are particular relevant for my thesis.

Stephen Barley's (1986) significant ethnographic study of how new technology affected the organizational structure and patterns of actions in two radiology departments gives strong support for Giddens' structuration theory. By developing a "script" methodology to translate his observations into quantifiable data, Barley managed to describe how identical CT scanners occasioned similar structuring processes but led to divergent forms of organisation and quite different organisational structures (hierarchical structure in one case and a flatter structure in the second case). Based on Giddens' theory, DeSanctis and Poole (1994) developed Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST) to study the interaction of groups and organisations with information technology. AST emphasizes the social aspects of technology rather than a techno-centric view (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994). By *using* information technology for their work, agents create understandings of both the role and utility of the technology.

Structuration theory has been particularly useful in examining how new forms of interaction and communication technologies create structures to maintain and manage information. Empirical studies have applied Giddens' theory to the field of information systems (IS) (Rose, 2000; Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2005), of IT implementations (Montealegre, 1997), for conceptualising discourse (Heracleous & Barrett, 2001) and within genre analysis (Orlikowski & Yates, 1994).

---

<sup>10</sup> See a citation analysis of contributions by Whittington (1992).



<b>Study</b>	<b>What was studied?</b>	<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Relevance</b>
Barley and Tolbert (1997)	How institutions are recreated through institutionally constrained actions of individuals	Developed a model of institutionalisation as structuration process	The notion of "script", encoding and enactment as key mediating concepts between structure and agency
Orlikowski (1992, 1996, 2000)	The implementation and use of technologies within organisations	Technologies cannot be stabilised and do not have structures "embedded" within them, A practice lens perspective	Change is an ongoing improvisation by actors (a situated change perspective - inertia, application and change)
Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings (2002)	Explored institutional transformation in terms of 'stages' of development (how professional associations play a role in legitimating change)	Developed a model of stages of institutional change as consisting of a sequential process beginning with "jolts" and thus the possibility of change	The justification for change is often, but not exclusively, grounded in the way logics connect, which during isomorphic change relies on existing norms of appropriateness
Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980)	Examine how organisational structure change over time	A more unified methodological and theoretical framework	Five possibilities for change, i.e. interpretive scheme, contradictions between the values and interests, resource available and power dependencies,
Feldman (2000, 2003, 2004), Feldman and Pentland (2003), Pentland and Feldman (2005)	Organisational routines	Routines consist of both abstract structures and specific, performative practices	Routines contribute both to stability and change as their structures are both enabling and constraining
Weick and Quinn (1999)	Change as a genre of organisational analysis	Comparison of episodic and continuous change	Organizations are emergent and self-organising, and change is constant, evolving, and cumulative.

*Table 1.2 Studies of change and stability*

Wanda Orlikowski is one of the most influential researchers in the IS field. She developed a model that adopts many of Giddens' ideas, although unlike Giddens' her model implies that "social rules could be embodied in technology during the IS design" (1992: 417). Orlikowski later departed from this assumption because it "ascribes a material existence to structures which Giddens explicitly denies" (Orlikowski, 2000: 406). In addition, some would argue that her position also implies a type of "technological agency (the technology has effects or outcomes on the organisation), which is equally foreign to Giddens" (Rose & Jones, 2005: 138).

The main point of Orlikowski's model is, however, that structures

are enacted in recurrent interaction with technologies<sup>11</sup>. In her case study she shows how people enact structures while using technology and that different conditions (technological, institutional and interpretive) bring about different consequences (technological, processual and structural). This results in three types of enactment: inertia (where technology is used as a means of maintaining the status quo, application (where technology is used to modify and improve the existing way of doing things) and change (where technology is used to change the status quo significantly).

Structuration, in terms of institutional change and stability, is also the theoretical focus in some studies of institutional actions from a “practice lens perspective” (Orlikowski, 2000). By focusing on the ongoing human activities, this perspective emphasises that structures are not located in organisations, but are enacted by users.

According to the work of Pentland and Feldman (2005) the basic idea is that routines consist of both abstract structures and specific, performative practices. Although most researchers have acknowledged the constraining characteristic of routines, the enabling attribute of routines seems to have been underestimated in much of the literature (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). Recent case studies have shown that, although routines lead to inertia, they also have a great potential for change and are capable of incorporating change. Feldman (2000) argues that this is possible due to an internal dynamic of routines. One of the main argument of this thesis supports Feldman’s view by claiming that organisational routines contribute both to stability and change, and that they are indeed an important part of organisational flexibility.

The last work I wish to point to in this section is the study by Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980). In order to explain how organisational structure changes over time, they suggested a theoretical framework that shows the interrelationships between provinces of meaning, dependencies of power, and contextual constraints. They suggest a theoretical framework and five propositions concerning the structuring of organization, two of which are especially relevant for this study. One proposition suggests that there will be a change in structuring if organisational members revise the interpretive schemes that underpin the constitutive structuring of their organisation. A second proposition argues that structural diversity in terms of inconsistencies and contradictions between the purposive values and interests of an organisation can lead to structural change. These propositions are supported by Willmott (1987) who criticizes empirical studies for creating a gap between behavioural and

---

<sup>11</sup> According to Weick (1995) the term enactment represents the notion that when people act they bring structures and events into existence and set them in action. The term instantiation is somewhat more specific as it deals with the enactment of abstract structures into concrete actions.

institutional aspects of practice. Willmott's conception of the relationship between practice and structure is similar to that of Giddens (1984). However, both Giddens' and Willmott's conception of the duality of structure ignores those macro institutional structures which are not directly instantiated at the micro level of practices. My point is that structures exist at different levels of embeddedness. At the "surface" level, there are concrete structural features which exist so close to the practice that they can be changed through the enactment. It is such structures that have been recognised in the theory of structuration, both by Willmott (1987) and Giddens (1984). However, there are also structures that underlie these immediate and local structures. "Deep" structures are more pervasive and persistent, partly because they are anchored so deeply in the practice and partly because their articulation with their surface manifestations often allow some degree of slack. These "abstract" structures are missed by structuration theory<sup>12</sup>. As the next section will illustrate, this is also a challenge for media studies.

### 1.3.2 *Research on televised sport*

As is typical of general media studies, work related to media sport has been primarily concerned with three major topics: production of media sport "texts", content of media sport texts, and audience interaction with media sport texts. A number of studies have also concentrated on analysing such texts for their political and ideological significance, and have examined the role of media sport in transforming constructions of national characteristics and identities related to sex, race and ethnicity<sup>13</sup>. An overview of the political and economic structures of media sport can be found in the work of Rader (1984), Goldlust (1987) and Barnett (1990). Whannel (1992) in particular, tried to retain an equal concern with the political, the economical and the ideological dimension of media sport. As Kinkema and Harris (1989) noted, there is a lack of research that examines the detailed links "between production, text and reception in greater detail in order to articulate "institutional, textual and audience study" (1998: 52). Some studies<sup>14</sup> have sought to bridge the analytical gap between a so-called "political economy" approach concerned with economic production and a so-called "cultural studies" approach. These studies focus on how identities and ideologies are constructed in televised sport through a mixture of

---

<sup>12</sup> As Thompson (1989) points out, Giddens himself has recognised something of this, albeit as a difference in the levels of *abstraction* and rather than embeddedness.

<sup>13</sup> Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Morse, 1983; Hargreaves, 1986; Critcher, 1987; McKay & Rowe, 1987; Chandler, 1988; Cantelon & Gruneau, 1988; Real, 1989; Jhally, 1989; Wenner, 1989 and Goodwin & Whannel, 1990.

<sup>14</sup> Wenner, 1989; Whannel, 1992; Blain et al., 1993; Boyle & Haynes, 2000 and Rowe, 2004.

political economy, textual readings and aesthetic concerns.

In reflecting the main ideas of these works, this study also aims at filling a void in the relationship between televised sport as programme output, the public service broadcaster's policy and the institution. As Chris Rojek (1992) noted, earlier writing in this area tended to be situated within either an agency or a structure paradigm. Drawing heavily on a process paradigm in the study of sport and leisure, Rojek suggests viewing media sport as the interplay between interlocking and dependent groups in a constant state of development and change. In their study of the conditions of production involved in reproducing a major sporting event (the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Games in Malaysia) Silk and Amis (2000) investigate the ways in which micro and macro institutional processes interacted to frame the reproduction of the Games. Although their study focuses on conditions that constrain the programme makers' production process, they draw implicitly on ideas drawn from structuration theory.

There have only been a few studies that have addressed the physical output of televised sport, or the politics of production, explicitly<sup>15</sup>. Silk and Amis argue that "the ability of the Malaysian government to achieve its objectives was somewhat watered down by the employment of western ways of producing major sporting events. That is, while a particular context may have some effect, the overwhelming constraints on the production process come from industry norms and the ways such norms are interpreted by individual decision makers" (Silk & Amis, 2000: 289).

In fact, the way micro and macro institutional processes interact to frame the reproduction of sports events has been the focus of media sport research in Scandinavia. In the wake of the Danish national soccer team's success in 1986, there was a rise in academic interest in televised sport<sup>16</sup>. A major contribution to this body of research has been made by the work of Kirsten Frandsen (1996). She investigated long-term effects on sports journalism in Danish TV of commercialisation and technology developments. Similar historical studies of sports broadcasting have been carried out in Sweden (Dahlén, 1999, 2002; Reimer, 2000). There have also been a few studies of the relationship between globalisation, TV sport and great sporting events, such as the Olympic Games (Puijk, 1997; Frandsen, 2003; Helland, 2003). In an analysis of football coverage during The 2000 UEFA European Football Championship by two Norwegian television channels (the state-owned broadcasting service, NRK and the commercial public service broadcaster TV2) Helland (2003) demonstrates that, despite many similarities in coverage, the two broadcasters differed along the axis of information and entertainment. Helland claims that, as a traditional public

---

<sup>15</sup> Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Cantelon & Gruneau, 1988; Gruneau, 1989; MacNeill, 1996; Bourdieu, 1998 and Silk & Amis, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Møller, 1986; Lauridsen, 1986 and Nielsen & Qvortrup, 1992.

service broadcaster, NRK put greater emphasis on the informational and ceremonial aspects of coverage, while TV2, as a commercial public service broadcaster, could be characterised in terms of attractiveness, populist and critical.

Nevertheless, with a few other exceptions (Roksvold, 1975, 1993 and Lippe, 2001) it is safe to claim that the area of media sport has been neglected in Norway both within sport studies and within media studies<sup>17</sup>. However, these Norwegian studies are relevant for my work as they provide important empirical insight into NRK's production of TV sport.

## **1.4 Research strategies**

Having presented the empirical case and the theoretical context for my study, this section will briefly introduce the methodology I intend to use. First, I will establish an analytical focus of how to perform the case study, I will then present the research design in light of the theoretical and empirical framework, and finally, I will introduce my empirical sources and discuss how I intend to use them in the analysis.

### *1.4.1 How to study institutional structures and actions*

Instead of isolating and studying particular parts of an institution, I intend to study the *relationship* between aspects of an institution as they interact. More specifically, the study will look at ongoing processes of change within three related aspects of public service broadcasting. By analysing televised football programmes I will focus on how shifts within production practices are related to emergent contradictions between processes of continuity and change within the organisational structure and institutional values and ideology of NRK television.

When studying the relationships between abstract and concrete aspects of an institution, as well as its physical artefacts, we need to consider which of the three sets of relationships to examine. Giddens offers some assistance for dealing with this problem by suggesting that, "examining the recursively and dependent relation between structure and agency is to investigate social practice" (Giddens, 1984:2). For this reason, I will focus my attention on the level of production practices of televised sport. However, as I intend to illustrate how production practices are linked to both

---

<sup>17</sup> Researchers within media economics have focused some attention on the market for sporting rights (Gaustad, 2000; Johnsen, 2003), on the effect of EU regulation (Solberg, 2007), and on the demand for televised football (Solvoll and Johnsen, 2007). In addition, a number of master theses have examined the development of televised football (Solvoll, 1999; Eileng, 2000; Reinertsen, 2001; Meslo, 2001; and Hodne, 2001).

organisational policy and ideological values of the institution, I also need to study the outcomes of particular practices - in this case that is the actual physical programme output. This focus will allow multiple structural levels of analysis and enable the characteristics of interaction in the production and reproduction of those structures to be examined. Based on this focal point, I want to explore:

*How production practices for producing televised football change, and how these changes are related to institutional structures?*

By institutional structures I refer to three aspects of an institution that form its rules and resources (Giddens, 1984). These rules and resources can be created, changed and combined into different forms by organisational actions. For this work, organisational actions represent the practice of producing televised football programmes, which include the myriad actions of journalists, camera operators, producers and commentators. By the relation between institutional structures and production practices I mean that organising is a process in which change is conceptualised as a restructuring of different institutional elements (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). The potential for institutional change exists within apparent institutional stability through a variety of interactive practices at several different institutional levels, times and places. This understanding of change is somewhat similar to Pentland and Feldman's (2005:7) suggestions that it is possible for aspects of an institution to be relatively stable while others are relatively variable.

If we accept the assumption that an institution can promote change through stability, we need to seek a theoretical framework that can embrace both concepts, i.e. how an institution undergoes renewal while retaining much of its institutional inertia. By discussing change and stability as simultaneous processes, this thesis hopes to provide theoretical ideas that will help fill the current void in understanding the internal dynamics of stability and change in an institution.

Methodologically, the case study represents an attempt at assessing the applicability of structuration theory within organisational theory. Few studies have focused on how to apply Giddens' abstract "meta-theory" to an investigation into the ways institutions are created, maintained and changed through action. A set of methods and research strategies for the structuration process in organisations has been suggested (Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2005; Langley, 1999; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Orlikowski, 1992), but further research should increase and explore ways of combining and complementing these strategies. This work will apply a methodological design for investigating the process of structuration empirically by focusing explicitly on the operationalisation of the structural level. In section 3.1 and 3.2 I explain the theoretical and empirical framework for my research design in greater detail.

#### 1.4.2 *How to study institutional change and stability?*

This study is not a reductionist attempt at isolating correlations for the purpose of making generalisations. Rather, it is an attempt at a historical reconstruction of complex institutional processes. The choice of focus is related to my understanding of change as an endogenous process of recursive reproduction within an organisation:

*When process is viewed as recursive reproduction, the locus of stabilization lies in the structure, which can be regarded as a temporary arrangement produced by processes, on which the processes feed in turn. If structures are to act as a basis for processes, they have to exhibit some recognizable features, which they sometimes do in the form of mechanisms such as rules, budgets, plans or technology. These are the entities of structures, which normally change slowly (Hernes & Weik, 2007:261).*

The endogenous process perspective also leads to the building of structures. A structure is, as pointed out by Giddens (1979), both the means and product of a series of (re-) producing processes. This implies that institutions are seen as unfolding through reproduction around a relatively stable evolving (concrete) core. Furthermore, this view rests on the assumption that institutions are constantly under pressure to change and at the same time greatly resistant to change. Within structuration theory this is known as the enabling and constraining function of structure upon agency (Giddens, 1984). Taking these characteristics together, organising can be seen as an activity that aims to create order or some kind of stability. Methodologically, this modifies the analytical question from merely describing what an institution is to how the institution changes.

One major problem with traditional institution design theories is that their structural categories refer mainly to formal institutional characteristics and ignore behavioural aspects of structures, such as motivations, decisions and actions. As my research focus is on the relation between institutional structures and production practices, conceptualising an institution in terms of processes rather than static entities seems more suitable. To enhance the explanatory power of the endogenous process view, I have turned to the open/ closed system framework of Thompson (1967). Thompson argues that organisations operate as open or closed systems on three different levels: the *technical*, *managerial* and *institutional* levels. In short, *the technical level* is the part of the organisation that transforms input into output. It refers broadly to the work performed by the organisation (Scott, 1992: 227). In my case, this level coincides with the actual production level. *The managerial level* is

part of the organisation that is responsible for designing and controlling production output. For my work, this coincides with the analytical level of programme policy in terms of rules and guidelines. *The institutional level* is part of the organisation that relates the organisation to its environment, which in the case of the public service broadcaster NRK reflects the ideological obligation of the broadcaster.

At all three levels there are functions that act as process enablers or constrainters. In section 3.2, I will elaborate on the three organisational levels of Thompson's theory (1967) and discuss how these can be conceptualised as structures in the Giddens' sense of the word. The methodological challenges of studying types of institutional change in general and in a historical perspective in particular are the subject for sections 3.3 and 3.4.

#### *1.4.3 Sources and interpretation*

In this study, I rely on three types of source: televised sports programmes, official documents and material from the broadcasting institution itself, and secondary literature from the research field on public service broadcasting. The main source of knowledge about the micro processes within NRK, which is the institution's practice within sports production, has been NRK's coverage of the men's football Cup Final from the 1960 to the early 1990s, i.e. during the monopoly of NRK. Although a broadcaster also communicates through its annual reports and statements of policy, its public programme and channel output is the direct stage where the channel presents itself to the broader public (Ytreberg, 2002).

Political documents are also an important source of data as they are selected and analysed in order to investigate the government's approaches both regarding NRK's strategies and its policies. The selection of sources from political processes is divided into three categories: (1) Government documents and proposals to Parliament, (2) Other government documents or documents from government-appointed committees (i.e., from The Norwegian Media Authority and the Public Broadcasting Council) and (3) Council of Europe and European Union documents that are directly linked to public service broadcasting and/or sport. This includes, for instance, recommendations concerning Audiovisual Policy and Sports Policy of EU in documents like "The Television without Frontiers" directive and the 1996 European Parliament Resolution. In section 3.5, I present a more detailed overview of data sources.

### **1.5 How the thesis is organised**

The rest of this study is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 is theoretical and deals specifically with structuration theory and some of its concepts. It



offers a critique of structuration theory while highlighting the potential for theoretical improvement. This chapter will also discuss how a structuration viewpoint contributes towards understanding institutional change and stability.

Chapter 3 deals primarily with research strategies, the case study design and methodological problems related to structuration analysis. The following chapters (4 to 7) make up the historical narrative of NRK.

In chapter 4, I deal particularly with the start of television in Norway in relation to the already existing radio service. It also focuses on the high degree of stability within production practices of radio programmes and the fact that these were adopted by the new medium in order to gain legitimacy. In addition, it looks at how new production practices emerged within NRK radio simultaneous to the old practices of NRK Radio being adopted by NRK Television.

Chapter 5 tells the story of the first televised sports events on NRK and how two main production practices emerged along with a more concrete programming policy.

Chapter 6 deals explicitly with the years before NRK lost its monopoly in 1989 and the exposure of NRK to market mechanisms and a commercial broadcasting policy. This chapter also addresses how a policy model gained a foothold and increasing support and later how NRK replied to the loss of stability by restructuring some of its institutional components.

The last empirical chapter, 7, focuses on the greatest tension when the monopoly of NRK was removed and particularly on the time when the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2, arrived in 1992. The main issue is not that it was competition per se that had an impact on NRK, but the specific way in which TV2 was constituted as a commercial public service broadcaster.

Chapter 8, outlines the theoretical and methodological implications in light of structuration theory as well as discussing limitations of the study. Finally, the chapter ends by suggesting areas for further research within the field of media studies, the structuration perspective and for organisational theory.

Your study is located at the crossroads of magic and positivism. That spot is bewitched. Only theory can break the spell. (Theodor Adorno in a letter to Walter Benjamin, Jameson, 1980: 129)

## 2 Theoretical foundations

Although structuration theory has been available since the publication of Anthony Giddens' "The Constitution of Society" in 1984, it still remains largely undiscovered by organisational studies (Scott, 2001). This is somewhat surprising in that it offers a useful framework for organisational studies. The main reason for choosing structuration theory as my theoretical foundation is because it integrates perspectives on an institution, its organisation and its practice in a recursive relationship. More importantly, structuration theory tries to avoid extremes of structural or agent determinism. Within an organisational perspective, the theory offers a way of dealing with institutional stability and organisational changes by capturing the interaction between structure and process. For instance, Scott (2001) extensively refers to the structuration theory as an opportunity to remove the determinist flavour from institutional theory.

The usefulness of structuration theory is, however, restricted by two main challenges: First, its concepts and general propositions exist at a very high level of abstraction. Second, it does not easily connect to any specific research strategy. In addition, structuration theory does not yet include a lot of reasoning about how structural analysis can actually be performed. However, several authors within organisational studies and institutional theory have proposed methodological guidelines for investigating structuration empirically. In the two following sections both of these challenges are addressed.

The analytical concepts of structuration theory amount to a rather comprehensive theoretical framework<sup>18</sup>. However, in this study of stability and change, I will limit the amount of core concepts to structure, actions and practice, and elaborate on the concept of structuration. The terms are related in that an organisation's practice is composed of two levels, the structural level and the level of action. Feldman and Pentland (2003) claim that a practice includes, on the one hand, an "abstract, narrative description" and on the other hand, "actual performances by specific people, at specific times, in specific places" (Feldman and Pentland, 2003: 95). They argue that abstract understandings and actual performances are inter-related in complex ways. Using structuration theory, my aim is to understand how these interactions create organisational stability and change. From this point of

---

<sup>18</sup> Giddens makes a list of 42 definitions or concepts that are relevant to structuration theory (Giddens, 1984:373-377).

view, the label structuration must be understood as connecting different actions to various structures and vice versa. The question of how structures and actions are coupled together would, therefore, include the question of how a practice is changed or reproduced. As structuration theory remains largely a theory of abstraction, I will draw on organisational insights particularly from Thompson (1967) and more recent studies that are inspired by structuration theory such as Orlikowski (1992), Feldman and Pentland (2003), Feldman (2000). This will allow me to present my underlying assumptions and understanding of how organisations are able to change and reproduce themselves.

Understanding the coupling processes between structures and actions are the main challenge of this study, and in section 2.1 I will therefore highlight some concepts that deal specifically with the process of structuration. Throughout the chapter, I will link concepts and arguments with insights from organisational studies that help to place structuration theory in the context of organisations and organisational practice. In section 2.2 some criticisms of structuration theory are introduced, while section 2.3 attempts to use organisational studies to respond to the challenges posed by these criticisms. In section 2.4 I present models for the study of organisational change and stability within structuration theory, before summing up the theoretical foundations of the thesis (section 2.5).

## 2.1 Central concepts in structuration theory

The purpose of this thesis is not to provide a complete overview of Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), but to stress elements that are particularly relevant for my argument. This does not imply that I am eliminating parts of structuration theory - merely which I am activating some parts of the theory and leaving other in the background.

At the heart of structuration theory is the dynamic interrelation between actions and structures; on the one hand, actions are enabled and constrained by structures. On the other hand, actions may also serve to produce and reproduce the same structures over time. This dynamic interrelation can be illustrated by the relationship between language and speech<sup>19</sup>. As a set of rules about how to communicate, language is a structure. The structure, however, seems independent of language use as no one can simply change the grammar and vocabulary of a language at will. If a language is to be reproduced and endure, it must be spoken or written by

---

<sup>19</sup> Saussure refers to *langue* as deep structures while *parole* is the use or manifestation of language (Giddens would argue that the meaning does not exist entirely in the deep structure, nor in the use of language, but as a product of their combination).

individuals according to its existing rules. A language is, however, not static. It changes as new words and grammatical conventions are invented and accepted through use, just as some old ones are forgotten and fall into disuse. People can therefore transform as well as reproduce structures by their actions.

### 2.1.1 Structures

Understanding the concept of structure is often a central issue in organisational studies. Giddens challenges the generally notion of structure by defining structures as the abstract means through which humans make sense of the world and through which they coordinate their daily actions. As such, Giddens' understanding of the structural level shares similarities with "dominant ideologies, cultural systems of meaning and power relations" in organisations (Pettigrew, 1987) and to some "underlying interpretative scheme" that include endogenous dynamics of interests, values, power dependencies and capacity for action (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Although these organisational definitions overlap with structuration theory's concept of structure, they imply that structure is a stabile arrangement that restrict human actions. This is not the case in structuration theory. Structures are defined as:

*"(...) rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability and as instantiated in action" (Giddens, 1984:377)*

Giddens views structures as something involved in human actions, both as a constraining and as an enabling force. They do not exist as concrete phenomena, but as part of our interpretation and interaction. Structures are therefore seen as something abstract<sup>20</sup>. More importantly, in structuration theory, structures are not static, but constantly changing. Within organisational studies, Barley and Tolbert (1997) draw explicitly on Giddens and define institutions as "shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities or relationships" (Barley & Tolbert, 1997:96). Pentland and Feldman (2005) similarly refer to Giddens when conceptualising organisational practices as both "abstract patterns that participants use to guide, account for and refer to" (Pentland & Feldman, 2005:3). Within institutional theory, Suchman (1995:575) views organisational legitimacy as an *operational resource* that an organisation

---

<sup>20</sup> Whitehead reflects on abstractions as "always in formation, and never exist as actual entities in themselves (Hernes, 2008: 127).

requires in order to operate. This aspect of resource as structure will be elaborated in section 2.3.2.

With regard to structures as rules, I draw on the work of Pentland and Feldman (2005)<sup>21</sup>, for two reasons: First, in their work they present an understanding of central concepts and dynamics that is close to the perspective of structuration theory. Second, they are particularly interested in organisational routines, which is similar to my empirical focus on production practices in an organisation. Within traditional organisational studies, the term “organisational routines” refers to some cognitive representation such as rules (Simon, 1947; March & Simon, 1958 and Cyert & March, 1963). By viewing routines as both behavioural and cognitive aspects of practice, Feldman (2004), however, suggests that routines not only require rules, but also resources. More importantly, in line with Giddens, Feldman and Pentland (2003) argue that the abstract level and the concrete level are mutually constitutive. The abstract level of practice guides the concrete performative part (but does not determine it) and is in turn created from performance. By studying the dynamic interplay of rules and resources in organisational routines, the work of Pentland and Feldman (2005) has helped explain how organisational practice contributes to both stability and change. However, as they argue (2005), we still need to study the relations between parts of the structure of routines more closely. I believe that a detailed exploration of the levels of structures (the abstract part in Pentland and Feldman’s terms) and how these levels interact with actions as presented by structuration theory would help understanding organisational practice as something quite stable yet continuously changing.

According to structuration theory, a structure has two parts; “*rules*” and “*resources*”. Both come into being through actions and both can equally be changed or maintained. Similar to Feldman (2000), Giddens views rules as both behavioural and cognitive aspects of a practice<sup>22</sup>. On the one hand rules govern how meaning should be constituted and interpreted (Giddens, 1984:18) while on the other hand they act as schemas that guide our social behaviour. Like grammars, structures have a virtual existence. The guiding schemas trigger social action at various levels, external to the actions. Some run so deep that we are not even aware of them or take them for granted, while others operate closer to practice in term of operating procedures and are therefore more apparent. As structures exist outside of the particular practice utilising it, any structure can be transposed or extended to different areas when the opportunity arises. According to Sewell:

---

<sup>21</sup> See also Feldman (2004, 2003, 2000) and Feldman and Pentland (2003).

<sup>22</sup> The structural definition of rules is “generalisable procedures applied in the enactment/ reproduction of social life (Giddens 1984:21).

*“This generalisability or transposability of schemas is the reason they must be understood as virtual. To say that schemas are virtual is to say that they cannot be reduced to their existence in any particular practice or any particular location space and time: they can be actualised in potentially broad and unpredetermined range of situations” (Sewell, 1992: 8).*

In regard of organisational agents, rules of meaning and behaviour are by and large followed, as the agents’ consciousnesses of the rules are linked to practical knowledge about the rules. As such, rules are informal and tacitly understood by the agents. In respect of organisational routines, this understanding shares similarities with cognitive representations, such as habits (Simon, 1947; Nelson & Winter, 1982) and programmes (March & Simon, 1958; Cyert & March, 1963) that require no deliberate thought. As such rules can be seen as more or less automatic or unconscious schemes. Examining how these aspects work together would bring us one step further in understanding how structures and actions interact. My point of departure is to treat structures as exhibiting pragmatic, normative and cognitive features. These features are not only interpreted as behavioural and cognitive representations of structures, but also as involving the use of resources<sup>23</sup>. In structuration theory, resources never simply exist, given by nature; they only become resources when an actor actually use them<sup>24</sup>. In general, resources are anything that can serve as a source of power. They represent any possibility and potency an agent has in a situation. To deal with rules and resources more explicitly I have chosen to address these issues as organisational legitimacy. Legitimacy is an important concept within organisational theory in general, and in institutional theory particular. The understanding of legitimacy as a resource along with the pragmatic, normative and cognitive features of rules will be further explored in section 2.3.2.

Summing up, structures are composed simultaneously of rules and resources. This would suggest that structures both have a virtual existence in the minds of the actors, and a real existence in the world of resources (Sewell, 1992). Such an understanding of structure bears similarities to Feldman and Pentland (2003) strive to link cognitive aspects of organisational routines to a behavioural level. In the sense of organisational routines, rules are “virtual” while resources are actual (Sewell, 1992). It is

---

<sup>23</sup> *Allocative resources* – or capabilities - include raw materials, technology and instruments of production and goods, while *authoritative resources* are resources that involve the ability to exercise power. Power itself is not a resource, but power can be mobilised by those who have resources to do so (Giddens, 1979: 63-64).

<sup>24</sup> In much the same sense as resources in Penrose’s (1959:24) conceptions.

then plausible to think of resources as effects of rules, just as rules are effects of resources. Providing rules and resources for the interaction of individuals, structures can be seen as a medium. However, a structure can also be seen as an outcome because it can only exist through an interaction in which the agents apply them. Therefore, rules and resources would only constitute structures if they are mutually implied and sustained by each other over time (Sewell, 1992: 13). Resources need rules to be activated, and rules need resources to be observable in practice.

### 2.1.2 Structural principles and structural properties

The recursive relationship between rules and resources implies a more complex understanding of structure, and it is perhaps for this reason that Giddens differentiates between structures, structural principles and structural properties. For my work, I have taken structural principles to be an abstraction of structures, while understanding structural properties as reflecting a concrete experience of structures, close to or even part of practice itself. Figure 2.1 illustrates the abstract – concrete dimension between structural principles, structure and structural properties in relation to practice.

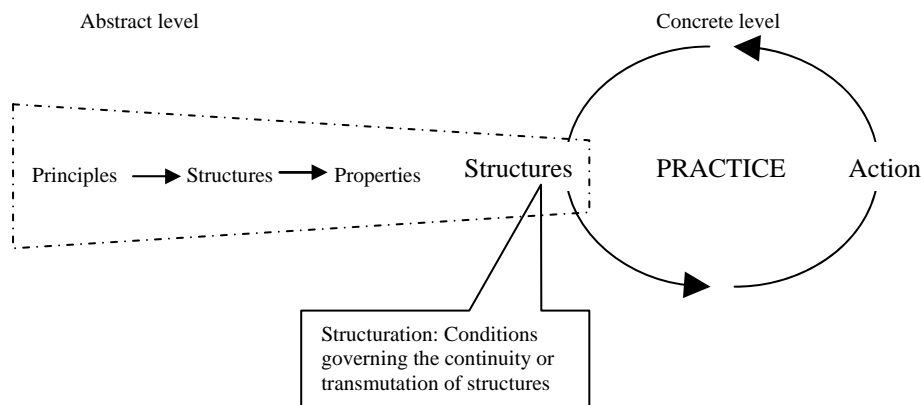


Figure 2.1. The abstract – concrete dimension of the structure in relation to action

Structural principles are defined by Giddens as “principles of organisation of societal totalities; factors involved in the overall institutional alignment of a society or type of society” (Giddens, 1984: 376). Within an organisational framework, structural principles may be understood as general ideological beliefs that guide an institution. Partly, they are organisational objectives reflecting the purpose of the institution such as a service or a

quality product. This understanding of structural principles also suggests the societal values that an institution holds and “the perceived social importance of the broadcasting media and their potential influence on values, attitudes, and beliefs” (Brown, 1996:3). To put it simply, structural principles would hold the answer to the question “why are football programmes produced by a public service broadcaster” posed in chapter 1. For instance, one might argue that sports programmes are linked to public service broadcasting values of promoting education, equity and national identity. Giddens suggests that contradictions in structural principles may occur where there is some variance between institutional objectives and values. As structural principles are the collective understandings of why things exist, their variance is one of the major sources of change within the cognitive, normative and behavioural aspects of rules, as well as changes within legitimacy.

With regard to structural properties, Giddens describes them as “structured features of social systems, especially institutionalised features, stretching across time and space” (Giddens, 1984: 377). An important feature of structures is that they are characterised by the absence of agency. Structures have no virtual existence in the present. However, structures do have the possibility to be enrolled or activated by agents as structural properties. Giddens explains this as social systems not having structures but displaying structural properties (Giddens, 1984). Barley and Tolbert (1997) view this characteristic of structure as institutional rules are encoded in behavioural properties that in turn are enacted in specific situations. As such, structural properties are instrumental in nature and linked to actual practices, for example by guiding procedures, methods, and chains of commands for daily operations and work. If structural principles address the question “why sports programmes are produced by a public service broadcaster, structural properties represent, in short, the answer to “how are sports programmes produced by a public service broadcaster”.

The linking between structural principles and the structural properties of a public service broadcaster (the “why” and the “how” question) is of crucial importance. As Figure 2.1 illustrates, I view the structures as gradually opening and closing depending on whether it is further from or closer to the practice in question. I believe that this relative openness or closure of the structures is a key element in understanding structural change. The more interlocked and concrete the structural properties become in practice, the more exposed they are to change. Structural principles, on the other hand, are unlikely to change in that they partly belong to a past practice and only exist as abstraction. For structures, there are at least three characteristics that are important for the understanding of change. Firstly, structures are dependent on the agents’ interpretation of the structural rules and exist only as concepts related to the agents’ perception of them as resources. Secondly, structures in social systems can only exist in the context of the human actions they actual govern. As already



mentioned, if structures are not mobilised, they do not exist. This implies the existence of structural diversity and the fact that not all structural principles are enrolled in the organisation's actions. Some structures may be mobilised while others are left dormant. The main point is that agents could always have acted otherwise as agency is only "partly determined by the pre-existence of structures" (Giddens, 1979:56). Thirdly, structural principles, structures and structural properties are not automatically related to each other in practice. Rather, structural principles are the most enduring, while structures and structural properties operate over a shorter term (Willmott, 1999). Further, as structural properties operate closest to practice, they are generally guided by short-term goals. As such, structural properties are the most temporary structural features and therefore more easily changed.

By claiming that structures also include abstract structural principles and concrete structural properties it is possible to develop assumptions about how these three concepts relate to each other. In this respect I have already implied that normative, cognitive and pragmatic aspects of these concepts are relevant, as is the question of legitimacy. In structuration theory the connection between these elements is referred to as *instantiations*. This issue will be briefly introduced in section 2.1.4 and elaborated in section 2.4. At this point, however, it is necessary to consider the counterpart of structures, i.e., agency. The strong emphasis on the agency level in Giddens' structuration theory is obvious in his definition of the structural level. Structures cannot exist unless they are given form by actors' thoughts, actions or beliefs. Structures exist therefore only in the activities of human agents while properties of agency such as reasons, intentions and mental states only exist when structure interacts with agency (Giddens, 1989: 256; 1984:17).

### 2.1.3 Agents

Rather than being a mere carrier of structures, an agent is defined in terms of their knowledgeability and capability (Giddens, 1984:27). This would imply that organisational members are to large degree strategic actors. In addition, "agency" implies power (Giddens, 1984:9), so that an actor can have the intention to reproduce or change some aspects of a practice. However, Giddens also proposes that unconscious motives to gain a "sense of trust" in interaction with others play an important role in legitimating ones actions. As such, actors have both a "stock of knowledge that one implicitly uses to act in situations and to interpret the actions of others and "a capacity to give reasons for or rationalise what one does" (Turner, 1991: 531).

With access to a contradictory overlapping of various structural rules and resource drawn from its own and from other systems, agents can to some extent choose which structures they mobilise and enrol in their actions

(Whittington, 1992; Willmott, 1999). Moreover, in order to make a difference, agents do not need to be fully conscious of their goals in order to act intentionally. Agents can give an account of their actions, but mostly they work with “practical consciousness” or tacit knowledge (Giddens, 1984; Nonaka, 1991) that is skilfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct, but which the agent is not able to verbalise (Giddens, 1984). However, the agents can often, in retrospect explain and understand reasons for their action.

Because structuration theory implies the possibility of a deliberate and effective strategy, organisations can be moved in some coherent and explicit direction (Whittington, 1992). On the other hand, as agents are not able to predict all the various outcomes of actions, unintended consequences are also a source for change. Action, therefore, can be seen as neither rational nor deterministic, but as random and unfolding. This is true insofar as Giddens point of departure is the actions of the everyday life, or more precisely the routine and continuous process of actions. The focal point is the flow of an ongoing series of practices and not a series of discrete events. This does not mean that the structuration theory rejects the existence of single, intentional actions. Rather, for Giddens, all actions are conscious and happen within a reflexive monitoring process (Giddens, 1984:376). The core idea is reflexivity. For Giddens all actors are socially competent to think about their situation. Their capacity to be reflexive is their ability to change the situation.

The concept of agency, as interpreted in terms of production practices, is particularly relevant in this study. Although production practices are viewed as highly routinised actions, this does not necessarily mean that these routines are unconscious actions that do not take into account people who perform these routines (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). According to Giddens, the human need for ontological security leads us to repeat routine patterns of behaviour that unintentionally reproduces existing structures. However, all agents are capable of changing the structures transformative capacity and thereby constantly intervening in the world through their actions. However, while some scholars treat agency as a synonym for free will or resistance, Giddens typically links agency to structure through his concept of “structural constraints”, which is that human actions are influenced by interactions and constrained by rules and resources. Despite the constraining function of structure upon actions, in structuration theory agents are viewed as capable and knowledgeable. Through reflexive monitoring of actions, people can think about what they are doing and consider whether their objectives are being achieved and if not, to modify their behaviour so that patterns of interaction may change, and with them the social structure.

In addition to the ability to transform their interactions, agents may cause change when their actions have unforeseen consequences. This implies

that agents cannot exercise full knowledge about their situations, so that change also can be linked to “unacknowledged conditions of actions” and “unintended consequences of action”. Nevertheless, structuration theory’s core proposition is that agents’ need for ontological security will enhance the production of regulations and patterns of repeated behaviour. I would therefore argue that, from a structuration perspective, change shares similarities with the continuous change perspective (Weick & Quinn, 1999) as presented in section 1.3.1.

#### 2.1.4 *Practice and system*

As a counterbalance to the notion of structure, agency is formulated as the “capacity to make a difference” (Giddens, 1984:14) and is connected directly to the concept of *practice* in structuration theory. Giddens’ claims that to examine the recursive and dependent relation between structure and agency is to investigate social practice (Giddens, 1984:2) and that social practices must be viewed as ongoing recursive processes; structures (as constraining and enabling) shape the agents’ actions, which in turn constitute (reproduce and produce) the structures. This implies that practice is mutable and that the concept of structuration leaves room for creativity and innovation within the opportunities and limitations of structures. However, as the consequences of actions are regularly distributed as a by-product of agents’ behaviour, repetitive actions have regularised consequences across time and space

When practices are repeated and reproduced, they extend beyond the duration of the individual act, and form a *social system* from which a pattern of social relation will emerge. As a collectively reproduced practice, systems display structural properties but are not structures themselves. Systems are “the situated activities of human agents” and “the patterning of social relations across space and time, understood as reproduced practices” (Giddens, 1984:377). This definition bears a resemblance to Chia’s definition of an organisation as “nothing more than pockets of artificially stabilised patterns of interaction amidst this sea of ceaseless change” (Chia, 2002:13). Both of these definitions conceptualise an organisation as a social phenomenon and a place where relational fields of social interactions develop. However, in order to plan for the future, organisations aim at stabilising and ordering such interactions (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). This is consistent with the continuous change perspective, which claims that agents will reinterpret, re-label and re-sequence patterns of practices in order to re-balance practice. Rebalancing practice is, in structuration theory, achieved mainly through the structural level of a system. With the conceptualisation of structures in mind, Bakken and Hernes argue that stable systems exist because of structured organising, based on abstractions from concrete experience (Bakken & Hernes, 2006). Searching for similarities between the

theories of Whitehead and Weick's, Bakken and Hernes argue that the concrete experience and abstractions

*“would not be seen as being different in kind, but rather as representing various degrees of stabilization, where the abstraction carries a label that is perceived as sufficiently stable to form a basis for understanding and concerted action” (Bakken & Hernes, 2006: 1612).*

Thus, the interaction between structure and agency in a practice is directed towards reframing current patterns or rebalancing the practice. In order to comprehend this interaction fully, we need to investigate the organising process or, as Bakken and Hernes call it, “structured organising”. In Giddens’ terms (1984) the conditions governing the process are referred to as *structuration*. From structuration theory it is possible to identify two mechanisms within structuration, *instantiation* and *constitution*. Instantiation is the step-by step procedure of moving from an abstract concept to a more detailed and informative concrete version (for instance from structural principles via structures to structural properties). Thus, if a practice exhibits structural properties, these properties are characterised as instantiations by Giddens (1984). For example, in structuration theory, rule-following is inseparably linked to the instantiation of tacit knowledge into practical knowledge. For example, simply being able to do something requires access to the tacit knowledge of how to do it. Instantiations can therefore be considered as local stabilisations. They build recursively upon previous events, but they can also be the results of structural interactions.

In this thesis I will focus on instantiations as interactions of structures, in what is called “multiplicity of structures” (Sewell, 1992) and pay less attention to instantiations as building upon previous events. The reason for mentioning instantiations as building upon previous events in addition to instantiations as interactions is that the two processes are closely linked. Giddens argues that structures would “appear in memory traces, orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents” (Giddens, 1984:17). Schatzki understands this as all organisations having “persisting practice structures” that continue from the past into the present (Schatzki, 2006:1867). From the argument that “an organisation has two basic components: the performance of its constituent actions and practices and the occurrence of events whereby its material arrangements causally support these activities” (Schatzki, 2006: 1863), it is clear that Schatzki understands practice structure as organisational memory in which instantiations build upon previous events. Similar, Barley and Tolbert (1997) argue that structures can be understood as “historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on actions” (1997: 99). The issue of

instantiations will be expanded theoretically in section 2.4 and methodologically in chapter 3.

The mechanism that connects structures and actions as a feedback device from the concrete versions to abstraction is known in structuration theory as *constitutions*. Constitutions are, however not only about reproducing the system, but also more importantly about feeding the actions of a practice into the structural level by anchoring the actions (Bakken & Hernes, 2006; Weick, 1979). For this reason, given my research question, the constitutional process will receive less attention than the instantiation process. However, as constitution and instantiation are both part of the same process I need to address their relational characteristics. In the next section I will therefore briefly discuss some of the conditions governing the production and reproduction of social systems through agents' use of rules and resources in their interactions. This process, as already mentioned, is known as structuration<sup>25</sup>.

### 2.1.5 Structuration and organisation

The term structuration refers to the structured organising process of the recursive interrelation, that is: agents constantly produce and reproduce structures that both constrain and enable the agents' ability to act. Structuration, therefore, is the process of members' use of rules and resources during interaction over time and space and through which a social system evolves. A presentation of this process, i.e. structuration conceptualised as the conditions governing the continuity and transmutation of structures, and the reproduction of social system, is given in Figure 2.2.

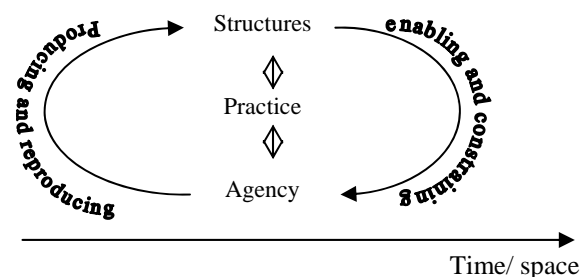


Figure 2.2. The duality of structures

<sup>25</sup> Within organisational studies, structuration share similarities with strategizing (Whittington, 1992; McNulty & Pettigrew, 1999 and Roos & Victor 1999), as institutionalisation (Parsons, 1951; Selznick, 1949; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977 and DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and as organising (Weick, 1979).

Structured organising involves establishing structures that support a goal-directed, boundary-maintaining collective system of activities (Aldrich, 1979). In order to go beyond the mere change of structure and to acknowledge the process character of the interrelation, structuration can be thought of as “we affect what we use by how we use it”. By acting in accordance to a norm, we contribute to sustaining the norm and to defining its legitimacy. If, on the other hand, we act against a norm, the consequences might be a loss of the legitimacy, power and sanctioning possibilities of that norm in favour of other norms. This action-orientated understanding of structuration stresses a functional definition of an organisation as actions organised with the aim of creating order out of chaos and restabilising a system (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1996). To emphasise the point that structures should be seen as constantly emerging and not as objective, independent facts, we might include Weick’s understanding of organising as “the resolving of equivocality<sup>26</sup> in an enacted environment by means of interlocked behaviours embedded in conditionally related processes” (Weick, 1979:91). This is consistent with Giddens’ view of actions when he claims that agents require “ontological security” in order to be able to perform their work to the best of their ability.

In line with the continuous change perspective that views change as a pattern of endless modification (Weick & Quinn, 1999), organising is a process, not a final state. This means that organisations need to find a balance between stability (for example, through making actions routine) and flexibility by keeping some level of ambiguity in the system. Although both structures and organisational actions are continuously changing, they also exhibit an ongoing ability to create order out of chaos (Feldman, 2004). From a structuralist viewpoint, order is created when actions reproduce structural properties and constitute the system. As such, the internal dynamics of practice and its underlying processes (Pentland & Feldman, 2005) form a good basis from which to understand the relation between organisational structures and actions. This implies that change is a product of the system and cannot be imported from the environment. Whatever happens in terms of production or reproduction is therefore a result of the mutual interaction of the system’s parts. The emphasis on “mutual interaction” points to something occurring between the parts that maintain the system. As the system is maintained, characteristics might arise that do not exist individually in any part of the system. Change, taken as patterns of events leading to other events, is therefore conceptualised as an emergence of something that occurs in interactions.

Taking an open system perspective, Giddens (1984) distinguishes between changes resulting from intentional human actions and changes in the social structure that are unintentional. Structure, therefore, as a medium

---

<sup>26</sup> Meaning “uncertainty” or “ambiguity”.

and as an outcome, is both the conscious production and unconscious reproduction of the conditions of production. When people act consciously, they typically unconsciously reproduce and sometimes transform the structures governing their actions. For example, it is unlikely that television viewers choose to watch a programme on the public service channel, NRK, in order to reproduce the public service system that in turn maintains the dominance of a state-owned broadcaster, thereby preserving the Norwegian television oligopoly. Nevertheless, the unintended consequence of their actions is the reproduction of the system and the maintenance of the NRK's existence. However, some viewing habits may be guided by the desire to follow tradition or to act according to rituals, particularly when it comes to media events or by a wish to challenge certain structures, i.e. the assumed partiality and nationalism in NRK sports coverage. As such, social structures are both the material cause and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency (Giddens, 1984).

#### *2.1.6 Loss of sensation in the structuration theory*

Before turning to the relation between structuration theory and organisational studies, I will briefly present the main arguments criticising structuration theory. The reason for this is partly to prepare for the methodological challenges faced later in this thesis and partly to highlight the potential for the improvement of structuration theory as laid out earlier in this chapter.

A central concern in structuration theory is to overcome the dichotomous existence of opposing categories of “structure vs. agency”, “subjective vs. objective” and “macro vs. micro”. However, rather than clarify the problems of duality of structure, critics accuse structuration theory of conflating structure and agency. The important distinctions between structure, social practice and agency seem to collapse into one another (Archer, 1982; Layder, 1987; Callinicos, 1985; Thompson, 1989; Urry, 1991; Barley & Tolbert 1997). By rejecting any role for pure structural explanation, structuration theory implicitly neglects structural, institutional and cultural factors as external, fixed constraints on the actions of agents. Rather, the enabling function of structure upon action is emphasised, as structures do not exist in a time-space dimension, but only as “instantiated in practice” (Giddens, 1984:17). Structures thus exist only at different levels of abstractions.

The complex and dynamic view of micro actions in structuration theory is also hard to grasp. The purpose of our daily actions is, according to Giddens, coordinated and motivated by the more or less explicit conscious intention behind the stream of actions. Each detail in this complex process should not be ascribed a distinct intentional purpose. A stream of actions is,

at the same time, intentional and controlled by the situations in which the agents are operating. Here, intentionality is understood as complex embedded sets of processes involving the interdependent performance of “reflexive monitoring”, “rationalisation” and “motivation” of action (Giddens, 1979:57; 1984:3-6)<sup>27</sup>.

Another criticism of structuration theory is that it assigns “structure and agency to different theoretical or empirical positions, thereby preserving the structure-agency dualism rather than transcending it” (Jessop, 1996: 121). Jessop has especially noted that in Giddens’ extreme view of agency there is no structure independent of the agent. In particular, it is impossible to reconcile the idea of structure constraining human action with the idea of agency as the existence of free will. According to Margaret Archer (1982) Giddens implies that the agents can transform structures simply by changing their behaviour, thereby totally ignoring the nature of structural features as limiting the ability of agents. Further, although Giddens emphasises the constraining role of rules of the expense of the enabling function of resources, he still conceptualises constraint so loosely and in such an abstract way that structure’s function in constraining action is undermined (Clegg, 1989). The result is a paralysed, analytical anarchism that offers few theoretical restrictions. Archer’s own means to resolve the action-structure paradox is to relate action and structure to three time periods (Archer, 1982). In the first phase, pre-existing structures govern behaviour. In the second period, actions draw on alternative structures that may alter the structures themselves. In the last phase, the new structures are institutionalised. Archer’s morphogenetic approach share similarities with Tushman and Romanelli’s (1985) punctuated equilibrium model. Although this model provides the vehicle for incorporating two different change processes, it tends to reflect a bias for structure (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989).

This brings us to the third challenge with regard to structuration theory and to my main concern for the paradox of organisational change and stability, namely that structuration theory does not explicitly address why some forms of reproduction are being institutionalised and others not. This is a serious problem, as it implies that structuration theory has no direct answers to the questions of organisational change (Hernes & Schjelderup, 2005). More precisely, as Archer argues, the theory of structuration remains incomplete because it provides an “insufficient account of the mechanisms of stable replication versus genesis of new social forums” (Archer, 1982:479). At this point, it might be useful to remember that Giddens rejects the search for abstract laws and discards the development of propositions that site relationships among concepts. Rather, structuration theory contains a series of definitions of highly eclectic concepts that are presumably only

---

<sup>27</sup> The three processes are located at different levels of consciousness (Giddens, 1984).



meant to denote their relationships. The purpose of structuration theory, therefore, is to provide us with a system of definitions linked by loose imprecise text and diagrams and not to give us sociological laws about the relations among properties<sup>28</sup>. According to Giddens, the best that social theory can offer is a series of “sensitising concepts” that suggests a direction for how to look into processes of changeable organisations. As such, structuration theory does not attempt to provide any direct answers to questions of organisational change or to give a sufficient account of the changing mechanisms. Sensitising concepts are the fundamental building blocks for understanding the relationship between change and stability within structuration theory, but they do not give a sufficient description of how this process might appear.

The weaknesses of structural theory comes from the same sources as its strengths; i.e., the dual character of structures. Giddens insists that structures enable action as well as constraining it, but as Sewell notes (1992), Giddens also often treats structure as a separate entity. Structures then can be perceived as factors that are relatively stable over time and outside the control of actors. Despite this inertia, reproduction of structures through structural change is possible. For instance, Sewell (1992) proposes five key axioms of why structural change is possible<sup>29</sup>. I intend to pursue Sewell’s argument that changes can arise from “the multiplicity of structures” to support my work. As my analysis will show, there are many distinct structures, existing at different levels, operating in different modalities and based on widely varying types and quantities of rules and resources. In particular, changes can arise when rules are applied to a wide and not fully predictable range of cases outside the context, in which they were initially learned,

Having identified the main criticisms of structuration theory: duality of structure; its use of different theoretical positions to deal with structure versus agency; and its failure to address the issue of the institutionalisation of structure reproduction, the question of how these criticisms should be dealt is raised. From the point of view of this work, it is necessary to operate with a concept of structure that is linked to the research question and field of investigation. For my research which looks at how an institutional structures interact with organisational actions in order to create stability and change ,

---

<sup>28</sup> I agree with this attack on positivism and its search for timeless laws of human organisation, but I also believe that structuration theory offers too greater insight into the dynamics of organisations for it to be used as a mere series of “sensitising concepts”.

<sup>29</sup> The five key axioms of why structural change is possible according to Sewell (1992) are: The multiplicity of structures, the transportability of schema, the unpredictability of resource accumulation, the polysemy of resources and the intersection of structures.

Giddens' vague definition of structure does embrace the elusive concept of public service policy, but it is also not suitable for an institutional analysis. Arguing that a public service policy is based on a range of ideological values such as pluralism, democracy, national identity, cultural protection and so on, it is also necessary to admit that there are multiple structures within public service broadcasting and that these structures overlap as they are instantiated in a certain practice, such as producing sports programmes. Once the multiplicity and intersection of structures have been established, we have to ask how they are related and activated in practice.

## **2.2 Structuration theory and organisational studies**

In an attempt to make the concepts of structuration theory more suitable as a framework for organisational studies, we need to take a closer look at how structuration theory relates to existing theoretical frameworks in organisational studies. This cross reference is carried out by identifying theoretical issues that have similar conceptual views of organisational processes and that would be enhanced in their explanatory power by the inclusion of some of the aspects of rules and resources in structuration theory<sup>30</sup>.

The point of departure is the analytical understanding of the dimension of the structural level in which the concept of structural principles is viewed as open and abstract, and that of structural properties as closed and concrete. This phenomenon will be dealt with by drawing on the distinction between closed and open perspectives in system theory (Thompson, 1967). Secondly, it is possible to group an organisation's institutional, managerial and technical level with the three broad traditional perspectives of rational systems, natural systems and open systems (Scott, 1992). This will help the understanding of rules in structuration theory. The third theoretical framework that share overlapping sensitivity with structuration theory is institutional theory and the study of legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). This will elaborate the notion of structure as a resource.

This study does not intend to close gaps within all three organisational fields. Rather, the aim is to explore the potential contribution of structuration theory as an alternative, but relevant way of dealing with organisational change and stability. Despite a number of studies on organisational change, there is still insufficient insight into the relationship between stable processes and change. This is not only unfortunate for the "change" literature, but it is also a drawback to the literature on institutional

---

<sup>30</sup> A review of organisational studies drawing on structuration theory (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Orlikowski, 2000; Greenwood et al., 2002; Pentland & Feldman, 2005, etc) has been carried out in chapter 1.

theory. As Hatch said in 1997, “Giddens’ theory is not fully formulated at the organizational level of analysis as yet, and only a small number of empirical studies using his perspective have been published. However, it is clear that this theory will have an important influence within organization theory in the years to come” (Hatch, 1997:181).

Researchers such as Orlikowski (1992, 2000), Poole and DeSanctis (1993), Barley (1986) and others have already attempted to apply structuration theory to organisational study. However, a better understanding of the mechanisms that govern structure and actions is needed to advance our insight into the mechanisms of institutional change and stability.

### 2.2.1 *Structuration in action*

Rather than viewing organisations as closed and open systems at odds with each other, Thompson (1967) argues that organisations operate as both open and closed systems depending on the organisational level. In particular, Thompson defines organisations as inherently “open systems” with high degree of technological and environmental uncertainty. However, he also suggests that, although most organisations operate as “open systems”, they often attempt to shield certain parts of their actions by enclosing them.

Thompson’s dichotomy of open and closed systems gives resonance to the notion of structural principles as an abstract version of structures and of structural properties as a concrete version of structures gives resonance to the open/ closed system dichotomy. According to structuration theory, the structural level consists of three interrelated factors: structural principles, structures, and structural properties. Structural principles are generally abstract and have a distal influence on practice. Structures, in terms of rules and resources, are more concrete than structural principles and more explicitly involved in practice. Structural properties are the most concrete and tangible part of the structural level and are closest to practice (see Figure 2.1). If structures and structural principles have been instantiated in practice, the practice exhibits structural properties. Abstract structural principles and concrete structural properties are not opposites, but they are at different ends of a range, with structures as a mediating level in the same sense as an organisation may exhibit open and closed characteristics. Going from something very abstract to something very concrete would imply going from something elusive, uncertain and open for interpretation to something that is quite clear and well defined, leaving no room for interpretation. As such, the range from abstract to concrete structural levels corresponds to the range of closed and open system characteristics.

Thompson also posits that, although organisations are open systems, they strive to be rational. He therefore proposes a model that views organisations as open, natural and closed, depending on environmental

relations and degree of uncertainty. Thompson notes that this model can be applied in different degrees to different organisational levels. “He borrows Parson’s levels (technical, managerial and institutional) and claims that the rational perspective is more suitable to the technical level, the natural to the managerial, and the open to the institutional level” (Scott, 1992: 99). Rational notions of effectiveness and efficiency presume a closed system. The technical level of an organisation is the part of the system that is particularly in need of protection from external uncertainties, and is therefore the most closed system in Thompson’s view. At the institutional level, which must react and adapt to the environment, the open system perspective is the most relevant. At the managerial level (natural system), mediating processes take place between the open institutional level and closed technical level. However, for effective mediation to happen, there needs to a high level of flexibility in informal structures.

With regard to structuration theory, it is plausible to suggest that the open institutional level, natural managerial level, and rational technical level correspond to the three structural levels of structural principles, structures and structural properties respectively. Structural principles are normative beliefs and collective understandings of *why*, for example, a public service broadcaster exists. At the institutional level, structural principles form the part of the organisation that relates the organisation to its environment. In addition, all these abstract ideas and values are tied to the interdependent flows and actions in the organisation’s environment, although the contextual couplings may vary from very loose to rather tight. Structures are defined as rules and resources, such as policy or professional ideologies, and are aimed at *how* a broadcaster should act. Structures operate at the managerial level, the part of the organisation that is responsible for designing and controlling the production output. At this level, participants pursuing multiple interests are influential in guiding the behaviour structure of rules and resources. Although actions and events at the technical level may vary, at the managerial level conformity is greater due to common rules and resources. Structural properties are instrumental elements in terms of implementations and procedures, and can be seen in *what* a broadcaster produces in terms of programmes and services. Structural properties are found on the technical level. It refers broadly to the “work performed by the organisation and includes the hardware, skills and knowledge of the workers” (Scott, 1992: 227). In order to perform these actions, use structural properties that can be associated with a rational perspective. The structural properties exhibit instrumental characteristics tailored to achieve specific goals. As a practical set of procedures, structural properties can display relatively highly standardisation.

Supplementing Thompson’s framework with the three structural levels of structuration theory helps to tighten the link between structuration theory and organisational theory. In particular, Thompson’s framework

informs the definition and operationalisation of the structural level and offers a different way of thinking about how structures and organisational actions interact. The model (shown in Figure 2.3) presents a simplified and general overview of the relation between organisational levels and system perspectives of openness and closedness within the framework of structuration theory.

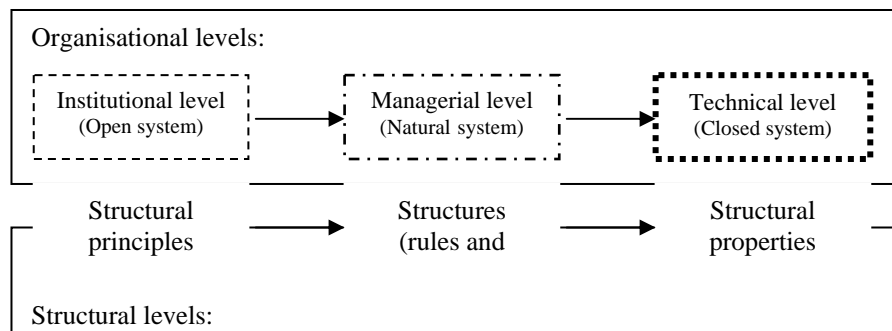


Figure 2.3. Model showing Scott's (1992) system topology combined with Thompson's (1967) levels in relation to Giddens' (1984) structural level

So far, I have argued that it is possible to link the abstract/ concrete dichotomy of structural principles, structures and structural properties with the notion of a system's degree of openness and closedness by referring to the work of Thompson (1967). I have further showed how the three structural levels in structuration theory can be combined with Thompson's distinction of closed technical, natural managerial and open institutional level of an organisation. Next, I want to link a particular dimension of structures to the area of organisational theory. For this purpose I have chosen a phenomenon that is heavily theorised in institutional studies, namely, legitimacy (Scott, 1992; Suchman, 1995). As belief systems and norms vary over time and place, legitimacy provides a means with which to study institutional emergence and change. Examining the relationship of structures and actions of an institution by focusing on legitimacy will also allow me to include the process of structuration between an institution and its context. As Parson argues, "Every organization is a subsystem of "a wider social system which is the source of the 'meaning', legitimation, or higher-level support" (Parson [1956] 1960: 63-64). In this context, a public service broadcaster is a good example of an open system that is strongly influenced by its environment and a variety of governance structures.

### 2.2.2 *Legitimation as institutional and organisational structures*

Giddens suggests three types of structures, those of signification, legitimation and domination. In order to focus and sharpen my analysis of organisational stability and change, I will limit myself to study legitimation<sup>31</sup>. Common beliefs hold that legitimacy maintains the stability of an organisation (Suchman, 1995; Scott, 2001). Legitimation can be dealt with both on an institutional and an organisational level.

Institutional legitimacy captures how organisational structures as a whole have gained acceptance from society at large. In this context, legitimacy is conceptually close to institutionalisation. For example, Selznick refers to institutions as having become “infused with values beyond the technical requirements at hand” (Selznick, 1957: 17) so that assessments of legitimacy can be used as a measure of institutionalisation. In addition, Barley and Tolbert (1997), who define institutions similar to Giddens’ notion of structure, argue that in order to develop a model of institutionalisation as a structuration process, one need to look at how institutions vary in their normative power and in their effect on behaviour. Scott Hargreaves (2003:2) makes a related argument by claiming that “the primary interest for the institutional school in the study of legitimacy is in the structuration dynamics”. The central modality in this process is norms that relate the structural feature of legitimation to the knowledgeable capacities of agents in terms of sanctions. This reciprocal relationship between legitimation and sanction is described by Giddens as actors drawing on “the modalities of structuration in the reproduction of systems of interaction, thus, by the same token, reconstituting their structural properties” (Giddens, 1984, 28). However, as Tolbert and Zucker (1996) point out, legitimation is not equally distributed along the structures in organisations. Here, variation may depend on, for instance, “how long an institution has been in place and how widely and deeply it is accepted by members of a collective” (Barley & Tolbert, 1996:96).

As argued in section 2.1.1, legitimation varies according to the structural levels. As a structural resource on an organisational level, legitimation is rooted in structural principles (for instance as values) on the one hand, and feeds on structural properties (in term of implementations) on the other hand. In order to carry out any research that specifies the relation between legitimacy distributed as structural principles, structures and structural properties, we need to identify legitimation more accurately.

In most definitions of legitimacy, the notion of cultural support or conformity with culture is central (Meyer & Scott, 1983:201). Indeed, the

---

<sup>31</sup> Signification produces meaning through an organised web of language (semantic codes, interpretive schemes and discursive practices) while domination produces power through the control of resources.

“classical” definition of legitimacy is “...a generalized perception or assumption that the action of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman, 1995:574). Mathews (1993) provides a good definition of legitimacy at this level:

*Organisations seek to establish congruence between the social values associated with or implied by their activities and the norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social system in which they are a part. In so far as these two value systems are congruent we can speak of organisational legitimacy. When an actual or potential disparity exists between the two value systems there will exist a threat to organisational legitimacy (Mathews, 1993: 350).*

Within the organisational view “legitimacy [is] an operational resource... that organisations extract – often competitively – from their cultural environments and that they employ in pursuit of their goals” (Suchman, 1995: 575). This conceptualisation fits well into the Thompson/Giddens’ framework; as a resource, legitimacy is a structure working primarily at the managerial level in order to empower the organisation by making it seem natural, meaningful and interactive with both internal and external normative pressures.

To illustrate this argument I once again turn to the area of public service broadcasting and how this system seeks approval (or avoids sanction) from various groups in society. The relevant external stakeholders in this setting are the state (as public service broadcasters need to fulfil obligations made by the state) and the audience (as customers and as citizens). As a public service broadcaster, NRK therefore derives its legitimacy from three sources associated with the technical, managerial and institutional level of the organisation.

At the technical level there are mainly functions identified as processes that begin and end with an external interaction. At this level, the rational system view stresses the predominance of clear organisational goals. In the case of this study, it could be a framework that measures NRK’s performance in delivering public service broadcasting, focusing on key drivers of public values, such as outreach, programme quality, impact, and value for money. These processes have results in terms of viewing figures and commitments that are relatively easy to measure<sup>32</sup>. The measurement of performance was for many years not a common way to govern public service broadcasting. However, because of an upsurge in criticism and reforms in

---

<sup>32</sup> For instance, one measurable commitment under the BBC’s remit to reflect the UK’s nations, regions and communities is to provide 260 hours of sports programs in 2006/2007 (BBC, 2006).

recent year, several countries have designed a new administrative system for mapping process performance and monitoring improvements, particularly those seen by the customers or whoever relates to the broadcasters' output. As such, the technical level relates to "measurable" pragmatic legitimacy.

The instrumental value of NRK is considered according to how the institution fulfils and serves the needs and interests of its audience. More specifically, pragmatic legitimacy emerges as a function of exchange relationships at the technical level between a broadcaster and output in terms of programmes and services, and its immediate stakeholders (audience, advertisers and political system). Pragmatic legitimacy also includes "influence legitimacy", that is, if the exchange relationship between a broadcaster and its audience results in greater responsiveness to the audiences' larger interest. Influence legitimacy can play an important role when the output of a broadcaster is hard to measure or when outcomes are difficult to attribute to particular actions.

At the managerial and institutional level there are functions supporting processes at the technical level. The results of these functions generally tend to be more subjective than objective and are, therefore, more difficult to measure. These functions are process enablers and constrainers, and need to be specified by the organisation. One such example is sports programme's role in reflecting a nation's culture and identity. At the managerial level, the natural system view tends to focus on the organisation's internal affairs. Placed between the technical and the institutional level, the sources of legitimacy at this level are mainly internal, drawn from the practices and the professions within the organisation. In this context, practitioners' rhetoric, professional values, the organisation's "way of doing things", and guiding principles and policy, can be mobilised as legitimating resources. It is tempting, therefore, to refer to this source of legitimacy as moral legitimacy in terms of a positive evaluation of an organisation and its actions based on normative criteria. In the case of my work, this can be illustrated by various attitudes towards sports coverage. Some professionals may argue that sport is nothing more than pure entertainment and that the coverage pursues entertainment values when addressing the audience. Others might demonstrate journalistic objectivity as the main guiding structure in their coverage, arguing that this convention produces the most comprehensive sports coverage.

Moral legitimacy is accorded to an organisation when it reflects structural norms, standards and values. Two variants of moral legitimacy, judgements about outputs and consequences, and evaluations of procedures and techniques (Suchman, 1995: 579), are particularly aimed at the administration of structural properties. As such, rules and resources are mainly focused via moral legitimation and expressed through normative sanctions of interaction.



Institutional legitimacy has for many years been a core topic in a large body of literature on institutionalism. This type of legitimacy puts strong emphasis on symbols and cognitive processes of legitimacy. In a state of “taken-for-grantedness”, an organisation’s presence and actions are accepted or passively supported by society. The role of structural principles in this context is to produce cognitive legitimacy when an organisation pursues goals and actions that fit with broad social understandings of what is appropriate, proper and desirable. In the case of NRK, the striving for and maintenance of cognitive legitimacy has been challenged many times over the years. Such disputes have taken different forms, but can be summarised as three dilemmas: “doing the right things”, “doing things right” or “being right for the job”. In the case of television sports production, NRK has been accused of emphasising the national aspect of competition to such extent that it has tended towards nationalism. The question of whether NRK is doing the right things has been raised every time NRK has participated in the bidding race for expensive television rights for great sports events (Taalesen, 2006). The argument for NRK’s bidding was anchored in an institutional legitimacy of bringing audiences together for shared experiences of particular national importance. On the other hand, this structural principle is hard to combine with other principles, such as promoting interest and participation in smaller, minority-interest sports that are less well covered by commercial broadcasters. Some critics argued that NRK should leave the transmission of great, expensive sporting events to commercial competitors and concentrate on smaller sporting events. However, this strategy would have endangered the position of NRK as the largest and most important broadcaster in Norway.

An illustration of Suchman’s legitimating resources (1995) for each organisational level (Thompson, 1967) associated with Giddens’ structuration approach (Giddens, 1984) and Scott’s system view (1992) is given in Figure 2.4.

Thompson (1967)	Scott (1992)	Suchman (1995)	Giddens (1984)	The possibility for change relies on legitimacy....
Org. level	System view	Type of legitimacy	Structural components	
Institutional level	Open system	Cognitive	Principles as normative beliefs and collective understandings	Constituted by the environment
Managerial level	Natural system	Moral	Structures as organisational policy and regulation	Constituted by normative internal criteria
Technical Level	Rational system	Pragmatic	Properties as procedures, instrumental decisions, procedures	Constituted by performance measurements

Figure 2.4. Typology of perspectives within institutional theory compared to structuration theory

Although extremely simplified, the figure points to several similarities between distinctions in structuration theory and dominant perspectives within organisational studies. From the figure, it is also possible to suggest a chain of relationships based on the cross-classified concepts that can provide information regarding the change/stability question of my thesis. Firstly, as an organisation can display characteristics from different systems depending on organisational level, legitimacy elements will co-exist. This co-existence would in most settings either reinforce or challenge one another. Secondly, the model illustrates the relationships between the structural components and the level in the organisation at which they operate. More importantly for my study, the model acknowledges that organisational change and stability can co-exist. In addition, the figure highlights that the possibility for change depends on the structural components. However, if change needs legitimacy from all three levels, i.e. from the structural properties of an organisation at the technical level, from structures at the managerial level, and from the structural principles at the institutional level, the possibility for change becomes limited.

The possibility for change is moderately high at the technical level as this is governed by a rational system perspective and gains its legitimacy mainly from performance measurements. This makes room for swift short-term improvements. At the technical level, structural properties are closer to practice than structural principles, leaving a potential gap between the normative beliefs and the actual implementations of these norms and values. This gap between the instrumental instantiations of particular principles would also increase the potential for change at this level. As pragmatic legitimacy is the core governing mechanism at the technical level, change - as variation in performance - is likely to occur. Which rule or resource should be employed is highly unpredictable as the pragmatic solution depends on the situation in question.

At the institutional level, changes in structural principles are difficult, but possible, to obtain. In general, normative beliefs and perception of why the organisation exists is the most enduring part of the open system. This is primarily because the main source for legitimacy is constituted by the institutional environment and quite often also by socio-political agencies. In addition, structural principles are elusive and difficult to define, which also make them resistant to change. Giddens views structural principles as “soft” and “mental” and therefore derived, so that the abstract term is available for a variety of instantiations in the structuration process.

Rules and resources at the managerial level are moderately difficult to change. These managerial policy and professional ideologies are subject to negotiations within the organisations, as structures are constituted by both structural principles and structural properties. As such, moral legitimacy rests on judgements of whether the organisation’s action is “the right thing to

do". These judgements often reflect and are directed at the instrumental structural properties of the system.

Taken together, the shift from the cognitive form of legitimacy to pragmatic legitimacy would correspond to a transformation from abstract to concrete. In most cases, it is easier to change something concrete, such as an organisational procedure, rather than something abstract, such as "organisational values". For this reason, Suchman argues that "(...) *as one moves from the pragmatic to the moral to the cognitive, legitimacy becomes more elusive to obtain and more difficult to manipulate, but is also more subtle, more profound, and more self-sustaining, once established*" (Suchman, 1995: 584).

So far I have tried to argue that fundamental differences exist between structural components. The distinction between structural principles, structures and structural properties is profound, both because structural components demonstrate different system logics (open, natural and logic) and because different types of legitimacy work at each structural level. This would imply that the possibility of change also varies among the levels. In the next section, I will address the degree to which structural components vary in their production and reproduction of a social practice.

### **2.3 Continuity or transmutation of structures**

In order to specify the way in which structures change, we need to specify the interaction of how actions confirm or disprove structural components. Barley and Tolbert interpret this task as "to translate Giddens' essentially static portrayal of structuration into a more dynamic model that links action to the maintenance and change of an institution" (Barley & Tolbert, 1997: 100). According to Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings (2002), a valuable lead into this process is the understanding of means that produce, maintain and change the structures' guidance of the collective actions in an organisation. A more comprehensive understanding of the processes by which structures and actions interact thus requires a recursive model of structuration. Structuration theory offers two concepts, constitution and instantiation, to illustrate the recursive relationship that occurs during structuration. As mentioned in section 2.1.4, the first move, involves the instantiation of structural principles, structures and structural properties at the level of practices. A structural principle cannot be directly instantiated at a local level of practice, but must be enacted through structures and structural properties. Thompson (1989) argues that Giddens has not so far explained how the theory of structuration might apply to the instantiation and reproduction of the structural principles, a point not adequately dealt with in Giddens' reply to his critics (1989). However, as structural properties only become real when instantiated by actors, "instantiation therefore becoming dependent upon current activities which, in turn, depend upon the

knowledgeability of contemporary agents about what they are doing” (Archer, 1998: 362). The second move, constitution, is the feedback mechanism in which actions modify or reproduce the structural components that informed the actions. Although I will focus my attention on instantiation, it is almost impossible to theorise this without touching upon constitution in a recursive model. As noted by Greenwood et al. (2002) and Suchman (1995), the justification for change is often, but not exclusively, grounded in the way logics connect, which during isomorphic change relies on existing norms of appropriateness.

### *2.3.1 Instantiation and constitute - from abstract to concrete and vice versa*

How structural components, such as legitimacy, are transported through all levels in a system is central for the understanding of how a system changes and reproduces itself. More specifically, this raises new questions of how structuration takes place and what mechanisms govern the continuity or transmutation of structures. In terms of structuration theory, the reproduction of a system takes place as instantiations and constitutions when structure and agency interact in a practice (Giddens, 1984).

In structuration theory, the term instantiation refers to the capacity of human actors to produce a more concrete version of abstract structural principles. They do so in order to create meaning in their actions. Instantiation takes place at several levels: from structural principles to structures and from structures to structural properties. On a macro level, an important component of the instantiation process is the alignment of rules and resources to an idea or value. It would be very difficult for a broadcaster to produce a Cup Final in football without the necessary budget, technical support and personnel.

In the literature of organisational studies, other terms are associated with the same process as instantiation. Both “encoding” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997) and “enactment” (Weick, 1995) represent the notion that when people act, they bring structures and events into existence and set them in action. An interesting contribution to this relationship is Weick’s (1979, 1995) conception of organisation as both verb and noun. Drawing upon the work of Whitehead ([1929] 1978), Bakken and Hernes (2006) propose that verbs and nouns form part of one another and can be transformed into one another. Verbs can move into nouns and vice versa. The actual movement may be made on the basis of the relation between nouns and verbs in which each gives sense to the other through a struggle for dominance. Thus, verbs and nouns are not disconnected. They co-evolve as inseparable, but we can distinguish them analytically. The level of verbs is related to concrete experiences, while nouns are related to abstraction. Bakken and Hernes argue that “abstractions emerge from experience in a seamless process”

(2006: 1601). As both levels give meaning to each other they represent “various degrees of stability where the abstraction carries a label that is perceived as sufficiently stable to form a basis for understanding and concerted action” (Bakken & Hernes, 2006: 1612). This notion of the interplay between verbs and nouns are valuable for my understanding of structures as abstractions and actions as concrete experiences. The terms used in structuration theory aimed at this interplay are the noun “instantiations” and the verb to “instantiate”. How structures proceed from abstract phenomena to concrete instantiations through instantiating is illustrated in Figure 2.5.

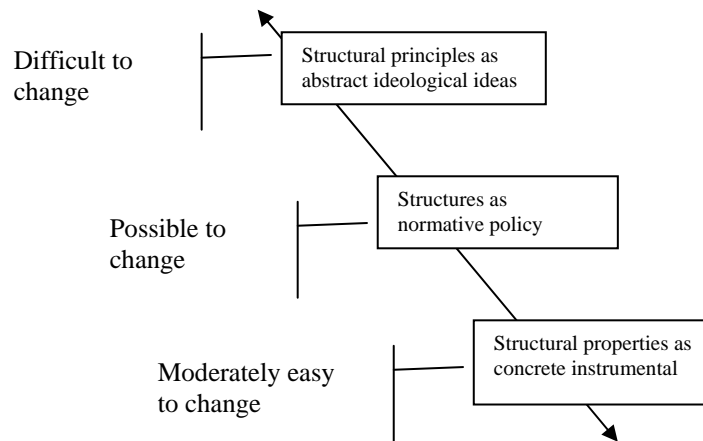


Figure 2.5. The movement between structural levels of abstraction and their possibility of change

Although instantiation refers to a more concrete version of an abstract idea, the term “version” has problematic overtones as it implies deliberation in the creation of the idea and also its alteration. In structuration theory, instantiation is a simpler term than version without detailed implications of agents’ consciousness. The term instantiations states that as agents use structural properties to “locate” meaning, these structural properties are instantiated in the practice<sup>33</sup>. The important issue in structuration theory is that these structural properties are not treated as something that exists outside the practice. Rather, structural properties in terms of interpretive schemes, resources, tradition and norms can be mobilised as a particular setting in people’s practices if these structural properties bring a strong degree of stability to the practice. Thus, instantiation takes the form of evidence. The stability created through

<sup>33</sup> This is similar to the notions of “translation” and “travelling ideas” developed in actor-network theory.

instantiation is, however, not enduring; it is only represented by and instant, which is defined<sup>34</sup> as “an infinitesimal space of time”, “a point in time separating two states”, “the point of time now present with reference to some action or event” and “lasting for a short moment, momentary: short-lived”. As instantiation can be viewed as an implicit suspension of temporality, it is not stable.

The reverse process, in which actual practice is “theorized” (Greenwood et al., 2002) into a revised abstract principle, takes place as constitutions of practice. The idea of constitution can be seen to arise naturally as a feedback mechanism of the concept of instantiations. As concrete versions of instantiations in practice are fed back into the abstract structural levels, the practice is constituted. Constitution involves a restructuring or modification of the same abstract ideas that initiated the instantiation process. A visual presentation of the relation between instantiation and constitution is given in Figure 2.6. This is a simpler version of the model presented by Barley and Tolbert (1997: 101). What the model highlights is that instantiation always refers to the concretisation or realisation of an abstraction, while constitution refers to an abstraction of larger concrete elements. As such, the beginning of constitution is also the ending of instantiation. Similarly, the ending of constitution is also the beginning of something that takes place after the constitution, i.e. new instantiations. The concrete actions are instances which provide opportunities for the constraints of a practice to be suspended and alternative practice explored. Serials of actions would therefore take the form as both innovations and repetition.

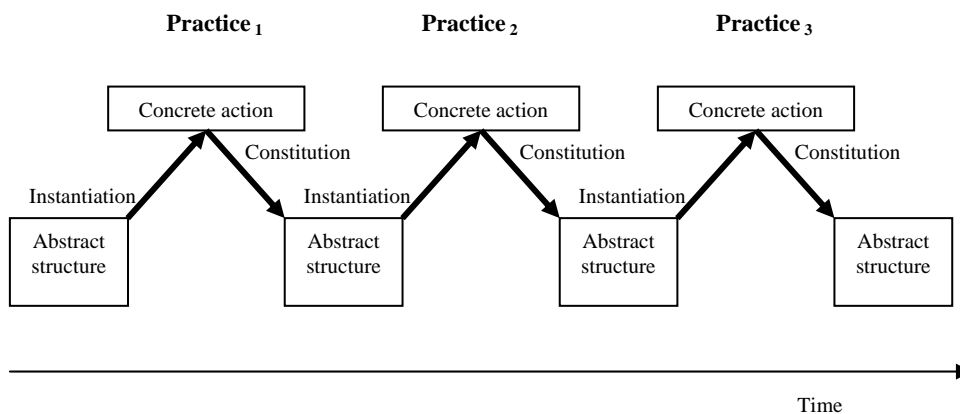


Figure 2.6.A sequential model of structuration, adapted from Barley & Tolbert, 1997

<sup>34</sup> Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary, <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Instant>.

An interesting point of view that challenges both Barley and Tolbert (1997) and Greenwood et al. (2002) in developing structuration theory is that of Blackler and Regan (2006) which puts an emphasis on both internalisation and externalising. Their use of the concept “internalization” is comparable to that of constitutions (from concrete to abstract), while their use of “externalizing” is equivalent to instantiations (from abstract to concrete). They argue that although many studies based on structuration theory have stressed the significance of the institutionalisation of new ideas in terms of constitutions, the opposite aspect of institutional change, conceptualised as a “contested ascent from the abstract to the concrete” has been largely overlooked (Blackler & Regan, 2006:1855).

Both Greenwood et al.’s model (2002) and Barley and Tolbert’s model (1997) emphasise the importance of a growing convergence between founding ideas and actual practice, but Blackler and Regan (2006) claim that this is not the main issue affecting the relationship between action and structure. In their study of a project that was intended to pioneer a new, integrated approach to child and family support services, they commented about members in the project: “Rather than there being a problem with the *internalization* of key ideas, problems developed with their *externalization* into new ways of thinking, relating and working” (Blackler & Regan, 2006: 1856). Generally, the move from the abstract to the concrete is quite often filled with problems, not only with regard to vague structural principles in organisations, but also in the case of abstract art and when teaching abstract concepts in elementary and middle school. Blackler and Regan (2006) argue that one reason for “this ‘ascent’ from new ideas to new practice is inevitably an emergent process, involving a range of associated procedural, social, technological, linguistic and cultural developments” (Blackler & Regan, 2006: 1856). In this work I have introduced a similar complex process between structural principles and structural properties that includes gaining and linking cognitive, normative and pragmatic legitimacy at different levels of an organisation.

As such, a main problem in moving from the abstract to the concrete is that such action includes a move from structural principles that are open and elusive to structural properties that are closed in and tangible. It may seem that if structures are very subtle and allow many instantiations, actors have too much agency, too many possibilities, and too many choices when they are acting the structures out. Thus, in order to manage successful instantiations, the agents also need structures that constrain and guide their course of action.

### 2.3.2 *Structuration, stability and change*

Having defined instantiations and constitutions as the couplings between structure and action in a practice, I will now turn to the account of change

and stability by suggesting that both instantiation and constitution can create stability and change. According to Barley and Tolbert (1997) institutional change take place in four stages: 1) the encoding of institutional logic into scripts that guide behaviour, 2) enacting these scripts, 3) revising or replicating these scripts through action, and 4) objectifying and externalizing these scripts so that their relationship to the interests of different actors becomes obscured. However, Barley and Tolbert's (1997) focus on the identification and analysis of "scripts" in resembling Giddens' notion of modality<sup>35</sup> is problematic. First, Barley and Tolbert put sole emphasis on the behavioural and the structural, ignoring the cognitive and cultural frames<sup>36</sup>. Secondly, the simple linear sequence, from encoding and enacting to revising and objectifying, appears remote from the dynamics implied by the duality of structure. Thirdly, Barley and Tolbert (1997) do not deal explicitly with the interaction between organisational stability and change, other than suggesting that institutional change involves the revision of scripts.

Extending Barley and Tolbert's formulation (1997), Greenwood et al. (2002) consider what might prompt a breakdown in scripts and, especially, how changed scripts might be objectified. Of greater interest for this thesis, however, is how Greenwood et al. (2002) develop their model in stages that share similarities with the ideas of instantiations and constitutions. According to their model, stage 1 occurs when events, or "jolts", destabilise established practices. They suggest that "precipitating jolts" may trigger a process of two stages: "de-institutionalisation" and pre-institutionalisation (involving new players, institutional entrepreneurship, and independent innovation and introducing new ideas). The stages of de-institutionalisation and pre-institutionalisation may destabilise and weaken current institutions and the prospect of institutional change arising from the injection of new innovations, ideas or technology. The two stages resemble the process of instantiation. From a structurational perspective, instantiation may lead to change, in term of experimentation and innovation, and stability. Stages IV and V of Greenwood et al's model (2002) can be compared to the idea of constitution. Drawing on Strang and Meyer (1993), Greenwood et al. (2002) define *theorization* as the process in which a variety of conventions are localised and made available in simplified abstract forms for wider adoption. They suggest that successful theorization (development of abstract categorisations and typifications), leads to the further stages of "diffusions" and "re-institutionalisation" in which legitimacy is achieved by an objectification of the practice. The final stage creates continuity, although it seems as if it is the growing convergence between founding ideas and actual

---

<sup>35</sup> A modality explains the property of structure. The modalities defined by Giddens are interpretative scheme, facility and norm (1984: 29).

<sup>36</sup> Earlier analysis such as Pettigrew (1987) and Willmott (1999) are sensitive to the role that cognitions and interpretive frames play in the institutionalisation process.



practice through convincing theorisation that account for stability in their model<sup>37</sup>.

Greenwood et al. (2002) have provided important insights into Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, and particular on how theorisation, pre- and de- institutionalisation are stages in the structuration process in a similar way to constitutions and institutions. However, my main objection to their model is the idea of "precipitating jolts" as some kind of external shock to the organisation (such as business-, technological-, regulatory-, or globalisation-related change). I agree more with Munir (2005) who argues that, rather than causing institutional change, events are part of the change process, and only become significant as actors bring them to their own notice and "theorize" around them. I also disagree with the focus on "scripts" as "observable, recurrent activities and patterns of social interaction characteristic of a particular setting" (Barley & Tolbert 1997: 98) in relation to experimentation, learning and innovation. At this point, I prefer Orlikowski's (1992) suggestion of organisational improvisation as an element in the instantiation process instead of "scripts", because improvisation is a key concept in continuous change (Weick and Quinn, 1999).

Improvisation, as a practice conceived and unfolding in the present, establishes an instantiated relationship between structure and action. In other words, it has not been planned in the past, but rather draws on available resources and rules (Weick, 1995). Routines, for instance, include the role of improvisation as well as the role of resources and rules (Feldman, 2000). From a proximal perspective, the interaction between structure and action in a routine always changes. From a distance, however, every action appears as but a variant on, or recombination of, a set of "repeated patterns of behaviour that are bound by rules and customs and that do not change very much from one interaction to another" (Feldman, 2000:622). The model proposed by Feldman (2000) suggests that agency promotes continuous (and unintentionally) change, because stability and change stem from similar dynamics. Continuity implies something enduring and stable, but it does not exclude the existence of continuously changing micro processes. As such, we cannot simply argue that instantiations lead to change and constitution to stability.

Consequently, if I was to adapt the model from Greenwood et al. (2002) the new model would stress that institutional change and stability are interlinked and consequently may emerge from the same source. For instance, during instantiations, concrete versions of an abstract structure are formed through both interpretation and improvisation. This process involves simultaneously stabilising mechanisms and a certain amount of change. A

---

<sup>37</sup> Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) draw attention to how different forms of rhetoric may influence the speed and extent of diffusion and a proposed institutional change.

refined model based on Greenwood et al.'s (2002) stage model is shown in Figure 2.7. Stage I in my model occurs when the institution is set for action. Here, there is a variety of abstract structures in terms of rules and resources available to the agents (what Sewell (1992) labelled the multiplicity of structures). The prevalence or density of a structure is employed as an indicator of cognitive legitimacy. The structural repertoire unfolds in Stage II as instantiations take place through the forming of concrete experiences. At this stage, change can occur as new ideas for actions are aligned within normative prescriptions that support them. I refer to Stage III as temporal closure in order to imply that the institution is temporally stabilised as concrete actions are selected, thus resolving the tension between structures as abstractions and structures as concrete experiences. At this stage, agents "know" what to do through pragmatic consciousness and legitimacy. Closure takes place when meaning is created ("aha, I see!") or when a decision is completed (yes). Again, further cognitive efforts about past experiences are brought to a conclusion and associated tensions about the present and the future are resolved. Stage IV includes "the development and specification of abstract categories" (Greenwood et al., 2002:60). This is what I refer to as constitution, in which temporal abstractions are formed in order to stabilise the system. Within structuration theory, the passage from Stage III to Stage IV is a matter of whether practices at the technical level of an organisation are institutionalised as structures or not. In order to be institutionalised, practice relies heavily on both normative and cognitive legitimacy. In Stage V, resolution occurs when actions feed abstract ideas and these ideas become taken-for-granted as structural principles. As temporal stable abstractions, these ideas can lead to a new initial situation for both more instantiations and to diffusions into other systems.

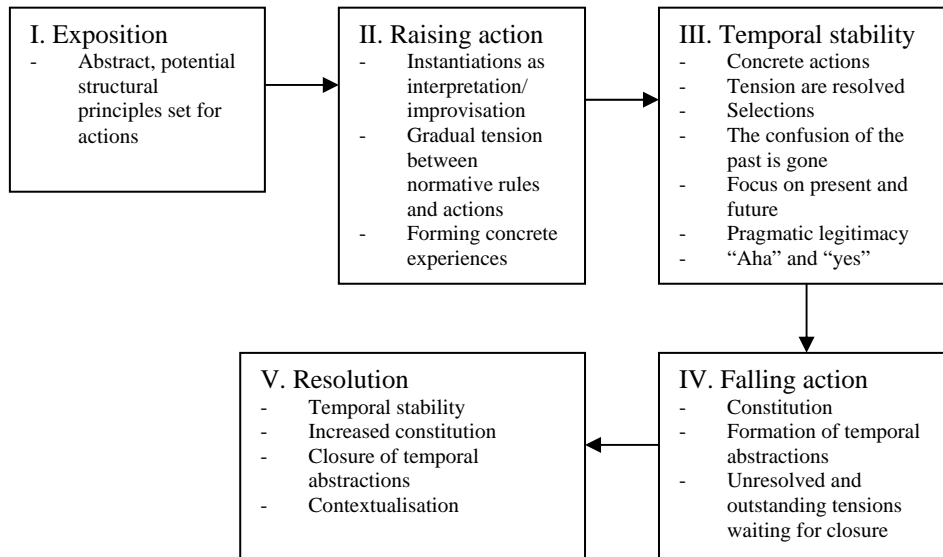


Figure 2.7.A sequential model of structuration

Within the structuration theory, a central question emerges: How do parts of the three structural levels change while other components stay more stable? The duality of stability and change is captured in a statement by Bateson: “all change can be understood as the effort to maintain some constancy and all constancy is maintained through change” (Bradford, 2002: 69). Using Bateson’s famous metaphor about how the acrobat maintains her balance while also constantly adjusting her posture, one might suggest that some parts of structural principles exhibit a stable character, while the structural properties keep changing as structural principles are instantiated in practice. This proposal shares similarities with Pentland and Feldman’s (2005) argument that the abstract or generalised pattern of an organisational practice shows a great deal of continuity leading to stabilisation, while practice takes place as ongoing change. In addition to Weick’s (1995) and Orlikowski’s (1996) stance, Tsoukas and Chia argue that “change must be approached from within – not as an ‘abstract concept’ (James 1909/1996, p. 235) but as a performance enacted in time” (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002: 572). This perspective challenges Giddens’ more abstract notion of structures and his argument that structures exist only insofar as they are instantiated in everyday action (Barely & Tolbert, 1997). On the other hand, Giddens’ ideas still make sense if, instead of focusing on structures, we look at how structural principles inform structural properties through instantiations. If we accept that structures on the one hand constitute relatively stable structural principles and on the other hand inform changing structural properties, the

statement of Tsoukas and Chia (2002) about things both changing and remaining the same makes sense.

In structuration theory, structural principles are the most abstract elements of structures, while structural properties are the most concrete as they function like guidelines for practice. For analytical purposes, these issues will be further elaborated in chapter 3. For now, however, it is sufficient to note that the main function of instantiation is to connect the abstract structures with the concrete action in a practice. Similarly, the main function of constitution is to reduce the complexity of action and to make an abstraction of practice independent of any particular place and time. With regard to organisational change and stability, this would not imply that everything in a structuration process undergoes change - some elements do not change (Bakken & Hernes, 2006). This issue will be addressed in the next section.

### 2.3.3 *The promise of the future is also the survival of the past*

By theorising change as the reorganisation of some new and old structural components, my focus is not so much on understanding change as a uniform shift from one model or template to another, but rather as something that takes place within existing and stable structures. In the words of David Stark:

*“Change, even fundamental change, of the social world is not the passage from one order to another, but rearrangements in the patterns of how multiple orders are interwoven. Organizational innovation in this view is not replacement but recombination. Thus, we examine how actors in the post-socialist context are rebuilding organizations and institutions not on the ruins but with the ruins of communism as they re-deploy available resources in response to their immediate practical dilemmas.” (Cited in Scott, 2001: 193)*

In this context, structuration theory as laid out in this section makes two major assumptions about organisational change and stability. First, organisational change and stability do not necessarily contradict each other. Rather they can be seen as preconditioned and at the same time as the result of one another. In other words, recognising stability as both a product of and a means through which change occurs, stability and change mutually construct and reconstruct each other. Second, although the adjustment, coordination and modification of micro-level processes are constantly taking place in organisations, these processes are often directed at producing stability. This assumption implies that change exists continuously while forming the basic constituent of an organisation (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002).

Moreover, it suggests that there are a wide range of outcomes on the continuum between “very stable” and “constantly changing” organisations.

Traditional theories that focus on change in organisational studies have only recently recognised the co-existence of (relation between) stability and change. Early process approaches analysed the sequence of events that described how things change over time (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994; Poole & Van den Ven, 1989; Pettigrew, 1987), but they paid little attention to the stabilising mechanisms in the process. An important issue in Giddens’ view of process is to recognise stability, as produced and reproduced by continuous interactions. This relationship is termed as the “duality of structure”. Giddens rejects structure as a given entity, external to process. Structures give direction and constant shape to processes, but it is not itself the form and shape of these processes.

Within the framework of structuration theory change is assumed to happen when actors recombine different institutional elements available to them in new and creative ways. By applying this conceptualisation of change, the focus is not so much on the agents’ intentions, but more on connecting the unintended consequences of action with institutionalised practices. In a similar way, my perspective of structuration theory highlights the existence of structural diversity and the fact that not all structural principles are activated as instantiations in the organisation’s actions at a given time. Achieving a fit between the right combinations of elements may run a high risk of failing, particular when it conflicts with other structural principles. Moreover, my framework suggests that the three levels of structural components stretch the organisation as a system and that organisations operate more like a closed-system at lower levels and more like an open-system at higher levels (Thompson, 1967). Including and extended by insights from Scott (1992), my framework proposes that structural principles are embedded in an institutional level that can be viewed as an open system. Structures, on the other hand, operate at a managerial level, which exhibits natural system features while structural properties are produced on a technical, rational level. In order to connect these levels and to clarify the main dimensions in the interaction of structure and actions, I have chosen to discuss three types of legitimacy as suggested by Suchman (1995), those of cognitive, moral and pragmatic. Fused with the structuration approach, this suggests that cognitive legitimacy is linked to structural principles at the institutional level, that moral legitimacy is viewed as a structure at the managerial level, while pragmatic legitimacy connects to structural properties at the technical, lower level. Suchman’s operationalisation of legitimacy as a dynamic construct is one means by which structures are instantiated into action. By the same token, structural principles are constituted from structural properties as agents interact.

In sum, my main theoretical argument is that organisational structures are never sacred or permanent, but that organisational practice

influences structures in order to maintain the stability of organisations. This influence takes the form of either instantiations (from abstract structure to concrete actions) or constitutions (from concrete actions to abstract structure). One of the major modalities of structures in the interaction is legitimacy – but, since legitimacy is a dynamic construct, it must constantly be re-established, maintained, extended, defended and changed through the interaction between structures and actions.

Having introduced my theoretical toolbox, the next chapter represents an attempt to assess the applicability of structuration theory within organisational theory through an empirical case. Few studies have focused on how to apply Giddens' abstract "meta-theory" for an investigation of the way in which organisations are created, maintained and changed through action. A set of methods and research strategies for the structuration process in organisations has been suggested (Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2005, 2001; Langley, 1999; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Orlikowski, 1992), but further research should increase and explore ways of combining and complementing these strategies. The next chapter will suggest a methodological design for investigating the process of structuration empirically by focusing explicitly on the operationalisation of the structural level and the possibility of studying structural change.

In understanding how we create and recreate our structures there are the possibilities for changing them (Orlikowski, 1999).

### **3 Activating Structuration Theory**

This chapter, Activating Structuration Theory, has three subsections. Firstly, I outline my empirical focus in section 3.1, in which I explain how I intend to study public service broadcasting. This is the part of my thesis where I operationalise the structural principles, the structures and the structural properties of NRK. Next, I turn to the theoretical focus of the thesis and make some points about how I plan to deal with the relationship between structures and practice in view of change and stability. The third subsection deals with the analytical focus and how to study the production practices within NRK in relation to structural principles, structures and structural properties.

#### **3.1 Empirical focus – how to study public service broadcasting**

The empirical data on production practices are drawn mainly from NRK's coverage of the Cup Final during its monopoly. This choice implies viewing television coverage as text and assumes that a textual analysis can reveal significant information about the institutional, managerial and technical level that inform the production practice. In terms of structuration theory, a televised football match is the concrete, instant result of a practice. It is therefore suitable to choose production practice as a focus in order to address the overall question of the thesis: How are institutional structures of public service broadcasting related to changes in production practices on an organisational level?

Due to the significant position of public service broadcasters in the European media industry, the production processes of public service broadcasting television represent a rich source of data for studying the recurrent relationship between the structures and actions of an organisation. In recent years, the programme policy of public service television has become a high priority on the political agenda as European governments have expressed the aim of encouraging the production of quality

programmes and ensuring that all consumers have access to varied programming (Findahl, 1991). In Norway, the state-owned public service broadcaster, NRK, have been criticised for adapting a commercially-based policy, prioritising both light entertainment structures across programme categories and pure entertainment programmes in order to ensure audience maximisation. Part of this critique has been aimed at NRK's aggressive competitive strategy for securing the rights for sports programmes, particular the rights for Norwegian football coverage. Another part of the critique has been the assumed large amount of sport on NRK. The strong position of sports programmes within NRK's programme policy and the specific public service characteristics of NRK provide a suitable framework for examining the linking of the processes of production practices for television football with the political and economic context of an institution.

An important assumption of my thesis is the notion that there are mechanisms that link the structural level of a public service broadcaster and its production practices together. Depending on their level of abstraction, Giddens draws a distinction between structural principles, structures and structural properties<sup>38</sup>. Operating with an understanding of some kind of "conceptual glue", the thesis' point of departure regards these three structural levels of public service broadcasting as:

- Public service broadcasting beliefs, i.e. the cultural ideology underpinning both programme making practices and the organising of a public service broadcaster (structural principles)
- Programme policy organised within a public service institution and informing particular programme production actions (structures as rules and resources)
- Programme production conventions guiding the producing and delivering of programme output (structural properties)

These structural levels are all properties of practices, meaning that none of them can be treated as given, almost fixed outside the practice. However, the programme production conventions are found to be the closest to the practice. I believe that the televised football matches are the concrete results of certain production practices and that they communicate more information about the practice than the abstract counterparts such as programme policy and cultural ideology. Figure 3.1 illustrates how the structural levels interact with the practice of a public service broadcaster (PSB). As abstract referents, none of the structural levels can exist unless they are given form by thoughts, actions or beliefs by human agents in a

---

<sup>38</sup> The definitions are discussed in chapter 2 and will therefore not be theoretically elaborated here.



practice. However, there is a difference in how the structural levels are situated in relation to the practice and how they embody the practice.

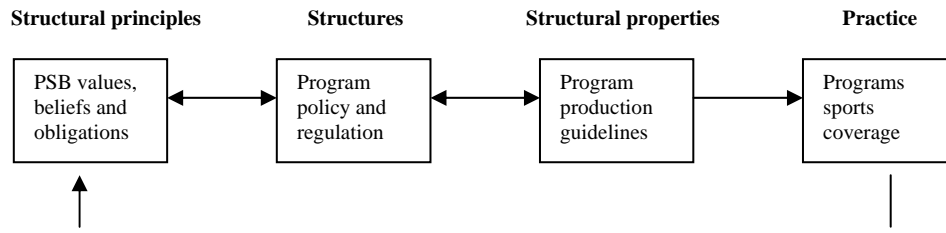


Figure 3.1. The structural level of public service broadcasting

As the arrows in the figure indicate, the parts of the broadcasting system are subject to influence and change at any level. However, recalling from chapter 2, the perspective of Thompson (1967) suggests that structural principles are difficult to change due to its open and abstract characteristics, while structural properties are easier to change as they may be shaped as concrete techniques.

In the next section, I seek to clarify the connection between the various structural levels according to the empirical case and Thompson's three organisational levels. Moreover, I will specify the structural components at each level and relate these to the types of legitimacy that constitute change, as given in model 2.4. Importantly, the section will show that structural principles are interpreted as abstract, conceptual and ubiquitous; that structures, as instantiations of structural principles, are information rich and can serve as tangible, quantitative evidence; and that structural properties, as the level closes to the practice, give practical guidance for actual performance.

### 3.1.1 Public service obligations as structural principles of NRK

Referring to chapter 2, the structural principles of an organisation are associated with the organisation's ideological values and cognitive belief system, which is the institutional level of the organisation. The environment constitutes the possibility for change at an institutional level. The interaction with the environment, in terms of gaining institutional legitimacy, is best described by open system approaches (Scott, 1992). For a public service broadcaster this relationship is more accurately specified in terms of viewing structural principles as obligations set by the political system. Until 1988 it was commonly accepted that NRK had a large degree of editorial and operational autonomy. In 1988 NRK was converted from a state-owned to a "public" corporation. Syvertsen claims that despite the changes in the formal ownership of the NRK, the most important changes were that the Board of

NRK was granted more control over NRK's internal affairs, such as the operational allocation of resources and the appointment of staff (Syvertsen, 1992). After NRK became a limited company in 1996, the interpretations of the obligations are more likely specified in political media policy documents.

Historically, the main structural principle for NRK has been the scope of the universal public service obligations. The term "universal public service" suggests "the mandate of public service broadcasters is so broad and varied that public service television has been assigned a virtually universal responsibility for democracy on all levels, from the health and vitality of democracy per se to the personal fulfillment and satisfaction of the individual citizen/viewer" (Edin, 2006). Similarly, "public service" can refer to three definitions of the concept: a technical-economic interpretation in the sense of a public utility, the (Habermasian) public sphere in terms of "the commons" or as acting in the service of the listener/viewer (Syvertsen, 1999).

The last definition includes two content components. The first component is to serve the interest of the nation and the second, is to contribute to a democratic and culturally pluralistic society, including the freedom of information and of expression. These two components will be further used in my analysis when I refer to the structural principles of NRK as both national unity and cultural pluralism (see also Figure 3.1). The definition of public service broadcasting relates to an ongoing debate on how we see and manage the tension between social diversity and cohesion, between individuality and community.

The Broadcasting Act, supplementary regulations issued by the Ministry of Culture, and licence agreements, mainly constitute NRK's cognitive legitimacy at this level. Although reporting directly to a (political) institution, the obligations in terms of structural principles of NRK are generally less precise, explicit and detailed than in many other countries.

Two interesting incidents have taken place. First, in 1997, the European Parliament and the Council revised the 1989 "Television Without Frontiers" Directive. Article 3a in the new Directive allowed every Member State to draw up a list of major events (usually major sporting events) that ought to be freely accessible for the public at large, either "live" or recorded<sup>39</sup>. The article 3a was implemented in the Broadcasting Act § 2-8 in 1999/2000<sup>40</sup>. In May 2000, the Norwegian Minister of Cultural Affairs proposed a Norwegian list of events of "major importance for the society", but the list was not approved. In March 2007, the appropriate bodies

---

<sup>39</sup> The Listed Events was first introduced in the UK in 1990, and later the idea was adopted by the European Commission in the "Television without frontiers" directive 97/36.

<sup>40</sup> Ot.prop. no 2 (1999-2000)

considered a new proposal from the Minister of Cultural Affairs, but the minister has not yet drawn up such a list<sup>41</sup>.

The second event that has influenced the televised sport field was the establishment of the Public Service Broadcasting Council in 1996 (Allmennkringkastingsrådet)<sup>42</sup>. The Council plays an important role, as it is responsible for supervising the daily management of public service broadcasters. However, the Council has no authority as its function is to advise the government on whether or not the public service channels fulfil their obligations. In terms of the structural principles of NRK, an interesting aspect of the work by the Public Service Broadcasting Council is that the Council made several instantiations in order to evaluate the broadcasters. In 1996 these instantiations were not the same as NRK's own Statutes (1988) and Regulations (1996) (Syvertsen, 2004). A similar trend can be found in the media white papers, particularly in the white papers No. 32 (1992-93) and No. 57 (2000-2001). In these documents the government's aim was to present the obligations of NRK as fixed and stable propositions in order to initiate concrete means (Rolland, 2005). As a result, Rolland suggests, the political governance of NRK has increased since the early 1990s as Norwegian parliamentary debates have suggested various specific objective hierarchies in order to manage the NRK.

The second event illustrates that the structural principles of NRK has to a large extent been formulated in so abstract and loose a manner that bodies outside the organisation can also produce "public service" instantiations. Firstly, the audience may challenge NRK's understanding of its role. The viewers have powers and opportunities to sanction the broadcaster based on whether NRK is "doing the right things", "doing things right" and "being right for the job". For instance, when Syvertsen (1992) explored the establishment and development of broadcasting systems within the BBC and the NRK, she included around two hundred comments in her empirical source material. These groups range from The Association of Norwegian Newspaper Editors, Norwegian Arts Council, the Norwegian Sports Association, 8 local television stations and 92 municipal council local boroughs amongst others.

The above discussion shows that legitimating structural principles concerns the external mechanisms outside NRK that justify a particular social arrangement. Hence, instantiations at the level of structural principles are not only restricted to the organisation that has the structural principles, but to the society in general. This is a destiny that NRK shares with many other (non-profit) institutions in society. Like schools, theatres, churches and hospitals, public service broadcasters are seen as a natural, inevitable

---

<sup>41</sup> Innst.S.nr. 24 (2007-2008), Dagsavisen, 2008

<sup>42</sup> From January 2005 the Council's functions has been transferred to the Norwegian Media Authority.

part of society and will experience external pressure that questions their right to exist. For example, in their study of the Royal Danish Theatre, Mouritsen and Skærbæk (1995:111) claim that legitimisation is bound up simultaneously with the concern that people be educated in such a way as to be sophisticated and fit to live in a bourgeois democracy. As NRK relies on cognitive legitimacy from the political system, the usefulness of the Public Service Broadcasting Council's instantiations seemed two-fold. Besides advising the government, it helped NRK to interpret the concept of public service broadcasting and to formulate the requirements to be made of NRK (Syvertsen, 1999<sup>43</sup>).

In sum, instantiations of vague and ubiquitous structural principles can be conducted by several bodies, but as NRK's institutional legitimacy is constituted by the political system, the organisation pays particular interest to the instantiations made by a political appointed committee. However, the instantiations of structural principles are particularly useful to NRK as long as they are not too specific in terms of criterion and commitments. As the next subsection will illustrate, this is not the case for structures in terms of performance criteria.

### *3.1.2 Policy and regulation as structures of NRK*

At a managerial level in NRK, the Sports Department has traditionally been organised within the rules and resources of the News Department<sup>44</sup>. Following the argument in chapter 2, changes within the rules and resources are mainly constituted by moral legitimacy in internal affairs. According to Barley and Tolbert (1997), the goals of cognitive legitimacy at the institutional level are enacted into messages for moral legitimacy at the managerial level through cognitive schemas. These cognitive schemas inform the behaviour and routines appropriate for linking cognitive and moral legitimacy in a particular context. This implies an instantiation of the structural principle of universal public service and a formulation of the obligation that contains more concrete information. At managerial level the principles of NRK's mission are specified and related to structural rules and recourses in terms of programme policy. An internal commission (The Board of NRK) mainly controls the policy of NRK through a separate set of

---

<sup>43</sup> For instance, Syvertsen (1999) claims that the Government does not recognise the work of the Council.

<sup>44</sup> The managerial placement of sports production within the News Department implies in itself that NRK associates sports production with news production, which in turn influences the understanding of sports production in relation to sports journalism.

regulations (“Regulations of NRK AS”) that specify its objects and define the purposes of the corporation in some detail<sup>45</sup>.

The policy of NRK concerns three issues in particular. These are (1) to provide content diversity, (2) to protect Norwegian culture and language and (3) to strengthen national identity. These elements are viewed as instruments of upholding the national and cultural identity, in addition to generate and disseminate the linguistic, spiritual, aesthetic and ethnic wealth of the nation. The instantiation process from structural principle to structures is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

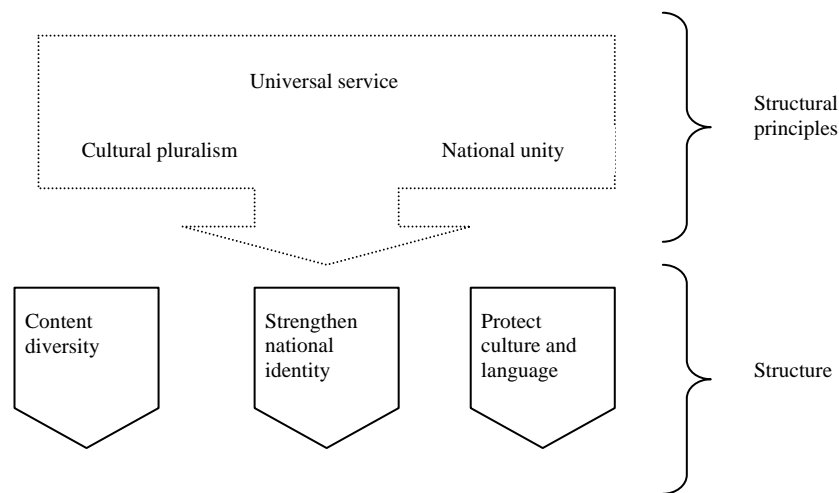


Figure 3.2. Structural principles and structures of NRK

The obligation of providing content diversity is defined in terms of broadcasting certain programme types, certain programme genres and meeting high journalistic or moral standards and values (such as diversity, impartiality, objectivity, seriousness, respect to privacy and human dignity). In addition, NRK is supposed to act as a kind of social cement in binding people together. The idea of strengthening national identity is based on values, ideas and institutions that are common to the nation as a whole and that NRK should reflect public taste and standards in order to strengthen national identity. The third policy issue suggests that NRK should contribute heavily to maintaining the Norwegian languages and cultural diversity by protecting and strengthening them. Together they encompass the cultural role of NRK.

A general theme in studies of public service broadcasting is that there is no standard definition of the meaning of public service, neither in political documents, nor broadcaster’s papers, nor among researchers. Reflecting on previous studies of the objectives hierarchy in Norwegian

<sup>45</sup> NRK 2002.

media politics, Rolland finds 14 different goal formulations for public service broadcasting (2005). Although the many uses of the public service concept is an interesting rhetorical exercise for researchers, my conceptions are primarily organised along the abstract – concrete continuum. The structural principle “cultural pluralism” contains less information and direction than the structure “content diversity”. The potential confusion in the use of various and similar concepts is limited when we turn to NRK’s policy and set of regulations. In general, the regulations concerning the programme output have not changed radically during the period. News, information, programmes aimed at children, drama, music, cultural experience, entertainment, quizzes, educational programmes and sport are always listed in NRK’s publications when the policy is debated or evaluated. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of NRK’s policy as a structure is that it is a result of an internal lock-in process. At the open level of structural principles many agents are able to instantiate the principles based on their own interpretation, logic and reasoning. The regulation of the policy of NRK is, on the other hand, a much more internal affair. This does not mean that the policy and regulation has not been debated. On the contrary, there has been a battle of rhetoric in order to legitimise interpretations of the policy. What is important, though, is that most of these battles have taken place within NRK.

Although the instantiation process has been locked in as the process has gone from agents in NRK’s environment to a process inside the NRK organisation, the structures still retain much of their openness and abstractness. One main reason may be that the policy and set of regulations are self-imposed performance criteria and not binding, as the Board cannot impose any sanctions. The merit and the performance criteria are therefore entirely dependent on self-assessment. NRK makes an annual statement of its actions which particularly deals with the degree to which they have met their performance criteria in general. The self-assessment process is mainly linked to internal moral legitimacy, as it is dealing with justifying the actions of the broadcaster in terms of the right thing to do.

Just as taken-for-granted assumptions, norms within NRK became noticeable only when the broadcaster’s monopoly was violated in the early 1980s<sup>46</sup>. The criterion suggested by the Public Service Broadcasting Council in 1996 clearly helped NRK in clarifying the highly elastic and intangible concept “public service”. A consequence of the Council’s work was, among others, that programme statistics were introduced as the main source of information about programme diversity, pluralism and range. Procedures for

---

<sup>46</sup> The general New Public Management wave of restructuring has strengthened vertical lines of reporting in many public service organisations through the advancement of managerialism and performance measurement (McNulty and Ferlie, 2004:1394).

quality assessment or “public service accounting” (Findahl, 1991) were drawn up by The Council and NRK and implemented on an annual basis. Instead of viewing and discussing single programme genres or content (such as the use of money prizes in quiz shows, whether the soap opera ought to be shown on NRK, NRK’s many award winners in The Festival for Entertainment Television Programming etc.), the new criteria were based on economic, logical and quantitative indicators.

The movement from moral legitimacy to measurable criteria also coincided with the introduction of commercial broadcasters in Norway. This example suggests that instantiations made by others outside the organisation at the structural level can also be implemented in an organisation. The term “in the service of the public” was first formulated in the Statutes for NRK in 1988, when the organisation was reorganised into a foundation. A few years later, the new, privately owned TV2 was required to offer a programme profile that was based on the principles of public service broadcasting. This understanding of public service implied a conception of the public as individual consumers of the media (Syvertsen, 1999) and also recognised the viewers as a powerful (and relevant) agent.

Quantitative indicators have the advantage of being clear, although not all of the actions of a public broadcaster are easily quantifiable. However, for the Sports Department in NRK this tool was regarded useful for making the mission of sports coverage more tangible. The department have always claimed to be able to win a large part of the viewing audience when transmitting great sporting events. With the relevant programme statistics becoming available, the department could now prove their audience size. This shows how instantiations within structures can serve as evidence of performance, as argued in section 2.4.1. Taking into account the fact that the managerial level gain legitimacy from mediating between the technical and institutional levels, it seems plausible that having the opportunity to prove a programme’s viewing rating with an exact figure would help the negotiations. The statistical “evidence” of viewing figures would serve as arguments both in terms of what programmes to broadcast and the place of programmes within the schedule.

In recent years, the organisation has developed even more explicit and rigid tools of governing the NRK and ensuring that NRK delivers programmes according to the programme policy requirements. Quality indicators, such as tracking what viewers think about NRK services, have been combined with quantitative measurement tools. Regular surveys describe viewers’ attitude toward NRK’s programmes and their image of NRK in terms of pluralism, trustworthiness, professionalism, quality and innovations (NRK Annual Report, 2005:111).

In conclusion, as in the case with structural principles, it is also possible for others to make instantiations of NRK’s structures, which in turn also can affect NRK’s own reviews of its performance if these instantiations

receive legitimacy within NRK. However, the performance measurements can be valued differently among the departments within NRK. Again it is tempting to suggest that those who do not find the instantiations useful or valuable think that these instantiations are too concrete and narrow to grasp their policy requirements. A strict procedure based on qualitative measurements and evaluation is, for example, not particularly delicate when one deals with the broadcaster's democratic and pluralistic policy.

### 3.1.3 *Production guidelines as structural properties of NRK*

At the technical level, public service broadcasting structures are instantiated as structural properties. As claimed in chapter 2, this level deals with the actual programme output, i.e. the making of television programmes. Within NRK the structural properties are manifested as a set of internal programme guidelines: Principles for programming<sup>47</sup>. These documents provide probably the most authoritative interpretation of NRK's structures since it is located within NRK and has been revised three times by the organisation itself. The revised version of 1990 states that:

*“The NRK's mission is to communicate information and culture to the entire Norwegian population. NRK shall raise the audience interest in societal questions and give the audience an opportunity for experience and entertainment through great versatility in the programme service. NRK will have an independent role as a creative cultural institution. Through a differentiated, unpartisan and critical journalism, NRK will focus on both Norwegian and international society. It is a major task to claim and maintain human worth and democratic values. The programmes shall be marked by quality in content, form, presentation and technical design” (NRK's Rules of Programming 1990, my translation).*

The pragmatic legitimacy of programming is generally linked to NRK's environment in terms of audience sanctions. At this technical level, audience groups accord legitimacy when a programme provides something of value to them. If NRK does not produce programmes of value to the audience, its pragmatic legitimacy could be questioned. Results within pragmatic legitimacy will, over time, influence both normative and cognitive legitimacy about the value of NRK and of public service broadcasting in general.

---

<sup>47</sup> NRK's Rules of Programming of 1975, revised in 1982 and 1990.



I have chosen to deal with the structural properties as seven main concrete guidelines for actual programme production. These are concrete instantiations of the three main structures. These seven structural properties are labelled marginal needs and demands, common needs and demands, education, information and entertainment. Expanding Figure 3.2, the structural properties follow from instantiations of structures as even more concrete, informative and tangible versions than. Figure 3.3 illustrates how the three structural levels may appear within the context of NRK programme production.

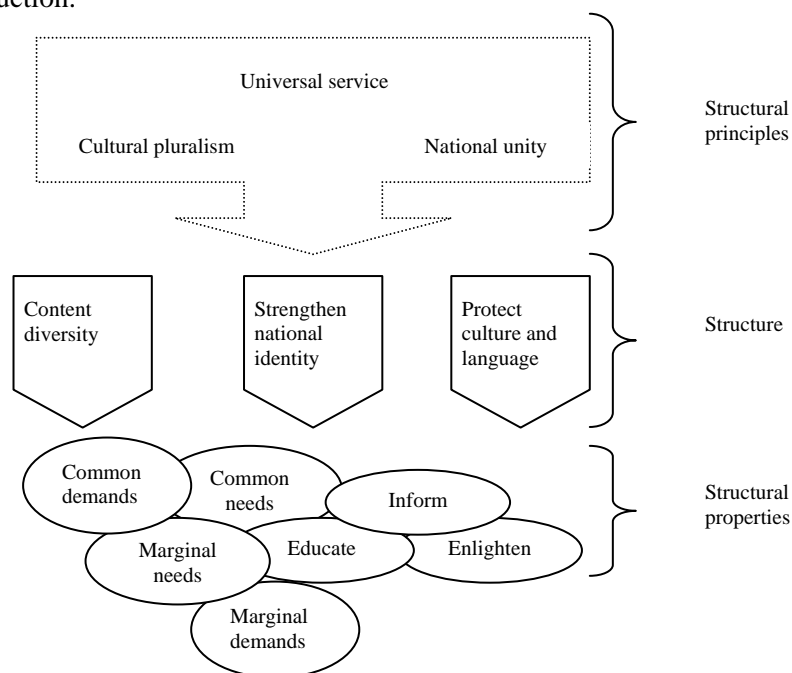


Figure 3.3. Structural principles, structures and structural properties of NRK

Firstly, the structural property of “marginal needs” refers to an instantiation that addresses special vulnerable groups amongst the audience (children and youth, ethnic minorities and disabled people). This means that NRK must pay attention to political and cultural differences, particularly concerning the culture and language of minorities through requirements to reach certain (shares of) audiences or satisfy certain needs of the public. As previously stated, NRK is by and large autonomous in its editorial and operational definitions. The institution has, however, been instructed by the politicians to also pay particular attention to some programme genres that may have marginal references. These include current affairs, high cultural phenomena (i.e. classic and modern drama) and religious programming as

well as innovative and experimental programming. With regard to sport, one might argue that the coverage of some sports is of marginal interest, but that NRK also should care for these<sup>48</sup>.

Secondly, the structural property of “common needs” refers to NRK’s obligation to broadcast programmes that address the nation as a whole, i.e. media events, great cultural events and news bulletins. These programmes aim at securing the policy of strengthening national identity and constitute the principle of acting in the national interest. One could also argue that these programmes are instantiations of content pluralism as NRK are obligated to include both broad and narrow programmes in the schedule. This also helps to illustrate that two separate structures can instantiate the same structural property in a practice.

Thirdly, programme production is not simply based on what groups of viewers “needs”. Public service broadcasting is also about programmes that the audience demands. In some cases the pressure to meet audience “needs” and “demands” are conflicting, while in other cases they overlap. One might argue that audience both wants and needs diversity, quality, information and education. The challenge lies in understanding the various needs and demands and finding a balance in the responds to these needs and wants. All the above-mentioned four structural properties are aimed at targeting specific groups of audiences; the following three structural properties are aiming for programme production.

The three main structural properties for programme production are entertainment, information and enlightenment. In order to maintain room for experiment and innovation the structural properties are kept rather vague and rely mainly on the so-called “*Reithian trinity*”. Named after Reith, the founding director general of the BBC from 1922 to 1938, the three strands of broadcasting are “information”, “enlightenment” and “entertainment”. Within the department for information in NRK<sup>49</sup>, Johnson, the manager of children and youth programmes during 1946 to 1959, operated by using three “opp-words” as a rule of conduct in the production of children’s programmes both on radio and television: “oppdragelse”, “opplevelse” and “opplysning”. Translated into English these are upbringing (education/enlightening), experience (in terms of adventure or entertainment) and information. A fourth principal stated by Lauritz Johnson for the first time in 1948 was to activate children by using interactive elements in the programmes (such as “Barnetimebøkene”). Although these rules of conducts have been modified or replaced by other concepts, the interpretations still stand. In 2005, the guidelines were summed up in four words: to inform, to

---

<sup>48</sup> For instance, in June 2004 NRK transmitted, for the first time in the history, a cricket match.

<sup>49</sup> NRKs opplysningsavdeling (tidligere foredragsavdelingen) med Lauritz Johnson som leder for barne- og ungdomsavdelingen (1946-1959).

develop, to challenge (innovate) and to entertain the Norwegian population<sup>50</sup>.

As NRK has been exposed to competition in certain programme categories, sports programmes have been the subject of a great deal of concern both within NRK and at the political level. The transmission of major sporting events is considered to be in the national interest and they should therefore be broadcasted on a public service channel reached by everyone in the society. This argument is grounded in the "Television Without Frontiers" Directive of the European Union's audiovisual policy. On the other hand, the policy of acquiring expensive sporting rights does not correspond with welfare economic principles. Handling over expensive sports programmes to commercial rivals could release resources that are better used on programmes that have characteristics of externalities and merit goods (Solberg, 2007).

The production of televised sports can be addressed by drawing on the three structural properties of information, enlightenment and entertainment. The main reason for this is that sport is a hybrid programme output (Whannel, 1992). The actions of the Sports Department in NRK are closely linked to conventions associated with "information". As mentioned earlier, the News Department managed sports production actions. As such, the production of sports programmes shares many of the same guidelines as news journalism.

Traditionally journalistic guidelines for sports production are rooted in a reflexive or observational mode of documentary. It asserts the standards of impartiality, neutrality, balance and objectivity as guiding properties. In this mode of production, the cameras during a sporting event are merely "flies on the wall". The commentator's voiceover would keep a low profile, stressing his non-intervention. However, some definitions of a journalistic reportage (for instance Elveson, 1979) state that the reportage is highly determined in the power of the journalist's own relation to the subject's time and space. In a journalistic story, the journalist is not only re-telling what happened, but he should do so by building on his own personal experiences in order to engage the audience. This attribute is related to the media's representation of live events. "*Liveness*" plays an important role in this rhetoric in terms of immediacy, spontaneity and unpredictability. As such, the live format does not imply any particular genre or programme form, but a *quality* in itself. In media research texts, there is a general agreement that television is always transmitting "live" in a sense of immediacy if the programme is transmitted and received at the same time as being produced (Marriott, 1996:69). Kozloff defines 'live' as "the congruence of discourse-

---

<sup>50</sup> "NRKs samfunnsansvar er sammenfattet i fire stikkord i vår virksomhetsidè: Vi skal informere, utvikle, utfordre og underholde Norge gjennom vår programvirksomhet (NRK Annual Report, 2005).

time and reception-time, that is, no time gap exists between the narrative's production and its consumption" (Kozloff, 1987: 65). Because the transmission takes place while the event takes place, there is a great "*realistic effect*" in the live broadcasts. Live transmissions also mean that neither the television station nor the viewers know what will happen and what the outcome of the event will be. The unfolding real events are placed in the centre of a live coverage, whilst the television station is not the master of the events. In this way, the qualities of live television connects with *excitement*, as one of the main engines in narratives and with *uncertainty* of the outcome, as one of the characteristics of sport. Within sports coverage, the live format is almost essential to give the coverage a high qualitative value.

In contrast to journalism, entertainment is primarily rooted in the principles of "good television" which advocates a performative mode; that is "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). As a structural property, entertainment was introduced to sports production at an early stage, partly from the innovations taking place at NRK Radio Sport and partly by the fact that the television format in itself encourages entertainment<sup>51</sup>. In addition, within television entertainment there is one type of genre that dominates the programmes, namely *competition*. This type of content is used throughout all kinds of programmes, in music, knowledge ("*Jeopardy*" and "*Who Wants to be a Millionaire*"), pure games shows ("*Lotto*" and "*Casino*"), reality shows and in certain theme competitions such as "*Ready Steady Cook*" and "*Have I Got News for You*". The reason why programmes that involve competition are considered 'good television' can be attributed to what Fiske and Hartley call an involving of ritualisation and evaluation of social behaviour in addition to the appeal of exploring the unknown (Fiske & Hartley, 1978). The central issue in all types of competition is the conflict – it's all about winning or losing, and this focus directs and excites the competition. In contrast to a real conflict that would only seldom be resolved, a television competition and a sporting competition will always have a solution: there will be a winner. To grasp this performative mode of presenting a football match it is fruitful to think of television's potential to distort and to stage a real football match within a narrative mode. In a football match several events take place at the same time, and the storyteller (i.e. the producer) would choose how he should present this immediacy. Because he can only tell one thing at the time, he would have to choose what should be told first, second, third etc. Entertainment would advocate a structuring of the cameras

---

<sup>51</sup> As the analysis will show, some sports commentators in NRK were originally working in the Entertainment Department. It is possible to assume that these peoples' experience of entertainment production also influenced sports production.

in terms of the interplay of repetition and difference as to reflect the unpredictable moment between uncertainty and certainty. Whannel (1992) refers to Dyer's (1978) categories of entertainment as energy, abundance, intensity, transparency and community as a way of analysing the sport experience (Whannel, 1992: 199). The general attribute of entertainment is related to pleasure and identification. In its simplest form, there is an aesthetic pleasure in merely watching a sporting performance. Next, the 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.

Telling a story in accordance with journalistic principles would highlight a balanced presentation of the conflict. Journalism suggests that filming, editing and broadcasting information relevant to the match and should represent the reality's logic as truly as possible. Rather than constructing temporal and spatial frameworks, the broadcasts rely on editing to enhance the impression of lived or real time. This mode stresses the non-intervention of the producer and his cameras by ceding "control" over the events that occur in front of the cameras.

In addition to the structural property of information and entertainment, sports productions rely on the structural property of enlightenment. This is coupled to the structure of strengthening national identity through NRK's responsibility to contribute to a good society by educating and upbringing the audience. Over the centuries there have been different traditions of enlightenment. Within NRK there are at least three different traditions of enlightenment; civic enlightenment, national enlightenment and personal enlightenment. In sports production this can be associated with upholding a certain moral and ethical standard and with constructing an ideological image of sport. Some of these images are the construction of individuality vs. collectivities, the construction of order, control and morality in terms of fair play, firm management, justice, duty and correct attitudes to authority and, traditionally, the construction of some masculine codes (often in a national context). Ideological images of sport, and therein the society, are particularly found in those situations where the sport's rules are at stake. More than anything, sport is about national identity and the enlightenment of a national identity (Boyle & Haynes, 2000).

Structural properties aiming at enlightening the audience, entertaining them and supplying them with information can be organised as elements in a drama. The practice highlights the narrative, characters, conflicts and suspense while depending upon audience involvement in a narrative. The desire to know what happens next, to follow a narrative and to discover a final resolution is a central and indispensable part of any sport competition and these identifications are drawn into the television coverage throughout the story. Although we could argue that there exists a "natural"

storyline in a real football match, the story telling greatly relies on a constructed, actively created aspect of both the visual encoding and the commentary. Although it is almost impossible to narrate a live sports performance, television is, to a certain extent, able to reorganise, represent and foreground the events as a story. The production guidelines outlined above will form the basis for my analysis of sports coverage later in the thesis. They have, however, received a great deal of attention here in order to illustrate their concrete and informative characteristics as part of structural properties.

So far I have accounted for the way in which structural principles, structures and structural properties can be interpreted within a public service broadcasting context. I have also argued how different forms of legitimacy connect to different sources within the three structural levels; at the institutional level, structural principles receive their cognitive legitimacy from the political environment; at the managerial level, structures are given their moral legitimacy from the member of the organisation; at the technical level, structural properties receive their pragmatic legitimacy from the environment in terms of audience. The position of section 3.1 in the thesis is rather important; as it is highly operational, it features a pre-analysis of structures, structural properties and structural principles within an institution. In the next section I will use this framework to address the potential outcome of instantiations and constitutions in terms of institutional stability and change.

### **3.2 Theoretical focus - How to study structural change and stability**

In chapter 2, I have identified instantiation and constitution as two critical aspects of structural production and reproduction in structuration theory. Instantiation refers to the process of human actors' capacity to produce a more concrete version of some abstract ideas in order to act. Constitution refers to the opposite feedback process, namely the abstraction of concrete actions into structures.

Returning to my original question of the relationship between organisational stability and change, the structuration theory assumes that the sources for change and stability are the same and that both structural change and structural stability takes place either in the instantiation process or in the constitution process. In the processes of producing change and/ or stability, I have argued that instantiations and constitutions take place within structural principles, structures and structural properties. In my empirical context, instantiations take place within public service broadcasting as stages from public service broadcasting ideology to public service broadcasting policy to public service broadcasting production guidelines. In this section of my

thesis, I will discuss how the possibility of change or stability at any of these three levels is linked to different types of change.

Previously, I have argued for theorising change as reorganisation of some new and old organisational components or more precisely the combination of some known and some unfamiliar elements. Consequently, the focus is to come up with a more reliable explanation of change than putting change down simply to “exogenous shocks” or “precipitating jolts” as suggested by Greenwood et al. (2002). In line with Munir (2005), Feldman (2003) and Orlikowski (1992) for instance, I focus on events only so far as they have been instantiated in the agents’ actions.

Depending on their viewpoints, theorists operate with different scales of changes. Orlikowski (1992), who has come a long way in adapting structuration theory for organisational studies, suggests three types of changes in studying how the use of technology changes structures; inertia (where technology is used as means of maintaining the status quo), application (where technology is used to modify and improve the existing way of doing things), and change (where technology is used to significantly change the status quo).

Drawing on this categorisation of the degree of change, I see four possible combinations at the three structural levels for change or stability depending on the degree of change: (1) *continuity* refers to simple reproduction or inertia in which neither of the structural levels undergo significant changes, (2) *convergent* is a phrase used by McNulty and Ferlie (2004) and refers to fine-tuning in the structural properties, (3) *adaptation* shares similarities with Orlikowski’s “application” and refers to adjusting, adapting and modifying both existing structures and structural properties and (4) *transmutation* refers to transformation in Greenwood and Hinings’ (1996) terminology and affects all three structural levels<sup>52</sup>.

*Continuity* refers to a reproduction of the entire structural level without any significant changes neither in the structural principles, structures or structural properties. This means that both instantiations and constitutions have taken place without the actors altering their existing way of doing things. Continuity takes place during recurrent social practice when users, in regularised engagements, repeatedly instantiate set of structures in the same manner. When actors draw on structures that have been previously instantiated, they reconstitute the structures and reinforce them into “essentially the same structures with no noticeable changes” (Orlikowski, 2000: 411).

*Convergent* changes include modestly changed structural properties, either when constituted or instantiated. Particularly connected to an

---

<sup>52</sup> The combination is inspired by Gudmund Hernes’ (1976) types of change processes; simple reproduction, extended reproduction, transition and transformation while regarding output structure, parameter values and process structure.

instrumental pragmatic use of structural properties, this technical level accepts changes relatively easy. Structural properties are often locked-in, concrete rational notions of production procedures operating nearest to the agents and their practices (when compared to structures and structural principles). This closeness between structural properties and practices enables the agents to reflect on and discuss the usefulness of those properties. At this level the agents are governed by rational system perspective and their actions gain their legitimacy mainly from performance measurements. As such, there is room for swift short-term improvements if for example one way of filming a corner kick does not work or if a camera position does not capture significant aspects of the match. In the same manner, it is relatively easy to switch back to the old way of filming. The practical legitimacy at this level also enables the agents to make adjustments to those properties or work around them. As instantiations, changes can occur if actors choose to ignore a particular course of action, work around it or alter it. These changes would affect the structural property, but will not, at this stage, alter the structures or the structural principles. In other words, concrete rules or particular ways of doing something are easier to change than the abstract idea behind the practice.

*Adaptation* is a more substantial change that includes changes both in structural properties and in structures, while the principles remain the same. Changes within two structural levels are regarded as dramatic changes as both moral and pragmatic legitimacy are needed in order to introduce the agents both new rules and resources allocation, and new production guidelines. On the other hand, this type of change is more difficult to obtain than convergent changes. A structure involves a definition that could be operated into structural properties. These structural properties act to limit the possible instantiations that may exist. For a rule or a definition to be accepted by actors, it requires flexibility, negotiated order and sensitivity to the dynamic of the structuration process. As rules and resources, the possibility for change is linked to moral aspects of the practice – whether actors, within the heterogeneity of the organisation – align and understand the structure relatively in the same way. Structures may specify parameters of acceptable conduct, but are also modified by the actions they inform. Positive evaluation of an organisation and its actions are generally based on normative criteria such as the organisation’s “way of doing things”. New guiding principles and policy elements can be mobilised as a legitimating resources in this context. The moral legitimacy rests on judgements of whether the organisation’s activity is “the right thing to do”. These judgements often reflect structural components such as beliefs and values as constituted by the structural principles. In addition, policy formulation is often relatively vague and therefore reliant on the actors’ interpretations to give life to these abstractions through the instrumental use of them. At this level, change is assumed to take form as either specification of structural



principles or as justification of abstract possible solution. It thus concerns both moral and pragmatic legitimacy in order to prolong the life of existing structures rather than to remove them.

*Transmutation* is the most revolutionary change as it refers to fundamental changes to principles, structures and properties. Changes such as transformation of institutional templates, as in the case of privatisation, are challenging and problematic (Greenwood & Hinings, 1993). It involves both a period of flux and an active search for identity. As argued in section 2.3 structural principles are rather open and elusive in their abstraction and heavily linked to cognitive legitimacy constituted by the environment. Being institutionalised these principles are therefore reluctant to change. The main reason to the principles' reluctance to change is that changes within this level are very context specific as it gains its legitimacy not only from the institutional environment but also from the managerial level and the technical level of the institution. Part of the reason also lies in the distance between the agents and the structural principles they are drawing on, and the many steps the change process has to go through, as also argued by Greenwood et al. (2002). Although structural principles are elusive to obtain and difficult to manipulate, they also becomes more subtle, more profound, and more self-sustaining, once constituted. If organisational members discuss and talk about values, strategies and culture, these principles will become more widely known to the organisational members. However, they may still be relatively insubstantial. Structural principles are therefore generally difficult to change. Institutional beliefs and understanding of why and how the organisation exists are therefore the most enduring part of the system. However, a total transmutation is not impossible as structural principles are only "stabilised for now". But, as changes in structural principles evolve slowly and steadily, their changes can only be measured by precise observations over long periods of time.

The link between structural properties and the other two structural levels are resting on the assumptions of instantiation and constitution. In this thesis, ways of handling the camera, editing etc. are concrete versions of rules and resources, which in turn are locating meaning associated within the organisational values and beliefs. My argument is that since both Giddens (1984) and Sewell (1992) point to structure as outcome of practice, or more precisely as instantiated practices, we need to look closer into the process of instantiations. Sewell argues that structures are put at risk every time they are instantiated, and therefore easy to change, while Giddens emphasises that structures change so slowly across time that they are "stabilised for now", temporally and locally. The next section deals with the question of how to study production practices as instantiations of structural principles, structures and structural properties.

### 3.3 Analytical focus – How to study production practices for TV sport?

As stated earlier, this thesis' theoretical goal is to make points about the structural properties as “both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise” (Giddens, 1984: 25). From an empirical perspective, one could argue that a public service broadcaster acts as medium (in terms of institution) and outcome (in terms of programmes) during its practice. By exploring how structure and actions interact in a practice, I focus on how key events are created as emergent contradictions between continuity and change processes at different levels of the organisation. The practice of producing sports programmes is placed at a micro level in the location of the Sports Department, while the organisational policy and institutional values are regionalised on different levels, in some cases outside the NRK.

A 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 case-oriented research is time. Giddens also makes time a major aspect of his theoretical perspective. According to the structuration theory, organisational events occur within sets of institutionalised rules and are continually being created through peoples' actions. As these actions temporally connect the events into structural chains, they form past practices and give them legitimacy. At the same time, when constituted as structures, past practices shape norms, expectations and production schedules which in turn enable and constrain future actions<sup>53</sup>. 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 other. As Giddens argues, pre-existing traditional practices do not altogether disappear from the modern practice, but their status changes in certain ways (Giddens, 1991). 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.

Regarding time, the media researcher, John Corner (2003) expresses concern for that the density of the historical moments “can turn contingency and the circumstantial into *pattern*”. The past is seen thus as a relatively stable if also complex text for reading, not subject to the flux and sheer “unfinishedness” of the present” (Corner, 2003: 275). A symptom of the difficulty of conceptualisation change has been described in relation to history generally, and television history more specifically by Corner as the

---

<sup>53</sup> Institutional reflexivity refers to a situation in which insights from the past are stored in the institution and used in constructing the future (Mouritsen & Skærbæk, 1995: 109).

‘problem of periodization’ (Corner, 2003: 277). While telling a story of change processes, categorising a range of events into significant phases allow us it to establish relationships and patterns. However, this act of grouping developments into stages can also place undue stress on certain relationships among the aspects of television as institution, the practices that take place and its programme output in terms of sports coverage.

On a practical level, I focus my attention on the output of a particular production routine, the coverage of the Norwegian Men’s Football Cup Final<sup>54</sup>. Following the “linguistic turn” in media studies, I am focusing on the development of the textual elements in the production of televised football. This focus would not neglect the media as an institution. On the contrary, it would emphasise television as a social institution since the production practices both mould and are moulded by the structures that enables and constrains the practices. The production practice would efficiently conceive institutions as a set of norms and practices that cut across the organisations in a given social field. As such, the textual analysis will grasp the glue that bind the institution together, as illustrated in Figure 1.1 in the introduction chapter. This broader process of communication approach finds support in Whannel’s (1992) analytical framework in television and sports studies. The framework would enable me to reveal whether and when NRK cares for sports coverage as entertainment, as information or as enlightenment and how these structural properties are instantiated in the actual coverage.

A second point made by Corner (2003) about the historiography of television regards different aspects of television as researchable entity and how these are related to each other. The Norwegian media historian Hans Fredrik Dahl describes this dilemma as how “everything bears some influence of some sort on everything else (Dahl, 1994: 560). In order to deal with these problems, the analysis displays a shifting focus, from macro to micro and from concerning both internal issues and external matters. For instance, chapter 4 in the thesis represents firstly an attempt to make points about the inciting moments of the establishment of NRK Television as an extension of NRK Radio in the late 1950s. Whilst chapter 4 deals with internal issues (how shifting practices for producing radio sport influenced televised sport), chapter 5 tells the story about how a Norwegian television sports practice relates to the development of an international TV-sports practice, particularly within the coverage of the Olympic games during the 1960s and 1970s. The framework for the television sports production process

---

<sup>54</sup> The tournament is the main knock-out cup competition in Norwegian football. It was established in 1902 by the Norwegian Football Association. The first rounds of the cup are played in April, while the final match is played at Ullevål Stadium (national stadium) in November. The final marks the end of the Norwegian football season.

in chapter 6 and 7 reflects the great tension between the state-owned public service broadcaster, NRK, and the increasingly commercial pressure upon public service broadcasting, particularly represented by the private, commercial public service broadcaster, TV2. Emphasising the environment differently throughout the empirical case does not constitute the basis for satisfactory reading of a thesis, but it would help to avoid regarding epochs as being representative of stages of development in a natural progression and seeing the environment as a fixed unit.

In summation, in order to study the interplay between actions, practices, structural properties, structures and structural principles I need to include data for all of these levels in my analysis. This is a challenging task. I have therefore relied heavily upon secondary sources and literature. This is particularly evident when I deal with the institutional level of NRK and the managerial level within NRK. For an analysis of the third level, production practices, I have chosen textual analysis of some key sports programmes throughout the history of NRK. I have not included interviews as a formal method as I believe that it would be difficult for informants to shed light over past practices in relation to their actions. However, in some cases I have relied on statements in the media or interviews with, for instance, the various Director Generals of NRK. As far as possible, I have tried to synthesise data from various sources in order to strengthen interpretations. In the next two subsections I will outline in further detail how I have carried out the textual analysis of the football matches and my use of data sources which inform the broader analysis.

### *3.3.1 How to study structural properties*

A textual analysis of television programmes would serve the purpose of revealing information about the tension between change and stability in the structural properties of NRK's programme production. In media and communication studies a "text" is considered any socially and contextually complete semantic unit of communication. This may include written texts, video, and audio, multimedia and digital content.

In my case, the texts are constituted by NRK's annual coverage of the Cup Final in football for men from 1960 to the mid 1990s. This particular type of programme is transmitted live and organised outside the broadcaster. The event takes place, in most cases, with or without the presence of television cameras. When transmitted, however, the media event is monopolistic; it differs from the regular flow of programmes televised every night as it includes some sensational or exceptional elements. A media event, such as the Cup Final in football, interrupts the routine of a TV schedule in which the audience meets something special. As such the media event creates a calendar of various important events which attract large

amounts of audiences either national or international (Dayan & Katz, 1992: 5).

By choosing to study the same media event transmitted annually, I am able to – to some degree – compare the different programmes in a historical perspective. Although the analysis will show that a certain way of producing the Cup Final has had a period of predominance in given settings, the ways of producing a Cup Final also tend to be combined and altered within the broadcasts. Older ways of producing football on television do not necessarily go away; they may remain part of a continuing exploration of form in relation to certain structural properties.

Recognising that a close analysis of all of the Cup Finals during these 30 odd years would represent a life's work, I have limited myself to one third of the selection. Still, the large amount of textual information in such an analysis requires categorisation according to a certain theoretical framework. For this purpose, I am drawing on the structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment as three principal sets of guidelines for practices in television production: These guidelines were presented in section 3.1.3 and in the appendix.

For this study, the most interesting element in the model is the notion of television sport as a fusion of the three sets of production practices. The borders between these three main practices are neither clear nor fixed, and sports coverage can be produced as a mix of all three practices. For instance with regard to the sport performers, Whannel argues that:

*“Sport performers have a threefold function for television: as stars they are bearers of the entertainment value of performance; as personalities they provide the individualisation and personalisation through which audiences are won and hold; and as characters they are the bearers of the sporting narratives” (Whannel, 1992: 122).*

Some of the attributes of the practices are, on the other hand, contrasting each other. Particularly the dramatic practice's handling of space and time represent a conflicting area with both the journalistic practice and the entertainment practice, which rely more on the immediacy and spontaneity associated with realism.

As the primary information from a televised sporting event is carried in pictures, the analysis will mainly deal with the visual images. The visual side of the transmission encourages greater attention than the sound because the pictures are a result of a collaborative effort between the camera crew and producers while the commentary is something carried out by one – or sometimes two persons. In addition, commentary style is a highly personal matter. Each commentator has his own way of talking about what the viewers also can see, and it is difficult to interpret these as collective paths of

organisational practices. As the commentators' style and content is highly a personal matter, it seems unwise to allocate these accordingly to different practices for commentary at an organisational level. This is particular true in the case of NRK, as its main commentators are only a handful of long-serving commentators with unique styles and personal techniques.

By focusing on the visual images of the transmission, the analysis will deal with a number of issues. These are, in short<sup>55</sup>:

- Camerawork (number of cameras present at the stadium, placement, perspectives and types of shots (long shots (LS), medium shots (MS) and close-ups (CU))
- Camera techniques (zoom, pan, slow motion, replays)
- Editing (cuts and fades, cutting rate and rhythm, length of shots, number of shots)
- Motives/ content of pictures (team oriented pictures, individual pictures and pictures of particular situations related set-plays in the match (i.e. corner, free kick, goal, and throw-ins), pictures of the audience, the managers, referee etc.

### 3.3.2 *How to study structural principles and structures*

As in most organisations, the NRK's policy takes form as written documentations such as annual reports and strategic documents. In addition, because NRK is a state-owned company there are a variety of political sources available that deal with NRK's obligations as a public service broadcaster. The selection of sources from political processes is divided into three categories: (1) Government documents and proposals to the Parliament, (2) Other government documents or documents from government-appointed committees (i.e., from The Norwegian Media Authority and the Public Broadcasting Council) and (3) Council of Europe documents and European Union documents that are directly linked to public service broadcasting and/ or sport. The latter includes for instance the views of Audiovisual Policy and Sports Policy of EU in documents like "The Television without Frontiers" directive and the 1996 European Parliament Resolution.

Secondly, reports and submissions from actors with an interest in media sport issues have been examined. This includes for instance the UEFA's Regulations of the UEFA Champions League, documents from the European Broadcasting Union, the European Audiovisual Observatory in Strasbourg and the Nordic TV alliance "The North Vision". It also includes statements from other media companies, journals, newspapers and magazines like "Nordisk Medienyt" and "Nordicom".

---

<sup>55</sup> A more thoroughly description is given the appendix 1, 2 and 3.

A third important data source is secondary literature about the field. In general, Norwegian public service broadcasting is well covered in previous media studies. The most relevant academic literatures on public service broadcasting are the historical studies of NRK provided by Sigve Gramstad (1989) Hans Fredrik Dahl and Henrik Bastiansen (1999)<sup>56</sup>, and Halse and Østby (2003). Hans Fredrik Dahl's work represents a traditional and cautious institutional media history, looking for the connection between technology and culture, economy and administration. Dahl questions both the value and status of programme analysis, emphasises political opinions, influences, and debates on media institutions. For an institutional study of NRK, "The comparative and historical analysis of the BBC and the NRK" by Syvertsen (1992) represents an important source, and so do the study of Rolland (2005), which challenges Syvertsen notions of constraints. The project "Moving Images in Norway" (1990-1993)<sup>57</sup> provides an interesting point of view as it strongly leans towards an aesthetic symbolic model and focuses on text in its institutional contexts and its meeting with an historically situated audience. Additional sources on NRK's historical programming strategies have been the several studies by Ytreberg (for instance 1996 and 2002). The best example of a form of aesthetic, cultural-symbolic and discursive history is Stig Hjørdvard's "TV-news in Competition" (1999), which explicitly combines the sociological theories of institutions and structuration as a resource and the study of aesthetic structures and their development over time. The reason I have relied heavily on the research of other people in some historical and descriptive sections, is the wish for a synthesis. However, I hope that I, to some extent, have managed to put the material drawn from other research in a new context, both in terms of description and explanation.

A fourth valuable source regards NRK's relation to its viewers. This relationship can have relatively easily measurable results in terms of viewing ratings and other programme statistics which are available from several sources<sup>58</sup>. This quantitative data may bring up to date the prominent position that television sport occupies among the viewers and may also stress the enduring and reproduced aspect of television sport across time.

---

<sup>56</sup> Hans Fredrik Dahl et al. (Eds.), NRKs historie 1-3 (The History of NRK 1-3), Oslo: Cappelen ([1975] 1999, [1978] 1999, 1999).

<sup>57</sup> *Moving Images in Norway* was a joint project between departments in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Volda, Lillehammer and Stavanger. It involved the cooperation of around 70 people and the results were reported in 18 separate studies covering different aspects of film and television history.

<sup>58</sup> NRK, Nordicom (Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research, Göteborg University/ Nordisk Ministerråd), medienorge (the Norwegian Information Centre for Media, University of Bergen, Kulturdepartementet) and the Northvision (a TV- alliance formed by the public service companies in Denmark (DR), Finland (YLE), Norway (NRK) and Sweden (SVT)).

### 3.3.3 *The choice of research strategy*

Perhaps the main methodological challenge for my study is avoiding dichotomist logic thinking when incorporating structuration into empirical research. Giddens (1984) argues that researchers need to choose either an action or a structure perspective when studying structuration. DeScantis and Poole (1994) suggest, on the other hand, that it is possible to switch back and forth between structural and action levels during an analysis. I intend to follow their suggestion. Luckily, I am not alone facing difficulties regarding classical oppositions such as micro/ macro and voluntarism/ determinism. Several organisational researchers have empirically applied structuration theory in their work. In this final section I will sum up the strategies applied for gathering, analysing and making sense of data from a structuration theoretical perspective.

Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2001, 2005) have identified three different ways in which structuration theory has been applied in organisational studies in general and in the field of Informational System Theory in particular. *The adaptive structuration perspective* tends to rely on a soft determinist position whereas *the actor's organising perspective* assumes a more voluntarism approach. *The mutual shaping perspective* tries to capture the complexity and unpredictability of the recursive interactions between actions and structures. It does not look for causal explanations, but can be considered interpretive (Orlikowski, 1996; Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2001). It assumes that outcomes resulting from ongoing interactions appear to be most faithful to the structuration theory and will therefore be guiding my study. However, as Langley (1999) argues, the main idea in structuration theory, that structures constrain the actions of individuals, but that these structures may be reconstituted over time by the same actions, raises an apparent paradox.

Poole and Van de Ven (1989) have identified four different modes of working with paradoxes resulting from the action-structure tensions. These four generic ways correspond schematically to opposition, spatial separation, temporal separation and synthesis. The first mode of working with paradoxes is, according to Poole and Van de Ven, (1989) simply to accept the paradox and use it constructively by comparing how contrasting theirs deal with the same organisational problems They argue that although this strategy may lead to a "sloppy analysis" and retarding the recognitions of relationships (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989: 566) it stimulates theory building. However, it does not resolve the paradox.

The second suggestion of Poole and Van de Ven takes into account the role of time for resolving the action-structure paradox. The theory of morphogenesis (Archer, 1982) proposes that action and structure can be related through an alternating temporal order. Although I acknowledge time as a key to understand the interplay between organisational change and



stability, my main objections to this strategy are the questions of whether organisations are fundamentally stable orders or continuously changing events (Weick, 1979), whether any change is observable only in contrast to some stable state and how human actions simultaneously condition and are conditioned by institutional structures. Another problem with this strategy is the risk of reducing the relation between organisational change and stability to a punctuated equilibrium model and thereby reflecting a bias for structure. In addition, “while relations between structure and action may be chronological, they may nor may not be causal” (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989: 573).

By clarifying the levels of analysis, the third strategy attempts to investigate the connections between them. The challenges are to spell out inter-level relations, to avoid conflating the analytical levels and to avoid overemphasising one level (action) over another (structure). The fourth method is explicitly inspired by Giddens’ structuration theory as it cuts through the action-structure paradox. “It posits that structure and action coexist in a mutual process of production and reproduction. Action draws on structure, structure only exists in action; and they connect in modalities of structuration” (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989: 575). This method tries to overcome the dichotomist logic and embrace a more integrative approach to the paradox of organisational change and stability.

Consistent with the mutual shaping perspective (Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2001), I have chosen to combine the third and fourth strategy (spatial separation and synthesis) for investigating the dynamic relationship between structure and action in my empirical case. The feature of the spatial separation strategy is careful specification of levels while the synthesis approach attempts to bridge action and structure by advancing new concepts. As already mentioned I have separated structures into three levels (institutional, policy and production guidelines) and introduced the concept of instantiations to show their intimate connections.

Having identified how to deal with the paradoxes arising from a mutual shaping perspective, two methodological strategies emerge as central in the use of structuration theory and for analysing the textual data of my empirical case: narrative and temporal bracketing (Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2001). According to Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005), the narrative gives the answers to “why” things change and the bracketing strategy gives answers to the “when” and “how” things change. As such, these strategies are useful when my concern is to identify elements that shape organisational changes and investigate the structuring of practices.

Temporal bracketing strategy is considered a direct reference to Giddens’ structuration theory as it articulates the constructs of structure and agency as temporal levels of analysis (Langley, 1999). It is therefore “viewed as a classic example of a perspective involving mutual shaping (Pozzebon & Pinsonneault, 2001: 213). Mutual influences are difficult to

capture simultaneously. It is, however, possible to analyse the two processes by temporarily “bracketing” one of them. Pozzebbon and Pinsonneault (2005) suggest two ways of temporal bracketing the processes, based on the period of data collection and the density of the data. A fine-grained bracketing strategy involves being close to the empirical data and collect it intensively over time. Using broad ranging bracketing strategy, the researcher does not break down each event in the same degree of detail. In my case, investigating historical and extended periods, the bracketing is present but it is somehow rough. The different temporal brackets are identified and constructed based on both the strategic decisions taken by the institution and contextual events, such as political decisions. The strategy enables a comparative analysis between the phases, which in turn clarify the gradually evolving changes.

Narrative strategy is oriented toward the meaning of the process and has been used to organise and explain the interaction between structure and activities. Placed within a mutual shaping perspective, it explores multiple meanings and interpretations through in-depth, thick descriptions. By providing narratives of the organisational transformation, the strategy brings contextual richness to the story of unfolding events. My study combines a narrative and temporal broad ranging bracketing strategy in order to reduce the theoretical complexity that informs my research question, and to organise and make sense of the empirical data.

This section concludes the first part (chapters 1-3) of my thesis in which I have outlined the theoretical, methodological and empirical challenges for my study. In short these are: (1) providing some theoretical insight into the debate on organisational change and stability based on structuration theory, (2) considering the applicability of structuration theory within organisational theory and (3) understanding how the practice of producing programmes interacts with institutional features of NRK. In an effort to confront these challenges, I carry out an empirical analysis of televised football matches on NRK from 1960 to the early 1990s in the second part of my thesis (chapters 4-7).

Work on good prose has three steps: a musical stage when it is composed, an architectonic one when it is built, and a textile one when it is woven (W. Benjamin)

## 4 Inciting moments and exposition

In this chapter, I suggest that the history of televised football at NRK did not start with the introduction of television in Norway 1960. It is necessary to go back to 1933 when the first legislation covering NRK Radio was passed by the Government. In the 1960s, the Norwegian television services operated under a high degree of uncertainty as a professional practice, as a technology, as a socio-cultural phenomenon and as a political instrument. In order to temperately stabilise the service, NRK television was incorporated into the already existing services of NRK Radio. The core question in this chapter is which structural potentiality was realised as television was established and how did this happen? Chapter 4.1 will discuss how changes in NRK's structural principles, structures and structural properties occurred as an attempt to stabilise the entire broadcasting system. In chapter 4.2 deals with the structural inputs for the development of television sports production with an analysis of the first two sports coverage (ice hockey and football) produced by NRK in 1958 and 1961. Chapter 4.3 is a short detour, as it discusses the changes that took place within NRK Radio. The reason for including these changes are mainly because changed production practice within the radio department of NRK would later feed changes within the television department of NRK.

### 4.1 Instantiating television practice within the radio system

My first point is to propose that television production practice emerged as an instant within the activity of producing radio programmes. With the words of Greenwood (2002), one might argue that the introduction of television services acted as a type of external “jolt” to NRK Radio (Greenwood et al., 2002). However, this “jolt” also stabilised the television service within a short period of time.

The decision to introduce television in Norway gradually gained political support during the 1950s, and hence cognitive legitimacy was constituted by the institutional environment. When television was finally introduced in 1960, it also quickly became a prominent part of the NRK's broadcasting system with regard to moral and pragmatic legitimacy. For instance, in 1957, there were only two employees compared to 150 people in

1960. By 1962 the television division passed the radio division in size of employees with 267 employees. This rise in the number of employees suggests a great internal moral legitimacy. Similarly, the support from the audience was no less than overwhelming. During the trial period, the sale of television sets and licenses exploded. From the autumn 1957 to autumn 1960 the number of licenses rose from 81 to almost 19.000 (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 285). With only a few exceptions<sup>59</sup>, the pragmatic legitimacy that NRK Television received from the environment contributed strongly to the constitution of the institution. Hence, I want to emphasise that, as opposed to Syvertsen (1992), the transformation of the whole broadcasting structures took place even before television became the *dominant* medium in the early 1970s.

Secondly and most importantly, I suggest that the stabilising of the television practice contributed in stabilising the entire broadcasting structure. However, the jolt television represented disturbed the radio system and therefore introduced the possibility of change within radio production practices. This is an important event in the overall story of NRK, as the new ways of producing radio sport would later come to affect how to produce televised sport. The development is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

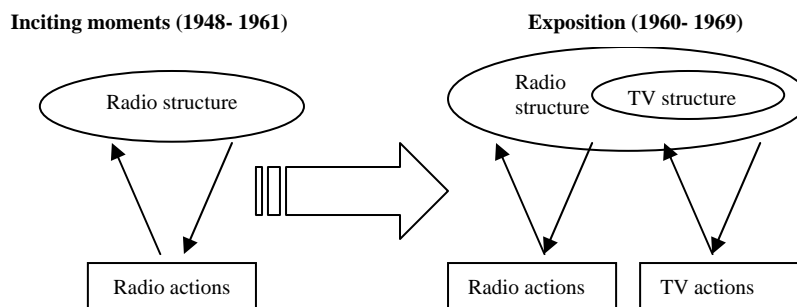


Figure 4.1. The “old” and “new” broadcasting structure as TV was introduced

With regard to structuration theory, this chapter will illustrate how a structural principle was constituted by both cognitive legitimacy from the political system from above and by pragmatic legitimacy from the audience from below. More interestingly, although the broadcaster did not instantiate the structural principles into a distinct and formal TV structure, the moral legitimacy in the radio system made it possible to instantiate production guidelines for TV programmes in addition to radio programmes. NRK was only partly determined by the pre-existence of a radio structure as the institution could always have acted otherwise (for instance refusing to take

<sup>59</sup> The only two groups that really opposed to the introduction of television were the film sector and The Norwegian Researcher Council (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999).

the responsibility for introducing television). However, there was the clear idea within NRK that if the new television service was aligned into the already existing radio structure, the whole broadcasting system would gain temporally stability (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). Kjekstad (1974) shows that the NRK operated as a major political force, acting out its own two institutional interests: (1) to establish the national television service within the NRK monopoly and (2) to do so without any structures imposed from the outside.

In the following section I will emphasise some critical events that took place between 1956 and 1960 and laid the foundations for NRK's emerging characteristics within the structural level of the organisation. Although sport was part of NRK television output in the second trial period (1958-1960), national sports coverage of the Cup Final was not a significant part of the television schedule during the first ten years after the official opening. The analysis will therefore concentrate on the prehistory of the establishment of structural principles, structures and structural properties for producing TV football.

#### *4.1.1 Radio and television: two practices – one instantiation process*

Compared to most other European countries, television in Norway has been a modest affair. Television services were late to be established and slow to expand (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). The first television experiments started in 1954 and six years later NRK television was official opened. The word "television" was first mentioned at the board of NRK Radio in 1948. The same year the Minister of Church and Education, Kaare Fostervoll, initiated an amendment of the Broadcasting Act for employing a Director General of NRK. He then appointed himself to the position. Fostervoll would act as the head of NRK until 1961. The slogan for this period would be "radio and television hand in hand" in which enlightenment was presented as the main structural property (ref. Figure 3.3) of radio and television (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996).

The first trial period (1954-1958) was belated for eight years due to a broad public discussion of when and how Norway should establish television broadcasts. The main concern was related to the structural principle of universalism. As argued in chapter 3, universalism refers to the public's equal access to a service, wherever they live within the country and independently of social class. Access to broadcasting services was considered as a public good in the same way as access to roads, water and electricity. In Norway, this principle was linked to regionalism and conflicts concerning the rural district population versus the big cities in the south of Norway. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the radio distribution was rather poor, not reaching the whole country and with a reduced quality. Therefore,

it was of great concern that the demographic and topographic characteristics of Norway would make a national distribution for broadcasting both expensive and difficult to achieve. Secondly, national distribution was a political claim and necessary to obtain in order to receive institutional legitimacy. However, Bastiansen and Syvertsen (1996) argue that, politically, the process was a mere formality. NRK acted as both the main interested party for the content production and the most “neutral” expert on the technical and economical aspects of television distribution. Thirdly, there was concern about how the development of television would affect the radio services that still had not reached a national distribution. The potential conflict between radio services and television services coincided closely with the divergence between regionalism and centralisation. In other words, moral internal legitimacy was of great concern.

At the opposite end of the debate, industrial and economic interests favoured the introduction of a television service. NRK radio had already gained a high degree of control of the broadcasting market in the absence of broadcasting competition and technological scarcity. In addition, the general cultural climate in the mid and late 1950s also supported the establishment of television. A third element was that NRK, according to the 1933 Broadcasting Act, already owned the rights for transmission of pictures as well as sound. In short, the overall introduction of television was largely dependent on internal affairs in NRK, whether the institution wanted to add television services to its radio service or not.

The critical element was that the introduction of television should not harm the radio service. If NRK was to introduce television service, NRK had to make sure that the technological receivers for radio signals were improved as well, that the content of radio programmes were strengthened and that the licence fee for radio was not spent on television development. These demands were aimed at strengthening the position of the radio services, but as I intend to show, if achieved, they would also strengthen the television services, and in the end the entire broadcasting system of NRK.

#### *4.1.2 Instantiating the structural property of enlightenment*

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, television service was only a phenomenon with a high degree of technical and environmental uncertainty; it had no content and it did not have a defined audience. Despite these problems, there was apparently never a question as to whether Norway would follow other European countries and introduce its citizens to this new medium. In the autumn of 1951, the Director-General of NRK Radio, Kaare Fostervoll, spent three months in the USA visiting NBC and CBS amongst others<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>60</sup> The National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System.

During his visit, Fostervoll was convinced that it was technically possible to establish television service in Norway as well, but he did not believe in television as a wholly commercial marketing instrument. This did not prevent the establishment of a committee for television commercials in 1958 and the plans for a ten minute commercial break before the television programmes started after the model of cinema commercials (Dahl & Høyer, 2003: 20). However, as both The Nordic Council and the press feared the effects that commercials would have upon the cultural intentions of television, the suggestion was discarded. Representatives of NRK strongly considered that any television service needed to be anchored within an already existing public service system. At the same it was vital that television should not act as a threat towards the already existing radio service of NRK. Rather, Fostervoll wanted to join television into the same enlightenment purpose as radio public service broadcasting. Television was, in Fostervoll's opinion, the best instrument for the education and enlightenment of the nation. The year after Fostervoll's field trip to the USA, both the board of NRK and the Governmental department recommended that NRK started a trial period. The idea of Norwegian television was first presented and discussed in Parliament in January 1953 and ended with a majority of Labour representatives, Liberals and most of the Conservatives in favour for experimental television broadcasts by NRK. Yet, it would take another seven years until NRK Television was officially opened.

The solution offered was a new broadcasting system in which the radio service and the television service were not to compete for technical and financial resources, but that both services should be developed "hand in hand". This implied a rather slow development in which the television service should not prevent the radio service from obtaining resources. The Board of NRK strongly believed that in order to keep the development of the television service on the right track, they needed to work with time on their side and not rush the expansion of NRK Radio into NRK Radio and Television Broadcasting<sup>61</sup>. By applying a gradual or cautious strategy, the introduction of television would apparently be a win-win situation for both the new television service and the established radio service<sup>62</sup>.

---

<sup>61</sup> Dahl and Bastiansen (1999: 121) label this as a *Cunctator or Fabian strategy*, after Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the Roman commander and statesman whose cautious delaying tactics during the second Punic War gave Rome time to recover its strength and take the offensive against the invading Carthaginian army of Hannibal.

<sup>62</sup> Bastiansen and Syvertsen argue that the main interest of the NRK for establishing the national television service within the NRK monopoly was to avoid "any regulations or guidelines imposed from the outside to restrict programme production or content" (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996: 130).

The strategy was largely driven by an internal working group in NRK, aiming at the establishment of a permanent national service in 1957. Other cultural interests, the Parliament and the Broadcasting Council were given only limited influence on the working group and hardly anyone protested at this exclusion. The working group was therefore left in peace during the time it existed (February 1953-August 1956) to carve out the strategy for implementing a television service. The only party outside NRK showing any interest at all in the working group and the first test pictures was actually the audience (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 145). However, the cultural aspects of television and the way in which the audience received the new medium were not a particularly important topic of the working group.

The little attention that the working group paid to developing a programme strategy can be interpreted in two ways: either they did not have any answers to these problems or they took it for granted that television programmes should copy radio programmes. Either way, NRK television was to adopt the same structural principles, structures and structural properties of NRK Radio. The organisation had, since 1933, established authority and social legitimacy by explicitly linking the rationale for public service radio to the institutional system of NRK Radio. All of its structural principles were linked to externality and “citizenship” concerns, in terms of the fulfilment of specific social purposes and the necessary public good as characteristics of broadcasting programmes. Although few wanted to speculate as to the potential role television would come to play in the future, most of the interested parties agreed that the structure of educating and elevating the public would be stronger for television than radio. Fostervoll admitted in 1952 that television was “the best instrument for informing and enlightening that the technology has given us” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 119). This view was, of course, supported by the industry which saw great opportunities in producing and selling television sets. Representing the Association of Norwegian Radio Manufacturers (*Norske Radiofabrikanter Forbund*), Jens Claus Nickelsen claimed, in 1950, that television was “more interesting and more fascinating, both for entertainment and education, than the radio will ever be (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999:112).

Both internally in NRK, and externally, from the political environment and from the commercial industry, enlightenment, education and elevation were given key roles in the instantiation process of the abstract structural principle. As such, the enlightenment project became the main structural property of television. The claim that TV exposure would lead to passive children, less time spent with family or on other leisure activities was strongly rejected. The only concern NRK had for the content of the new medium was the influence from American films, radio shows and sports programmes. Fostervoll disapproved of violent, criminal-romantic and noisy American films; he was shocked by the *human touch* tone offered by CBS radio services and he was disgusted by the amount of boxing matches on



American television stations. Overall the American TV culture was an alarming aspect of the new medium. By employing a public service remit on television services, the fear of “American television culture”, particularly among politicians, would be calmed down.

A more strategic explanation for assuming that television services would align with radio services concerns the anxiety about what would happen to the radio services once the audience was able to receive television. NRK argued several times, both before the Parliament and the Broadcasting Council that television was precisely what radio needed. After all, both radio and television were broadcasting in a way that shared many of the same characteristics. The radio would not suffer, but on the contrary gain support from the television service. Some, both within and outside NRK, would argue that the radio service did not need any support from an additional medium. The radio services had blossomed particularly after the Second World War. The listeners had returned to NRK after the Nazi censorship, new and more programmes had been developed within the structural properties of both mass education and entertainment. However, the technical conditions for radio waves were poor and the audience grew more disappointed and annoyed. Apparently NRK feared that the radio service would stagnate and that the institution would lose its pragmatic legitimacy within the audience if something was not done. It was obvious to NRK that the enlightenment project could not be carried on unless the technical conditions of receiving radio waves were improved.

Young, engineers within NRK argued enthusiastically for introducing the frequency modulation system (FM). Television was an important aspect in the evaluation of FM, as this technology would also broadcast normal (analogue) television sound. Technically, television and radio would therefore be able to develop directly “hand in hand” by using a common infrastructure. The Postal Telephone and Telegraph (PTT) government agency was extremely sceptical towards the introduction of FM – it would be expensive for the listeners and the Government and it would take several years to fully develop the system. However, during a meeting between NRK and PTT in March 1953, a consultant from Ministry of Defence informed the parties that the Ministry was developing their radio waves and that there was space for civilian purposes as well. This would make it possible for everyone to receive radio signals before the end of 1955. The PTT was not convinced that the Ministry of Defence had the enormous resources that the development of FM demanded and was unsure whether the invitation would stand its trial. Neither PTT nor NRK did realise at that time that the Ministry of Defence did not act as *deus ex machine* (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 138) on its own. The Ministry of Defence was receiving funds from the communications infrastructure of NATO. The need for communication and co-operation in frequency matters between civil and military authorities secured funding and speeded the transmission to FM

radio. So far the development had followed a slow pace and the conflict between PTT and NRK was close to representing a tangled, hopeless situation. However, the technological difficulties were surprisingly easy to overcome as the Defence Department tuned in and gave its economical support to the development of a national FM network. With the arrival of the cavalry, the “only” challenge to the “hand in hand strategy” left was to obtain enough moral legitimacy within the managerial level of NRK.

Although politicians, the audience and cultural groups were contented with NRK’s radio service, NRK still believed that the television service would be of a greater and better instrumental use with wider practical implications for society. As a powerful cultural phenomenon, television would form a valuable part of the country’s social fabric. Radio was by and large perceived as an educational and cultural opportunity not to be missed (Syvertsen, 1992) and Fostervoll believed television services would give additional support to this remit. In addition, the same, still unstable, remit was necessary in order to receive support for a different type of television policy than the American TV culture many opponents feared would develop in Norway as well.

#### *4.1.3 Constituting the structural principle of universalism*

In the previous section I argued that temporary stability was created both in the already established public service remit of NRK and in the emerging television production practice as television adopted the structural property of education from radio. In this section, I intend to show that temporary stability was also created when NRK television instantiated the structural principle of universalism in the same way as NRK radio already did. Thirdly, I will argue that the whole broadcasting system received higher degree of stability as two separate production practices constituted the same structural principle of universalism. In summary, the structural level was to be constituted as more stable as the system would expand from one instantiation process to two separately instantiation processes.

In the following sections I will explain these two means by focusing on structural potentiality and structural inputs. Firstly, public service radio had been operating for about 20 years institutionally defined as a tool grounded on normative values associated with western-style democracy, including diversity, pluralism, universal service and the maintenance of cultural identity. Although not explicitly formulated, these structures were instantiated from a structural principle of universalism, not in a technical or economic sense, but in regard to content. In his opening speech for the first test of television, the 12<sup>th</sup> January 1954, Fostervoll claimed that television “is one of the best technical instruments that we have invented in order to transfer impressions, thoughts, atmospheres, knowledge, information and

valuable impulses from other individuals to the masses wherever they are” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 146). Exactly how these means were to be obtained was a more elusive concept, except that Fostervoll wanted to carry on the programming of radio. The Fostervoll group went to a field trip in Europe in 1955 and concluded that there were no resolute structures for how to run a television production practice. On the other hand, they got some ideas for programming for instance “*Tagesschau*” from Switzerland, a short edited film of events of current interest. The following autumn NRK Television transmitted a variety of concerts, entertainment for children and films, and one transmission of the highly popular Saturday radio show “*Show i Store Studio*” 12<sup>th</sup> November 1955. These few examples points, however, to the structure of content diversity that would later come to dominate NRK’s programming strategy.

Three month later, the diversity structure was accompanied by the first sports coverage: World Cup in Skating at Bislet 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> February 1956. Fostervoll was, apparently, particularly pleased with the coverage: the speed, the excitement and the celebration of the national sport would convince the sceptical politicians. In March the same year, NRK managed to produce one hour programmes each evening within several genres. Monday 19<sup>th</sup> March the members of the Audio Theatre performed a play for television; Tuesday offered a mixed programme of short movies and interviews from trade and industry as well as governmental institutions. On Wednesday a young teacher in home economics (domestic science) prepared dishes of herring followed by a “Musical Cocktail” of popular music. On Friday NRK transmitted a variety of children’s programmes while the week ended with another transmission of the Saturday Radio show “*Show i Store Studio*”, this time recorded with television viewers in mind. In sum, the week in March 1956 dispatched a variety of programme genres covering full-service programming of enlightenment, information and entertainment. NRK television had provided a diverse content that included something for every viewer. The verdict of the audience was unanimous; they wanted more and they wanted it quickly. NRK, on the other hand, was more reserved and warned against the increased popularity of the new medium and the audience’s increased impatience as the medium was still in an experimental phase.

However, in August 1956, Fostervoll presented the recommendation report “*Television in Norway*”. Based on experiences from the last five years, NRK was able to suggest the following structural principle for a potential universal television service in Norway:

- Technical universalism, i.e. full national distribution (universalism) and not just the biggest cities. By 1970, 80 per cent of the population would have access to the service and by 1972 full national distribution would be reached

- Content universalism, i.e. regular and full-service programming each day within three years
- Economical universalism, i.e. a marginal television license (90 Norwegian kroner) if 270 000 households were to join in within the next 12 years. Implicitly, television would not harm the development of the radio service financially, but would pay for itself (up until spring 1956 NRK was considering advertising, particularly in relation to the entertainment programmes).

At this point, television was no longer a phenomenon but an emerging system that produced television programmes which were available to an audience. The technical and financial problems were solved with a little help from NATO, and as far as the content was concerned, the strategy was to integrate television services with the already existing radio services. So far, nobody had really questioned the content production of television, except instantiate television as part of the Enlightenment Project. When the Parliament met in June 1957 to decide whether to establish a permanent national television service, the politicians discussed why cultural organisations and institutions had been left out in the planning years and why minority groups such as children has not been given preference in the recommendation. The majority of politicians expressed concern and disappointment over the lack of cultural ambition in the television service. Just to state that the content should include “enlightenment, entertainment and information” was not an adequate policy formulation for such a powerful instrument over the mass audience. As in 1953, the decision to establish a permanent national television service ended with the majority of Labour representatives, most of the Liberals and the Conservatives in favour. The Christian representatives had voted against due to the lack of cultural responsibility in the recommendation and their general scepticism towards the low visual media culture (including cinema).

Applying structuration theory, we can sum up the story so far by claiming that NRK Television was to adopt NRK Radio’s structural principle of *universalism*. In addition, the television also aligned NRK Radio’s structural properties of *enlightenment*. As the very early programme schedule also suggests, the structural properties also included *entertainment* and programmes aimed at *information*. These structural properties were carefully tested in the years before 1956 through diversity in both single programmes and in the schedule. Instantiating two different production practices (television and radio) from the same structural principles (universalism) did not include any dramatic adjustment in the structural level of radio. On the contrary, when two production practices instantiated and constituted the same structural principles, the confidence in how the entire broadcasting activities were organised increased. As argued in chapter 2, an instantiation takes the form of evidence. In this case, both television and

radio programme guidelines of entertainment, enlightenment and information confirmed the same structural principle of universalism. Within structuration theory this alignment of television into a radio service can be described as a subordination of structures. Television was not only intersected with radio, it is perhaps more correct to claim that television became an integrated part of radio.

The integration of television and radio was also made possible due to strong political support. First, NRK was given the go-ahead in 1953 to start experimental broadcasts and later in 1957 NRK was given the privilege of establishing a permanent national service. In addition, although the concept “viewers” did not exist in those days, the expectations concerning television were sky high among Norwegians. The general cultural climate also favoured the introduction of television, although nobody in NRK did anything to establish a welcoming attitude towards the innovation. Gaining high legitimacy from the audience and some legitimacy from the political system would temporally stabilise the entire system. This legitimacy was apparently strong enough to enable continuity in the development of both a television and a radio production practice. As discussed in section 3.3., I refer to continuity as reproduction in which neither of the structural levels is significantly changed. I believe this was true when both television and radio instantiated universalism and enlightenment as structural principle and the main structural property. Structures were not yet really established, except with the contours of diversity as one major guideline. Overall, the production of both television and radio programmes were suppose to maintain and strengthen the status quo of the entire system.

However, as the structures in terms of rules were not yet established, there was a gap in the coupling between the abstract, elusive, public service remit and the concrete, instrumental programming guidelines of enlightenment, entertainment and information. This opening also included a lack of agents that could have supplied the system with internal and moral legitimacy. At its best, the structures of NRK were formulated as vague instantiations of the structural principle. This included NRK’s role in the support of the democratic process, its contribution to the support, creation and development of a Norwegian culture and value pluralism, i.e. favouring interaction and understanding between the diversity of values and interests. In addition, there were some attempts to formulate a structure concerning marginal needs. NRK Radio (and Television) would offer services promoting the Norwegian language and services for minorities, such as children. However, it was not specified if and how NRK should support the structural properties of marginal and common needs, nor was it made clear how the structure would facilitate a prominence of the language aspect.

On one hand, the absence of structure in terms of rules did not affect the establishment of the new medium. It almost seemed as if the abstract structural principles managed to operate in a constant fluidity and that the

programme producers instantiated the structural properties without an explicit consciousness of the intention behind the stream of activities. When NRK experimented with producing television programmes, the agents drew on the experience from radio programmes. In some cases, such as the Saturday entertainment shows, they more or less filmed the radio show without changing the show so that it would fit the television aesthetics. The television show was merely a “filmed radio show”. As such, the system managed a certain amount of self-maintenance. This could also be explained by referring to self-maintenance in relation to the institution’s own structural history and past processes. As argued in section 3.3, previous events, experiences and structures from the past are inscribed into the present and shape an organisation’s unfolding practice. To explain how a system changes and at the same time maintains some of its stability, we need to understand the path-dependent structure of the organisation’s history and context and the mechanism through which this manifests itself in the present. Structures may act as a barrier to change because the organisational management effectively only draws from pre-existing solutions rather than considering new ones. As shown in the analysis, this was partly the case for NRK. The management, acting as a cunctator, wanted to build television services from the basis of radio services in terms of programming strategies. In regard of the technical infrastructures NRK showed a much more radical attitude than for instance the PTT, as NRK wanted to replace the VHF band with the FM system.

On the other hand, NRK seemed to prefer a cunctator strategy in order to enable a stable process of continuous change for the entire institution. This strategy involved accepting that most organisational life, even broadcasting, is routinised and relies on some kind of organisational security. As the ultimate goal of the organisation was survival, the reproduction of the public service system was basically aiming at stabilising and ordering the interacting units. The case in which the television service was aligned into the structure of the already existing radio service, illustrates how structures can act as an enabling force. The “given” character of structural properties associated with the radio service vis-à-vis situated actors made it easier to fulfil technical, economical and content universalism. Although there were both rules and resources that could enable and constrain the actions, structures in terms of concrete and formal policy did not appear sufficiently important to be instantiated.

#### *4.1.4 Instantiating the structural properties of entertainment and information*

As shown in the previous sections, universal service was not only about the technological development of television signals or economical reasoning.

Equally importantly, it was about providing a widespread programme service throughout the country. A universal service can therefore also be interpreted along a programme dimension, claiming that the television audience was identical to the whole nation. The conception of the audience was inherited from the radio that benefited from a massive, loyal audience. Throughout the country, listeners were turned into viewers.

Although enlightenment was singled out as the main structural property, the trial period gave room for structures that facilitated content diversity and that supported and maintained national identity, culture and language. This was a programme mix that had served the radio services well. As previously illustrated, the programme schedule for the second week of March 1956 (19<sup>th</sup>– 24<sup>th</sup> March) was more or less based on the same programme mix and was regarded as a tremendous success. Four years later, the opening ceremony of NRK Television, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1960, would include much of the same programming elements. This time, it was Prime Minister Gerhardsen that expressed hope that television shortly would become an integral part of people's everyday lives. Television would provide entertainment and recreation, as well as serving as a new means of learning and enlightenment. Finally, television would represent a new way of disseminating knowledge to everybody in the country. This diverse programming expectation of information, recreation, enlightenment, and entertainment was (ironically) followed up by a glamorous musical show ending with the song "There's no business like show business". Symptomatically, it can be perceived as an insinuation that NRK's programmes would also be influenced by the American television entertainment industry. The opening show per se, indicated that broad, popular entertainment would play a significant role within the structure of television.

The political intentions for television were to incorporate the new medium in the long-standing ideas related to the radio's "enlightenment of the people". The Prime Minister's speech embraced a programme structure that would form the essence of NRK's programme productions for many years to come. Furthermore, it echoed the programme structure of the BBC and the broad European understanding of television's functions. Prior to the establishment of NRK Television Fostervoll had gathered information about various models of television services, and formulated a public service structure that was typical for European broadcasters since the 1920s, particularly from the BBC (Syvertsen, 1992). The core of public service ideology appears to have included at least three main elements (see e.g. Scannell, 1990; Syvertsen, 1992): it was to be used in the public interest by providing information and entertainment, to maintain high standards and promote culture, morality and enlightenment (including ideological reasoning for sport and physical culture) and to stimulate national and social unity.

The overall structural principle for NRK was aimed at serving the entire population by offering a mixed diet of programmes of light entertainment, drama, films, sports, news, features and so-called “higher cultural programmes”. Beyond that the structures was kept rather vague, the content of the new medium was, surprisingly, not an important topic in the early years. Specific tasks for the television service were not fleshed out in very specific terms, but described as general broadcasting principles for both radio and television. Apparently, the only dispute in regard of the television content was attached to the influence of American entertainment shows. Neither NRK nor the Government approved of what they referred to as “American television programmes”. More specifically, this was boxing matches and quiz shows. Although money-winning programmes had been introduced on NRK radio in 1954, it was difficult to persuade Fostervoll to allow a Norwegian version of “*The \$64 000 Question*” on television as he regarded the show of poor quality and speculative content. Nevertheless, Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1961, the first “*Kvitt eller Dobbelt*” show was broadcast. As conditions Fostervoll demanded strict and fair rules and that there should be no compromises with the truth. The solution was to bring on a Supreme Court judge and the best experts in the country to formulate the questions. As such, the programme had both “high” and “low” qualities in terms of academic knowledge and popular entertainment elements. The programme was a great success and continued all the way into the 1990s.

The production guidelines for “*Kvitt eller Dobbelt*” would represent a successful strategy for NRK for several programme genres. Drawing both on values of enlightenment and entertainment, the programme was neither too narrow nor too broad, but precisely in the middle. The structure of producing programmes which merged values from separately structural properties was later termed “educatainment” or “infotainment”. Influencing other programme genres, “infotainment” would during the next years become one of the main pillars in the programming strategies for most European broadcasters. To put it simply, NRK adopted the structural principle of European public service broadcasters, such as the BBC and the structural properties of American television programmes. Most of the employees at NRK in the early years (such as Erik Diesen, Kari Borg Mannsæker and Anders Buraas) spent time in USA learning about television production and receiving ideas for a Norwegian version of popular American shows.

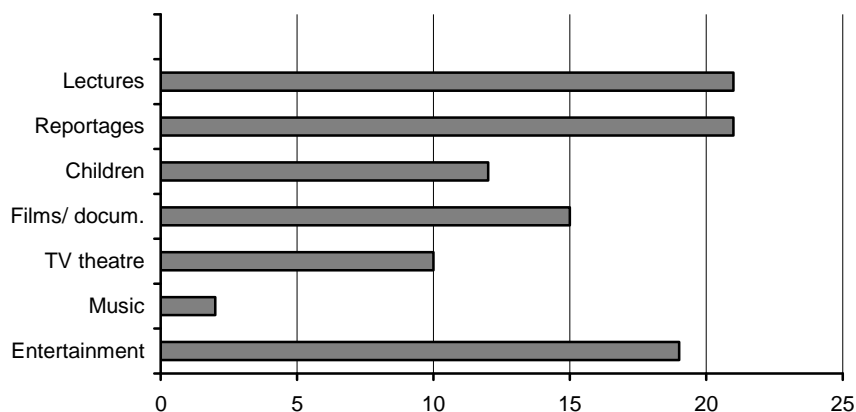
As structural principles of an organisation do not just “exist” on their own, but in interaction with the processes of organisation, it was vital that the distance between the abstract structural principle of NRK and the activities that the structural properties informed was shortened. Empirically, this is illustrated in the way that the formal administration of NRK Television was organised as a department within the radio institution. This event also included adopting the radio’s structure of producing programmes,



both in the case of how to actually produce programmes and in the case of programming strategies. This continuity strategy within both the structure and processes of activities enabled the television department to take on a special public service character and achieve a distinctive competence as a public service broadcaster within a short period of time. This consistent practice can be linked to an idea of organisational security as shared normative understandings facilitating governance structures that are focused on achieving stability.

#### 4.1.5 Emergent structures for programme structure, range and output

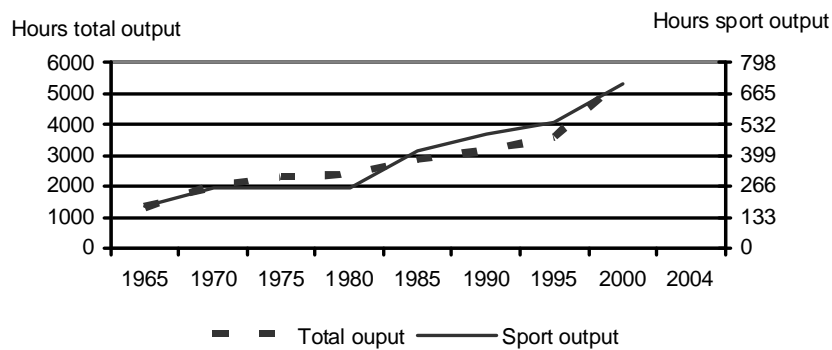
Although I have argued that the link between structural properties and structural principles were more or less absent in the early days of NRK Television, it is possible to see some contours of structures in the long run. As structures brought structural principles and structural properties closer together, the broadcasting system was stabilised. In their eagerness to link NRK radio and television, the Fostervoll Working Group quickly sketched out a schedule for television, that basically following the same pattern as radio programmes. In “Programme activities in Norwegian Television”, an appendix to the report *“Television in Norway”* (1956), the group suggested a schedule reflecting the share of television programmes categories in the total programme output as given in the model below.



Model 4.1. Breakdown of Major Genres in NRK Television (1956), in per cent

In regard of the weekly programme output, the working group suggested 8 hours television per week the first years and little by little increase the output to 16 hours per week. The Broadcasting Council was presented with these ideas in October 1956. The hasty and thin sketch of the programme structure that Fostervoll presented was received with neither

enthusiastic support nor forceful disagreement. Dahl and Bastiansen describes the sceptical members of The Broadcasting Council as somewhat defensive, perplexed and resigned, as if the medium itself forced its own way into their lives (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999:161). The second important insight from the trial period is linked to the programming strategies suggested for the channel, particular the amount of sport on NRK television. On BBC, the share of TV sport represented 10-12 per cent of the total programme output in the early 1960s. NRK raised this figure, and has on average kept the amount of sport on 14 per cent. As the figure below illustrates, both the amount of sport on NRK and the total amount of programmes increased in the period 1965 to 1970, but up to the mid 1980s, the amount of sport remained reasonably stable, before rising again in the 1990s.



Model 4.2. The amount of sports programme output in NRK, in hours

The high number of sports programmes in NRK's programme structure has sometimes served to explain why NRK has maintained its share of audiences. Compared to other public service broadcasters, the amount of sport is rather high and has continued at a high level despite the introduction of competitors and the subsequent rise in sporting rights. The high amount of sport was also influenced by the important position sport had on radio. In the absence of a better programme strategy, NRK simply perused that whatever worked on radio was work on television as well.

The economical disputes about compensation and broadcasting rights were, however, a reason for the limited output of sport in the first years of television. Another reason can be found in the structural properties of NRK. It was difficult to anchor a high sport profile within educational and higher cultural quality programmes. The proportion of "lectures, education etc" in the television output reached an all time high of round 30 per cent in the mid-1960s (Syvertsen, 1992:36) compared to 14 per cent sport output (in 1965). Not until the sport was politically defined by the Minister of Church

and Education as an integrated part of culture activities in a number of reports to the National Parliament<sup>63</sup>, did sport join the enlightenment project of NRK.

Regarding the programme range, the study has no exact figures to illustrate the variety of sports programmes. However, in the report "*Television in Norway*" (1956) there is a strong emphasis on NRK's role in delivering great international sporting events such as the Olympic and World Cups. Both the Government and the Board of directors at NRK recognised the importance of a national identity within the sporting area, such as the shared pride and expectation of watching Norwegian representatives compete in and perform well at the Olympic Games; coverage of such events would enhance these feelings. In the report, winter sport is given particular attention as it is regarded as a "typical Norwegian programme category that few other countries can provide"<sup>64</sup>. The only summer sport within a general interest was football, and particular the Cup Final, but this was not broadcast regularly until 1974<sup>65</sup>. In 1963 the final was covered in the sports magazine, "*Sportsrevyen*", and in 1964 the first half was broadcast in delay. It is therefore plausible to assume that for instance the 179 hours of sport in 1965 covered mostly international events and national winter sporting events, in addition to the weekly magazine "*Sportsrevyen*". It is interesting to note, that Fostervoll's report does not mention small sports at all. There is nothing in the report suggesting that NRK should recognise its role in both supporting minority sports and also providing content for niche audiences. Obviously, at this time, NRK did not take any responsibility for serving the public interest by raising the profile of minority sports and bring them into the mainstream. NRK's coverage of sport focused mainly on major events, thus reflecting audience appreciation. Events such as these provided the key moments of connection between sport on NRK and audiences as the entire nation. Overall, sport was linked to the structure of strengthening national identity and culture by covering sports in which the audience shared a common interest.

---

<sup>63</sup> Report to the Government No. 8 (1973-74) relating to the organization and financing of cultural work and Report to the Government No. 52 (1973-74): *New Cultural Policy*.

<sup>64</sup> *Television in Norway*, 1956: 87 (in Totland, 2001:216).

<sup>65</sup> Due to conflicts between NRK and Norwegian sporting associations, it was easier for NRK to broadcast sporting events from abroad than Norwegian sport. As such, in 1960 Norwegian television viewers were allowed to watch British sporting events such as the traditional Boat Race on Thames between the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the FA cup final and the Grand National horse race at Aintree. In comparison, the only live Norwegian coverage in 1960 was a ski jumping event at Skuibakken.

In order to support the structure of strengthening national identity and protect Norwegian culture, The Fostervoll Report (1956) expressed two important opinions linked to the structural properties of information and enlightenment. Firstly, sport was considered to be closely related to information and news programmes<sup>66</sup>. As such, the journalist Bjørge Lillelien was engaged in the Department of news, “*Dagsnytt*”, as the first co-worker with a background from sport. Shortly after, a weekly sports magazine, “*Sportsrevyen*”, was launched in 1960, showing highlights from the week’s sport. Although the great popularity of sport on radio had set the conditions for these political intentions, Fostervoll was not enthusiastic about the structural property of entertainment in sports coverage. Instead, he encouraged critical journalism to emerge in television production anchored in the structural property of information. The intention of the weekly sports magazine, “*Sportsrevyen*”, was mainly to apply a critical journalistic perspective on the sporting world events and the increasing commercialisation of sport (Hodne, 2001:38). However, the critical journalistic coverage did not play a dominant role in the total sports programme output. The main focus was the great events and the major sports, which were regarded as good entertainment and as being of interest to the majority of the viewers.

Secondly, in terms of the structural property of enlightenment, social-political ambitions were attached to the production of sport on NRK television. These ambitions were based on the ideological premises for sport, the support of national feeling and togetherness and the idea of promoting national identity and culture. Sport holds societal values, ideas and institutions which are beyond controversy and conflict. Rather, they are common to the nation as a whole. Televised sport provide possibly the best display of such values, and from the beginning, such events were among the broadcasters’ favourites. In addition to the fact that they were spectacular and extremely popular broadcasting events, sporting events also strengthened the legitimacy and the identities of the broadcasters as the ‘voice of the nation’. As Boyle and Haynes argue, “the BBC’s historical image of itself as the national broadcaster owes much to the centrality of its sporting coverage” (Boyle & Haynes, 2000: 69). In a Norwegian context, the Olympic Games and particular the Winter Olympics have had a primary role in cementing the national culture. By placing television viewing in a socio-cultural context, the coverage of great Norwegian performance in international events enabled NRK to sustain and defend national sentiments. The main purpose for NRK in this context would be to bring people together for shared experiences (Syvertsen, 1997). The idea behind the mission was that by bringing people together from diverse backgrounds to share sporting experiences NRK would bridge potential divides (such as age, geographical

---

<sup>66</sup> Television In Norway, 1956: 84 (in Totland, 2001: 218).

origins, education, political beliefs etc) and “glue” the society together. NRK’s unique position, measured by its scale and reach, made it possible to create such experiences through significant national sporting events.

However, acting as a focal point for the identity and culture of the nation was not only an obligation imposed by the Government. The political legitimacy of public service broadcasting is also associated with the ability of its programming to attract the audience. By turning great sporting events into great television events, NRK was able to place itself in the role as the most important and influential cultural institution in the country. As such, NRK managed to join obligations and requirements according to a complex interplay of political, organisational and audience legitimacy. This distinctiveness suggests a formation of heterogeneous resources bases along with an employment of differentiation strategies. Few programmes or media events have the same ability to combine entertainment, cultural enlightenment and national unity as structural elements in a structure as sports programmes. The constitution of a sporting calendar year for television emerged with the European Broadcasting Union’s *Eurovision*. The organisation distributed and coordinated multilateral coverage of the most important international sports and cultural events. 1959 represented the first sporting television year; World Cup in skating February, European championship in gymnastic in October, the football match between England and Sweden 28<sup>th</sup> October at Wembley, national team matches between Norway and Czechoslovakia in ice hockey and a national team handball match between Denmark and Norway in November and December. For the first time in history, the New Year concert of the Vienna Philharmonic and the annual ski jump event in Garmisch-Partenkirchen were broadcast in 1960, symbolising NRK’s place in the European broadcasting network.

A second aspect of the structural property of enlightenment was the ambition of health and exercise promotion programming. From the 1950s to the early 1970s, the general goal of health education was to influence the behaviour of people to prevent disease. In this period the mass media became a boost for health education and the Government saw NRK as a useful tool for health promotion campaigns. During the 1960s, the break between the children’s programmes at 18.00 and the news broadcasts at 20.00 was filled with practical information about how to behave in the winter mountains or by the sea, “and short films encouraging viewers to do more exercise and take part in sports” (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996:133). NRK’s pedagogical role of activating and encouraging old and young people to participate in healthy physical activities resulted in several programmes of inspiration and instruction<sup>67</sup>.

---

<sup>67</sup> Programmes such as “Bøy og Tøy” from the mid 1960s, “Sprett med Vett”, “Familietricim” and “Trimkvarteret” in the 1970s and “Trim for eldre” from the early 1960s to the 1980s.

The structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment were from 1958 more systematically organised as NRK little by little provided a regular television schedule. Evening news became a regular output twice a week under the heading “*Dagsrevyen*”. The programme represented a new direction by including news coverage from around the country, as opposed to the newsreel, *Filmavisen*, on cinema. The scheduling of the evening news was also an important tool in making the audience familiar with the new medium, as it either set the start of the evening or the end of it. By the end of 1959 it was possible to watch television news every day except Sundays. The spring of 1959 formed the first season of continuity in the programme output. In the production practice, a mix of the structural properties of information, enlightenment and entertainment was instantiated. Information, news and current affairs programmes dominated the schedule, next to entertainment programmes (show, cabaret and quiz). In addition, there was a variety of so-called enlightenment programmes such as theatrical plays and programmes aimed at children. There are therefore signs of instantiations of structural properties of both common needs and marginal needs. During the autumn 1960 a pattern of regular programmes were crystallised; film on Monday, theatrical production on Tuesday, entertainment on Wednesday, crime series on Friday and live family entertainment on Saturday. This production schedule was built directly on the structural properties established by the NRK Radio (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 302-303). The output of sport in the early days of NRK can roughly be divided into two categories; broadcasts of live sporting events during the weekend and the weekly sports magazine scheduled at central prime time on Sundays.

According to Bastiansen and Syvertsen (1996) the essential scheduling of NRK’s weekly television output remained very much the same between 1970 and 1989. For sports programmes, one could add that the weekly pattern was established already in 1960. Live sporting events were transmitted on Saturday or Sunday afternoon, depending on the season. From 1969 Saturday afternoon was dedicated to English league football matches in the period October to April and Norwegian league football matches from April to October. Other live events followed the yearly mega events such as the Olympics and World / European Championships, particular within winter sports. Such events would interrupt the normal flow of broadcasting and the routines of people’s lives. However, up until the early 1990s, NRK was reluctant to switch away from its regularly scheduled programming in order to make room for great sporting events. In the weekly pattern of NRK’s programme output, the regular sports magazine was scheduled on Sunday evenings along with nature documentaries, religious programmes and news. Although one could argue that the sports magazine was the lightest of these programmes in terms of “infotainment”, the whole of Sunday evening was distinguished by its social democratic enlightenment

ethos (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). Saturday was, however, dedicated to entertainment, which also included live sporting events. The simple examples illustrate how sports coverage could instantiate both a structural property of entertainment and a structural property of enlightenment.

The yearly events could also be placed within the structural property of entertainment. The main reason for this is that these events happened live and indicates the greatness of the experience. The entertainment value is also evident as the events enthrall very large audiences and are presented with ceremonial reverence. The main structures instantiated by these structural properties were the idea of strengthening national identity and promoting Norwegian culture.

As argued previously, the production practice of sports programmes was able to mix the structural properties of information, enlightenment and entertainment in a variety of ways. In addition, depending on the type of programmes, sports coverage was also able to constitute the structures of both national identity and Norwegian culture. This flexibility is perhaps the main reason to why the relationship between sport and television is described as a “marriage made in heaven” (Cashmore, 2005:322). As opposed to other entertainment and cultural programmes, there was never a question about the role of sport within the structure of NRK. Apparently it was the ski jump event in Holmenkollen in February 1956 that convinced Fostervoll about the entire set up of Norwegian television (Totland, 2001:230). Sports programmes, with the exception of boxing matches, fulfilled all the requirements from NRK’s remit and proved to combine the structural diversity that formed the basis for NRK’s programming structure. First of all, sport satisfied Fostervoll’s conditions for programmes of good entertainment and broad public interest. As argued earlier, a universal service was the main structural principle and an obligation for NRK to fulfil, also within a cultural context. From a political point of view, sports programmes were given an instrumental function within the public service broadcasting contract. The Government-imposed mission of sports programme was to transmit and support the ideological enlightenment foundation of sport as well as to stimulate the national unity that followed good performances of Norwegians in sporting events. Helping build national identity was also a self-imposed responsibility that public service broadcasters believed would be used to turn the broadcaster into the most important cultural institution in the country (McQuail, 1997). As such, NRK would not only reflect Norway’s national identity, but also grow to be a part of the national identity.

## 4.2 Early television sports production practices

The following section will deal more specifically with the actual sports output during the first years of television in Norway and how these events relate to the structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment. As stated in the report “*Television in Norway*” (1956), sport would play an important role in the new medium. This idea was emphasised as three of the trial programmes were sporting events; the World Cup in Skating at Bislet and the World ski jump competition at Holmenkollen in 1956, and the 1958 World Cup in ice hockey in Jordal Amfi. The following year, the eight hours coverage of the World Cup in Skating at Bislet created a piece of television hysteria in Norway.

In all cases, the production crew, lead by the engineer Løvaas, used two cameras. At Bislet in 1956 the television transmission was a co-production with the radio. Two camera operators tried to capture the 500 and 1500 meters while listening to the radio commentator on their head phones. This did not work particularly well, as it was difficult to let the pictures follow the rhythm and tempo of the commentator on the radio. It was therefore decided that a television production must have its own commentator<sup>68</sup>. Still, the transmission was a tremendous success. The Director General, Fostervoll, who generally was sceptical about entertainment, was particularly pleased with the combination of excitement in the game and the rejoicing of the audience.

For the World ski jump competition at Holmenkollen one week later, one camera was placed on the top of the ski jump while another was located at the bottom of the hill. Such a limited number of cameras and, probably unwieldy lens systems, meant an almost complete absence of close ups. Although this set up did not provide any exciting variation between the pictures, the effects of immediacy and the intimacy in the television coverage were highly valued. The biggest newspaper in Norway at that time, *Aftenposten*, had placed a television set in one of the shopping windows in downtown Oslo, and reported that a surprising number of people had gathered to watch the “splendid quality” of the pictures. The audience seemed particular to enjoy watching the jumpers at the edge of the jump, all through the jump and the landing. This made the audience able to evaluate the presentation of the jumpers on their own, while listening to the commentator’s analysis. The newspaper concluded that nobody regretted watching the televised ski jumping competition instead of the live sporting event at the skiing arena. Although both these events proved the possibilities for televised sport, the pictures were mostly an addition to the radio commentator. The excitement and entertainment was mainly carried by the radio sound. It was evidential, both to the producer and to the audience, that

---

<sup>68</sup> Television in Norway, 1956: 15 (In Totland, 2001).



the picture lacked the necessary technical development before it could outstrip the radio coverage.

#### 4.2.1 *Analysis of the World Cup in Ice hockey 1958*

In 1958 the production team of NRK Sport would gain valuable experience and knowledge of producing sports coverage during the World Cup in ice hockey at Jordal Amfi Arena. It was, however, a difficult task. As argued in chapter 3, the transformation of a real sporting event into a television sports programme is not a free and unfettered process of construction. The nature of both ice hockey and ski jumping set certain constraints to the possibilities of different representation. Ice hockey is, in general, a complicated sport to film as the puck moves very fast across the rink and the tempo is very high<sup>69</sup>. In addition, the technological ability of television also constrained the rearrangement of the real events into television events. The ice hockey arena in 1958 lacked the necessary platforms, overhead cameras and associated television equipment.

Nevertheless, the small production team in NRK transmitted two hours from nine matches in the ice hockey World Cup, utilising only two cameras. From American and British television coverage of sport, the NRK production crew adopted the basic informational structural property for the camera positions, situating the main camera at the “ideal” seat from which to watch the game (prime position). The prime camera provided long shots (LS) of the general overview of the ice rink, while the second camera was placed at ice level to catch medium shots (MS) of the players. The two cameras provided different pictures from the match. For the most part, the second camera’s medium shots existed in a subordinate relation to the prime camera’s long shots. The need for a third camera, placed at the ice level to catch the action around one of the nets, was noticeable. However, the coverage managed to produce an intense and immediate event. The presence of the camera was not (substantially) altering the recorded event, but acted as a fly-on-the-wall capturing the events as they unfolded. As Whannel (1992) argues, the commitment to the structural property of information grew in part out of documentary film aesthetics (*Direct Cinema*), but also out of journalistic concepts, of showing events as they happen and of outside broadcast as a form of live relay. Providing information is rooted in a reflective ideology, asserting impartiality, neutrality, balance and objectivity (Whannel, 1992:60). As such, the coverage gave the impression of objectivity and responsibility toward a historical subject.

---

<sup>69</sup> The newspaper *Aftenposten* stressed the difficulties in actually seeing the puck and that the viewers had to watch the players in order to understand where the puck was (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999)

The structural property of information was also well cared for in the verbal part of the production. Although ice hockey inherently a great deal of roughness and on-ice fighting, the commentator, Bjørn Bryn, did not stress the roughness of play in order to increase the entertainment value of the event. On the contrary, he provided graphics in order to explain and interpret more systematically the logic of the game. This element of analysis by the commentator also emphasised the educational ambitions of the transmission. Serving as a verbal anchoring of the pictures, the commentary was calm and clear, well planned and to some extent authoritarian.

In utilising only two cameras, the production crew did not manage to convey the hockey drama nor give the documentation of the match a tight and adventurous direction. Although the technological quality limited some of the excitement of the matches, the transmission produced transparency, and offered the spectator privileged access to an impartial view of the World Cup. Overall, the greatest challenge for the production crew was not the actual matches, but rather the events taking place before and after the games. One particular concern was the ceremony after each match. This event was not aimed for television broadcast at all as it was beyond the reach of the camera and scarcely lit. As it was important to portray the ceremony to highlight the national structure of the competition, the production crew came up with a creative idea. They used the close up camera to film small table flags, lit up with a torch, and made the flags flap in the wind using a table fan. Apparently this gave the pictures a rather realistic impression, a part from the fingertips visible at the bottom of the picture<sup>70</sup>.

However, using entertainment, as in highlighting the pleasure points such as action, stars, and drama in order to win and hold the audience, was not an important part of this production. It is possible to argue that entertainment was instantiated as pleasure in terms of alternations of segments. A creative use of gadgets indicated the production crew's willingness to mix non-authentic actions into the coverage in order to highlight important features. NRK had learned from American drama series that "intimacy" and "concentration" would act as two key techniques in order to directly address the individual viewers at home and not just performing in front of a large, anonymous audience. Instead of having pictures following the commentator as in the case of the 1956 coverage, the commentator guided the pictures. Compared to the coverage in 1956, the visual presentation of the 1958 coverage had taken position as the dominant presentation of the event.

---

<sup>70</sup> Dahl and Bastiansen, 1999: 281 (Apparently one news paper journalist commented about the heavy wind at Jordal compared to the rest of the city).

#### 4.2.2 *Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1961*

The first Cup Final in football after television was formally introduced was played in May 1961. The empirical data from this match is limited to a short collage of highlights that was sent in the “The Norwegian Film Revue” (*Filmavisen*) the following day. Although the collage is rather short, it provides us with some valuable information about the production practice of 1961. Generally, a producer would not change the number of cameras, their positions or editing practice during a match, so it is reasonable to assume that the five minutes collage represent the way NRK filmed the entire event. More interestingly, there is reason to believe that the summary of the football match represents what the producer thought was most relevant and interesting for the television viewers. For a summary the producer picks shots and pictures more deliberately and with greater consideration than with a live coverage, so that the pictures in a summary are there for a reason and not just a random of unplanned sequences.

From the data it seems that the football match was filmed with only three cameras. The main camera (C1) is placed at the half-way line, above the pitch, corresponding to the “ideal” seat at the stadium. This position supplies the viewers with long shots from the midfield. In most shots, one quarter of the field is seen, either the area around the centre circle or one of the two penalty areas. Another camera (C4), placed close to one of the goals at the by-line, is active and one could assume that there was an identical camera (C5) close to the other goal. In my data, C4 is only used once, during one of the scorings. For the rest of my period, C1 provides all the pictures from the match. In the collage, these pictures are alternated with shots of the audience, both long shots of the crowd and medium shots of individuals from at least one of the three cameras. Technically, one could argue that the amount of audience shots is needed in order to fill in the slots between C1 pictures. Cutting from one shot in C1 to another shot in C1 is not regarded as good practice as this may confuse the television viewers. However, this is still done seven times in the collage, so it may seem plausible to argue that the use of audience picture has more than a technical purpose. In addition, if the producer wanted to alternate the C1 pictures with other than audience pictures, he could have used pictures supplied by C4 or C5 more. So, I assume that the amount of audience picture has been deliberately chosen for a certain aesthetic reason.

There are 16 shots of the audience during the match of a total of 42 shots. In addition, there are eight shots of the audience before the match starts. It is quite interesting to notice the high amount of audience shots as these indicate the importance of staging the match as a national ceremony for the people as there are no shots of any royals or representatives of the Government. The producer has obviously decided to emphasise the Cup Final as a festive event for ordinary people in addition to a sporting

competition, thus instantiating the idea of national unity. Moreover, shots of the crowd highlight the entertainment value of the event. First of all, the audience shots serve as a variation from the regular and uniform view in the long-shot of C1. As Whannel claims, “pleasure depends in part upon the interplay of repetition and difference” (1992: 199). The repetitive act in the collage, is the interplay between C1 and the audience shots, the difference lays in the variation in the audience shots. Four of the audience shots are long shots, nine are medium shots and three are close ups and they display both men and woman, in small groups and in larger crowds, but no children. Only one of the pictures indicates team support as it is showing a group of people with a poster for one of the teams. The audience displayed in the pictures also indicates that this was a festival for most of the people and not minority groups. Children are not yet included in the festival and there is no emphasis on a core football audience in terms of supporters or active fans. The high amount of close-ups and medium shots among the audience pictures also indicate a strong personalisation in the collage, which adds more entertainment value to the broadcast. However, there is a possibility that the audience shots were added because it is a collage for the evening news. Perhaps pictures of the audience would have been downplayed if the match had been transmitted live.

Although the number of audience shots is relatively high, these shots do not occupy much time. In total, audience shots take up only 17 per cent of the time, lasting only for three seconds on average. This would indicate that the main purpose of the audience shot is to contrast the C1 shots and give the coverage shifting focuses for entertainment purposes. The altering between short audience shots and longer shots of the pitch gives the coverage an entertaining rhythm between performance/ shots on goal and reactions, between excitement and euphoria or despair.

Concentrating on the match coverage, there are some interesting points to be made. First of all, the match itself was filled with actions. The collage contains seven goals, two shots annulled by off sides, five shots being saved, one shot hitting the post, two shots outside the goal and one penalty situation. In addition, the collage has room for three nice performances; one single run across the pitch, one example of good team work and one example of how a player places himself inside the box. With the amount of goals, one might wonder why the producer also chose to show the shots that was annulled, saved or missed instead of more pictures of good performances. As argued earlier, it is reason to believe that the producer has picked pictures he thinks are the most important, so in this case, attempts to score must be regarded as more important than good performances. This choice resemble an argument made by Whannel who claims that “while there are clearly aesthetic pleasures in merely watching a sport performance, the real intensity comes from identifying with an individual or team as they strive to win” (Whannel, 1992: 2000). In this case, goals and attempts to

score have more entertaining values in terms of intensity and action than a great performance per se.

All, but one picture of the match, are provided by the main camera's long shots from midfield. On average these lasts for 8 ½ seconds. The pictures from inside of the field have been categorised in three groups depending on their motive: team oriented shots, action shots and individual shots. In the case of the 1961 match, all but one shot are team oriented pictures. The only situation shot is from C2 of one of the 1-0 goal as a replay. The reason for team oriented shots dominating is mostly technical as there are a limited number of cameras in use. However, by also adding the audio aspect to the analysis, one could argue that the commentator in some cases draws the viewers' attention to particular situations or an individual performance in team oriented shots.

Although the verbal features are not included in my analysis, I will briefly point to the main themes of the commentator<sup>71</sup>. In the ongoing match report, it is interesting to note that the commentator is naming most of the players as they are involved in the play. The naming of the players (with full name and often with position on the team) is to a certain extent personalising the match, but there are no obvious "heroes" or "villains" in the commentary or personal information about the players age, private life, history etc. Another point is that the commentator shows little concern with the chronology of the match. Only two times does he mention the time, for the 1-0 goal and the score at half time. There is no information about any booking or substitutes. Thirdly, the many goals scored in the match are only briefly and formally confirmed as in "*Rolf Olsen steers the ball in the net*", "*3-0 by Per Kristoffersen*" and "*Kristoffersen score on a penalty kick, 6-0*". This is highly different compared to the visual feature which largely emphasises the goals. Commentary concerning the performing of both individual players and the two teams are highly critical, mostly positive towards the team Fredrikstad and negative towards the opposite team Haugar. The players of Fredrikstad are "*playful*", "*display a magnificent shot in the goal post*" and "*the most beautiful shot of the day*" while Haugar's performance is characterised as "*fumbling*", "*misery*", "*despair*" and "*the brave players of the town are completely outshone*". Similarly, the comments concerning the audience and the atmosphere describes the Haugar supporters as "*more and more sorrowful*" while there is "*jubilant joy*" among the supporters from Fredrikstad.

In summary, there is little evidence in the commentary as to what might be described as *intimacy* and *personalisation* in the coverage, although

---

<sup>71</sup> About half of the commentator's content is descriptive match report (51 per cent), while the performance of individual players and of the team represents respectively 17 and 25 per cent of the commentary. The last 6 per cent is spent on commentary on the audience and the atmosphere at the stadium.

the commentator to some degree emphasises individual achievement. The individual contributions are not emphasised, but rather linked to a wider collective as an articulation of region by referring to Haugesund as “the Arabs”, the terriers” and “herring net”. This wider collective or common reference is also supported by the many audience shots. Overall, the commentator has placed himself outside the action, as an outside observer instead of an actor part of the total television experience. The match is *intensified* in the coverage by the many goals, although there are few references to a timely drama. To some extent, the drama is intensified by a few of appropriate dramatic oppositions, as described by Goldlust (1987:94). The commentator draws upon the contrast in the teams’ performance and by stressing the roles of favourite versus outsider (Haugar was a third division club while Fredrikstad one of the most frequently winning first division teams in the 1950s and 1960s). However, as the commentator stresses neither conflicts, nor foul play nor the referee, the only action displayed in the coverage is foregrounded by the many goals scored.

By concentrating on the language in the commentary, we are able to describe *how* the commentator talks about the above-mentioned themes. The viewers are spectators, to whom the commentator displays his ability. Although the commentator is displaying an objective, formal, journalistic report with short informative messages, he is also using amplification in terms of enlarging and reducing the quality of the performances. This is the rhetoric of ceremony and its major subject is praise and blame. This supports what I have termed intensifying techniques in my analysis. When addressing the viewers, the commentator displays the role of a judge. In three situations the commentator instructs the viewers to pay attention to a certain performance. His jokes are largely sarcastic (“*the only thing Haugar won was the toss-up*”). The only evidence for intimacy in the commentary is, however, the use of the personal pronoun “we” as referring to him self and the viewers (“*let us see how...*”). The use of rhetorical tropes is almost non-existent, except for the nick name “Arabs” of the people from Haugesund as the pictures show some supporters dressed as sheiks<sup>72</sup>.

In relation to the three main structural properties discussed above, the use of music<sup>73</sup> in the coverage, the many audience pictures, a few close-ups and some humorous commentating, the 1961 Cup Final is rather entertaining. The concept “entertainment” is, within media research,

---

<sup>72</sup> The history of the nicknames goes back many years to when a ship from Haugesund visited Port Said in Egypt. One late evening, one of the crew got robbed for everything he had, including his clothing. He managed to find a robe, but when he wanted to return to the ship, one of the officers told him that they did not want Arabs on board. Apparently, the crew member answered: “I’m no Arab, I am from Haugesund”.

<sup>73</sup> In the background of the commentator there is a flow of marching music.

regarded as a complex and intangible concept that would be problematic to concretise (Bruun, 2006). One aspect of entertainment is, however, *pleasure*. In part, pleasure depends upon the interplay of recognition and difference (Whannel, 1992). Central elements in this interplay are identification, humour and repetition with the counterweights provocation, seriousness and surprise. In this sense, the coverage can be characterised as a pleasant experience to watch. Another aspect of entertainment is excitement. Within a television sport context *excitement* is often regarded as the engine of radio and television sport and in most cases linked to uncertainty. Not knowing who will win a race or a match denotes the series of questions or enigmas that move the plot forward; it sets up delays and obstacles that maintain suspense throughout the programme. As the data for the analysis is drawn from a delayed collage of highlights, this aspect of entertainment is not present in the coverage. On the other hand, one could argue that the real match was packed with entertaining moments (such as the seven goals) and that the production did not need to enlarge the entertainment of the match. However, excitement per se cannot exist in a vacuum, but is directly linked to an information dimension. If the audience doesn't know the rules of a particular sport or lack critical information about tactics or performance qualities it would dramatically affect the potential for excitement. As such, the entertainment qualities of television sport rely on a tension between excitement and information (knowledge). This aspect was present in the ice hockey match of 1958 as ice hockey is somewhat less familiar to most Norwegians than football. The presence of information is less evident in the 1961 match. At some points, it leans towards enlightenment, as the commentator analyses both the individual's and the team's performances. He identifies the players, evaluates and condemns their performances as both positive and negative. The visual presentation of the match draws less on a structural property of information. The lack of technical support greatly disturbs the transmission of the goals. Only three of the seven goals are documented well in the coverage, and, in the case of the penalty kick, the goal post in which the ball sneaks by is not even captured in the shot. The shots may seem to be chosen in a careless and accidental way, but there may also be a technical explanation for the poor coverage of some of the goals.

The most striking surprise in the coverage is the absence of drama. Although both the visual and the verbal coverage emphasise the national event aspect and the amusing competition between the supporters, the Drama of David and Goliath is not elaborated in the match itself. This is a classic story of the strong favourite football team which had dominated the league for several years and the underdog from the third division which almost managed the impossible, but none of the verbal or visual features touches upon this famous myth.

#### 4.2.3 Chapter summary - continuity from radio

So far, I have attempted to show that although NRK was established as a radio broadcaster in 1933, it was not a “stable” institution with established structures when it was transformed from a radio broadcasting institution to a radio and television institution in 1960. In order to introduce television services in the institution, NRK used a “cunctation strategy” of slowly and carefully aligning the television service as a part of the radio service. By delaying the introduction of television services, NRK manage to re-establish itself<sup>74</sup>. It was the renewal itself that stabilised the entire new institution and constituted its structures. I believe the main explanation for this strategy was that the TV services should not, under any circumstances; act as a threat to the existing radio service. On the contrary, one important aim in introducing television services was to strengthen the position of the entire broadcasting system.

As I have tried to illustrate, NRK’s strategy included adopting and adjusting the structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment of the radio practice. This would give the television services legitimacy both internally and external in the political environment. In one way or another, all the programmes in NRK television before 1960 involved the structural properties of either information or enlightenment. They ranged from purely practical, informative programmes about work and private life, via scientific and cultural programmes to social programmes. Entertainment proved to be a problematic structural property for the television department, particularly in contradiction to information. The top management of NRK lead by Fostervoll encouraged a practice to emerge that strongly instantiated information, while a practice instantiating entertainment came to life in experiments by previous co-workers in the radio department. Although Fostervoll in many cases disagreed with these producers he gave them his loyal support as long as the experiments took place within a framework of moderation.

The place of sport in the trial period of NRK television echoed the solid position sport had in radio. Fostervoll fancied the phenomenon of live sports coverage and particularly the enthusiastic commentators of the radio. This support promoted a practice that also instantiated entertainment to evolve in television. In general, Fostervoll demonstrated a paternalistic attitude towards the audience by for instance not allowing audience polls or viewer surveys. However, in the case of sport, it was obvious that NRK did not need an audience poll to see the potential success of televised sport. As in most European countries, the popularity of football had grown considerably, particular after the Second World War. Radio broadcasts from

---

<sup>74</sup> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem (one man by his delaying restored the situation for us).



great sporting events enhanced the popularity of sport although the amount of airtime was modest<sup>75</sup>. Television would extend the potentiality of radio to communicate the ceremonial and festival experience of football events, such as the Cup Final.

In this context, change is understood as an emergent process of interaction between an array of organisational, technological, structural and cultural arrangements. This conceptualisation also stresses that change is something beyond a set of episodic, temporary events that interrupts a “normal” state of stability. My main arguments in this section will support earlier studies of the history of NRK. As Syvertsen argues:

*“If the publicly-regulated radio corporations had not already been in existence, it is unlikely that public television would have become a common and durable type of broadcasting organisation. (...) In a way, it is possible to perceive public service broadcasting as - at best - a certain form of radio” (Syvertsen, 1992: 33)*

So far, I have tried to illustrate that the introduction of television services in NRK can be considered as an ongoing attempt to stabilise a system by creating continuous organisational change. The changes within NRK’s structural level were, however, not dramatic. Television was viewed simply as an expansion of the traditional radio broadcasting (Hodne, 2001). It was therefore a nearby strategy to use qualities that were already known from the radio production practice to constitute not only television, but the entire broadcasting system. It is also tempting to suggest that the production practice of broadcasting did not change much either. In plain words, television was merely radio sound accompanied by pictures in the early years.

Before turning to the analysis of the emergence of NRK television in chapter 5, I will outline events that took place within the radio department as the organisation expanded in the following section. This is important for two reasons: First, NRK television was established within an already existing radio organisation and the analysis will point to the effects the implementation had on the radio system. Second, the analysis of the events within the radio department will illustrate how a changed practice within a sub-system laid the foundation for the alteration of the whole broadcasting system’s structural level.

---

<sup>75</sup> For instance in 1949/50 sport occupied only 3 per cent of the total schedule (Helland, 2003:54)

### 4.3 Instantiating infotainment to prevent radio death

As argued in section 4.1 the alignment of television into NRK Radio can be conceptualised as an external jolt. Hinings et al. (2002) noted that jolts or crises are powerful drivers of change both at a structural and a practice level (box I in Figure 2.7). In this section, I want to point to some significant changes within radio production practices that both reproduced and modified the structural level of NRK as the broadcasting system expanded to also include television. This may seem like a long way to tell a story about the change and stability of television, but since radio and television were to share the same structural features, changes that took place within radio production also affected the structural level that television became a part of and the development of particular television programme practices.

#### 4.3.1 *Constituting universalism: NRK Radio as “the” national medium*

When television was about to be introduced to the media market in the mid 1950s, the balance between the four existing media - radio, film, newspapers and magazines - was heavily disturbed. As television and radio share many similar characteristics, the effects of the new competitor would hit NRK Radio the hardest. However, in the years before television was introduced in 1960, the radio services within NRK flourished. From 1949 to 1957 the amount of radio licences increased by almost 40 per cent, from 700 000 to 970 000. Radio was becoming a part of most people’s everyday life. Despite the huge popularity among listeners, NRK Radio had a limited programme schedule. On average, NRK Radio produced 12 hours with programmes. During the 1950s car radios and portable radios were introduced as a substitute for the traditional table models. The sale of transistors from both *Radionette* and *Tandberg* eventually exploded at about the same time that television was introduced in Norway in 1960. The radio’s standing as a prime medium was about to be reduced to a secondary medium when people were also able to listen to the radio while doing something else on the beach, at the cabin or in the car.

During the 1950s, NRK Radio established itself as the population’s main source for information and entertainment. The institution supplied their listeners with broadcasts both on a day-to-day basis and from big events. The highlights among big events were NRK’s coverage of the Olympic Games in Oslo in 1952 and the coverage of King Haakon’s death in 1957: both transmissions constituted NRK’s role as a national medium. NRK did not just join in with the emotional distress that the King’s death caused; the institution led the ritual commemorative service. The 10 days of coverage following the King’s death broke with the newly established routines of NRK Radio services, but NRK experienced the instrumental role it had in the discharge of its duties with regard to national, official rituals.

NRK Radio took its responsibility as the main cultural factor seriously and strongly expressed the need for one united broadcasting channel in order to gather the population into one united mass of audience. Although both public service broadcasters in England, Sweden and Denmark experimented with several channels, NRK refused to follow this development. Far into the future, NRK would imagine there would be a second NRK radio channel, but for many years the institution would constitute a “one channel system” without any local broadcasts outside Oslo. The strategy “one channel – one people” made an exception for the Sámi language, although Fostervoll preferred that most of the (young) Sámi population would learn Norwegian. Fostervoll wanted to keep broadcasts in Sámi on a minimum level, but gained very little support for this view by NRK’s Board. In 1956, the Board wanted to expand programmes in Sámi from 30 minutes a week to 90 minutes a week, while Fostervoll argued that 60 minutes would be sufficient. After an intense debate, Fostervoll got his way. The marginal group of the Sámi population did not receive any special treatment during the “one channel /one people” strategy in the 1950s.

#### *4.3.2 Instantiating information in radio sports productions*

In the beginning of the 1920s, sport, in particular football, was established as a regular and popular feature within the press. The Norwegian media’s relationship with sport grew fast in the period between 1925 and 1960, mainly because of radio broadcasting of sporting events. The radio broadcasting of international sporting events swiftly became a huge success among the listeners and encouraged NRK to develop its sports coverage. The first major sporting event transmitted by NRK was the ski jump event in Holmenkollen in 1925, followed by a football match between Norway and Poland in 1926.

With regard to broadcasting national sporting events, some sports organisations shared a sceptical and constrained feeling toward radio broadcasting of sporting events. For instance, the Norwegian Football Association feared a loss in ticket income if the matches were transmitted when the weather conditions were bad. Although there was substantial disagreement regarding NRK’s obligation to compensate the loss of ticket sales, the Norwegian Football Association also saw the huge benefit of radio broadcasts promoting the sport to a national audience. A general agreement between the Football Association and the Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) was not signed until 1937 (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999:277).

During 1930, NRK expanded its radio coverage of international events and continuously worked on improving the technical standard of the transmissions in order to provide good entertainment. One aspect of this structure was the strain between providing precise information and

encouraging the anticipation of the event in terms of timekeeping. The commentator Finn “Niffen” Amundsen became a legend for his precise timing of skaters.

The greatest task for NRK Radio was the coverage of the Winter Olympic Games in 1952. The coverage was regarded as a success, although it was somewhat overshadowed by a conflict with Radio Free Europe, a station established in Munich in 1951 and financed by the Congress of the United States and the CIA. In 1951 Fostervoll had turned down an offer from Voice of America, the official external radio and television broadcasting service of the United States federal government, to broadcast “special American reactions to American events” in Norwegian (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 225). NRK considered Radio Free Europe to be an illegal broadcaster due to its use of radio frequency and a United States Government propaganda organisation that addressed the satellite nations Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria with anti-communist content. NRK denied Radio Free Europe access to the Winter Olympic Games.

During the ten days of the Olympic Games, NRK contributed to building a national identity by mobilising interest for the games in the entire population. NRK Radio broadcast three hours each day - morning, afternoon and evening - from all the arenas and all the disciplines. The commentators, Halfdan Hegtun, Rolf Kirkvaag, Jan Frydenlund, Finn Amundsen and Jacob Vaage did not have the best facilities, yet they managed to pass on the excitement, the festivities and the national sentiments. One of the main reasons for the success of radio broadcasting was radio’s ability to create escapade, both in terms of a psychic and a social dimension. The basic mechanisms that produce great sporting experiences are immediacy, “liveness” and the elimination of geographical distance. For much of broadcast sport, the central idea is not one of creating a lasting impression but of the immediate experience of the event as it happens. There is an obvious connection between excitement and this aspect of escapade. “Sport events offer a liminal moment between uncertainty and certainty; unlike fictional narrative, they are not predetermined by authorship, nor can they necessarily be predicted by cultural code or even specialist knowledge. So they precisely offer the rare opportunity to experience genuine uncertainty” (Whannel, 1992: 199). Per Christian Andersen, the first radio commentator at NRK claimed “the principle of radio transmitting such an intense live phenomenon as sport has to be to hold the report in the present tense” (Porsum, 1993: 139). There are some unique qualities aesthetically associated with live television as regards both the commentators’ relationship to the event and the relationship between the commentator and the audience. Direct commentating of something uncertain gives the transmission its unpredictable joys and enhances the intensity and enthusiasm of the commentator. At the same time, since the commentator

and the audience share this very uncertainty about the outcome, they consequently construct a “natural” community.

The opposite pole of experience can be termed as reflection, which indicates both an emotional and intellectual distance to the event. Reflection does not exclude the very presence of an emotional involvement between the commentator, event and audience, but it involves a different mode of consumption. Reflection is strongly connected to knowledge and information, and would encourage analysis and discussions by transforming the event into a scientific enquiry (hence the obsession with records and statistics).

Several researchers have emphasised the role of Per Christian Andersen within the Norwegian media sport complex (Helland, 2003; Goksøyr & Olstad, 2002; Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). As a newspaper journalist, Andersen displayed an educational purpose in his football reports during the 1920s. His ambition was to raise the moral and social enlightenment among the people. He referred to football matches in much the same way as reviewers of theatrical play would do and gave authoritative advice to the players both for their performance, behaviours and play. During the 1930s, other journalists broke with the authoritative, educational and serious style of Andersen, and their reports were becoming more dramatic and intimate. At this time Andersen had found his way into NRK Radio department as the first sport commentator of radio. Surprisingly, and even ironically, Andersen left the informative mode as a writer and developed an escapade/ experience mode of radio commentary best described as a verbal suggestion of drama, excitement and nationalism. Andersen stayed with NRK from 1927 to 1948, and was heavily criticised for being both “too involved in the game” and “too nationalistic” and even for being “speechless” in particular critical moments (Goksøyr & Olstad, 2002: 157).

#### *4.3.3 Instantiating structure of audience friendly radio programmes*

At about the same time as a turn in the social use of radio took place, NRK Radio performed their first survey among the listeners. NRK’s management had in the 1940s, been particularly sceptical towards the listeners expressing their thoughts about what kind of programmes NRK should produce and how the institution should produce the programmes. However, listening panels were established. In 1954 they revealed that almost half of the Norwegian population listened to the news and weather report at 0800, 85 per cent of children listened to the children programmes and that 44 per cent of the population listened to the radio theatre performances. Most of the programmes, independently of genres, had at least 1/3 of the population listening. At this point, sports coverage had established itself as a regular slot

in the radio programme schedule. Although no listening figures are available for sports coverage, there is every reason to believe that this was among the listeners' favourite programmes.

The listeners' panel (1953-1954) revealed that although the radio programmes of NRK gathered on average 1/ 3 of the population, some programmes were more popular than others. The children programme, "Barne-TV" first broadcasted in 1924, gathered 92 per cent of the listeners. "Ønskekonserten", a weekly musical request programme that is still running, gathered 73 per cent of the listeners. 61 per cent of the population listened to the entertainment show "Rundtomkring" on Saturday evening, followed by 58 per cent listening to the traditional music programme "Gammel dansemusikk". Half of the population listened to the humour programme "Døren" and the amateur programme "Visens venner". All of these programmes had a broad and popular entertainment appeal based on previously established values and tastes among the listeners. In turn, radio hosts like Rolf Kirkvaag, Erik Bye and Leif Rustad were given more radio space and resources in terms of equipments and personnel. These radio hosts started to use audience involvement in their entertainment programmes. "Ønskekonserten", "Rundtomkring" and "Barne-TV" were particular aiming at stimulating the audience in terms of actions and responses.

Today, we can recognise these production practices as *interactive programmes*. The purpose of activating the audience was in particular an important element in the children's programme "Barne-TV". Apparently the host Lauritz Johnsen had been operation with three "up" words; "oppdragelse, opplysning, opplevelse". Translated into English these were "upbringing, information and experience". The resemblance to the main structural properties entertainment, information and enlightenment is too close to be a coincidence. In addition to the three "up" words, the content and style of "Barne-TV" was characterised by intimacy and immediacy. The personal touch in "Barne-TV" was no less than in the American radio shows that once shocked and embarrassed Fostervoll (in section 4.1.2). The great media event in 1954 was the story about how children were born. Fostervoll did not appreciate programmes on sexual enlightenment, but defended the programme and the topic to the outside world.

In the radio quiz show "Det Spørs", the host (Rolf Kirkvaag) introduced two important components during the 1950s and 1960s<sup>76</sup>, the direct telephone conversation with listeners and the live quiz competition with audience participations in the studio<sup>77</sup>. Kirkvaag knew the quiz genre from the public service broadcaster, BBC, and commercial American radio stations, and drew on these experiences when he created "visual images" on the radio. Both the director of NRK Broadcasting, Fostervoll, and the board,

---

<sup>76</sup> Programs like *Vi ringer, De svarer, Det spørs* and *20 spørsmål*.

<sup>77</sup> *Det spørs* was the first quiz with money prizes in 1954.

were sceptical to big prize money shows broadcasted live and in prime-time like the ones in USA. At first the quiz shows did not rely on huge money prizes, but instead offered prizes of kitchen equipment and only small amounts of money<sup>78</sup>. However, the massive success of the show “*Det spørs*” revealed that the popularity of the show was not so much reliant on the amount of money or the actual competitions, but rather the participation of the audience was the core element of the programme. Educated in USA and trained at the BBC, the young journalist Erik Bye introduced similar “sound pictures” as the greatest attraction on the radio show “*Søndagsposten*”. The visual potentiality of the radio was also mobilised by Leif Rustad in the Saturday night show “*Rundtomkring*” during the 1950s. The show mixed live orchestra music, listeners’ competitions and quizzes, ordinary people’s participation and entertainment stunts in an innovative and surprising way<sup>79</sup>. Although “*Rundtomkring*” was expensive to produce, the mix of old, traditional radio content elements and a stream of new, “astonishing” ideas mobilised listeners and created a loyal, enthusiastic audience. Besides the broad and popular appeal, and the interactive elements, the popularity of entertainment programmes was founded on a personal attitude by the programme hosts. They created an intimacy and an immediacy that the listeners had never before experienced with a medium. Several of NRK’s employees went on field trips to both BBC and radio channels in USA. Enthusiastically they reported back to NRK about “continuity studio” and how a varied, lively and entertaining presentation mattered more in some cases than the actual content.

The changes that took place within NRK Radio in this period can be labelled a time of “raising actions” (Figure 2.7). Producers and programme makers, particularly within entertainment programmes, were improvising and experimenting with the structural properties which opened up several ways of interpreting the structural principles of NRK. These loosely instantiations did not take place without difficulties. Following the new audience friendly radio programmes, several debates took place in NRK. The issues were, among others, sexual enlightenment, the use of a popular language and dialects<sup>80</sup>, the conflict between city life and country life, the choice of music (particularly popular rock music and jazz) and the influence of “American culture” and *Radio Luxemburg*. The increasing actions within programme production during the 1950s gradually raised the tension

---

<sup>78</sup> The first correct question was valued at 5 kroner and 80 kroner were given for all the correct questions.

<sup>79</sup> This light version of Jackass radio was later picked up by the NRK radio show XL in 1995.

<sup>80</sup> NRK was one of the main battle arenas for the conflict between the two official Norwegian languages, “nynorsk” and “bokmål” during the 1950s. The year after a new spelling reform was introduced in 1958, NRK published guide for the correct use of language, “Retningslinjer for målbruken I programtjenesten”.

between the loose and abstract structural principles and the structural property of entertainment. Internally in NRK, this tension resulted in a need for formal rules for interpretation of the public service remit. The many debates in NRK resulted in several internal documents as guidelines and policies. In a structuration view these documents illustrate structures as rules and resources. For instance, in 1950 NRK published a pedagogical information sheet on how to address the listeners and guests in studio in a natural and comfortable way<sup>81</sup>. Interviews and dialogues had accompanied the monologue in several programmes, which in many cases became more unrestricted and high spirited. The most difficult topic for the new natural style to develop was political debates in which most of the politicians preferred to read either from a written manuscript or from their strictly formulated programmes.

The greater awareness of structures in NRK, the use of the listeners' panel and the many internal discussions at NRK about its programme concepts indicated an attempt to close the gap between the structural principles and the structural properties within NRK. At the same time, the development within programme production from enlightenment to entertainment expanded from entertainment programmes to other genres such as informational programmes, news, lectures and debates. These changes were mainly driven by programme producers, but were during the early 1960s, the programme producers were supported by the management of NRK. The changes within the practice of producing radio programmes were thus giving both external, pragmatic legitimacy by the audience and internal, moral legitimacy by the management. In the next section, my main argument is that this event resulted in a temporal closure of the organisation and resolved some of the tensions between the structural principle and the structural properties (box III in Figure 2.7).

#### *4.3.4 Instantiating the structural property of audience demand in radio*

In 1962 the Director-General of NRK, Fostervoll, retired and the liberal, free-minded intellectual Hans Jacob Ustvedt was appointed as Fostervoll's successor. The year after, the Parliament decided that the radio and television production should be organised in two separate departments within NRK. Torolf Elster, one of the ideological leaders in the Norwegian Labour party was elected to the Director of the new Radio Department in 1963. Elster was, in addition, a respected journalist and literary writer, and had also chaired the Board of NRK. Although he had no managerial experience, Elster saw the need for a modernisation of NRK's radio programmes in order to deal with new ways of radio use and the threats from

---

<sup>81</sup> Råd og vink for kringkastingstalere (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999).



television. The new strategy plan<sup>82</sup> for a renewal of NRK Radio department was announced in March 1964. The guiding questions for the new strategy were, “*Who is our audience and what do they want?*” Up until this point, NRK had merely treated the entire Norwegian population as its audience and cared more for what the audience needed instead of what they wanted.

On a general level, these two stands can serve as a mean to understand the public good characteristics of public service broadcasting and the notions of the audience as both citizen and consumers. One-sided media economic theory tends to facilitate a view that only commercial television channels need or should be preoccupied with a concern for the audience’s wishes (Picard, 1989; Doyle, 2002). Basing the new strategy on audience taste, preference and choice of popular programmes illustrates on the other hand how NRK, already in 1964, implemented arguments that seemingly belonged to a commercial broadcasting structure. The management of NRK Radio was able to draw on alternative audience approaches because it did not contest the existing public service approach as it was known from the radio broadcasting. The main argument was that approaching the audience as consumers *and* citizens was to be overlapping instead of colliding. There was no reason that one approach should be preferred over the other or that public service broadcasting could not include both approaches. The difference in a public service structure and a commercial structure as regards audience preferences, as we know it today, is attached to a conceptualisation of the range of the audience. While commercial structure is concerned with target groups, a public service structure aims at the audience in terms of the nation as a whole. This would in some cases lead to overlapping approaches since any of the target groups are also part of the nation, and in those cases where the target group is so big that it embraces the whole nation (for instance great international or national media events). The reinvention strategy of radio can therefore be labelled a pragmatic practice, partly drawing on a commercial structure of giving the audience what it wants (i.e. popular programmes) and partly drawing on a public service structure in terms of addressing the whole nation.

In order to secure the position of radio as the competition from television grew, the success of the entertainment based programmes was reproduced by inscribing the audience-friendly practice into other radio genres. However, the new burden of providing radio programmes according to the reinvention of public service structure threatened to both decrease the reliance on traditional genres and destabilise many of the well-known structures for programme production from the 1950s. The destabilisation of existing genres was particularly noticeable within the information and news services. For instance, when new people were employed in the department of

---

<sup>82</sup> “Foran planene for 1964/65. Noen selvfølgeligheter” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 380).

news and information, Elster preferred people with a journalistic attitude, not just academic knowledge, as had been a key competence earlier. He stressed the importance of speaking “with” people on equal terms and not “to” people from above. As a consequence, long-lasting, informative, paternalistic and academic programmes were replaced with shorter programmes with a straightforward, topical and journalistic approach. One example of the new radio forms that emerged is the still-running morning programme “*Nitimen*”. When first broadcasted in 1965, “*Nitimen*” represented something entirely different in Norwegian radio format: it served the daytime audience with an accessible mix of light journalistic stories, interviews, popular music and short news services. The attitude of the programme was lighter, more relaxed and cheerful than what had been the traditional way of producing radio programmes within this genre. “*Nitimen*” was exactly the sort of programme Elster (1964) had in mind when he claimed that:

*“Some say that the radio should represent what the majority of the listeners wish and want. Others claim that the radio should be some kind of director of culture, conducting the direction of peoples’ interests. I don’t support either of these positions. Radio should exist at the centre of the peoples’ lives, challenging and stimulating and constantly receiving impulses” (NRK, 2003).*

During 1965 several programmes were reorganised to fit the new format of informative programmes. More, shorter programmes with dialogues and interviews replaced the earlier, longer, monotone chronicles and lectures. By turning the entire radio programme practice upside down, Elster faced some serious lack of legitimacy in the NRK Radio system. Several co-workers thought that Elster’s renewal project in order to ensure some temporal stability for the radio broke with their own interests, the norms and traditions associated with organisation. However, Elster was convinced that the radio service would not benefit from a taken-for-granted position when television was to establish its services during the next five years and that the radio services had to apply a “quick and lively alternation between programmes – short, interesting and entertaining” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 386). The pedagogical possibilities for enlightenment were, according to Elster, limited. He claimed that “the radio can create an interest, stimulate to studies, but it cannot give general education” and thereby reduced the educational ambitions of radio service (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 387). Programmes such as “*Utenrikskronikken*”, “*Bokkronikken*”, “*Filmkronikken*” and “*Radioforedraget*” were all wound up and replaced by less academically programmes that were shorter and lighter in style and content. Although the new strategy was embraced by the audience, and thus given a high degree of pragmatic legitimacy, it was hard to convince many of NRK’s employees about the new strategy. Elster and the management

needed some internal moral support that would resolve some of the tension and confusion of the past, so that NRK Radio could focus on the future. The support came from NRK Radio's Sports Department.

#### 4.3.5 *A new radio sports practices – instantiating entertainment*

One of the first departments within NRK Radio to follow the stream of the audience friendly practice was the Sports Department. In particular, one of the sport commentators, Bjørge Lillelien, embraced both the new radio structure and the activities in the Entertainment Department. Lillelien was inspired by the changed style of the sport journalist Per Christian Andersen and developed the entertainment based commentary, almost single-handed.

Lillelien came to NRK Radio in 1957 after finishing his journalistic studies in the USA. He was the first reporter in NRK who only worked with sports coverage and one of the first tasks was the coverage of the Olympic Games in Squaw Valley in 1960. The Winter Olympic Games in 1960 were covered with a three hours radio broadcasting every day by NRK (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999:181). Although the Outdoor Broadcasting (OB) department of NRK had the most modern equipment that was available at that time, the technical quality of the coverage was poor. The problem of timing cross-country skiing was not an unfamiliar problem for commentators, but previous commentators had managed to hold and narrate the excitement despite a lack of timing possibilities. Neither in cross-country<sup>83</sup> nor in downhill skiing<sup>84</sup> would the commentators have passing times available, but the commentators Halfdan Hegtun and Rolf Kirkvaag still managed to make the coverage exciting. Lillelien's first job, however, was heavily criticised by the newspaper, *Aftenposten*:

*“We experienced the great disappointment that Bjørge Lillelien and his second were not able to tell us anything about the second battle. (...) As NRK has put 100 000 kroner on the coverage of the Olympics, one would think that it would only be a drop in the ocean to buy an extra set of clocks, if that really was the cause of the fiasco”* (Cited in Fuglum, 2003:77)

---

<sup>83</sup> At the 18 km cross-country race, the commentators would only get official cross times at 8 km.

<sup>84</sup> During the down hill skiing, a special timer clock was constructed, which made it possible for the commentators, Halfdan Hegtun, and Trond Kirkvaag to read the exact time when the skiers finished the race, but they did not have access to the middle- timing.

The following days in Squaw Valley would only be worse for Lillelien, as he a few days later announced “Hello Heggedal – it is a bronze medal” during the jumping competition. It turned out that Torbjørn Yggeseth from Heggedal was only in fifth place. Although he had a troubled start as a commentator, Lillelien was convinced that in order to make the most of the radio as a medium, NRK Radio ought to develop a form and a style that utilised all the potentiality television did not have. According to Lillelien, NRK “had to make a new type of radio –a radio more challenging, more personal, more generous and free than previously had been done” (Lillelien, 1985). As such, he further developed the escapade mode of Andersen into an artistic show. Lillelien had a clear philosophy about the job as a sport commentator by balancing between being a news reporter and an entertainer; First of all, he was not satisfied with 12 listeners. He wanted a million listeners. The second ground principle for Lillelien was that the coverage, as far as possible, should be live. “Sport is the art of the moment and radio is the medium for the moment”, he stated (Lillelien, 1985:33).

More importantly, Lillelien’s core belief was that sport was about entertainment, and not part of a cultural enlightenment programme. From his time in USA he had become familiar with “disk jockey shows” on the radio and he was convinced that in order to survive, the radio practice had to emphasis the entertainment aspects of sports. Lillelien’s supposed motto was: “Just because it’s a dull football match, we don’t need to produce dull radio coverage of it”<sup>85</sup>. By this, Lillelien pulled his sport commentary in the direction of fiction or drama. When people were given the opportunity to see a sporting event live on television, many still found the event boring, slow and grey compared to Lillelien’s cultivation of the excitement and drama on the radio. More importantly, Lillelien managed to create his own artistic style of radio commentary based on a deliberate filter of temper. He perused the study of rhetoric and combined the artistic nature of words with enthusiasm and personality.

Throughout his years as a commentator Lillelien never lost his heart to radio. On the contrary, he continued to develop radio commentary as the competition from television grew stronger. Lillelien wanted more entertainment, more colour and more personality, but also realised the need for more information. As such, Lillelien promoted the use of interviews during the breaks and introduced the practice of a expert commentary later in 1984 by inviting the national youth team coach, Egil “Drillo” Olsen” to the box. Lillelien stayed within various departments of NRK throughout more than 30 years and his ideas are still being adopted and practiced. His principles are particular evident within sport commentary in which commentators as Arne Scheie, Kjell Kristian Rike and Jon Herwig Carlsen combine unassuming reports and deep knowledge about sport. The

---

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.nrk.no/programmer/radio/norgesglasset/4182440.html>

commentator Rike was perhaps the commentator who mostly carried on the principles of Lillelien. He once claimed that his main task was to “improve the experience for the viewers” and that the most important aspect with televised sport was that the product was good for the viewers (Dagsavisen, 2008). Four key characteristics stand out when describing the production practice of sport commentary as developed by Lillelien: expert knowledge, enthusiasm, honesty and temperament. The remaining question is whether the raising actions and new production practices of NRK Radio managed to create a temporal stability for the structural levels of NRK. As argued in section 4.1 and 4.2, the television department managed this by continue the instantiation processes of the radio department. In section 4.3 I have tried to illustrate that the radio department also managed to stabilise its system by changing its instantiation processes. Drawing on structuration theory, I will, in the final section point to some explanations of how temporal stability was created by emerging changes.

#### *4.3.6 Chapter summary – creating temporal stability*

The alignment of television services strengthened the constitution of the entire broadcasting system. This output is consistent with structuration theory as Giddens (1984) argues that the self-maintenance process of a system depends on how structural properties of the system are derived from organisational activities within the system. The structural properties of enlightenment and information were not merely the unintended, reproduced outcome of the television service. The constitution of these structural properties developed according to a deliberate strategy in order to move the organisation in a coherent and explicit direction.

However, the subordination of television into NRK also represented a threat towards the radio services. Unintended consequences, such as the structural property of entertainment and the audience friendly based production practice, continued to unfold within the Radio Department, randomly and sometimes in conflict with the overall intention of NRK. Some of these conflicts were grounded in natural tensions between radio and television as different media, but others came as a direct reply to the jolt that television represented.

Compared to the cunctator strategy of NRK Television, the radio department employed a more direct and aggressive strategy in order to face the competition from television. It included a new production practice that would change the balance between the structural properties of NRK in a way that broke with what has traditionally been done. Because the structural properties that guided the production practice in NRK Radio and the actual radio output were so fundamentally transformed, the 1960s is commonly known as the revolution of Norwegian radio. More importantly, the

revolution came from the grassroots, among the youngest employees in NRK (such as Lillelien in the Sports Department). With experiments, innovations and improvisations, producers within the radio department went a long way towards replacing the structural property of enlightenment with the structural property of entertainment. The strategy stressed the “natural” advantages of the radio as a medium: it had almost a national distribution, it was a flexible and swift technology, it encouraged listeners to use their imagination and it took the requests of the audience seriously.

The new way of making radio programmes highlighted aspects of radio which television did not have, or aspects that were particularly controversial for television, but not for radio (for instance the commitment to also produce educational programmes). As such, the radio programmes came to highlight entertainment in terms of intimacy and personalisation, the common needs and wants of the audience and radio’s role in strengthening national identity. From the television coverage analysed in this chapter, it is clear that the television was concentrating on delivering sport in an observational and informative way. This practice, have I described as merely radio sound accompanied by pictures. Radio, on the other hand, managed to create “visual images” and “sound pictures”, not only in sports productions but also in entertaining and informative programmes.

Drawing on structuration theory, there are at least three explanations of how the emerging structural property of entertainment was established within the existing structural principle of public service broadcasting in NRK. All of these explanations suggest that instantiation is closely connected to agency within structuration theory. Instantiation is an act that produces meaning to the agents. Firstly, the structural principle of universalism was formulated to be rather abstract and open<sup>86</sup>. This open definition created a space for instantiation processes, enabling the agents to instantiate the structural principle in different ways. In addition, the structural principle for public service broadcasting was, during the 1960s, mainly grounded in technical and economical reasons. The cultural mission of NRK was kept rather vague. The original legislative documents only stated that the NRK should have a “strong and autonomous position” and that state control should not be interpreted as “a creative element in the production of programmes” (Syvertsen, 1992). Although the broadcaster’s national importance was pronounced, it was put together in broad and general terms. NRK Radio would develop this structural principle into acting as a shared point of reference for the entire population. By providing common access for all kinds of public events, the radio “would act as a kind of social cement binding people together in the shared idioms of public, corporate and national life” (Scannell, 1990: 14).

---

<sup>86</sup> In section 3.1.1 I have defined public service obligations as structural principles of NRK

Secondly, as the public service obligations of NRK were not fleshed out in very specific terms, the instantiation processes were not fixed and goal oriented, but elusive and evolving. NRK operated, therefore, with a rather low degree of stability as structural principles and structures were only loosely coupled together. This created also sufficient space for action and thereby enabled new structural properties and practices to evolve. The structural principle of universalism was mainly instantiated as structures of diversity and democracy<sup>87</sup>. For instance, the mixed programme schedule of both radio and television programmes carried in itself a unified democracy: either sufficient programmes appealed to half the audience or half the programmes appealed to all the audience. By this, the producers within NRK Radio also emphasised structures of strengthening of national identity and protecting national culture. In the Entertainment Department, for instance, these structures were linked to the social democratic enlightenment project after World War II as *representation* of the people in the public sphere and *mobilisation* of citizens to participate. Radio entertainment programmes contributed to the various aspects of “building the country” by alternating between programmes and genres that either addressed everybody, programmes that were tailored to the needs of particular groups, for instance children, religious groups, or democratising access to the so-called “high” culture. More importantly, radio entertainment programmes placed content that used to be discrete and separate into the same programme slot; news service co-existed alongside popular music, interviews alongside book reviews and quiz shows alongside foreign documentary reports.

The lack of *policy, a set of regulations and performance criteria* made it difficult to evaluate NRK’s productions, both in order to receive internal, moral legitimacy and external, cognitive legitimacy<sup>88</sup>. Up until the 1970s all of the political parties remained loyal to the loosely defined structural principles of NRK, enabling the organisation to determine its own self-assigned structures. NRK’s performance criteria were therefore to a great extent determined by the public broadcaster itself. One characteristic element of self-imposed rules is that they are not binding. This enabled the organisation to experiment with programme genres and programme content. In addition, instead of focusing the attention on short-term targets, programmes and practices were often given a second chance in a long-term objective if they failed the first time. Besides which, there was not given any particular emphasis to economic criteria in terms of audience appreciation, productivity and financial matters in this period. As such, there were few quantitative performance criteria at stake in this period. Although Elster took great interest in reading and analysing the listeners’ surveys which had

---

<sup>87</sup> In section 3.1.2 I have defined policy and performance criteria as the structures of NRK.

<sup>88</sup> In section 3.1.2 I have outlined performance criteria as structures.

grown considerably since the first service in 1953, listeners figures did not create sufficient legitimacy internal in NRK. These characteristics illustrated the lack of measurable targets for NRK in the 1960s, which in turn, enhanced the vagueness with which the mission of NRK is described. In summary, although the ultimate authority to broadcast derived from the state, the lack of tangible description and non-measurable indicators of public service content gave the broadcaster full editorial responsibility.

Thirdly, up until now, NRK had largely ignored its main “client”, the audience. By using the audience as a main source of pragmatic legitimacy, the structural properties were locked-in and pulled closer to the structures of entertainment, enlightenment and information. The pragmatic legitimacy gained moral, internal support when the radio director Elster suggested a strategy in 1963 based on the questions “Who is our audience and what do they want?” Many radio producers reacted spontaneously to the plan as it embraced an audience oriented production practice, which they had already developed. The programme reform set out by the radio director eased already existing streams of activities within the Entertainment Department and also encouraged the structural property of entertainment to spread to other radio genres, particular the sports journalism. The strategic question “Who is our audience and what do they want?” stressed the advantages of entertainment over existing structural properties. In addition, the programme producers had more or less a free hand in how to instantiate and locate the meaning of “entertainment” and “audience’s needs and wants” in their programme productions. Stressing what the audience wants, and more specifically its desire for entertainment, is a policy that, today, is mostly justified within a commercial broadcasting structure and grounded in microeconomic media theory (Syvertsen, 1997; Owen & Wildman, 1992; Ang, 1991). Or, as Comstock (1980: 20) puts it, “popularity does not simply rule entertainment – it makes entertainment the principal dimension of commercial television”. Still, within the early years of NRK, entertainment was not regarded as the main structural property by the management. Hence, radio production practices that instantiated entertainment were not given particularly internal legitimacy. For instance, the Board of NRK did not appreciate the personal and colourful style of the sport commentator Lillelien. Apparently, the Director-General, Elster, had to defend Lillelien’s style in front of the Board of NRK several times (Lillelien, 1985:69). The structural property of entertainment, instantiated as an audience friendly practice, received, however, legitimacy from another powerful source: the audience. This support was so strong that the audience-friendly practice gained foothold throughout the radio department in a very short time, crossing previously genres and traditions.

By focusing on the entertainment aspects of radio programmes and the entertainment programme’s ability to gather many listeners, the radio would respond to its biggest threat, television, on television’s own premises.



This competitive move was founded on the radio inheriting strengths as a medium and legitimacy given by its audience. The Director of Broadcasting, Fostervoll, was not as enthusiastic as the Radio Director, Elster, about this move. Yet, the conservative forces could not prevent the entertainment practice from modifying some of the core genres of the radio as most of the employees in NRK appreciated the changes. Thus, the degree of both moral and pragmatic legitimacy was, during the entire 1950s high, enabling more changes to take place. Elster stressed that television service and radio service would not compete over the audience but complement each other. On the other hand, the drastic improvisations were seen as a necessary strategic move in order to prevent television from destroying radio and as a response to technological changes of the radio among the audience. In addition, the new radio was appreciated and approved throughout the country; it had become a more attractive medium and was perhaps more modern than television itself.

## 5 Rising action

In this chapter, I will outline the evolving conflict between the structural properties of enlightenment and entertainment, and discuss problems related to how organisational members have interpreted and revised the structural property of information differently. In a general theoretical context, Ranson et al. (1980) claim that revisions of the interpretive schemes underpinning the structuring of organisational activity and structural diversity - in terms of inconsistencies between the purposive values and interest of an organisation - are two propositions concerning the change of structure. In chapter 5.2 I will show how the practice of producing sports programmes within NRK was also related to an international development towards entertainment within sports production. The last sections of this chapter (5.3 and 5.4) include an analysis of four Cup Finals in football (in 1963, 1966, 1969 and 1971) in which I try to pinpoint support of the developments within the structural properties discussed in section 5.1 and 5.2.

The analysis will suggest that the contradictions and inconsistencies in structural properties were made possible through the multiplicity of structures. The production of the Cup Final in 1963 focused on entertainment and enlightenment, as it had in 1961. However, in 1966, the production can be characterised as pure information, while the production of 1969 instantiated entertainment as its main structural property. In 1971, the structural property of entertainment and information are merged into a production practice of “infotainment”.

### 5.1 The need for structures

Theoretically, this chapter will focus on the need for more formal and explicit structures. I will argue that, during the period under investigation, the structural principles and properties of NRK Television were only temporarily stabilised. Having established a common structural principle for both radio and television broadcasting, within which the production practices developed, the lack of a *mediated structural level* became evident. The absence of structures was also emphasised as NRK Radio and NRK Television outgrew each other and as the distinct broadcasting technologies developed into a sound medium and a visual medium. The call for more formal structures evolved particularly in relation to three main changes within NRK’s structural properties: the practice of audience based

programming that had been developed within entertainment; the emergence of different interpretation schemes for transmitting information; and a growing inconsistency related to the structural property of enlightenment.

As mentioned in chapter 4, when NRK Television was established as a subordinate of NRK Radio, the production of television programmes more or less copied the structural properties and production practices of radio productions. In the early years, TV was merely “radio with pictures”. However, it soon became clear that the two media were more different than originally thought, and that they required quite different production practices, even though they were supposed to instantiate and constitute the same structural principles. It was obvious that the growth and popularity of the new medium itself was about to redraw the boundaries of television as a sideline activity of radio. During the 1960s, the distribution of NRK signals expanded as the technical coverage increased from 35 per cent in 1960 to 95 per cent in 1970 (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). As such, 80,000 people were reached in 1960, while this rose to almost four million in 1970. Over the same period, NRK as an organisation expanded from 100 people working in television in 1960 to 831 in 1970. From 1960 to 1970 the amount of programmes increased from between 2-6 hours to 38 hours per week, and the number of licenses grew from 17000 to 850,000 over the same period. Hence, in terms of power to educate the audience politically and culturally, there was no doubt that television would soon become the major of the two media. The core question, therefore, was who should regulate the growing television services; independent organisations, the broadcaster itself, the audience or the Government?

One way of maintaining control over the growing medium was to hold on to the unity of radio and television. Most of the executives within NRK, along with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, were favourably disposed towards continued integration. The General Director and the production departments, however, wanted separation as seen in most EBU countries, whereby television and radio should develop individually and specialise in each medium’s respective distinctive characteristics. In the end, the Cultural Department and the Government gave in, but required that the radio and the television departments should cooperate as much as possible. Formally, the television department remained a part of the radio structure until 1964. However, during the 1960s, section after section within NRK was divided into separate administrative units for radio and television; each allocated a diverse set of resources. Although television and radio shared the same organisational structure, the programme, technical, personnel, and resources sections were separated. In 1968, radio and television were physically separated when Television moved into its own new building. This left the administration department as the only organisational tie between the television and radio. The development is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

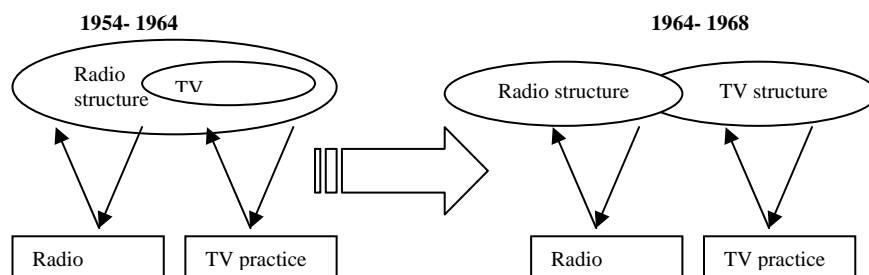


Figure 5.1. From unity to autonomy

A significant result of the separation between NRK Television and NRK Radio was the establishment in 1963 of a Director of Television and a Director of Radio. This illustrates that the two media were given different structures in terms of rules and resources, and that, as a result, the obligations of NRK would be instantiated in different ways. Otto Nes was appointed Head of the Television Section, while Torolf Elster<sup>89</sup> was appointed as Head of the Radio Section. Both were recommended by the General Director.

As radio production practices changed drastically and as radio refined what was special for radio broadcasting, the “copy – paste” strategy of NRK Television was challenged, whereby television could no longer simply duplicate the structural properties and instantiation processes of radio. The Television Department had to create ways of instantiations exclusively for television. In turn, this operation would have an effect on both the structural principles and the structural properties. These changes will be discussed in the following section in relation to the new strategy of NRK Television, which had a bold and challenging goal: to provoke and challenge the viewers.

### 5.1.1 The “Bold and Challenging – strategy” of NRK TV

In 1961, the “Delayer” Fostervoll turned 70 and retired. The Chairman of the NRK Board, Hans Jacob Ustvedt, wanted to succeed Fostervoll, and got his way in 1962<sup>90</sup>. Besides being a humanist with a strong passion for art and culture, he had many political connections due to his position as the regular medical doctor of both the Government and the Parliament. At this point,

<sup>89</sup> The development of the radio department under Elster has been discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>90</sup> NRK 1962 [2008].

Torolf Elster (the future Head of NRK Radio) was elected as the new Chairman of the Board, Representing the top management of NRK, both Ustvedt and Elster encouraged the development of a mixed programme output and they shared an interest for satirical humour and jazz music. However, wherever Ustvedt saw enlightenment as the main structural property of broadcasting, Elster emphasised the structural property of information. Yet, the differences between enlightenment programmes and informative programmes were never distinct, resulting in a programme output in which the category “enlightenment programmes” represented up to 25 per cent of the total programme output during the 1960s (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). This programme category included a variety of formats and issues, such as documentaries, arts, literature, music, religious programmes and journalistic reports.

Independently of programme genre, a new strategy was carved out for NRK Television. The management claimed that NRK should be “bold and challenging” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). In particular, the strategy catered for two aspects of the structural properties that were directed at the relationship between NRK Television and its audience. Within the structural property of enlightenment, culturally challenging programmes should not be displaced in favour of plain and passive programmes. Within the structural property of information; there should be room for subjective journalism, particular within political journalism.

The new strategy for NRK Television resulted in two major events for NRK. First, the silent revolution of entertainment and audience-friendly programmes that had started in NRK Radio collided with the structural property of enlightenment in television. In simple terms, the conflict revolved around whether NRK Television should give the audience what the audience *wanted*, i.e. plain entertainment, or whether NRK Television should give the audience what the management thought the audience *needed*, i.e. challenging and uplifting programmes.

Second, a more significant revolution took place when left-wing political journalists within NRK Television were allowed to produce information that was not balanced, neutral and objective, as had been the major interpretation of the structural property of information delivery. During the next 10 years, NRK became the subject of massive criticism from different parts of public life; it experienced disturbing internal conflicts and suffered a severe lack of legitimacy, both internally and externally. One by one, television programmes were followed by heated debates about their content and their style. Two types of programme in particular served as the target for this conflict, news and televised theatre. These will be the focus of the next two sections, when I discuss the new strategy for NRK Television in more detail. The main reason for including other types of programmes in the analysis, beside sports programmes, is to illustrate how different production practices instantiated the structural principles. As we shall see, in some cases

this lead to an increased need for more formal structures, while in other cases (i.e. sports production), the instantiation process took place without any controversy.

### 5.1.2 *Conflicts within the structural property of enlightenment*

In this section, I want to illustrate difficulties associated with the instantiation of cultural pluralism as a structural principle in relation to enlightenment as a structural property. As outlined in Figure 3.2, one interpretation of the structural principle of universalism was cultural pluralism, which was instantiated as a structure of content diversity. An example of how this structure was formalised is the introduction of programme scheduling in NRK Radio in 1968. This scheduling would, according to the management, “create a firmness that would secure a good variation of all the ingredients in a one-channel system” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 390). It was an attempt to balance to structural properties of entertainment, enlightenment and information more strategically.

The structure “content diversity” was, during the 1960s, a principal arena of rivalry between two conflicting paradigms of television programmemeing: the audience as citizens and the audience as consumers (Ang, 1991; Hellmann, 1999). The first paradigm was instantiated as a structural property of what the audience needed (quality, enlightenment, education and cultural integration). In this context we may label the property as “personal” enlightenment, emphasising the single individual and underlining free personal development and growth. The second paradigm echoed instantiations of the structural property of enlightenment in terms of freedom, i.e. what the audience wanted (choice, popular programmes and entertaining programmes). One aspect of the concept of freedom is *freedom from* an authoritative paternalistic broadcaster that constrains people in choosing and determine for themselves. The conflict between the two paradigms was particularly evident within the drama department, called the NRK’s Television Theatre, and NRK’s Department of Entertainment.

One of the genres that television adopted from radio was radio drama (sometimes referred to as audio theatre or audio drama)<sup>91</sup>. NRK strongly believed that television was the perfect medium for transmitting theatrical plays. More importantly, NRK was not just interested in classical plays, but wanted to function as a second stage for contemporary art, i.e., to include modern and abstract theatre in its production. The first play in this category, “*The Telephone Box*” by Peter Brook, was broadcasted as early as in 1959. The NRK Television Theatre was formally established in

---

<sup>91</sup> Internationally, radio drama achieved widespread popularity within a decade of its initial development in the 1920s. By the 1940s, it was a leading international popular entertainment.

September 1960, and produced between 20 and 25 experimental and classical Norwegian dramas each following year<sup>92</sup>. The television Theatre was the apple of Ustvedt's eye and he supported the experimental, provocative and sometimes absurd plays that Brinchmann, the Head of the Television Theatre, staged under the motto of "theatre is not just for amusement". Within the new strategy of NRK, televised theatre should disquiet, agitate and provoke the audience. Although only 10 per cent of the plays were labelled "modern" or "absurd" during Brinchmann's period, the resistance against these plays was strong. According to one of the left wing newspapers, *Arbeiderbladet*, the plays were "probably among the worst programs ever been seen on television" (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 353).

The progressive and idealistic intellectual management of the NRK Television Theatre believed that it would be possible to motivate the audience in watching "higher cultural programmes". However, many viewers were, according to the newspapers, frightened, offended and annoyed by some of the modernist and 'absurdist' plays. Within NRK the repertoire of the Television Theatre was discussed several times and the central question was whether high artistic ambitions could be combined with a popular medium such as television. The management of NRK consistently claimed that the Television Theatre was an artistic department and should be run as a theatre (Dahl & Bastiansen 1999: 352). On the opposite side, the two tabloid newspapers, *VG* and *Dagbladet*, argued that NRK Television was primary a medium for entertainment. Particularly *VG* was concerned with television as a supplier of entertainment, and acted as a driving force for the place of entertainment within NRK (Bastiansen, 2001). The argument was rather simple: a television set was rather expensive and the viewers paid a high fee for the content. The newspaper thereby claimed, on behalf of the viewers, that they expected to be entertained by NRK. As Bastiansen shows, *VG* initiated a series of articles demanding popular entertainment programmes during the spring of 1968 (Bastiansen, 2001). Addressed directly to the Head of the Entertainment Department, Erik Diesen, one of the head lines 21<sup>st</sup> June was: "*It HAS been poor TV - entertainment this spring: Why doesn't Erik Diesen manage to entertain the population?*" (Bastiansen, 2001: 17). In reply, NRK claimed that the audience did not want plain and blunt entertainment any more than they wanted serious experiences. Ustvedt regarded the audience as independent and critical, and that the audience wanted to be stimulated. Stimulation was, in general, a key word within NRK in the 1960s. Ustvedt claimed that:

---

<sup>92</sup> Modern plays were represented by theatre directors such as Pinter, Ionesco, Nrozek, Beckett and Genet.

*“To a limited extent, entertainment is a goal on its own. Yet, it is also a means to reach what, today, seems more important than anything; stimulation, impulses. Activity, development and growth must rank higher than rest, comfort and escape” (In Ytreberg, 2000: 65).*

Entertainment, per se, was not rejected in NRK Television as long as it was placed within the Enlightenment project. Stimulating and enlightening the audience was also used as an argument in the moral discussion of televised theatre. According to Bastiansen & Syvertsen (1996: 135) “television brought a crowd of traditional social conflicts into play, and transformed them into conflicts of *representation*”. Many studio programmes and plays by the Television Theatre (such as “The Grønseth debate”, “the Jesper Jensen programme” and the play “The Lover” by Harold Pinter) triggered a controversy about moral and sexual enlightenment in NRK, in particular, and in society in general. Within various groups, a small minority representing puritanical and religious values was brought into conflicts with a majority of broad-minded secular liberals. Following various incidents related to televised theatre, the situation between the liberal Director General of NRK and the conservative political religious leaders became tense. For instance, one professor in theology claimed that if the management of NRK did not show some discretion, one had to consider censoring television with the same regulation as cinema films (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 354). The question of ethical rules for NRK seemed inevitable. Yet, the Minister of Culture had a dilemma – he could not dictate to Ustvedt, the Director General of NRK, but Ustvedt, on the other hand, seemed to ignore criticism from the Minister. However, despite his seemingly unaffected attitude, Ustvedt started to make his own enquiries among other European public service broadcasters concerning their codes of ethics, thereby indicating that some sort of ethical rules and regulation was on its way.

### *5.1.3 Conflicts within the structural property of information*

In addition to contradictions between the purposive values of enlightenment, NRK experienced conflicts within production practices related to the structural property of information. In this section I wish to pay some attention to the variety of production activities that was enabled through the lack of formal structures. As part of the new ‘bold and challenging’ strategy, the management wanted more (party) politics and more aggressive journalistic news and debate programmes. As a liberal leader, Ustvedt delegated much responsibility to individual employees in the organisation. They had, in reality, total freedom and plenty of resources to produce programmes in their own way. This clearly shows that the rules of producing



information were formulated as to be very broad and vague, and that the structure's constraining function was more or less absent. Indeed, the structure actually enabled unbalanced and one-sided, even impartial, programmes to be broadcasted. This lack of constraints was embraced by many of the young, enthusiastic left-winged employees of NRK. The media historians Dahl and Bastiansen claim there was a journalistic revolution taking place in the 1960s of NRK, attacking the classical ideal of an objective and balanced journalism (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). The revolution that had started from below in radio within an audience-friendly based practice continued within NRK Television among the "revolutionary" radicals.

Ustvedt defended the biased programmes by arguing that in the long term, there would be balance and versatility in the programmes. Supported by Ustvedt's innovative and provocative strategy aimed at involving and stimulating viewers, aggressive journalists and programme producers (such as Heradstveit and Ringnes) used their newfound autonomy to produce highly controversial programmes<sup>93</sup>. Ustvedt and his co-workers realised the potential of television broadcasts to create events instead of just reporting or referring to events, especially while such events happened live. The journalists took control and, with the intention of educating the audience politically, arranged TV duels between the political parties, some of them resulting in very fiery debates. Two years after the election campaign of 1965, another conflict between Ustvedt and the Minister of Church Affairs and Education, Kjell Bondevik, arose because of NRK's code of ethics. However, the minister did not want to force NRK to formulate any guidelines, which, perhaps, in retrospect, could have saved both the minister and the General Director of NRK many problems.

During the next couple of years, NRK broadcast several controversial programmes (such as "*Åpen Post*" hosted by the aggressive journalist Heradstveit and "*Idébanken*", hosted by Erik Bye) that were heavily criticised by The Christian Democratic Party and The Conservative Party. Erik Bye was one of the most well-respected journalists and cultural worker through the programme "*Vi går ombord*" in which popular entertainment elements were mixed with serious issues regarding the life of sailors and their families. In "*Idébanken*" the intention was to channel support and money for innovative projects that were denied support in the regular bureaucratic system. The reactions against "*Idébanken*" were mainly related to its supposed interference in people's private lives, the programmes

---

<sup>93</sup> For instance, when an investigation report was published during the summer of 1963, following an accident at Kings Bay at Svalbard in 1962, NRK Television covered the related parliamentary debates. The transmission of these Parliamentary debates, which lead to a Cabinet crisis, was considered an important breakthrough for the television news service.

highly intimate and personal style, and its sentimental charity work. The programme “*Åpen Post*” was, on the other hand, criticised for being too disrespectful. The programme focused on one topic per programme (such as the repertoire of the Television Theatre, the situation of the wartime seamen or the treatment of handicapped children at special schools) and used a courtroom scenario with victims giving their testimonies, experts as barristers and bureaucrats standing trial. The summer of 1967<sup>94</sup>, at the peak of the programming controversy, the General Director, Ustvedt, issued a circular letter to all the departments in NRK, requiring information about the codes of ethics they were using. Later that year, he took the initiative to implement a code of ethics within some parts of the organisation, primarily the news departments of both radio and television. The General Director of NRK argued that NRK was the only Scandinavian broadcaster without any guidelines for the journalistic activity. More importantly, it was an attempt to forestall the Government taking the same action.

#### 5.1.4 “*Publicity Rules*” introduced to resolve the tension

In the two previous sections I have given examples of how the multiplicity of abstract and elusive structures opened up the production practices within NRK Television, and argued that these practices led to a revision of the structures. The most obvious evidence of how structures were strengthened - thereby constraining some of programming activity - was an incident that took place in 1967. As the last Scandinavian broadcaster, NRK established “publicity rules” for news reporting in October 1967. The rules, restrictive both in form and content, stated that any journalist within NRK had to be careful, moderate, and accurate and should avoid any sensational angles in their reporting. Foreign news was singled out as particularly sensitive and something that should be treated with caution. The crucial question the rules tried to answer was whether NRK could take a political stand, as seen in programmes such as “*Idébanken*” and “*Åpen Post*”. Ustvedt argued that the obligation of enlightenment required on a style aimed at influencing the audience’s attitudes and behaviour. Thus, in order to affect the audience, journalists needed - in some cases – to take a stand. However, the Head of Television, Otto Nes had a different argument. He claimed that NRK should operate more like a telegraph operator and less like a missionary in that the role of NRK was to communicate news and not to influence what was in the news.

The Publicity Rules of 1967 is an example of how the abstract structure of informing the public was given a concrete and solid form in terms of publicity regulation. As introduced in section 1.2.1 and elaborated

---

<sup>94</sup> According to Dahl and Bastiansen (1999) the Parliamentary debate 7<sup>th</sup> March 1967 represented the most dramatic pressure on NRK.

in section 3.1.2, structures in Giddens' sense are defined as rules and resources that inform agents about how to perform certain activities. With the Publicity Rules of 1967, NRK managed to set some constraints to *how* journalists should produce programmes within news, information and, particular in the case of politics. However, the most controversial journalists within NRK continued to produce programmes about youth, morality and sexuality, and to turn out journalistic reports with a political message (such as the suffering in Biafra during the short-lived secession of Nigeria). In addition, controversial televised theatrical plays (such as "Riten" by Ingmar Bergman) were still being aired on Tuesday evenings.

Although the new rules did not gain much legitimacy within NRK, it calmed down some of its external critics. The self-imposed regulations of NRK were welcomed by the political system as they demonstrated the broadcaster's aims to introduce professional codes of ethics within the frames of Freedom of Speech. Yet, NRK's lack of pragmatic legitimacy from the viewers still threatened the institution's stable development. As such, the tabloid newspapers, *VG* and *Dagbladet*, continued their criticism of NRK. In a study of these two papers' volumes of 1967 and 1968, Bastiansen (2001) illustrates how the newspapers acted as representatives of the public's dislike of NRK. The critics writing in these newspapers mainly focused on the programmes "*Åpen Post*" and "*Idebanken*", its hosts and the Director General, Ustvedt, and published head lines such as:

- *The only solution: Ustvedt must resign (5<sup>th</sup> October 1967)*
- *Ustvedt in the cross fire (7<sup>th</sup> October 1967)*
- *Ustvedt's reply: I'm not leaving (9<sup>th</sup> October 1967)*
- *Major confrontation over NRK in Parliament tomorrow (18<sup>th</sup> October 1967)*
- *Heradstveit made a terrible mistake (27<sup>th</sup> October 1967)*
- *The hosts of "Åpen Post" denounce the Government (20<sup>th</sup> June 1968)*

In general, *Dagbladet* defended NRK's editorial freedom against conservative critics, while *VG* grew increasingly critical of NRK. 5<sup>th</sup> October 1967, the newspaper demanded the resignation of the Director General and 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1967, *VG* requested the establishment of a private public service company to act as a counterbalance to the State monopoly of NRK (Bastiansen, 2001: 31).

Meanwhile, the management of NRK was preparing better journalistic guidelines for the structure of informing the public. In 1969, the management of NRK distributed a document entitled "The Responsibilities of Broadcasting and its Place in Society", also called "The Little Blue Book". In the book, Ustvedt admitted that the main contribution of NRK was to confirm the status quo, i.e. the approved and traditional rather than to

promote radical attitudes and new ideas. These guidelines also formalised administrative control over production practices and were basically formulated as:

- Balance in the long term in news and political debates
- Consistent standards of objectivity, although some tolerance should be given to challenging meaning and artistic expression
- Not to take sides in controversial conflicts
- To follow the base values of the society, such as democratic values (freedom, legal protection, racism), national values (respect and love for the country, healthy national identity and historical traditions), humanistic values (human value, tolerance, protection of the weaker) and values of the character (independency, solidarity, openness, critical and common sense).

The new rule “balance in the long term” was heavily attacked by politicians, newspapers and others during the events of May’68 when NRK broadcast the student unrest live from Paris, followed by debates on the students’ protests; documentaries about students, universities and democracy<sup>95</sup> were also broadcast throughout 1968 and 1969. In subsequent coverage of the strike at LKAB, a minerals group in Kiruna, in Sweden and of the UN’s First European Nature Conservation Year, NRK were accused by The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), The Norwegian Union of General Workers (NAF) and The Federation of Norwegian Industries (Industriforbundet) of even more unbalanced and biased reporting<sup>96</sup>. These incidents proved to NRK that absolutely objective journalistic reporting was an illusion so that the new structure for the journalists was formulated as ‘conscious subjectivity’.

NRK’s efforts to deal with an objective journalistic practice was accompanied with an external audit by a Government appointed committee, although its report (1972) did not suggest any radical changes within NRK. In the meantime, NRK’s question of objectivity was again challenged, this time by its reporting of the Vietnam War, the conflict between Biafra and Nigeria, and over its journalists’ use of reliable sources. In particular, NRK’s policy of “correct, objective, modest and versatile” journalism was difficult to live up to with regard to internal political matters, such as when NRK was accused of accelerating the resignation of the Prime Minister Per Borten in 1971. According to Dahl and Bastiansen (1999), NRK allowed the political

---

<sup>95</sup> The program series “*Studentene og demokratiet*”, Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> October 1968

<sup>96</sup> The programs “*Rapport*” 16<sup>th</sup> January 1970 and an entire evening of debate dedicated to air pollution, including a report of Faconbridge nickel works (“*Arbeidsplassen og helsa vår*”, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1970, that was cancelled.

crisis to be fought out publicly so that its behaviour was judged to be neither careful nor reserved. The internal discussions about NRK's objectivity intensified and resulted in sick leave for the General Director, Ustvedt, who had been suffering from failing health for a long time. At the end of 1971 he resigned and the "worst job vacancy in Norway" was announced, according to the tabloid newspaper *VG*.

In sum, the 1960s saw the rapid development of NRK, both in terms of technological progress and of programme production. Step by step, more and more parts of the country were able to receive the TV signal as NRK united the nation. On the other hand, there were massive internal debates on the role of NRK as a monopoly. Journalists realised they had the power to set the political agenda and influence cultural and political opinion under the policy of "objectivity in the long term". However, despite new and formal rules, the level of controversy and discussion about balance in news and current affairs, which had started in the mid-1960s, would only be intensified in the 1970s.

#### *5.1.5 Changes in practices: from entertainment to infotainment*

So far, I have discussed changes that took place within production practices that instantiated information and enlightenment. Changes within these practices lead to the establishment of programme rules in the late 1960s. In this section I will outline three ways in which the conflict regarding the structures of both enlightenment and information affected entertainment programme production, including sport.

Firstly, in other programmes, the formal personal pronoun "De" dominated the way of addressing guests both in radio and television programmes instead of the informal personal pronoun "du"<sup>97</sup>. Although NRK stressed the use of the formal, polite version "De" during interviews, the management realised that it would be unnatural for a sport journalist to address a sport athlete with the formal form when they knew each other well or in order to make a more pleasant interview<sup>98</sup>. The sport journalist, Bjarne Lillelien, claimed that the loose and comfortable style of Rolf Kirkvaag, one of the hosts of several entertainment programmes, served to break the ice between journalist and interviewee., Lillelien thought it strange to address sport athletes, whom he considered as personal friends, with the formal personal pronoun "De" (Lillelien, 1985: 69). The use of more informal language was later introduced in the Department of News although journalists would address each other by their surnames until 1970 (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 448). During political debates in the 1960s, the tone

---

<sup>97</sup> "De" is the third person plural pronoun and the polite form for "you", like French "vous", German "Sie").

<sup>98</sup> The exception also included children's programs.

towards public officers and politicians also became more familiar, intimate and relaxed<sup>99</sup>. In 1972, the Director General did not want supply any guidance other than journalists should use their own judgement of when it was appropriate to use the informal form.

Lillelien also emphasised the importance of seizing the moment and of being able to get carried away while reporting live sporting events. This was not just important for a sport journalist, but for anybody who was reporting a live event, such as the Children's Parade of the National Day, a catastrophe or a public ceremony. It would be impossible to report a great media event without any personal "filter". He claimed that the most challenging part of his job was to find the right balance between being professional and personal (i.e. assessing objective and subjective journalism). However, he ranked the communication of spontaneous and emotional expressions higher than just simply describing events. Lillelien might thereby be viewed as one agent that used both entertainment elements and subjective information in his practice.

The second interesting development taking place was closely related to developments concerning a more personal style of television production practice, namely audience involvement in programmes. Indeed, the main reason for increasing the personal approach seemed to be grounded in the wish to relate more closely to viewers. Audience involvement was, as argued in section 4.3.3, introduced in entertainment programmes on radio in the 1950s. In general, NRK television mainly encouraged audience participation in political debates (either as members of a panel or of a studio audience) and quiz shows that focused on academic forms of knowledge. All the same, the programmes underlined the personal exposure and emotional ties between the television audience, the programme host and the guests appearing on the programme. Similarly, when NRK borrowed entertainment formats from US and British television and adapted these in a Norwegian context, some of the glamour of these television programmes was replaced by a personal touch, expressing a new, and more intimate and personal tone (for example in the programme "*Idébanken*"). These elements were supported by the performances of the Television Theatre and some of the studio programmes that were aiming at creating a stronger link between the show and the television audience (i.e. to shock and provoke the audience rather than to pacify them).

---

<sup>99</sup> In a British context, Krishan Kumar (1983) has offered a society-centred explanation of the process of individualization, by arguing that the historical movement from an impersonal toward a more personality-based mode of presentation among BBC presenters and news anchormen can be explained with reference to the changing political and cultural contexts in late 1950s and 1960s Britain.

NRK's rising recognition of the audience was also emphasised in the use of viewer ratings and through the newspapers regular reports of NRK's programmes. Bastiansen argue that the tabloid newspaper, *VG*, often used the front page to present the readers' opinions about a televised programme, as if "the newspaper acted as the voice of the nation, a role NRK strived to conquer" (Bastiansen, 2001:8).

The third development relates to the increasing interest shown by NRK in expanding the boundaries of television formats and genres towards *infotainment*. Many programmes combined serious discussions with more entertaining elements, while some of the entertainment programmes were given a more critical and serious edge. For instance, a programme about air pollution in the UN Environment Year of 1970 lasted for five and a half hours. The programme included a mixture of information, education, entertainment and fiction in order to inform and involve the public, particular the "passive" or "weaker" groups of viewers. Infotainment is generally known in media studies as a technique for closing a knowledge gap between groups of viewers. In particular it is seen as a way of getting information across to low socioeconomic groups (Tichenor, Donohue & Olien, 1970). In other words, the purpose of infotainment is still enlightenment, but it also includes a more positive attitude towards entertainment. In NRK, the Director General, Fostervoll, did not reject entertainment as a programme format nor as a programme element, but it had to be placed within the Enlightenment project (Ytreberg, 2000). In sports production this technique was particularly used in producing educational exercise and fitness programmes (Hodne, 2001), while in live coverage of great sporting events, such elements were used to uplift and build a sense of national identity and to strengthen a feeling of belonging. This strategy was not unique to NRK. In UK, for instance, the BBC had been politically motivated in transforming great sporting events into "festivals of nationhood" (Rowe, 2004:23).

So far I have argued that some changes within NRK's production practices lead to the introduction of formal programme rules, while other changes (the development of informal infotainment programmes with audience involvement) was developing without upsetting the structural principles of NRK. My next argument will be that the development of informal infotainment programmes with audience involvement was encouraged by international developments. NRK was highly influenced by international broadcasting practices, such as those of the BBC and other European Public Service Broadcasters, and as a member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), Northvision, and of various American television stations. In the following sections I will discuss some events that took place in the 1960s that I believe had an impact on NRK as an institution.

## 5.2 International influences on sports production in NRK?

In section 5.1 I argued that part of the problems NRK experienced in its early years can be related to technological developments as television and radio separated. Although NRK Television first acted almost as “radio with pictures”, the distinctive characteristics of television was manifested within a few years. In this section, I argue that sports production played an essential part in constituting television as a medium on its own, not only in NRK but also within broadcasters abroad.

In the early years of NRK, there was extensive cooperation with other European broadcasters through *Eurovision*, the European network carrying exchanges of television programmes. In 1959 the Nordic cooperation via *Northvision*<sup>100</sup> had its debut with an 80 minute joint programme production. The associated television companies supplied NRK with many regular culture, education, sport, and entertainment programmes. This became particularly evident during the winter Olympic Games in Squaw Valley when the Nordic countries exchanged programmes and cooperated in news production. Dahl and Bastiansen (1999) argue that this cooperation strengthened the quality of the programmes as NRK’s programmes were constantly compared to the other Nordic productions, both in terms of technical resources, the number of employees and the content of the programmes. In the context of structuration theory, one might argue that the influence of the collaboration of the European and the Nordic public service broadcasters did not upset the structural principles of NRK or the structures of content diversity, strengthening national identity and protecting Norwegian culture and language. On the contrary, one could argue that these collaborations constituted NRK, as both the *Eurovision* and the *Northvision* aimed at ensuring the crucial role of public service broadcasting by promoting public service values<sup>101</sup>

The reason for transmitting international programmes was not only linked to the constitution of public service values, but was also a question of filling schedules and programmes slots. In the main news programme at 19.30, “*Dagsrevyen*”, reports from abroad represented about 40 per cent of the programme. The aim for NRK was that 50-60 per cent of the total hours broadcasts should be own productions, the rest had to be bought-in programmes. Many of the foreign programmes were Swedish films and theatrical plays, but the amount of American and English crime and entertainment series (such as “*Gunsmoke*”, “*The Fugitive*”, “*Paul Temple*”, “*The Forsyth Saga*”, “*A Family at War*” and “*The Onedin Line*”) expanded

---

<sup>100</sup> The Northvision was established by the public service TV companies in Denmark (DR), Finland (YLE), Norway (NRK) and Sweden (SVT) as an arena for a non-profit exchange of news, programmes and for co-productions.

<sup>101</sup> EBU 2008.



rapidly to about half the imports due to their enormous success among the audience.

Sport on television had been introduced early in countries like Germany (Olympic Games in 1936), America (baseball match in 1939) and United Kingdom (football match 1938). Both in USA and Europe, sport was viewed as a natural and important part of television and, in Europe, as a particular concern for public service broadcasters (Goldlust, 1987:81; Rowe 2004:21). In the following I wish to draw attention to three aspects of the international development of televised sport: (1) the coverage of Olympic Games from Rome in 1960 to Munich in 1972, (2) the emergence of production practice in USA as sporting events were turned into media events, and (3) the practice of commentary as developed by the BBC. However, the relation between the developments of NRK and international trends is somewhat difficult to portray. Nevertheless, David Rowe (2004) offers a useful approach by viewing the relationship partly as output of mega events, such as the Olympic Games and World Championships, and partly as the routine exchange of content:

*“It can be seen that the global sports television market is, despite attempts to portray it as a single entity following predictable trends, a series of smaller national, regional and local markets occasionally linked by spectacular mega media events or by more routine circulation of content form core markets to secondary ones” (Rowe, 2004:80).*

### 5.2.1 Using sport in constituting television as a medium on its own

The aim in this section is to emphasise how sport was used to emphasise the distinctive strengths of television as a medium on its own terms, detached from radio. An early example took place just a few days after the official opening of NRK Television in 1960, when live pictures from the Olympics in Rome were broadcast. This event had been used by Philips in their marketing of television sets in several newspapers in the days leading up to the opening<sup>102</sup>, demonstrating television's power of attraction and penetration already even before it started broadcasting. The Games of 1960 were the first available to the young television networks of Europe. Since the games of 1952, 12 countries had established television services and coverage relayed through Eurovision amounted to 93 hours and 40 minutes. For American viewers, CBS transmitted 20 hours of taped footage of the Games,

---

<sup>102</sup> *Aftenposten* 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1960 and *Arbeiderbladet* 26<sup>th</sup> August 1960 (Dahl & Bastiansen 1999).

which was flown to New York City at the end of each day and then broadcast on the CBS television network across the United States<sup>103</sup>.

The qualities of the broadcasts in 1960 were poor, both visually and audibly. For instance, in Rome, Anders Buraas had to comment on the rowing competition from elsewhere than the rowing arena, and with only a small, blurry monitor and an Italian ‘guide commentator’, who kept making mistakes and spoke quite poor English, to assist him. The broadcasts barely documented the Games, but nobody cared because the marvel of seeing a picture of the Olympics was enough to keep people glued to their television sets. The 1960 Games were also useful as the production crews could learn and develop their skills. For instance, during the men’s slalom at Squaw Valley, the officials were unsure as to whether a skier had missed a gate and asked CBS-TV if they could review a videotape of the race. This gave CBS the idea to invent the now omnipresent *instant replay*.

The Olympic Games reached a higher level of globalism with the Tokyo Games in 1964, which were the first to employ live satellite-broadcasting technology via Syncom III<sup>104</sup>. During the Games, eight events were broadcast in colour, including the opening and closing ceremonies, wrestling, volleyball, gymnastics and judo. In addition to satellite broadcasts, the coverage was accompanied by the release of new technologies (such as close-pickup microphones and slow-motion VTR, which could replay recordings of the competition in slow-motion), which ensured that the Tokyo Games would be remembered as the “TV Olympics”. The Tokyo Olympics also became an event in which the whole Japanese nation was united by a broadcasting media<sup>105</sup>. However, NBC only broadcast 14 hours to the rest of the world, in 15 minutes increments late at night. The technological innovations had made it possible to improve the visual style of reflecting the Olympic events, but the professional framing of sports as a television programme was yet to come.

In Norway, the question of regular colour television broadcasts was raised by the board of NRK, by politicians and by the press, several times during the 1960s (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). After West Germany first introduced colour in Europe in 1967, the technological development exploded throughout Europe. The Norwegian Parliament tried to control it, but as NRK was offered coloured transmission of the 1968 Winter Olympics in Grenoble, the board of NRK took the opportunity to make the contents of

---

<sup>103</sup> Earlier in 1960, CBS had also acquired the rights to the Winter Games at Squaw Valley and transmitted 15 hours from the events.

<sup>104</sup> Although the satellite, which had been designed for telephone circuit use, did not have adequate capacity to transmit TV signals, an application of compression technology led to a successful test just three days prior to the opening ceremony.

<sup>105</sup> The final of women’s volleyball against the Soviet Union were watched by 95 per cent of the Japanese population.

colour programming available to viewers. Yet, to ensure picture quality for the large number of viewers who were watching the programme on black-and-white TV sets, the broadcasts employed a separate luminescence colour camera with two image pickup tubes, which were design to preserve picture quality for black-and-white TV. The only condition set by the Government was to limit the broadcasts to foreign transmissions. However, although there were only a couple of hundred colour television sets in Norway at that time, the development seemed hard to reverse as both the Olympics in Mexico and the Apollo-coverage were transmitted in colour in the same year, thereby setting the standard for future television.

The coverage of the Olympic Games in Mexico (1968) represented yet another technological breakthrough for the link between NRK and international broadcasting— satellite transmission. Coloured pictures and the ability to transmit live from the other side of the world increased the intimacy and immediacy effects of television. Its likely that, for NRK, sport was just entertaining fun, a perspective that was strengthened by the practice of the sport journalist, Lillelien.

However, this entertainment approach to the coverage of sport was challenged by one particular incident in the 1968 Olympics. On the medals podium, after winning gold and bronze medals in the 200-metre race, African Americans runners John Carlos and Tommie Smith raised their gloved fists in a black power salute during the playing of the American National Anthem, *The Star Spangled Banner*<sup>106</sup>. The International Olympic Committee did not approve of the political silent gesture. In fact, politics and nationalism had been central elements of the games since the establishment of the Olympic Games in 1896 (Goldlust, 1987: 117-118), but never before had sport acted as such an explicit arena for a political statement.

The 1972 summer Olympics in Munich, West Germany was another example of how sport could be used as a background for political action. The drama of the games was overshadowed by the murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the hands of Palestinian terrorists. Viewers watched in horror as the events of the 5th and 6th September massacre unfolded, and television turned into an international forum for the extremist politics of the Black September Organization. This event provided the single worst tragedy in the history of sports broadcasting to date.

---

<sup>106</sup> Tommie Smith and John Carlos weren't the first protestors to try to get the attention of the world's press gathered for the 1968 Mexico Olympics. Student demonstrations against the government of President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz leading up to the Games culminated in a massacre on Oct. 2 — 10 days before the opening ceremonies. More than 200 students were killed during clashes with soldiers. Many others were injured and thousands were arrested.

The Munich Olympic Games also marked the end of traditional television Games broadcasting. From this time on, television would produce the Games and transformed it into a media event. In fact, the Munich Olympics already represented a breakthrough for ABC's global rating figures (Barnett, 1998) and its coverage earned ABC's producer 29 Emmy awards. Professor of History, Alfred E. Senn claims that "The Mexico City Games marked a major step in the union between the Olympic Games and American television. Up to this time, American television executives had been unsure whether to treat them as news or entertainment", (Senn, 1999: 143). On a general level, in his book on sport and the media *Playing for Keeps*, John Goldlust argues that "The significance of sports for this phenomenal rate of penetration should not be underestimated" and that the televising of major sports events was "a key element in launching the television industry" (Goldlust, 1987: 8). For instance, it was possible to produce more differentiated programmes across Europe and to adapt them to particular national interests. NRK was present in Munich with 19 technicians to work on transmission, compared to six at previous Olympics. At a sports meeting in 1972, the Northvision concluded that if the Germans could not make a 100 per cent perfect coverage, no one could ever do it (Hodne, 2001).

The purpose of this overview of the early history of the Olympic Games is to illustrate that the conflicts that took place within NRK in the early 1960s were not unique for NRK. For instance, the coverage of the Games in 1960 struggled with the same technological difficulties as NRK had done when broadcasting the World Cup in Skating in 1958 and the football Cup Final in 1961. I have cited the transmission of the Olympic Games in 1960 as a key event that greatly assisted the sale of television receivers in Norway, as the Melbourne Olympics had done for the Australian market in 1956 (Goldlust, 1987) The Olympic Games of 1968 serve to illustrate how a sporting event operated as the main engine for introducing technological innovation (colour TV), while the coverage of the Olympic Games of Mexico City illustrates that the Americans were also having difficulties in treating sport according to either a structure of information or a structure of entertainment. The Olympic Games in 1972, however, illustrates the second conflict that I have presented within NRK; the difficulties in the unbiased and objective reporting of an (political) event.

The next section will look deeper into the actual production practices of some of these Olympic Games. In particular, it will highlight the conflicts regarding the production of The Olympics as entertainment, information or enlightenment.

### 5.2.2 *Sport instantiated as entertainment in the Olympic coverage*

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. By changing the way television covered sport, Arledge not only altered the character of sporting events, he also transformed television viewing habits and the way television presents reality. Arledge was not content to simply present the Games themselves “as they were”, but instead viewed television sport first as a TV programme and then as sporting event. If the viewers did not enjoy the game, Arledge was bent on insuring that they would enjoy the programme. This attitude is similar to that of Bjørge Lillelien at NRK.

Three years after Lillelien joined NRK, in 1960, Arledge started to assist the NCAA football telecasts for ABC. As opposed to Lillelien, Arledge did not have any formal journalist training. However, soon after his arrival, Arledge laid out his vision of the future of sports production in a, now legendary, manifesto for modern television. “Heretofore, television has done a remarkable job of bringing the game to the viewers,” he began his memo (Smith, 2001:105). “Now, we are going to take the viewers to the game”. In the memo he promised to “utilize every production technique that has been learned in producing variety shows, in covering political structures, and in shooting travel and adventure series”. On the subject of televised football, Arledge recommended half-time shows with highlights, an analysis of the first two quarters and to fill “dead spots” during the game with pre-recorded biographies and interviews. He further claimed that the purpose was “to heighten the viewer’s feeling of actually sitting in the stands and participating personally in the excitement and colour (...) We must gain and hold the interest of women who are not fanatic followers of the sport (...) Incidentally, very few men have ever switched channels when a nicely proportioned girl was leaping into the air”. He concluded: “In short, we are going to add show business to sport” (cited in Smith, 2001: 105).

Arledge put his vision into reality with ABC's first NCAA college football broadcast from Birmingham between Alabama Crimson Tide and the Georgia Bulldogs. He proposed to free the cameras from their mountings and send them roaming around the stadium and outside, capturing not just the game but also the spectators and the pageantry. Arledge used hand-held cameras on the sidelines of college football games to show close up shots of pensive coaches, intense players and pretty cheerleaders. The title of Arledge’s first television programme was “Hi Mom!” in 1961. A phrase that became very common in American sports, as athletes shouted the greeting whenever they became aware of the camera’s presence. The new focus on taking the sport’s fans to the game also invited a certain amount of

exhibitionism among the fans that would bring banners with messages of support for the teams.

In addition, Arledge pioneered the technological improvements we take for granted today: Slow-motion, graphics that show statistics, superimposing the names of the players on the screen, audio whooshes, glowing pucks in ice hockey, animated robots, technological advances in the field such as satellite feeds and videotapes, inventive graphics, instant replays<sup>107</sup>, freeze-frame, split screen and cameras put on cranes, in jeeps, in the air or even at field-level (“dugout”). He deployed sideline microphones to pick up the sounds on the field, both tackles by the players and the tremendous noise of the crowd. It may seem odd today, but before 1960 sporting events were broadcast without any sound, even though sounds are very much a part of the experience of a sporting game. Not only did Arledge add sound to sports, it was also live<sup>108</sup>.

The production techniques enabled Arledge to chop up the sporting event and reconstitute it according to a scene-setting story line. By identifying a storyline he humanised the athletes with up close and personal profiles of them. One of Arledge’s greatest skills was the identification of potential stars, and he pioneered the practice of telling stories of athletes’ personal lives. “The emotion always comes first”, he claimed, and downplayed the importance of for instance tactics and performances. In 1964 Arledge purchased the U.S. television rights to the 1964 Winter Olympics in Innsbruck (for a miniscule \$200,000). As a great believer in ‘star power’ he initiated the television love affair between the Olympic Games and the television public by developing competing athletes into entertainment personalities. One of the Innsbruck innovations was the “Up close and Personal” technique Arledge used to emphasise star quality, to suggest triumph over adversity, and to portray the struggle and competition inherent in sport. This in-depth personalised approach was a technique Arledge developed when he realized that the broadcasts also needed to attract and hold the attention of female viewers.

In the 1968 summer Games in Mexico City, Arledge improved his knowledge in the creation of an exciting and dramatic show of sporting events. The introduction of colour television only highlighted the showbiz approach, particularly since Arledge put the Olympics on prime-time television in America. Arledge produced 44 hours of coverage from Mexico,

---

<sup>107</sup> Arledge claims that he and engineer Bob Trachinger invented the idea of instant replay on a napkin in a pub in 1960, while awaiting a game at the Los Angeles Coliseum. However, in 1955-56 Toronto’s Retzlaff of CBC developed a kinescope recording of a goal within thirty seconds for “almost instant” replays.

<sup>108</sup> In the 1972 Summer Olympics, Arledge apparently put a miniature microphone in the Olympic torch to catch the sound of the flame being lit at the opening ceremony.

three times as many hours as the previous summer Games in Tokyo. He packaged a dramatic, exciting mini-series for television and successive producers have continued to expand on this model.

Between 1964 and 1988, ABC would carry 10 of the 14 winter and summer Olympic Games and would increase its coverage to 180 hours at Los Angeles in 1984. The “Roone Arledge Revolution” which included getting the viewer “emotionally involved” by focusing on narrative, promoting personalities and bringing the camera nose to nose with the action got unpopular at some point. The use of what were politely called “honey shots”<sup>109</sup>, was the target for several disdainful critics. Although Arledge had an international perspective on the Olympic Games, the steady stream of “Up Close and Personals” and the two-minute profiles of medal hopefuls were more often than not Americans in the ABC’s Olympic Broadcasts. The broadcasts focused on track and field, gymnastics and figure skating, sports that had particular interests for American viewers. The critics could, however, not interfere with the pioneering visions of Arledge. During 1960 to 1968 the American network, ABC formed a philosophy of television sports production that would set the standard for sports departments throughout the world. Arledge’s strategy was to focus almost entirely on the entertainment elements in sport and to increase the audience’s emotional engagement in the competition (Goldlust, 1987: 91-92). More explicitly, ABC invented visual techniques in dramatising the events, building both on show business and storytelling<sup>110</sup>. The influence of Arledge on televised sport can be illustrated by a more modern statement of David Hill, head of Sky Sports: “Sport as drama and sport as soap opera – that’s what people want to watch on television” (Barnett, 1995: 95).

Interestingly, although Arledge was a pioneer in the visual development of sports production, and engaged himself in the audible coverage of audience and players, he did not pay much attention to the commentary of televised sport. Commentary was, on the other hand, a hot topic among the European broadcasters, and particular for the BBC. The next section will outline main events within the development of the verbal coverage of BBC Sport. The main reason for this is to shed some light on the conflicts within the structural property of information and on the debate of subjective versus objective reporting practices.

---

<sup>109</sup> Three second glimpses of attractive young women in the stands.

<sup>110</sup> As in the closed classic dramatic structure (i.e. traditional Hollywood movies with a conflict between good and evil) and not the open, epic structure (as in Brecht’s Epic Theatre).

### 5.2.3 Audience-friendly practice within the BBC

In the previous section I illustrated how one producer of the Olympic Games chose to treat the sports coverage as pure entertainment. In this section, my point is to illustrate that, within the BBC, the situation was somewhat different. Instead of focusing on explicit visual production guidelines, producers paid more attention to the practice of providing an audience-friendly commentary. The reasons for this may be that, in Europe, television was seen as an expansion of radio where the structures for radio coverage were transferred to television. In addition, as ABC produced the pictures of the Olympics on behalf of all the broadcasters, national broadcasters were responsible for their own national commentary, and thus, paid more attention to this side of the production practice.

In the BBC, the differences between the structural properties of entertainment and information were formulated as a distinction between naturalism, transmission and transparency on the one hand, and constructivism, staging and excitement on the other. The early development of sport commentary took place during the BBC monopoly of broadcasting between 1922 and 1955. The initiator of a commentary practice was Captain H.B.T, who commentated on sport on BBC radio after 1926. He was succeeded by S.J. de Lotbiniere, who later became known as the architect of sport commentary (Whannel, 1992). When BBC's new Television Service was launched in 1936, S.J. de Lotbiniere was appointed Head of "Outside Broadcasts" (OB). Aspiring to make the commentary as transparent as possible, he employed four basic rules for giving a commentary: be natural, be clear, be fair and be friendly. However, this natural-based rule soon developed into two separate codes that both referred to the reporter as a dynamic storyteller. According to Whannel:

*"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).*

The evolution of these codes was constrained not only by the different characteristics of sports, but also by different attitudes towards the audience, and to emphasise the coverage as "sport" or as "broadcasts". Under the influence of de Lotbiniere during the 1930s and 1940s a practice was instantiated that combined the structural properties of "the common needs" and the "marginal needs" of the audience. At first, the reporters' ability to address a general audience was emphasised. Later, the commentator's knowledge about sport became important. The practice of having an expert commentator with special focus on the sporting elements of



the coverage was not a common feature until the 1970s. When television was re-launched after the Second World War, the guidelines focused on the relationship between the visual images and the anchoring function of commentary. Although the convention still carried similarities with the radio practice, the guidelines formulated by the new television Outside Broadcast Manager, Orr-Ewing, stressed the dominant role of the visual level. According to Whannel, the golden rules of the cricket commentator, Brian Johnston<sup>111</sup>, were “never speak unless you can add to the pictures”, “don’t describe what the viewers can see” and “let the camera tell the story” (Whannel, 1992: 28). These guidelines were formalised and systematised by de Lotbiniere in 1952. By now, the BBC had started to pay more attention to the needs of marginal viewers, i.e. those with a more marginal interest in sport. The strategy for securing these viewers was to enhance the entertainment aspects of the coverage. According to de Lotbiniere, good commentary combined the constructed aspect of a commentary with transparency. The assumption rested on the idea that devoted sports fans were likely to watch the coverage anyway and that the majority of viewers were interested in watching television and not sport. By instantiating entertainment in sports coverage, the dictum to build in suspense and partisanship included, for instance, the need to convey the atmosphere of the occasion, a sense of humour, and to address the audience directly and intimately.

However, these drives towards entertainment had an uneasy relationship with the structural property of information and a transparent, realistic coverage. The objective codes of information stressed the need for explanation and interpretation, shaping the material into a logical order, repetition of the essentials, such as the score, and most importantly being neutral and serious.

The two conflicting drives of the structural properties of entertainment and information developed side by side during the 1950s and the 1960s. Within information, the introduction of technological improvements, such as slow-motion and replay, enabled commentary to focus gradually on the analytical aspects of the competition. At this point, experts were brought more to the fore, providing explanations and making predictions. This practice is similar to the one used during the 1958 World Championship in ice hockey, analysed in chapter 4. The most famous British commentator in the 1950s and 1960s, Kenneth Wolstenholme<sup>112</sup>, divided the

---

<sup>111</sup> A famous incident during a Test match, the commentator Jonathan Agnew suggested that a player was out hit wicket because he had failed to “get his leg over”. Johnston carried on commentating while giggling for 30 seconds before dissolving into helpless laughter (YouTube 2007).

<sup>112</sup> At the end of the 1966 Football World Cup Final between England and Germany it looked like a 3-2 win for England. The referee had put his whistle to his lips as

viewers into three groups; the real football fan, the sports fan and people who were watching sport just for entertainment. According to Wolstenholme; “the commentator must see that the third and largest group gets its entertainment without upsetting any of the other two groups... almost an impossible task” (Whannel, 1992: 31).

The balance between the conflicting drives towards information and towards entertainment eventually formed the conventionalised practice of commentary in the BBC by the early 1960s. The practice was grounded in the structural property of information, but allowed for some entertainment elements in order to attract the group of audience that did not have a strong interest in sport. Once the practice was established, it became rather stable. One reason for the endurance of the structural property may be the permanent present of the practitioners. Half of the BBC’s 14 sport commentators in 1964 were still contributing to television sport in 1990.

In sum, by outlining some international developments I have demonstrated that both American and British practitioners struggled with combining the structural properties of enlightenment, entertainment and information. In the next section, I will turn to the Norwegian context and investigate which structural input informed NRK’s production practice during the Cup Final in football in 1963, 1966 and 1969.

### **5.3 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1963, 1966 and 1969**

Great sporting events served as useful developments of the competence of NRK personnel. Not only were they trained in the technological production equipment, they also achieved valuable understanding for international collaboration with both sporting organisations and other broadcasters. For instance, in February 1966, the World Cup in skiing was held in Oslo and NRK was responsible for the coverage. The event was broadcast to 17 television stations in 14 countries and was a tremendous success for NRK, only six years after its establishment (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999).

In this section I wish to analyse the result of the production practice in NRK Sport during the 1960s. The main purpose of the analysis is to uncover whether the conflicts within the structural properties of enlightenment and information can also be traced to sports coverage. Although the football Cup Final was not broadcast live until 1974, there are some short broadcasts available for review. The analysis is aimed at

---

Moore gave the final pass to Hurst. As some supporters misheard the referee and assumed the game was complete, they started invading the pitch, just as Hurst collected the pass, Wolstenholme spoke one of his most famous phrases: “*And here comes Hurst, he’s got... (Wolstenholme notices pitch invaders)... some people are on the pitch, they think it’s all over! (Hurst shoots and scores) It is now! And it’s four.*”

illustrating how the practices in 1963, 1966 and 1969 have changed compared to the Cup Final produced in 1961 (analysed in chapter 4). In turn, this will enable me to shed some light on the overall question of this thesis, how production practices vary over time and how these changes can be related to institutional structures.

### *5.3.1 Instantiating a festival of national belonging in 1963*

A five minutes collage from the Cup Finals of 1961 and 1963 is available for analysis. The similarity between these two collages is striking for three reasons. First, in 1961, Camera 1 provided all but one shots of the match, while in 1963; Camera 1 provided all the shots. The contents of C1 in both collages are also very similar. In the 1963 match coverage, the C1 camera focuses on the actions taking place in front of the two goals. The content is, thus, packed with dramatic events such as goal chances, goals, shots, savings and corners. However, due to the use of the single C1 camera, the coverage is more of an information rich documentary of sequential events taking place rather than a narrative.

Second, in the 1961 match, 16 of the 42 total shots also displayed the audience. In 1963, the audience was included in 19 of 48 shots in the coverage<sup>113</sup>. As in 1961, pictures of the audience did not occupy much broadcasting time (20 per cent compared to 17 per cent in 1961). The shots are merely glimpses of the variety of people present at the Cup Final; young and old, women and men, ordinary people as well as celebrities (the actor Henki Kolstad) and two members of the Royal Family. Compared with the coverage in 1961, one might argue that the 1963 coverage strengthened the idea of the Cup Final as a Festival for the people and is even more personalised than the 1961 coverage - the audience shots display more feelings (joy, anticipation, nervousness, anxiousness and enthusiasm). This is a useful illustration of how NRK managed to instantiate both the structural properties of enlightenment and entertainment in order to constitute the structure of a national identity and the notion of a national unity.

Third, the syntax (cutting patterns) of the shots is almost identical in the two collages. The producer alters between pictures of the action on the pitch and “reaction shots” of the audience (pictures of agony or ecstasy on the faces of the audience). The alternation per se has some entertainment value, which is also enlarged by the alternating of types “reaction shots” (long view, medium view and close ups). On only four occasions does the producer cut between two C1 shots in order to make room for the action. In comparison, this practice was used seven times in 1961.

---

<sup>113</sup> In addition, of the 14 shots before and after the match, nine shots displayed the audience.

Although television commentary is not the subject for my analysis, it is tempting to add that there is a slightly change between the commentaries of 1961 and 1963. In 1963, the commentator displays the same formal, objective report with short, informative messages as in 1961. However, in 1961, humour and the personal touch are downplayed. The only evidence of intimacy in the commentary of 1963 is when the commentator addresses the actor Henki Kolstad before Skeid's winning goal, with the comment; "Now it is happening, Henki!". In general, the commentator seems to have taken the BBC's de Lothbiniere's advice in being natural, clear, fair and friendly. As in 1961, the flow of marching music in the background is clearly present, particularly when the commentator remains quiet for long periods. This is, perhaps, the only illustration of the structural property of entertainment in the audio part of the coverage. Again, as in 1961, the most striking element in the coverage is the absence of drama. In 1961 the dramatic conflict could have been based on the dramatic oppositions: "favourite vs. outsider", while the dramatic plot in 1963 could have been "youth vs. age". The Fredrikstad players were highly experienced, older and established "stars" while the many junior players of Skeid were nervous and relatively inexperienced. The use of dramatic oppositions is, according to Goldlust (1987) an essential element of any contest: "Commentators come armed with a number of appropriate dramatic oppositions which they can draw upon to characterise the competing individuals or groups" (Goldlust, 1987: 94).

Summing up, it is tempting to suggest there were no changes in the production practice during the two years due to the many similarities between the footage of 1961 and 1963. The audience-friendly practice that had developed in NRK Radio had apparently not yet reached NRK Television's coverage of the 1963 Cup Final. More importantly, neither of the conflicts within the structural properties of enlightenment and information seems to have affected the production of the Cup Final coverage. In 1963, television was still merely radio with pictures. The practice of televised football was more about informing the public of a great national sporting event than entertain them with "good television". Still, the large amount of audience shots indicates that coverage of the Cup Final did represent some kind of festival of the nation.

### *5.3.2 Instantiating journalism by focusing on the game in 1966*

The collage made from the Cup Final in 1966 is a bit shorter than previous ones. However, it may serve to illustrate three interesting changes in the visual components of the coverage, compared with the two previous collages. Firstly, there are no shots of the audience. Secondly, the match was filmed with two cameras instead of just one, and thirdly, the use of graphics was introduced (the scores and the time) at appropriate points in the telecast.

As the audience is left out in the coverage, the focus of attention is solely the action of the game and the performances of the teams. There is, however, some tendency towards personalisation as the coverage dedicates time to celebration scenes after the goals. Of the five goals, three celebration scenes are given coverage by Camera 2 in medium shot, lasting between 8 and 13 seconds. In addition, before the penalty shot, Camera 2 focuses on the player waiting to take the penalty for 26 seconds. Nevertheless, the main impression is that the producer focuses on events taking place before the goals, which is a new practice compared to the collages of 1961 and 1963. Three of the goals came as results of a free kick, a corner and a penalty, and all of these events are filmed by Camera 2. The other goals are results of raids that start on the middle of the pitch. In my interpretation, the practice of focusing on events taking place before a goal is a different, more journalistic approach than what we have seen in the previous matches. The producer manages, to some extent, to stage the event by emphasising the relationship between performances leading up to a goal and the actual goal itself. This type of construction is different from the transparency that was evident in the coverage of 1961 and 1963, and illustrates a more analytical and evaluative attitude towards the match. This is also stressed by the introduction of the extra information given as graphics.

The audio component of the live sporting telecast has also been changed - the music is gone and the only sounds left are the voice-over commentary and the noise from the stands (i.e. the “natural” sound emanating from the event itself). Losing the somewhat pompous marching band music may be interpreted as downplaying the festival of nationhood values. In addition, although the commentator reveals a neutral report, with the same short, informative messages as in 1961 and 1963, there are some indications of a more subjective journalistic attitude. With remarks such as “nicely done”, “a well deserved lead”, “good work by the keeper” and “a job well done”, the commentator takes a stand in the match.

Overall, there has been a slight change in the coverage of the Cup Final between 1960 and 1966. It suggests a move away from the structural property of enlightenment by downplaying the structure of national unity and the celebration of a national event. It also suggests that the structural property of entertainment is not being fully instantiated. According to the demeanour of the commentator, the match could have been a classical drama. The excitement rose throughout the match, with the score going from 1-0 in the first half to 1-1, 2-1 and 2-2 until only three minutes remained of the second half. The climax that decided the winner of the Cup Final turned out to be a penalty kick. However, this exciting drama is not present in the collage. Comparing the coverage with the collages of 1961 and 1963, the Cup Final in 1966 is no longer portrayed as just entertainment with a lot of goals, excitement and audience applauding to the sound of a marching band. Instead, the sporting event is transmitted as a serious matter that has to be

treated with an appropriate grave analytical attitude. To a certain degree, one could interpret the evaluating segments in the collage according to the structural property of “marginal needs” among the audience, as the commentator explains and evaluates the performance of the players in a manner that may be appreciated by the dedicated football fans and football experts on the living room sofa. More than anything, at first impression, the coverage of 1966 might convey reporting as a radio broadcast accompanied by pictures. On the contrary, the alternation between the two camera shots of the game turns the raw material into a media event. As discussed in section 5.1.3, both the producer and the commentator display a bolder attitude towards the sporting events as they take more control over the coverage instead of simply transmitting details the game.

### 5.3.3 *Instantiating professional entertainment in 1969*

Looking ahead three years to 1969, the collage available for analysis reveals a rather professional entertaining coverage. At this point, the structural property of information is downplayed to some degree. The coverage exhibits structural properties in terms of enlightenment by some elements aimed at building national unity and a festival of nationhood. The entertainment factor is demonstrated by the variety of content and views in the pictures supplied by camera C2, in addition to a more rapid cutting pattern.

Compared to the earlier collages of the 1960s, the match of 1969 is still covered by two cameras. However, instead of only showing events leading up to goals, camera C2 also shows players celebrating after scoring. As such, the somewhat analytical approach of 1966 has been replaced with elements of pleasure. As the content of camera C2 is more variable, entertainment is also highlighted in a diverse set of both subjects and camera views (long- and medium views as well as close-ups). In addition, the crew operating the two cameras use zoom and pan shot techniques more actively. From a modern perspective, these movements seem rather rapid and awkward, but they are used in order to stage the drama, to portray scenes of celebration and convey the atmosphere in the stadium. In addition to a range of different shots from the match, the collage includes four shots of audience reaction. These shots re-introduce the idea of the Cup Final as an event for the people after being left out in the 1966 coverage.

The structural property of entertainment is further constituted by a rapid cutting pattern. In 1966, each shot lasted, on average, 12.5 seconds. This gave the viewers time to evaluate the performances of the players and the tactics of the teams. In 1969, the shots last only for seven seconds, giving the coverage more dynamics and energy. The liveliness and force of the coverage is also enlarged by the commentary. In this collage, the commentary is marked by intensity, engagement and immediacy. Outbursts

such as “Oh, a huge mistake by the keeper”, “Good Grief!”, “This is fun!”, “Yes, yes, yes, what a fantastic header”, “Oi, oi, oi – great shot”, “This is exciting!” and “Yes, excellent!” illustrate how spontaneous and intense the commentary was in 1969. However, the 5 minute collages discussed so far are all just short highlights from matches that lasted for more than 90 minutes, and it is difficult to draw any precise conclusions from such limited empirical information. This is particularly true when, as in the 1969 coverage, there are some clear indications that the practices involved in producing the Cup Final are about to change. It is therefore necessary to carry out a more in-depth, data rich analysis that includes a higher share of both qualitative and quantitative information. For this reason, the next section includes an analysis of the visual aspects of the entire second half of the Cup Final in 1971.

#### **5.4 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1971**

One of the challenges in doing a structural analysis of an institution’s production practice is to capture the large gap between the structural principles, structures and structural properties of NRK and the outcome of the actual practice of producing Cup Finals. For instance, the process of instantiating the structural principle of national unity includes several steps towards more concrete and robust interpretations. A sloppy analysis or marginal empirical data may risk jumping to conclusions and constructing patterns of relations in order to make sense of the complex system of structures and activities. As I have argued earlier (in section 3.1.3), a structural property like entertainment can include several aspects, for instance, pleasure, excitement, drama and involvement. I strongly believe that in order to claim that NRK constituted entertainment as a structural property in its sports production practice; it is necessary to carry out a detailed textual analysis of the broadcast at the micro level. Furthermore, in order to understand how NRK coped with the complexity of abstract structures and the conflicting conceptualisations of several structural properties, we need to grasp the complex relationship between components of a broadcast. Digging deep into the number of shots, length of each shot, the rhythm of alternation between shots, the content of each shot and so on in a sports coverage, is an exercise that pushes the “fine-grained bracketing strategy” suggested by Pozzebun and Pinsonneault (2005) to its limits. However, such detailed textual analysis of both the visual components and the commentary is rather common in media studies (see for instance the analysis carried out by Buscombe, 1975; Goldlust, 1987; Helland 2003).

The coverage of the Cup Final of 1971 reveals that several things have changed since the early 1960s. Among the visual components, three changes stand out: the increased number of cameras present at the stadium,

the use of replay and the introduction of close ups. The question at stake is; have these additions changed the way the practice instantiates the structural properties of entertainment, enlightenment and information? In the following sections these three aspects will be pursued, succeeded by a short analysis of the commentary.

#### 5.4.1 *Instantiating entertainment with action camera*

The actions of the second half of the Cup Final in 1971 are captured in 149 shots divided among three cameras. From the summary of the match, we know that two additional cameras were present during the match, but these were not used during the live coverage. Instead, the match is covered by the game camera C1, the action camera C2 and a close up camera C3<sup>114</sup>. A detailed description of the camera positions, characteristics of each camera, types and subjects of the shots is given in the appendix.

Table 5.1 sums up the distribution of camera shots. C1 provides 50 percent and camera C2 provides 48 per cent of the pictures. Measured in time, the domination of C1 is more evident as this camera shows 67 per cent of the match while C2 is in action for just 32 per cent of the time.

Camera	Seconds per camera	Number of shots per camera	Average length of shots	% of total shots	% of total duration of shots
C1	1947 sec	74	26 sec	50 %	67 %
C2	911 sec	71	13 sec	48 %	32 %
C3	27 sec	4	7 sec	3 %	1 %
Total:	2885	149	19 sec	101%	100%

*Table 5.1. Distribution of camera shot*

The distribution of pictures among the three cameras indicates the syntactical rule and the division of work between the cameras. As the game camera, C1 provides neutral information by simply transmitting what is going on in the match without intensifying, dramatising or personalising the events. C1 pictures represent a neutral observational and instantiate the structure of information by resting on non-intervention of the television.

---

<sup>114</sup> In the second half of the match there are only three pictures of the audience. One is provided by C3 in the beginning of the game showing the King in medium view, the other two takes place after the match has ended. In one case, C3 shows a medium view from behind the audience and the commentator. This is replaced by a C1 far view shot of the audience, players and the stadium.



The most interesting visual component in this coverage is the use of the action camera C2. Most of the C2 pictures (47 of 71 pictures) are shown when the ball is out of play, i.e. when camera C1 does not have any information to transmit. In these pauses, C2 provides content exhibiting the structural property of entertainment in two ways; first: entertainment value is created by the variation in shots from the C1 and C2 cameras. Some might argue that the simple shifts between camera C1 and C2 is not particularly entertaining. However, the two cameras offer different perspectives, and alternating between long and medium shots provides variety. In addition, as the game camera C1 provides shots of the team while C2 provides shots of a group of players or individual players, the different subjects also contribute to the entertainment values in terms of variety.

Second, as camera C1 has practically no information to transmit when there is a pause in the game, camera C2 fills these empty slots with four different types of content. These include (1) keepers with the ball, (2) injuries, (3) restarts of the game (free kick, corner and throw-in), and (4) goals and attempts on goal. Again, one might argue that a picture of one of the keepers with the ball is not entertainment. However, one alternative shot would be the same content provided by C1. By going “up close and personal” with the camera C2, the player is drawn closer to the TV viewers and creates entertainment in terms of intimacy and personalisation.

The six C2 shots showing injuries are important for the instantiation of the structural property of entertainment. Injuries per se are not entertaining to watch, but they represent highly dramatic incidents in the match, and three episodes in the match that include injuries are given plenty of coverage. The two serious injuries for Fredrikstad team are covered for 85 and 70 seconds, respectively, while the injury for Rosenborg team is covered for 44 seconds. Information about whom or what *caused* the injuries, which would have provided the producer with some kind of informational legitimacy for showing injuries in medium shot, as well as giving him the opportunity to portray the players involved as “victim” and “aggressor”, is not given in the coverage.

The third area of content covered by the C2 action camera is pictures showing highly dramatic natural climaxes of the game, such as goal situations and critical episodes in the penalty box. In the 1971 match, cooperation between camera C1 and camera C2 in transmitting such episodes occurs 14 times, in which 11 of the shots are replays. In the case of a penalty situation, the producer seems to use the syntactical interplay between the camera elements more deliberately as he is emphasising what *caused* the penalty. The syntactical and semantical arrangement of the penalty incident is described in table 5.2.

Camera	View	Content/ subject	Duration
C1	LS	Fredrikstad attacking, one Rosenborg player handles the ball deliberately in the penalty area	24 sec
C2	MS	Fredrikstad players signal for “hand to ball”	18 sec
C1	LS	<i>Replay</i> of the foul	10 sec
C2	MS	<i>Replay</i> of Fredrikstad players signalling	1 sec
C1	LS	Keeper preparing, penalty kick, scoring	15 sec
C2	MS	The goal scorer celebrating with team mates	9 sec
C1	LS	Preparing for restart of the game	10 sec
C1	LS	<i>Replay</i> of keeper preparing, penalty kick, scoring	9 sec
C2	MS	<i>Replay</i> of goal scorer celebrating	3 sec
		Black screen showing time and the score	2 sec

Table 5.2 Cutting pattern between the cameras and their content

In this event the producer chooses to inform the viewers about both the foul and the signalling for “hand to ball” via two replays, and provides a good example of how the producer portrays the event as highly critical and dramatic. In a 15 seconds long shot from C1, viewers can see how the keeper clears the area and prepares for the penalty kick, a highly stressful and anxious few seconds, not only for the goalkeeper but also for the audience. After the dramatic penalty kick ending in a goal, the camera uses a medium shot for nine seconds to focus on the goal scorer. When the players are waiting for the restart of the match, the producer uses the opportunity to show a short replay of the penalty kick and a very short replay of the goal scorer’s celebration. This dramatic climax closes with a neutral screen showing the objective facts of the incident without mentioning the goal scorer’s name. This segment illustrates how a production practice manages to exhibit elements of both entertainment and information. The only thing missing is shots of the audience, which could have depicted a sense of belonging and event atmosphere.

The fourth subject of the action camera C2 includes events that restart the game, such as a free kick, taking a corner, and ball throw-ins. These incidents can be highly dramatic and important, depending on where the action is taking place. Once more, some might argue that watching a player throwing the ball is not exciting, but again, the alternative; to watch the event through the long lens of camera C1, has less entertainment value. At least, with C2 shots, the producer has the opportunity to go “up close and personal”.

In sum, the action shots of the camera C2 largely emphasise the dramatic aspects of a football game, whether it is an injury, a corner kick or a goal. However, the entertainment aspect is present not only due to the semantic content of camera C2. Syntactically, C2 shots also create variation to the main stream of C1 pictures.

#### 5.4.2 *Instantiating information with camera techniques*

The analysis of the 1969 collage showed that the producer used zoom and pan techniques rather frequently in order to capture the action. In the 1971 match, the panning movement is much smoother and the use of zoom is reduced to just two occasions. One happens just seconds after the match has ended when camera C1 zooms out to catch the winning team being surrounded by supporters. The other incident is more interesting from an entertainment perspective. After about 20 minutes play in the second half of the match, a player is injured and receives medical attention. The shot is produced by C2 and lasts for 85 seconds in which the camera zooms in and out several times. First the camera zooms in on the injured player, and then it zooms out to capture the medical assistants entering the pitch. This is followed by a zoom in on the massage given to the player's foot. After the treatment is over, the camera zooms out capturing the referee and the players standing around watching. Although the injury is not serious, the shot is rather dramatic and gives the viewers an explanation of why there is a pause in the match. The producer could, of course, have chosen to show other pictures at this time, for instance, shots of the spectators or an action replay of a previous exciting event. However, the shot suggests that the producer chose to inform viewers about a dramatic and potentially dangerous moment. This can perhaps be related to the overall need of viewers to be kept informed, whereby the use of zoom can convey a lot of information about what is happening and why it is taking so long to start the match in a relatively short time.

In the empirical data for the 1971 match there are 11 replays of previous events. The use of replay gives a clear signal to the TV audience that something important has taken place, and is an informative service for the viewers. Nevertheless, there are advantages and disadvantages in the use of this technique. As Whannel argues: "Viewers may lose out on the uniquely atmospheric moments of sporting drama, but their perspective is enhanced in other ways which can make live spectating a humdrum experience" (Whannel, 1992: 98). Of the 11 replays in the 1971 match four display the four goals scored during the match, two are related to the foul that lead to a penalty, and two show the situation leading up to the first goal. All of these events are natural dramatic highlights of the match, and by showing them twice, the producer stages an even more dramatic construction of the events. It could be said that action replay segments also carry a lot of information giving viewers an opportunity to analyse and evaluate the event in question. This example of instantiating information in the coverage, thus, co-exists with the instantiating of entertainment. As such, one might argue that the production manages to balance the exhibition of both the structural properties of information and entertainment. Indeed, the most striking feature of the use of replays in this match is three replays used to show the

celebration of the players after a goal has been scored. Although these replays last no longer than two-three seconds, they signal the most important theme in a football match; to win the match – and in this case, the Cup<sup>115</sup>. One could, therefore, argue that the coverage of the 1971 match follows the concept of the 1969 coverage, that entertainment value is preferred at the expense of a more analytical approach to the game. This is particularly supported by the fact that most celebration scenes show the players and not the audience.

#### 5.4.3 *Instantiating a national hero with “up close and personal”*

During this match, a close up of a player appears for the first time in the empirical data. This type of shot has three possible functions. First, it identifies the player, and second, it suggests that this player is of particular importance, either as hero, victim or villain. Third, it is sometimes possible to see the emotion in the player’s face and thereby stressing the intimacy and drama of the game. Conventionally, identifying the player belongs to the journalistic practice of informing viewers. However, placing the player within a story as either hero or villain is a function within story-telling and entertainment, while stressing the emotional reaction can also be seen as having entertainment value.

In the 1971 match there are two close ups, both of the Rosenborg player Bjørn Wirkola. Thirteen minutes into the second half, Wirkola scores the third goal putting Rosenborg in the lead by 3-0. Just a couple of minutes later he is injured and substituted. However, 32 minutes into the second half the first close up of Wirkola on the substitute’s bench appears. One minute later, the second close up is shown. Both close ups seem to be motivated by the commentator. During a long view shot of the game by camera C1, the commentator starts talking about Rosenborg and Wirkola: “*If Rosenborg wins this finale, Wirkola will be awarded three championships this year. He was Norwegian champion in large hill competition at Skui during the winter*”<sup>116</sup>. The talk about Wirkola apparently motivates the producer to show a six second close up of the player. In the following long view shot by camera C1 of Fredrikstad attacking, the commentators focus his attention on the game (*Then, Jan Fuglset shoots.....and a shot by Kai Nilesen*). When the producer shows a medium view shot from camera C2 of the Rosenborg

---

<sup>115</sup> The Norwegian Football Cup is a national championship, meaning that the winner of the tournament is awarded the title “Norwegian football champions”. This differs from, for instance English football.

<sup>116</sup> At this point, Wirkola was about to finish a successful career as a ski jumper. He won the Four Hills Tournament from 1967 to 1969, and is still the only ski jumper who has won this tournament three years in a row. In 1971 Wirkola began to play competitive football. The same year he became the top scorer at Rosenborg.

goalkeeper handling the ball, the commentator starts talking about Wirkola again:

*I mentioned Wirkola becoming Norwegian champion in ski jumping, large hill, at Skui this winter. Then he became champion with Rosenborg. And now, then, we have the cup final. It can also be third round in the European Cup. Rosenborg's nice position after 4-1 victory over Sta..."*

As the commentator continues to talk about Wirkola and Rosenborg, the producer chooses to show another close up of the player. When the commentator sees Wirkola in the second close up shot he almost interrupts himself while talking about the European Cup, and starts talking about Wirkola again, before returning to the ongoing actions:

*"Rosenborg's nice position after 4-1 victory over Sta... Here he is, the golden boy in Norwegian sports. The question is if this means the Honorary Prize of Egeberg<sup>117</sup> (...) Yes, free kick (...) clearly (...). Free kick by Jan Fuglset. Is he going to shoot directly? It is 37 meters".*

This is one of the earliest examples of strong individualisation in my empirical data. In addition, the incident illustrates how sound and picture interacts and enlarges the semantic meaning in televised games. There was nothing in the game at this point motivating a picture of Wirkola, but when the commentator started to talk about his merits, the producer chose to show two close ups of him, which in turn lead to more talk about Wirkola from the commentator.

The general focus on Wirkola in the game (the replay of his goal and his celebration, the 44 seconds medium view of his injury and the two close-ups of him later in the coverage) also establishes Wirkola as a hero in the story<sup>118</sup>. Wirkola is placed, both by the camera and by the commentator, as the narrated character who has the most important tasks (to score goals, to win the cup, to win another championship and to be awarded the Ekebergs Ærespris). Staging Wirkola as the hero of the story, the coverage represents an early attempt at constructing a story line in the television coverage. Using a story line demonstrates an increase in entertainment as a factor and can also suggest a reduction of the objective transmission of information. In relation to the structure of building national identity and strengthening Norwegian culture, it is possible to see the staging of Wirkola as a national

---

<sup>117</sup> The Ekebergs Ærespris is a prize awarded to Norwegian athletes who excel in more than one sport.

<sup>118</sup> Following the actant model of Greimas in narrative theory (appendix 2).

hero as exhibiting the structural property of a popular-national enlightenment<sup>119</sup>.

Overall, the producer of the coverage in 1971 was careful in using close ups. This is an attitude NRK shared with many broadcasters, particular in Europe, during the 1960s and early 1970s. For instance, after the BBC/ITV consortium during the 1966 Football World Cup, NRK “felt hampered by the prevailing close-ups” while Telisitana Mexicana felt that “too much close-up technique was used in the games, sometimes producing a miscontinuing [sic] of the game” (Whannel, 1992: 36). In Buscombe’s classic collection of essays “Football on Television” (1975), Barr compares the styles of British and West German production practices of the television of the World Cup in football in 1974. He suggested that the use of longer shots and fewer close-ups in the West German football coverage during the 1970s revealed a more “neutral” style compared to BBC and ITV’s practice that relied more on close ups and a rapid cutting pattern (Buscombe, 1975: 47-53).

#### 5.4.4 *Instantiating infotainment in the commentary*

As in the case of the 1961 cup final, the whole commentary of the 1971 Cup Final has not been systematically analysed. However, the impression given by the part of the commentary that was analysed is that it was balanced between a journalistic neutral report and a more personalised, enthusiastic pleasurable description.

In most cases, the commentator provides short informative messages, and there are long pauses in the commentary. This echoes the practice as described for the BBC in section 5.3.3, particular the golden rules of Brian Johnston. In these sections the commentator follows the game, identifies the players as they are involved, and keeps track of the time and the progress of the match. At the beginning and the end of the second half he runs through the first half and the team line-ups, presents the referee and line men, comments about the weather and the number of spectators, and presents the history of the two teams. He offers a serious, but friendly journalistic report of the game, and does not get excited either by the penalty decision (“*Correct awarded*”) or the foul (“*The player saw it himself*”).

In some cases the commentator does seem a little distracted – for example, he does not notice the injury of Wirkola until camera C2 shows the incident. When one of the players at Fredrikstad is seriously injured after 68 minutes, his only comment is “*it is a pity*”. When the game is over, his

---

<sup>119</sup> By 1969, Wirkola had been established as a “national hero” in ski jumping. The cultural phrase “To jump after Wirkola” refers to doing something after someone who is so skilful that no matter how well people perform after him, the effort is just in vein (Wikipedia, 2008).

comment is simply *“That’s it then: 4-0 to Rosenborg and another championship”*. Besides getting the score wrong (it ended 4-1), there is no emphasis on what great achievement the championship is, or what an exciting and grand finale the game was. His final words are merely *“a great day and a deserved victory”*. The somewhat diverted commentator style is intimidated by the commentator’s sociable gabble: he uses a plain language spiced up by jargon and dialectical expression, and focuses on the individual players (he mentions some of the players by their first name and comments about some of the players’ family life and personal characteristics). In other cases, the personal enthusiasm of the commentator is more visible as he “wakes up”. He shouts when there is a big chance (*“Oh! What a shot!! What a great goal! A great goal! 2-0 for Rosenborg. Arne Hansen. Oh, my goodness me!”*), involves the viewers by encouraging them to watch closely at certain situations and comments about the supporter’s singing. From time to time he judges the effort of the players (*“Åge Johansen is a good technical player”, “elegant played”, “a hopeless pass”, “he got that one right”*), but in general the tone is positive and relaxed.

The most striking feature of the verbal component is the commentator’s fascination of Bjørn Wirkola. When the player is substituted, camera C2 follows the new player entering the pitch, but the commentator only focuses on Wirkola (*“Bjørn has done his part. He has to think a little bit on ski jumping also”*). When C2 shows Wirkola’s goal in replay, the commentator again uses the player’s first name:

*“Now we are watching this in replay. It is Jan Christiansen (...) and Bjørn is where he is supposed to be and the ball hits the goal”*.

Overall, the commentary exhibits a mix of structural properties, perhaps best described as infotainment. As argued in section 5.1.5 infotainment proved to be a successful strategy in overcoming some of the conflicts between the structural properties of entertainment and enlightenment. Instead of stressing the dominance of one structural property it is possible to instantiate both of them. However, the need for correct and objective information seems to constitute the base line of the commentary. According to Helland (2003: 160), the informative aspect also played a crucial role in NRK’s commentary during the European Championship in Football in 1996. As such, despite the time lapse, this structural property of the commentary practice remains fairly unchanged.

#### 5.4.5 Chapter summary: Difficulties in instantiating structures

Summing up, production practices during the 1960s developed toward a balance between entertainment and objective journalism as the guiding structural properties in 1971. During this period, the technical coverage

improved, resulting in a much more entertaining variation between camera C1 shots (LS) and camera C2 shots (MS). The action shots of camera C2 made a particularly useful contribution to a more entertaining coverage as the camera provided pictures of injuries and situations in the penalty box. The entertaining aspect is also highly evident in the use of 11 replays. Not only are viewers able to enjoy the goals via replay, on two occasions they can also take part in celebrating the goals. The informational structural property is also present in the use of replays. The viewers are able to see if a player commits an offence in replay and judge for themselves whether this was a foul or not. The observational mode associated with objective journalism is the main feature of the visual features as camera C1 dominates transmission heavily, both with regard to the number of pictures and their duration. The commentator shifts between a journalistic objective, but critical report of the game and personal small-talk about the players. The Cup Final as a national event is somewhat ignored in 1971, except for one comment about the present of His Majesty King Olav V of Norway. In stead, there is an emphasis of Bjørn Wirkola, both as a national sport hero and as a brilliant football player who contributed to winning the match.

The four analyses of the coverage of some of the 1960s Cup Finals illustrate how the conflicts dominating other programme genres did not quite infiltrate the production practice of sport. Or, one could argue that the Sports Department solved such conflicts by aligning the structural properties of entertainment and enlightenment into a mix of infotainment. This is a development that resembles some international trends, both within American sports production and within the BBC. Putting such developments within the context of organised sports production practices; I have presented some of the major conflicts taking place within NRK Television. In section 5.1 I argued that the newly established structures of NRK Television enabled a diversity of instantiation processes, leading to a loss of legitimacy, both within the political system and by the audience. As a structural reaction to the journalistic and artistic production activities taking place, the management of NRK introduced a set of more tangible and formal structures, hoping that this would constrain activities and regain some of its lost legitimacy. While the practice of producing sport managed to balance the structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment without upsetting the structural principles, other production units of NRK faced rising actions as basic conflicts was further complicated.

In the next chapter, I will look at some series of events that continued to threaten the legitimacy of NRK and which increased internal conflicts and discussions. Chapter 6 will also illustrate tensions within the structural levels as the fundamental driving force that moved the institution to change. These are, first of all, conflicts in producing informative programmes that continued into the 1970s and which lead to the introduction of even more formal and closed structures. Second, they are shifts in the structural property of production of the Cup Finals from instantiating the structural property of entertainment to the structural property of information.



## 6 Climax – NRK at the height of its monopoly

The last years of NRK's monopoly has been described as the golden age of NRK (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996; Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). Nevertheless, it is not correct to claim that NRK was resting on stable legitimacy. In this chapter I will illustrate how NRK as an institution strived to coordinate and combine the diversity of structural properties that informed programme production. The multiplicity of instantiated structural properties had been created by the instantiation of universalism that, along with the development during the 1960s of perspectives related to the function of an audience and to programming in general, had opened up the structures of NRK. However, these open structures and the multiplicity of structural properties made NRK vulnerable to criticism. Several NRK programmes were under heavy attack from many positions, creating a lack of legitimacy both internally and externally. The need for structures that constrained the instantiation processes, in terms of rules and formal guidelines, was essential.

With regard to structuration theory, I want to illustrate how the lack of specified structures also acted as a constraining force upon the instantiation process. In contrast, my main point in chapters 4 and 5 was to illustrate that the lack of specified structures acted as an enabling force upon the instantiation process.

A central theoretical element in this chapter is the development of the concept *instantiation*. In chapter 2, I stated that an instantiation is a step-by-step procedure of moving from an abstract structural principle to a more detailed and informative concrete version of structural properties through structures. In structuration theory, instantiation refers to the capacity of human actors to produce a more concrete version of something abstract. This implies that the actors' ability to interpret and locate meaning and reasoning from something abstract is crucial. However, the actors' instantiations are both enabled and constrained by structures, by the degree of openness in the system and by the existence of different types of legitimacy. Relating structuration theory to organisational theory, I have argued that the instantiation process depends on the openness/'closedness' of the organisation and the degree of legitimacy. Open structural principles need external, cognitive legitimacy from the (political) environment, mediating

structures need internal, moral legitimacy within the institution and closed-in structural properties need external, pragmatic legitimacy from the audience. In chapter 3, I argued that it is possible to study instantiations, as these take the form of evidence in the production practices. Instantiations are being realised if a practice exhibits structural properties.

In chapter 4, I illustrated how the lack of structures enabled the production of television programmes to instantiate the same structural properties that informed the production practice of radio programmes. The two instantiation processes gained legitimacy as they both constituted the same structural principles of *universalism* of the institution. However, the lack of structures also enabled radical changes to take place in the production of radio programmes. In the next chapter, I illustrated how the lack of formal constraining structures resulted in conflicting instantiation processes in some production practices, for instance in news and the production of theatrical drama. Questions regarding the structural properties were raised, and the institution lost some of its legitimacy, both internally and externally. Although two aspects of structures were developed in order to control the many interpretations of structural properties available to the agents, the lack of formal structures acted more as constraining than enabling factors on the instantiation process. In the following, I wish to develop the concept of instantiation further by looking at how the broadcasting system reacted to the introduction of formal structures that were aimed at constraining the production practices of NRK Television.

With regard to the production of sports programmes, previous analyses have shown that production practices have fluctuated between the structural properties of entertainment, enlightenment and information. This illustrates how elastic and adaptive the practice of producing sports programme is in the process of instantiating various, and conflicting, structural properties. As the practice of producing sport exhibits the potential for an easy adjustment of its structural properties, the practice was stabilised and gained legitimacy. In addition, there has been a tendency for the structural properties of enlightenment and entertainment to be merged in the practice of producing sport, which illustrates that the practice has also been highly innovative. The main question in this chapter is whether the practice of producing sports programmes continues to fluctuate between the various structural properties also when the constraining structures, in terms of programme policies are introduced. The question will be addressed through a content analysis of the Cup Finals of 1978 and 1980.

## 6.1 Closing in on two perspectives of structures

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s NRK managed to form its main structural principle; providing a universal service to its audience<sup>120</sup>. In general, NRK was the focus of the whole nation's attention during this period, with an influential role politically, socially and culturally (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). The abstract structural principle of *universalism* had acted as a major force in promoting an attempt to enlarge and endorse national unity. By instantiating the structural properties of enlightenment, entertainment and information, the production practices of NRK's programmes managed to constitute NRK's structures as a defender of Norwegian culture and language, as a focal point for promoting a sense of national identity and as a provider of a pluralistic programme common to a national culture.

However, during the 1970s, the concept of *universalism* interpreted solely as promoting national unity was questioned. Critics, both within and outside of NRK, argued that *universalism* was not merely about ensuring social and democratic cohesion. Rather, a public service broadcaster should also be about reflecting a representative picture of cultural pluralism and social diversity. In other words, NRK had to fulfil a key responsibility to a public composed of individuals with many wide ranging differences.

In particular, the critics of NRK institutionalised object-oriented enlightenment and its paternalistic attitude grew stronger. Bastiansen and Syvertsen (1996:143) stress that throughout the whole "high monopoly" period, NRK was a controversial institution and that opposition to its monopoly was growing within the right and centre political parties, as well as among radical left-wing and cultural liberals. In dealing with this criticism, the management of NRK searched for an ideological means in its constitution with which to promote both national cohesion and diversity. This interpretation is described by Bastiansen and Syvertsen as

*"...a stronger egalitarian ideology claiming to put the needs of the "ordinary" people first. But lots of ordinary people (and others too) were not convinced, perceiving the NRK as more of an arrogant, paternalistic and authoritarian institution placed in a highly privileged position of self-satisfied isolation" (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996: 142).*

---

<sup>120</sup> From 1960 to 1970 the television range in Norway raised from 35 to 95 per cent, the programme production increased from 13 hours per week to 34 hours per week (from 1182 hours in 1963 to 2462 hours in 1979 (NOU, 1982:277)). Only a few programmes had less than 25 per cent viewers; most of them were seen by 60 per cent of the license- holders (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999).

The lack of both cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy external to NRK grew from a strong rejection of anti-elitism and general disbelief towards a central and even national culture. In addition, opponents were sceptical about NRK's construction of a cultural hierarchy and to the whole idea of a monopolistic broadcasting institution. As illustrated in chapter 5, NRK also lost some of its internal moral legitimacy as several production practices instantiated different and conflicting structural properties.

Not having legitimacy and also needing to fulfil NRK's structural principles of *universalism* in terms of cultural diversity, the management of NRK started to produce a synopsis of NRK's role in society and of the broadcaster's overall purposes. This may be viewed as a deliberative attempt at enclosing both the structural principles and structures of NRK that as yet were open, abstract, elusive and informal. In other words, the reason for NRK's existence, the value of public service broadcasting, and ways in which NRK could best fulfil its purposes, were all re-examined<sup>121</sup>.

As argued in chapter 2, structures are abstract and not stable entities. They exhibit pragmatic, normative and cognitive rules of behaviour. In order to make structures more tangible, explicit and formal, it is possible to lock them in, either by establishing them as common rules or by linking them to specific resources<sup>122</sup>. In January 1969, Ustvedt presented an authoritative document of NRK's missions. Internally in NRK, the document nicknamed "*The Little Blue Book of Hans Jacob*", as it included clear and pithy formulations of instructions for programme production. Some of these new structures for the production practice of NRK were:

- *Balanced information in the long view*
- *Impartiality as an invariable rule*
- *Objectivity, but tolerance towards challenging meanings and artistic expressions*

The guidelines outlined in the "*Blue Book*" particularly addressed the programme perspective of production practices within NRK, i.e., how programmes should be produced and on what values the programmes should be based. In the "*Blue Book*" the abstract structural principles of *universalism* as both national unity and cultural diversity were concretised by focusing on four base values of importance in the society: democratic values, national values, humanistic values and character-building values (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 376). This rationale echoed the general political policy in the early 1970s, which stressed two principles: cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture (Vestheim, 1995). A wide definition of

---

<sup>121</sup> Discussed in section 1.2.1.

<sup>122</sup> Structures as rules and resources are discussed in section 2.1.1.

culture (which also included sport) emphasised the participation and engagement of the whole of the nation in order to

*“...stimulate each individual’s development of their own abilities and possibilities, extended comprehension, richer experiences, development of emotional life, ability to think, maturity in the appreciations and taste – in short, to human growth”*(Report to Stortinget, 1974:5).

Furthermore, the perception that Norway was culturally a tiny and vulnerable country and that its national culture was under threat was expressed with great anxiety. Strengthening the use of Norwegian languages, protecting national culture and building national identity were still seen as important structures and as such received broad support, also from NRK.

Basing the abstract concept of universalism on four common social values enabled two different understandings of universalism to develop: Universalism as both national unity and cultural diversity. This interpretation received legitimacy both within the political system and internally in NRK, where it was particularly encouraged to develop by Ustvedt’s successor, Elster<sup>123</sup>. As noted in chapter 4, in the 1950s Elster had initiated audience-friendly production within the Radio Department, a development that was enabled by the loosely defined structures at that time. When Elster was given the responsibility for television as well as radio, he promoted the audience-friendly programme strategy for both media. As such, the structures of NRK were more formalised in terms of two separate perspectives; one focused on the audience and the other on programmes. NRK did not abandon the paternalistic, high culture elitism associated with character value, but initiated a sharper and more radical social democratic egalitarianism (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). NRK would provide both the general public and specific target groups with what they “needed”. In addition, NRK would provide these groups with what they also “wanted” - a strategy that would hopefully solve many of the legitimacy problems faced by NRK. Figure 6.1 illustrates the values of the structural principles of *universalism* that were instantiated as structures within an audience perspective and a programme perspective, and shows how the structural properties were composed within these perspectives.

---

<sup>123</sup> Elster was promoted from Head of the Radio Department to General Director when Ustvedt left the position in 1972.

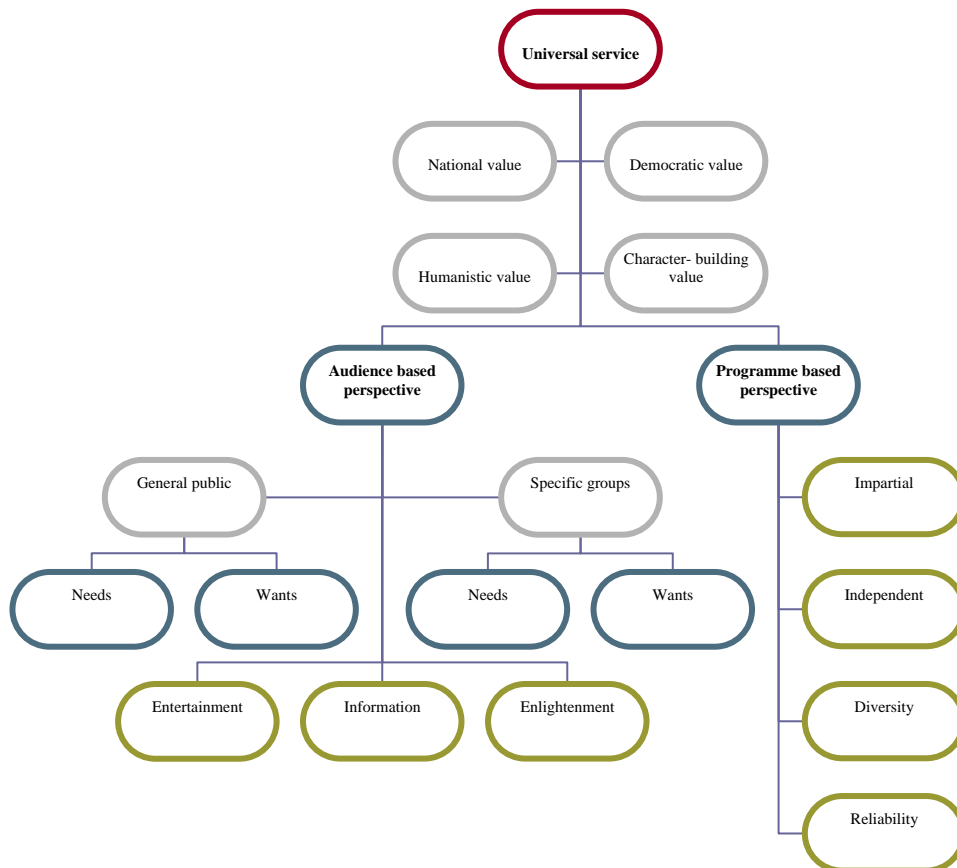


Figure 6.1. Structural principles, structures and structural properties of NRK during the height of its monopoly

Within an audience based perspective, the obligation to serve the national interest was both to address the public as a whole and to pay particular attention to marginal needs and to specific audience groups and subjects. By specifying these two aspects of universalism and including both the “wants” and the “needs” of the audience, the structures were opened for many possible instantiations of the principle when producing television programmes.

This example shows the paradox of instantiation in structuration theory. By spelling out a principle, the instantiation process becomes more indefinite and elusive, opening up for a multiplicity of structures. In, for instance, a transmission of the Cup Final in football one might argue that the general “wants” of the TV viewers is to be entertained, to watch football stars in close up and to see pictures of goals in replay. From a different perspective, there is a public “need” to be cultural stimulated, and

enlightened in both a personal and national manner. For this purpose, the televised match can construct ideological conceptions of order, control and social morality. In *Playing for Keeps*, John Goldlust shows that sport is viewed as “an avenue towards the higher cultivation for the human spirit” and that “the development of modern sport was part of the lengthy process of social reorganisation in which the ‘problems’ of labour discipline and the socially appropriate use of both leisure time and public space” (Goldlust, 1987: viii). More than anything, sport may be conceptualized as an instruction book for moral and fair play. As John Hargreaves argues, sport exhibit educational:

*“(...) homilies on good firm management, justice, the nature of law, duty and obligation, correct attitudes to authority, the handling of disputes, what constitutes reasonable and civilized behaviour, on law and order, and on the state of society generally” (Hargreaves, 1986: 145).*

By viewing television sport from a specific group perspective, one might argue that marginal groups (such as the fans) may *want* to see particular events in replay in order to analyse and evaluate the performances or they may *want* to see the flow in the game through a long view point of view, provided by the game camera. Other marginal groups (such as those not so interested in the finer points of football) may *need* to be told what foul took place and be explained how the off-side rule works.

From an audience perspective of the structures, broadcasting was conceived both as an educational and informative medium with the ability to broaden perspectives and raise the public standards. However, under the management of Elster, the structural property of enlightenment was given a different meaning than previously. As Head of Radio, Elster put an end to lengthy radio programmes, such as lectures and chronicles, and favoured shorter, lighter programmes, preferable in a magazine format. In Elster’s eyes, the era of traditional enlightenment was about to end. With regard to television programmes, his point of departure was the typical viewer and their needs and wants. The majority of NRK’s listeners and viewers were house wives, workers and farmers, and NRK should operate in their service. Elster saw the potential danger in television increasing the already existing gap between segments of the population with high and low socioeconomic status. He also disliked the paternalistic aspect of a national broadcasting monopoly and the fact that “NRK acted as an omniscient, established authority” (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 457).

Of the three main structural properties, television production practices were about to reject enlightenment on the grounds of its paternalistic attitude towards the audience. Based on the potential knowledge

gap between of groups in the society<sup>124</sup>, Elster asserted that the core task of NRK was to pass on information (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 457-458). Democratic values were particularly highlighted as the primary task for broadcasting in that it enables the optimal functioning of democracy (Syvertsen, 1992). In order to inform the audience about the society and the world in which they live, programmes had to be accessible to the majority of viewers. Further, Elster claimed that, “A programme without listeners or viewers is a worthless programme”, “NRK must not be boring” and “entertainment is a good description of all kinds of broadcasts”, (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999:458). While Ustvedt had emphasised “cultural impulses”, Elster pinpointed “social information”. In addition, entertainment was suggested as a means with which to reach the audience and transfer information.

Thus, Elster advanced the “infotainment” programme policy that he had initiated for NRK Radio in the early 1960s to include television services. For instance, the popular Saturday night show “*Lørdagskveld med Erik Bye*” depicted a content that integrated both entertainment and enlightenment. Bye argued that Saturday entertainment was more than just a “cosy corner” and that the audience wanted a content that was both interesting and stimulating (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999). The same argument was used for sports production, supported by both international influences and by the development within radio sports productions. Both international sports productions and radio productions emphasised the entertainment values of sport, while the general policy of NRK promoted a journalistic attitude of informing the public about the game.

Instantiating the audience perspective in terms of addressing both the general public and specific weak and vulnerable groups consequently lead to less focus on broadcasting from the programme perspective. The frequently used 1969-policy document (“*The Little Blue Book of Hans Jacob*”) acted as flexible and somewhat vague journalistic guidelines and enabled development in which the structural properties of NRK overlapped, conflicted, contradicted and reinforced one another. Structures are, as argued previously, not instantiated unless they are evident in production practices, that is, unless they are mobilised by the programme makers in their daily activities. In the next section we will see examples of this development.

---

<sup>124</sup> Tichenor et al. (1970) proposed the “knowledge gap hypothesis” suggesting that the increase of information in society is not evenly acquired by every member of society: people with higher socioeconomic status tend to have better ability to acquire information than people with lower socioeconomic status.



### 6.1.1 *Conflicts with the structural property of information*

Structures that developed within NRK Television in the 1970s from an audience and programme perspective were vague. At the same time, they were sufficiently precise tools to promote social information, public character and social levelling, hence instantiating the structural principles of *universalism* as cultural diversity. It was nevertheless not constraining enough to stop the conflicting instantiation processes from the 1960s to evolve. As illustrated in chapter 5, conflicts regarding the structural property of information and enlightenment began in the late 1960s and escalated throughout the 1970s.

The conflict regarding the structural property of information took place as two different journalistic practices, one instantiating objective and the other subjective information. These two conflicting journalistic practices severely damaged NRK's legitimacy. First, this conflict was associated with a debate over internal normative legitimacy, as groups of programme producers and journalists confronted one another. Second, and more importantly, the two conflicting instantiation processes did not constitute NRK as the type of institution that the politicians wanted, meaning that NRK was about to suffer from a serious lack of cognitive legitimacy among the politicians. Third, NRK also had little pragmatic legitimacy from its audience. Although the majority of the population watched NRK, particularly the news and entertainment shows, a high viewing figure was not equal to high popularity. Only a few TV hosts, American films and series, familiar Norwegian realistic plays and sports were really supported by the audience. As such, NRK lacked legitimacy from all three major stakeholders.

In reply, the management of NRK tried to overcome the conflict between subjective and objective information. As opposed to the former General Director, Elster did not appreciate the idea of a long-term perspective of journalistic objectivity and that suggestion that programme diversity could be achieved in the long term. He preferred balance in the short term as well, as was evident in the coverage of the Norwegian European Communities membership referendum in 1972. The entire coverage was particularly factual and modest, although the Conservative Party complained about the share of representations in debate programmes. Elster had, on the other side, joined forces with the University of Gothenburg that measured the broadcasting time to 51, 5 per cent in favour for "the yes side" and 48, 5 per cent for "the no side". The concluding report stated that NRK had covered the referendum with objectivity in a short run between the two sides, without favouring any one party.

Still, during the 1970s, objectivity as a guiding rule was once again challenged by a small group of employees that practiced critical and political journalism. They took advantage of the unique autonomy of NRK producers and followed their own programme standards without worrying much about

either the audience's or an impartial viewpoint. Elster supported controversial programmes, for instance a TV series about housing shortage that was highly inspired by Marxist's ideas the classless society. He enjoyed the programmes as they took the weakest group's point of view. The majority of the journalists within NRK were, on the other hand, highly sceptical to this type of evangelist journalism. They claimed that since NRK was a monopoly, it had particular obligations to give all parties space to express themselves, including parties with whom the journalists disagreed. The management had to agree that radically impartial stories did not benefit the obligation of a monopolist, and it led to tension in the self-regulation system of NRK and to severe criticism from the conservative newspapers (such as *VG*, *Aftenposten* and *Morgenbladet*).

The conflicts within NRK grew stronger as the journalists divided into two camps. Some thought that as a monopoly, NRK was obliged to build its practices on values that were *common* to everybody in the society. Others argued that NRK had a special responsibility as trustee of *minority interests*. In their view, the obligation to inform objectively and impartially had lost its legitimacy as a guideline. The alternative was "the engaged and subjective journalist" (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 501). This new type of evangelistic journalism led to a number of scandals associated with NRK programmes<sup>125</sup>. In sum, problems were accumulating for NRK and its legitimacy had reached its limits within the political system.

In February 1975, both Labour politicians and the Conservatives furiously criticised NRK in a heated Parliamentary debate. In order to avoid tighter regulation, the politicians demanded that the management of NRK introduced stronger discipline of the journalists that used the broadcasting media almost as an outlet for their own private political opinions. According to Dahl and Bastiansen this was the most dramatic and critical debate the Parliament ever had about NRK, particular since the most furious contribution came from the Labour Party. The demand for better discipline was frightening, almost threatening (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 514). After years of allegations from right-wing critics that NRK was partly responsible for the increasing support enjoyed by radical social movements, the main structural principle of NRK was about to lose some of its cognitive legitimacy from all the political parties, except the Socialist Party (SV).

The conflicting journalistic practices based on a pervasive social democratic enlightenment structure were about to tear the principle of universalism apart. Dahl and Bastiansen (1999: 517) describe the political demand for "domestic discipline" as an earthquake that shook the foundations of NRK. The journalists were shocked and terrified by the

---

<sup>125</sup> For instance the coverage of the industrial conflicts in 1970-71, the Government's housing policy in 1972-73, and the Israel/Palestinian question in 1974-75.

political warning of being muzzled. Elster, on the other hand, realised that he had dropped the seed of a storm and was now about to harvest a hurricane. He initiated the preparation of more written rules and realised the only thing that could save the fundamental pillars of NRK and re-stabilise structural principles was the establishment of formal rules for the programming. These rules had to be more explicit and binding than the vague guidelines initiated by Ustvedt in *“The Little Blue Book”* in 1969. The management of NRK tightened control of the most radically-oriented journalists, and by the end of 1975 the most revolutionary aspects of programmes were filtered out and the new rules for programming were published. The new set of Rules of Programming (1975) can be summarised in four major points:

- *NRK’s particular responsibility as a monopoly imposes a special obligation on the institution to provide impartial, objective and correct information*
- *Objectivity requires the broadcaster to prioritise what is important and essential as well as ensuring the correct use of sound and pictures, a critical use of sources, and to display care and attention*
- *Impartiality; ensuring that most aspects of a case are balanced, in the long term. In controversial matters, there should be balance in the shorter term. NRK must not take a stand in controversial issues that are addressed in programmes*
- *Pluralism; NRK is obliged to display varying and pluralistic programme output, to be open for new ideas and impulses, to stimulate debates and to shed light on issues that have both positive and negative influences on our society*

The Rules of Programming was an attempt to formalise informal norms and guidelines and, more importantly, to establish a hierarchy of structures in which the formal rules of programming had prior position. In addition, one of the basic reasons for the formalising of norms was to strengthen NRK’s cognitive legitimacy in the political system. If NRK did not manage to control the conflicting journalistic practices at work and “put its house in order” (Bastiansen & Syversten, 1996), the management feared the Government would impose external control. In addition, in an opinion poll carried out in March 1975, 45 per cent supported the political critics against NRK (Dahl & Bastiansen, 1999: 519).

The most significant addition in the new rules for programming was the reinforcement of ideas of impartiality and balance and audience protection. NRK was seen as a particularly powerful institution, both in its position as a monopoly and because it could reach very large numbers of viewers and listeners simultaneously; NRK’s content could have a significant negative or positive impact on the audience and thereby on social

values in general. Although NRK should maintain plurality in the provision of broadcasting, the broadcaster should ensure adequate protection for its audience against offensive or harmful material as well as offering members of the public protection against unfairness or the infringement of privacy.

After 1975, the structure of audience-friendly programmes dominated attempts to improve the status of NRK among the audience. The radical intellectual programming strategy of Ustvedt was replaced by a strategy that emphasised “social information” and “popular folk enlightenment”<sup>126</sup>. As such, the concept of enlightenment was downplayed, and the concept of “cultural experience” became a frequently used term as a guiding structural property. In reality it meant that some controversial cultural programmes were being replaced by more programmes within educational television for children, infotainment and with more Norwegian produced drama series.

#### *6.1.2 Televised sports as a defensive position*

Many of the production departments of NRK strived to interpret and handle the multiplicity of structures that developed during the 1970s. The instantiations of these structures resembled a process of bricolage, as the programmes were produced by trial and error. The producers seldom operated with a particular direction or canalisation for which structural principle they were supposed to constitute. As the debate of objective information within the journalistic practice illustrated, the multiple instantiations lead, in some cases, to the need for formal rules.

In general, sports programmes were subordinated to the debate of objective versus subjective journalism within the structural property of information. One exception was the magazine programme “*Sportshjørnet*”, which was established in 1970 to produce programmes about elite sport, recreational sport and critical journalistic reports. “*Sportshjørnet*” was, however, criticised by the Broadcasting Council for not meeting these aims and for only dealing with elite sports. Recreational sports programmes were viewed as an important aspect of the subject-oriented enlightenment project, being closely linked to the idea of enhancing peoples’ interest in leisure and recreational activities. Critical sports journalism was also linked to the structural property of enlightenment. Amongst other things, this type of sports journalism was expected to inform the public about the negative,

---

<sup>126</sup> The term “folkelighet” understood as common education (Korsgaard, 2002). “Humanistic approach to personality development and promotion of people’s ability to function in a community has throughout the years been defined as the main objectives of folk enlightenment. The emphasis has been on non-formal contexts and aspects of learning” (Salo, 2007: 10).

commercial developments of sport, such as the pressure of advertising and the increasingly expensive media rights to great sporting events.

During the 1970s, the Broadcasting Council discussed sport and the role of sport in NRK frequently in their meetings. The major question was whether NRK should focus on the entertainment aspects of sport or use sporting events as an element in the enlightenment project (Hodne, 2001:41). The General Manager, Elster, did not deprive NRK of the critical journalistic responsibility it had towards sport, but he did stress that sport on NRK was principally about satisfying the audience interested in sport and the delivery of good entertainment for the broad majority of the public. Subsequently, the Sports Department concentrated on strengthening the cultural aspects of sport and on the instantiation of the principle of *universalism* as producing programmes that were common to all citizens. The Sports Department did make some effort to address minority groups within the sporting society by for instance covering the European Championship of women's gymnastics in Skien in 1975. Gymnastics was a sport emphasised by NRK, mostly in its regular morning exercise programmes. The coverage of the European Championship was at the same time an example of NRK attempting to produce programmes for smaller marginal groups and an exercise in producing a large televised event. NRK was in charge of the event and delivered pictures from the Championship to Europe, USA and Japan. The coverage was praised as a success. However, the focus on smaller audience groups and minority sports only served as an additional part of the sports programme range within NRK. The main output were big sporting events, both national and international that served the national values, patriotism, national culture and tradition within an entertainment-based practice.

The instantiation of *universalism* in terms of national unity within NRK's production practice of sports programmes served to produce some stability within the organisation. One might argue that televised sport's role within NRK served as a *castra*, a *fixed point around which safeguarded other parts of NRK*<sup>127</sup>. In other words, the "sporting camp" was sufficiently stable to regain some legitimacy and thereby protect the institution from complete failure, in that sports programmes were highly popular among politicians, the general audience and the management. The firm role of sport within NRK was also echoed in the programme structure. As other programmes genres were expanding or being reduced, the total output of sport remained pretty constant. In 1963, sport constituted about 15 per cent of the total broadcasted hours from NRK, ten years after the amount was 14 per cent and in 1979 16 per cent (NOU, 1982). Thus, sport was given the necessary resources to sustain its dominant position within NRK's programme strategy.

---

<sup>127</sup> The name of a "fixed star", also a building or a plot of land used as a military defensive position by the ancient Romans ("military camp" or "fortress").

So far, I have briefly discussed how the management of NRK first introduced two aspects of structures (one audience-based perspective and one programme-based perspective) in order to make room for instantiating *universalism* as both national unity and cultural diversity. At the same time the conflicting instantiations of the structural property of information within the journalistic practice accelerated. One result of the conflicts between objective and subjective information was a severe lack of political legitimacy, which eventually led to an acute need for formal journalistic rules: these were established in 1975.

In the following I wish to explore whether the conflicts within the structural property of information affected the production of the football Cup Finals. In particular, I will analyse how much the production of sports programmes adhered to the formal rules of programming that were established in 1975. For this reason, I have chosen to analyse NRK's coverage of the Cup Finals of 1978 and 1980.

## **6.2 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1978**

In order to shed some light on the question of how structures were instantiated in a production practice, in the following I will analyse the coverage of the Cup Final of 1978. The core questions addressed by the analysis are related to the research question discussed in section 1.4.1: i.e., what can a comparison between the 1978 production and the analyses of the 1960s and 1971 Cup Finals tell us about developments in the interaction between the structural properties of information, entertainment and enlightenment? In addition, what can an analysis of a televised football match tell us about different instantiation processes as the structures of NRK were formalised and specified?

In chapters 4 and 5, we learned that the Cup Finals of 1961 and 1963 instantiated structural properties of enlightenment and pleasant entertainment. The match was presented as a national sporting event, and created national feelings of belonging that supported national unity. The coverage of the 1966 Cup Final showed signs of a more active journalistic approach towards different groups of viewers. As such, the coverage relied heavily on instantiating information as the main structural property. By addressing the marginal needs of viewers and by constructing a televised event of the match, the production practice constitutes the structures of content diversity and audience pluralism. In 1969, coverage was mainly driven by the structural property of entertainment and the importance of both information and national enlightenment were downplayed. The coverage came over as rather professional in that the event was carried by the pictures instead of the commentary.

The 1971 coverage indicated an end to the tentative proceedings of sports production practice, as it exhibited structural properties of both national enlightenment and infotainment. One might argue that the 1971 coverage instantiated structures belonging to an audience-based perspective as a reply to common wishes of the viewers (i.e. the desire to see the national hero, Wirkola, in action). In fact, the production practice of 1971 managed to include a closed relational interaction between different structural properties. As the following analysis will illustrate, this was not the case in 1978. On the contrary, coverage of the 1978 Cup Final represented a step backwards, to the journalistic style of 1966.

### 6.2.1 *Instantiating information through camera alternation*

As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the alternation between the camera shots demonstrates how the match instantiated various structural properties. A rapid cutting pattern between several cameras instantiates entertainment, while a cutting pattern dominated by the overview shots of the main camera instantiates information.

A descriptive analysis of the camera distribution suggests three major changes in the 1978 coverage compared to that of 1971. An overview of how shots from the four cameras were distributed during the total match is given in table 6.1.

Camera	Seconds per Camera	Number of shots per camera	Average length of shots	% of total shots	% of total duration of shots
C1	3964 sec	221	18 sec	46 %	72 %
C2	1191 sec	179	7 sec	38 %	22 %
C3	132 sec	24	6 sec	5 %	2 %
C17	236 sec	52	5 sec	11 %	4 %
Total:	5523	476	12 sec	100 %	100 %

*Table 6.1. Distribution of camera shots (1978)*

Firstly, four cameras provide more variation in the shots<sup>128</sup>. Secondly, there is more dynamic coverage as the cutting pattern is more rapid<sup>129</sup>. These two changes would suggest that entertainment has been

<sup>128</sup> Compared with the 1971 match, both the number of C1 and C2 shots in the 1978 match have declined in order to give some space to C17 shots and more C3 shots.

<sup>129</sup> Comparing the second half of the 1971 and 1978 matches, the number of camera shots has increased (from 149 to 252, respectively), and the duration of shots has decreased (from 19 seconds to 11 seconds, respectively).

instantiated in the production practices. However, the third major change, an increased domination of the game camera, suggests that the production practice also instantiated information. The duration of the game camera, C1 rose from 67 per cent in 1971 to 72 per cent in 1978, whereas the amount of shots from C1 was almost the same (50 per cent in 1971 and 46 per cent in 1978). For the action camera C2, both the number of shots and the duration of each shot dropped compared to production in 1971. One might argue that the possible entertainment and variation aspects of the match caused by an additional camera are downplayed as the position of the main camera has been strengthened, thereby strengthening the neutral observational mode of the coverage.

In sum, this descriptive analysis shows that the coverage of 1978 exhibits the main structural property of objective information, despite the entertainment value provided by two close-up cameras.

#### 6.2.2 *Not using zoom and replay to instantiate entertainment*

As argued in section 5.4.2, the producer can highlight events in a televised football match by using a technique based on space (move the camera closer to the object) or on time (repeat the event). By implementing the techniques of zoom and replay, the producer constructs a televised event that breaks with the real football event. This is a practice that instantiates entertainment. Sarah Kozloff describes the effect as:

*“(...) the viewer does not – unlike the stadium ticket holders – simply witness the progression of the game. Instead she or he sees the events filtered through the control room, which switches from crowd shots, to the cheerleaders, to the coaches, to the action: which flashes back to pre- game interviews: which forsakes real time for slow motion and freeze frames; and which repeats the same play over and over. The viewer is no longer simply watching the game, but rather a narration of the game in which various choices have been made concerning temporal order, duration and frequency” (Kozloff, 1987: 63).*

The purpose of zoom is mainly to make the ball visible in a picture or to give the shot meaning. With the exception of close-ups, the ball is the most important creator of meaning in a picture. Neither in the 1971 match nor the 1978 match does the producer take advantage of this aspect with the zoom technique. On the contrary, zoom is being used to create an overview and geographical orientation for the viewers, which is an instantiation of information. An example of this instantiation is given 35 minutes into the second half: A player that has been injured enters the pitch. In a medium shot view, C2 first follows the player as he runs. It then starts zooming out to



a wide far view of 1/12 of the pitch to avoid geographical confusion. The other two zoom incidents in the match have similar features. The opposite effect of zoom, i.e. zoom in on a situation or a person to indicate something important (Fiske & Hartley, 1978) does not appear in either match.

Zoom technology had been known to American sports television producers since the 1950s, but in many cases sports officials would worry that a zoom lens on a camera might produce so dazzling a picture that fans would desert the stadiums. Why the NRK producer did not choose to apply zoom technology to its full potential is merely question of speculation. Perhaps the producer is too worried that the zoom function would entertain the audience in such extent that they would prefer the televised match instead of the real match or perhaps it was journalistic reasons for his choice: that the zoom technology is an unnatural feature and did not fit in an observational mode of the coverage. Anyhow, the lack of zoom in the production indicates the instantiation of information rather than entertainment.

In contrast to the zoom technique, the producer does use the opportunity of replays. Compared to the 11 replays in the second half in the 1971 match<sup>130</sup> there are only 10 replays in the total match in 1978. To emphasise something by repeating it is a technique unique for sports coverage, and one of the great privileges for the television viewers compared to the spectators. It could be argued that the instant replay during a direct sporting coverage works against the very concept of a "live" broadcast and that replay therefore is an example of a narrator's presence and not simply a pure documentation of something taking place at the pitch. However, if a television programme is to be seen only once, television relies on the capacity to repeat events. Far from diminishing the sense of television as an immediate, temporary form, repetition is integral to such a definition although it interrupts and slows the events taking place. The reason for this lies in both entertaining and journalistic assumptions. As Fiske and Hartley argue (1978), the conventional use of replay means one of two things: either analysis of skill or error, or appreciation of beauty. In some cases it means both.

In the 1978 final there are 10 replays, 5 in each half<sup>131</sup>. Compared to the 1971 final there are no replays of the players celebrating and

---

<sup>130</sup> The empirical data does not include the first half of the 1971 match. One could argue, however, that it is unlikely that the producer would have 11 replays in the second half and none in the first half. Therefore, it seems plausible to argue that there were more replays in 1971 than in 1978.

<sup>131</sup> In eight of the cases, the reply is a C1 far-view shot and in the other two, C2 produced a medium shot view of two particular situations. The replays last between 2 seconds and 17 seconds and their frequency vary. In two cases, two replays follow each other.

congratulating each other after a goal. In addition, the lack of emotional reaction shots in the replays reduces the festival aspect of the game. As such, national enlightenment is not directly instantiated in the production practice.

Overall, the use of replays strongly suggests that the production of 1978 exhibits the structural property of information. The replays shown are simply copies of previous shots, and include the three goals, two situations leading to goals (one throw-in and one corner), two fouls (tackling and a duel with the goalkeeper), a double chance to score, and two shots in the goalpost. It indicates that the producer prefers to show events that carry a journalistic value rather than events with an entertaining value.

### 6.2.3 *Not using plots and the syntax to instantiate entertainment*

The way pictures from the coverage are linked together (syntax) is strongly linked to the concept of narration, which is an instantiation of entertainment. There is little evidence in the coverage that the production practice instantiated this form of entertainment. Rather, it 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. Thereby, the coverage tends to instantiate (objective) information, almost like a documentary.

In the following, I wish to account for this argument in detail. First I will use two examples to illustrate that there is a lack of plot construction in the coverage. Second, I will give an example of how the selection and editing of shots is highly coincidental.

As Table 6.1 illustrates, the main syntax in the coverage is composed by pictures produced by the game camera (C1) and the action camera (C2)<sup>132</sup>. These camera cuts imitate the rhythm of fiction films of “overview” and “breakdown”. In the rhythm of fiction films, the “breakdowns” dominate, while in football coverage, C1’s overview shots are dominating. As such, the explanatory function in the coverage is left to the game itself. The viewers do not receive any help from the syntax in connecting events, or in identifying and understanding what happens during the game.

Another example of how the lack of a narrative plot reduces the entertainment value of the coverage is the lack of a plot line. A football match is also a battle against the clock. There are, however, no efforts in the 1978 coverage to construct a “timely drama” of the football events and only a few examples of informing the viewers about the remaining time. The

---

<sup>132</sup> There are only 17 examples of cuts between C2, C3 and C17 and most of the times these are cuts when the ball is out of play (for instance a shot of the keeper, followed by a shot of one of the managers or of the crowd).

commentator only makes comments occasionally about the time with observations such as “[the team] Brann is in a hurry” or “a lot of things can happen during the next few minutes”. In the visual presentation, however, no fixed graphics appear on the screen showing how much time of the game is left.

With regard to the selection and editing of shots, there seems to be no systematic division of work between cameras C2 and C3<sup>133</sup> and it is not clear for the viewers what the producer wants to convey from the match. For instance, after the second goal of Lillestrøm (76 min.) the C2 camera operator is apparently not sure what to focus on. At first he or she is zooming in on Vidar Hansen who has scored and is celebrating, before changing his or her mind and zooming in on the ball in the Brann goal. This choice is obviously not satisfactory to the producer, who cuts to a C3 shot of the crowd, but after just three seconds he chooses to show a replay of the goal. These incidents suggest that there is no clear and consistent routine for selecting and editing the available shots.

#### 6.2.4 Instantiating enlightenment through “up close and personal”

In the following sections I will discuss in detail the motives behind the different shots and the degree to which this instantiates the various structural properties. In particular, I will discuss whether the pictures are used in order to structure the game as a narrative, as this would be an instantiation of entertainment. In section 5.4.1 and in appendix 2 the classification of the motive of shots is presented. The distribution of motives in the 1978 coverage is given in the table below.

Type of motive	Number of shots per camera	Duration	% of total shots	% of total time	Average Duration
Game shots	201	3741 sec	42 per cent	67,7 per cent	19 sec
Action shots	150	846 sec	32 per cent	15,3 per cent	6 sec
Close-ups	118	910 sec	25 per cent	16,5 per cent	8 sec
Audience shots	7	26 sec	1 per cent	0,5 per cent	4 sec
Total:	476	5523 sec	100 per cent	100 per cent	12 sec

Table 6.2. Distribution of motives of the shots (1978)

Close-ups of players are usually motivated by previous actions. These close-ups identify the players involved in an earlier situation and are

---

<sup>133</sup> The close-up camera C17 produces five shots of the spectators or the managers at the end of each the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the match as well as shots of the substitutions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half.

highly entertaining in terms of both personalised and explanatory. In the 1978 final this practice had not yet been fully established<sup>134</sup>.

The few close-ups motivated by a previous action display players who have missed a goal, the three goals scorers after their goals and fouls (hands, offside). What trigger a close-up are situations in which the players performed poorly or particularly well. This is, therefore, an example of a production practice that also instantiates elements of personal enlightenment, in addition to entertainment. One example of such double instantiation takes place 30 minutes into the second half: Lillestrøm attacks and Arne Dokken scores from an offside position. The following C2 shot first shows Dokken celebrating, then he turns, realises that the goal has been annulled, and sighs. Pictures in which the players are showing emotions draw them closer to the viewers. We can understand the players' emotions when they sigh, shake their heads, or shout something at the referee. As the Danish media research Mogens Schmidt argues, "It is possible for the viewers to invest our own memories or dreams into what take place on the TV screen" (Schmidt, 1981:11). Furthermore, John Hargreaves argues that a common way of emphasising the moral aspect of the game is to describe the players as heroes or villains (Hargreaves, 1986:147). In the visual features of the 1978 cup final there are seven individual close up picture of Brann's striker, Steinar Aase who scored for Brann, but performed rather badly during the match. The fairly heavy focus on Aase after his one goal and many missed chances might place him in the role of villain<sup>135</sup>.

An interesting aspect of the coverage is the 14 individual pictures of the two managers, Billy Elliott of Brann and Joseph Hooley of Lillestrøm<sup>136</sup>. One might argue that the producer is attempting to construct a "dual" between the managers. Although the effort is not successful, it is an interesting attempt of instantiating entertainment by the use of narrative techniques. There are six pictures of Elliott and eight pictures of Hooley

---

<sup>134</sup> Only 22 of the 118 individual pictures can be labelled as motivated pictures. The first one occurs after about 12 minutes in which Brann attacks and has a small chance, shown in a C1 far view shot. This is followed by a C17 medium shot of player number 10, Steinar Aase. One minute later, the same player has a double chance in a similar C1 far view shot. This is followed by a C2 shot of Aase, a replay of the double chance and another C2 shot of Aase. The close-ups identify the player who has had a great opportunity, but they carry no emotional expressions. They are merely journalistic pictures informing the viewer of which player made the shots.

<sup>135</sup> The "real" hero of the match, Hansen, who scored twice for Lillestrøm, is only shown in two close-ups.

<sup>136</sup> Elliott left Sunderland in 1973 and coached Brann between 1974 and 1978. Hooley had managed the Olympic team of Sudan, IBK Keflavik at Iceland and the Norwegian side Molde FK before he joined Lillestrøm in 1977.

during the match. The first shot of a manager appears after about 35 minutes of play, when Joey Hooley is shown in a four seconds long C3 shot. At the very end of the first half (44.52) camera C3 displays a seven seconds close up of Brann's Bill Elliot who blows the camera a kiss and winks. About one minute later (46.00), there is another C3 shot of Lillestrøm's Joe Hooley, but he does not notice the presence of the camera. 20 minutes into the second half, C3 presents another close up of Lillestrøm's Hooley and 30 seconds later a close up of Brann's Elliott. Hooley is then showed three times, once after Brann gets a corner, once after a Brann player handles the ball, and once when Lillestrøm has a corner kick taken by Tom Lund. After Lillestrøm equalises in the 74<sup>th</sup> minute, two replays are followed by another close up of the team's manager, Hooley. Next there is a 'ball out of play' situation, and after 30 seconds a close-up of Lillestrøm's Elliot is displayed. This last picture comes too late if the idea was to show any celebration scenes of Elliot, but the shot of Hooley shows a rather miserable Brann manager. Thirty minutes into the second half, another close up of Hooley is shown, this time smoking. There are no shots of the managers' reaction after Lillestrøm's second goal, but a couple of minutes later we can see Elliot smoking in a close up. Although none of them looks particular nervous, one has to assume they are, as there is only 15 minutes left of the match. The next two manger shots show Elliot with the substitute Ingvar Dalhaug in the 81<sup>st</sup> minute and later on the bench with some players. When there is only five minutes left of the match, a rather long C3 shot (23 seconds) shows Hooley, players and supporters as there has been an injury on the pitch that requires medical attention. This last shot cannot be classified as a close up showing only Hooley as there is a lot of other action in the picture.

The number of manager shots could be ascribed to a theme about the stress, anxiety and excitement experienced by managers during a Cup Final (i.e. instantiating personal enlightenment). This does not work particularly well as there is a lack of timing in many of the shots. In addition, some of the shots do not reveal anything about the players' emotional state. On the other hand, several shots emphasise the (perhaps increased) importance of the manager for a team. None of the previous analyses has included pictures of the managers. Another theme could be the curious event of two English managers facing each other in a Norwegian Cup Final.

### *6.2.5 Choosing action shots to instantiate entertainment*

Generally, the higher the number of shots showing situations in which the ball is in play, the more entertainment will be instantiated in the coverage. Compared to overview shots, action shots offer a completely different impression of the action taking place during the game, but also in terms of content and view. However, these shots are difficult to show as they take place while the game is in play. In general, many of the changes that take

place in the Cup Final's production practice in my empirical material are related to these kinds of pictures. I will therefore discuss in detail some of the action shots that occurred in the 1978 Cup Final.

There are 150 pictures in the 1978 coverage that can be classified as action pictures, although only 48<sup>137</sup> of them actually show an action when the ball is in play. The remaining 102 pictures are more static situations, such as throw-ins, handling of the ball by the goal keeper, or a player preparing for free kick. Of these 102 pictures, 35 are just pictures showing one of the keepers with the ball (lasting on average for 6, 5 seconds), ready to restart the game, and 41 pictures showing throw-ins. These pictures are rather empty as nothing much is happening. They are simply objectively informing the viewers about what happens during the game.

However, there is a small tendency towards the instantiation of both enlightenment and entertainment through the use of the action camera, although in 1978, this tendency was very slight. Nevertheless, because its developments accelerate later, I will now present three examples in which action shots instantiate entertainment and/ or enlightenment.

Entertainment is instantiated in the 31 pictures showing man-to-man duels. In general, they are short C17 shots of a head dual (a particularly dramatic version of a player-dual as it involves a larger risk of head injuries) after a keeper has restarted the match, but there are also some nice shots by C2 of duels in front of a goal or along one of the sides of the pitch. The dangerous aspect of a head duel is clearly shown in the medium shots of camera C2.

Values associated with character-building and personal enlightenment are instantiated in the five pictures displaying a player leading the ball. The purpose of such pictures is to show the player's technical skills and his individual choices for passing the ball or dribbling. One example of such instantiation occurs after 30 minutes of the first half: the star player at Lillestrøm, Tom Lund, tries to dribble the ball past an opponent without success in an 11 seconds long shot from C1. After 33 minutes into second half, C2 shows a five seconds long shot of a Brann player manoeuvring the ball while he dribbles the ball past two opponents before crossing into the penalty area. These shots are highly personalisation as they focus on only one or two players and their qualities as footballers. These qualities can be evaluated both as negative and positive; the player may turn out to act resolute with a tactical awareness and pass the ball or be selfish and rash in an attempt to run with the ball too much. Such pictures give both the commentator and the viewers an opportunity to evaluate the efforts of the

---

<sup>137</sup> Of the 48 ball in action pictures, 31 show duels, five pictures show a tackle, another five are of a player leading with the ball, and seven shots show other situations where the ball is in play.

players. In addition, as C17 is placed at pitch level, these shots are characterised as action scenes, which are more entertaining than the far view shot or a bird eye's view.

Personal enlightenment is also instantiated in action pictures that are showing an attempt at scoring. Surprisingly there are only two such pictures (20 minutes and 30 into second half) in the whole match. These attempts, however, are the subject of most of the replays, although none is shot with camera C2 or C17. The lack of several good pictures of attempts at scoring reduces both the entertainment and informative value of the game as situations close to goals are highly important and exciting.

#### 6.2.6 *Instantiating information to football fans through team-pictures*

Pictures showing the team playing - the so-called game shots - are used for almost 70 per cent of the total match time<sup>138</sup>. This practice creates a greater "realism" closely linked to the structural property of (objective) information. Gary Whannel claims that the use of game shots aims at transparency and thereby strengthening "the claim of television to reflect events and minimising its own active construction of representations" (Whannel, 1992: 32). As C1 is placed at the half-way line with a bird's view perspective, this camera is close to the view of an average middle class position at the stadium (Buscombe, 1975; Schmidt, 1981). This position, in addition to the use of the 180 degree rule and the film-making principle of complementary angles, emphasises the observational mode.

In addition, this particular practice of using the game camera C1, instantiates the structural property of the marginal needs of football fans<sup>139</sup>. The perspective of camera C1 is highly praised by many sports viewers. For an inexperienced viewer these shots may seem uninteresting, close to boring. For viewers that belong to the group of people who are watching the game just for entertainment or those who value the social dimensions of watching football, these pictures are not particularly appealing. However, the pictures give an excellent overview of the formation of the teams and how the different players move around the field. The bird's-eye view perspective gives the sports viewer an opportunity to study the tactics of the teams, to see how they organise an attack and how a counter attack may be arranged. Even if the shot has some duration it does not disturb the natural pace of the game, as some of the medium and close-up shots may do. Football fans would be able to recognise some of the players by their appearance, position

---

<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless they amount to only 42 per cent of the total number of shots. On average they last for 19 seconds, ranging from two seconds to 103 seconds.

<sup>139</sup> In section 5.2.3 I have referred the needs and wants of various groups of viewers in relation to the development of the commentary in BBC.

on the team, or by their style of playing. Other viewers depend on the commentary to identify the particular players. If the commentators do not name the players as the ball is passed around in a game shot, the picture may be reduced to an abstraction of a game between, for example, the team in white versus the team in stripes. This, of course, would not give the viewers a close and entertaining relation to the event.

#### *6.2.7 Instantiating information in the commentary with game analysis*

With regard to the discussion of subjective versus objective information in section 6.1.1, the commentator strongly resembles a “dramatised narrator”, in the sense that he or she is a character in the story “through whom the narration passes” (Lacey, 2000:109). Commentators tell the story of the real match, but are simultaneously part of the same story. In addition, they do not know, as neither does anyone else watching the game, what the outcome of the story will be. They can, however, to a certain point, act as hosts for the coverage; introduce us to the event, address the viewers and direct us through the game. By being part of the story, narrators can allow themselves to be less objective and less authoritative. The task of commentators could therefore be not only to give an objective external report of the game, but also a more subjective evaluation and analysis of the action. In a live coverage these two positions melt together as the narrator and events are part of the same time and space. Commentators can, on the other hand, adjust their distance to the game; can utilize an expository “voice-of God” commentary, a distant observational objective commentary, an empathetic, non-judgemental participatory mode of commentary or an interactive reflexive commentary in which they are involved and engaged in the action.

The general impression of the commentary is that this practice instantiates (objective) information, and in the following, I will give three examples of this. First, the general notion of the commentator in the 1978 match is that he follows a similar pattern of “overview and breakdown” as the visual presentation of camera C1 and C2 (see section 6.2.3). The rhythm of the commentary is naming the players – staying quiet for 10-12 seconds–naming the players – staying quiet for 10-12 seconds and so on. After 37 minutes play in the first half, he says nothing for 25 seconds, which is a rather long time in sports coverage. Even when the first half is almost over, ending with a cliff-hanger finish, he does not change his pattern of commentary. The way in which he varies the pace and flow of words suggests he is familiar with a common problem of commentators - “to talk or not to talk” - as discussed in section 5.2.3.

With regard to audience-friendly practice, one might argue that the commentator is addressing the common needs of the less sports interested viewers. It is crucial that the commentator identify the players on behalf of the viewers as the game camera C1 provides the majority of the pictures



most of the time. The naming of players is usually via short messages, but in some cases the commentator also adds a comment on the performance of the player in question (*“Hands, active shoulder, Vidar Hansen”* and *“Hammer is an offensive and great back”*). To a certain degree, the commentator’s naming turns the players from abstract pieces portrayed by camera C1 into real human beings. The short informative messages of a player’s name and sometimes their number can, however, be associated with rhetoric of the military and gives the commentary a sense of impersonality; it is the whole team that is important, not the individual player.

Second, every 20th minute or so the commentator sums up the match so far, which could also be ascribed to the structural property of information. At the opening of each half he spends about five minutes in presenting the teams and their formation and throughout the match he keeps the record of the number of corners and substitutions. At the end of the first half he states *“Four minutes left, 1-0, Aase”* as a very short, precise and informative announcement.

Third, the commentator displays a tendency to analyse player performance as teams more than as individual players. In addition, the analysis is mostly based on positive evaluations. He claims that *“Brann has been quicker and more flexible”*, that *“the defenders of Brann are inexperienced”* and that *“Lillestrøm is struggling to get out of own zone as it is called in ice hockey”*. If the players perform well they might receive comments such as *“he is as fast as greased lightning”*, *“fantastic shot by Tom Lund”* or *“he is a first-rate goal keeper”*. Negative characteristics of the individual players only occur a few times such as *“we have not seen much of Neil McLeod”* and *“the keeper miscalculated the shot”*. To some extent he is also evaluating the referee and the line-keepers (*“they are doing an excellent job”*, *the lines man reacted fast*, *“it is a correct booking in my opinion”* and *“it is a right decision”*). Mostly, if he comments on a referee’s decision at all, he claims that it is the right decision. About tackles he would merely say *“it was a clean tackle”*, *“it is no big deal”*, *“it is against the regulation”*, *“Lund just ran into him”* and *“there are some lively kicks on the pitch”*. A typical way of commenting on a rule violation takes place three minutes into the second half in which the referee stops the match because of a foul. In a short C1 shot we can see that the referee and Grønlund for Lillestrøm are talking. The commentator comments on this incident as:

*“Grønlund is given a reprimand because of abusive language - Nothing else than abusive language. I guess he just got a bit anxious, as everybody in a Cup Final. It’s down to eagerness – a sympathetic and decent sort, Grønlund”*.

Overall, if the commentator comments on a particularly hard or dangerous duel or tackle, he does not exaggerate the event, but on the contrary tends to reduce them to less harmful situations. This type of evaluation was not present in the previously analysed Cup Finals. The running commentary, the summing up and the evaluation of the performances suggest that the commentator practice of 1978 exhibits the structural property of objective information about the game, laced with a subjective journalistic evaluation of the players.

#### 6.2.8 *Attempts of personalisation and dramatisation in the commentary*

Although the commentary mainly instantiates the structural property of information, there is a tendency to also instantiate the structural property of entertainment. As such, one might argue that the commentator instantiates a merged structural property of *infotainment*.

Instantiating entertainment in the practice of commentating takes place as personalisation and dramatisation. With regard to personalisation, there is a tendency in the commentary to focus on the player Tom Lund as Lillestrøm's primary weapon<sup>140</sup>. After 45 minutes played by the first half, C1 shows a far view shot of Tom Lund dribbling the ball outside the penalty box before he loses the ball. The incident is reviewed by the commentator as *"This is Tom Lund, well.... You could have passed to Tomteberget, Tommy"*. Ten minutes before Lund loses one of his boots in a dual and while C2 displays the player putting it back on, the commentator says: *"You'd better put a granny knot on that, Tommy, so your boots stay on"*. In both cases, the commentator addresses the player, not only by his first name, but by the abbreviated form "Tommy".

With regard to dramatisation, it seems like the commentator is waking up from his usual drowsy "overview/ breakdown" pattern whenever there is a shot on goal. When the goal to Lillestrøm's player Aase is shown in replay, he shouts:

*"A magnificent goal! 20 minutes into first half. It is a great pass. And look at the exultation! Notice how elegant Aase stops, pulls free and shoots. Strong and raking booming, Aase"*.

This kind of cry is symptomatic for the commentator as he is addressing the viewers and invites them to pay close attention to Aase. The enthusiasm and tense commentary definitely frames the incident as highly entertaining. In addition, the commentator offers short comments that spice

---

<sup>140</sup> In a narrative analysis the natural actant for this position would be as a helper, and not as a subject. With regard to the many individual pictures of the two managers, the commentator does not support any potential conflict between them.

up the commentary as they are both individualising and to some extent personalising<sup>141</sup>.

In general, signs of pleasure are highlighted as the commentator speaks about the spectators singing, playing instruments and their reactions to defensive play or great performances. However, the history of the Cup Final, the Cup Final as a national event and so on is not a theme in this commentary.

#### 6.2.9 Chapter summary – a constrained, but playful production practice

The coverage of the Cup Final in 1978 mainly exhibits the structural property of information, and more specifically, objective, neutral and balanced information as close to a transmission of reality as possible. There are very few celebration scenes, hardly any shots of the audience, and few action shots or shots of goal attempts. The dominating effect of the camera's interplay is a view of the match through distance and overview shots rather than a shots evoking popular involvement of something entertaining. There is little in the coverage that excites emotion in the viewers, very few points of identification, personalisation, dramatisation or immediacy. It is by and large a straight forward informative documentary of a football match, with some attempts at a journalistic analysis of the game and of the players' performances.

It is surprising that entertainment was not instantiated directly in the coverage as the main instantiation of sport is based on sport as entertainment. This is particularly true since the coverage in both 1969 and 1971 was highly framed as entertainment. International developments also pointed towards sport as entertainment. In addition, the concept of infotainment was about to gain a foothold in television, which could have encouraged an entertainment-based perspective of sport as well. Despite the fact that all the players are "ordinary" people playing football as amateurs<sup>142</sup> there is no effort in the coverage to strengthening the identification between the viewers and the footballers.

Compared with the analysis of the Cup Final in 1971, the tendency in coverage that includes a closed relational interaction between different structural properties has not been developed in 1978. The production practice of "infotainment" in 1971 that exhibited structural properties of information and entertainment, as well as personal and national enlightenment seems to have been a practice for a very short time. The emphasis on journalistic values in the coverage in 1978 resembles more the

---

<sup>141</sup> Such as "the keeper is wearing some elegant long johns", "it does not matter anything that the referee is from Bergen" (same city as the team Brann) and "Grønland can't be blamed for being a tall guy".

<sup>142</sup> In Norway, professional football was legalised as late as 1991.

coverage of 1966 than the coverage of 1971. Why then did the Sports Department not carry on the “infotainment” practice of 1971, particularly since this was the main programme strategy of the NRK management?

In the following, I wish to present two arguments concerning how the structural property of information in the production practices of the Cup Final in 1978 are related to changes in structures a few years earlier. As discussed in section 6.1.1, the conflict surrounding the instantiation process of the structural property of information lead to the introduction of programming rules in NRK in 1975. As such, a change in the structures aiming at constraining the production practice took place.

Firstly, the infotainment-based production practice for the Cup Final in 1971 had not yet been located as a sufficient stable practice within the audience-friendly structure of NRK Television. Although infotainment had gained a foothold in some departments of NRK and was used in international sports coverage, it had not yet been established in the NRK Sports Department as a structural property in the same sense as entertainment, enlightenment and information. On the contrary, it may be argued that infotainment merely existed as an “instant”, i.e. in a very short space in time, and not as a fully instantiated practice. As an adjective, instant is understood as “immediate and urgent” and as an adverb, instantly is understood as immediately and directly. As such, the infotainment practice we saw in 1971 may simply have been something hurriedly prepared for immediate use and not the start of a new elaborative practice.

Secondly, when the conflicts with the interpretation of the structural property of information accelerated in other departments of NRK, it is possible that the Sports Department either instantiated the “safe” structural property of objective information, in order to avoid being pulled into the general conflict of programme production in NRK, or was constrained by the programming rules in the same way as other departments. Acting as a “castra”, the Sports Department may have been a place of refuge and protection: a quiet and retired place cut off from the battle field. From my empirical data, it is hard to trace the conflicts that engaged the rest of NRK during the 1970s to the Sports Department in general and in particular to the production practice of the Cup Final in 1978. Although an objective journalistic attitude dominates the coverage in 1978, sport was seemingly not an issue in the debate between objective and subjective journalism. If the debate was present at all in a sports production practice, the coverage included both subjective and objective journalism in a very, very short view. In that case, production was completely in accordance with the 1975 Rules of Programming. As such, one might argue that the Cup Final production contributed in constituting the structural property of impartiality within a programme perspective of the structures of NRK.

As an organisational castra, the structure of an audience-friendly perspective enabled the Sports Department to instantiate some elements of

entertainment in its production practice. On the other hand, the Sports Department was constrained by the structure of programming rules. As a result, structural properties of impartiality, objective information and reliability were instantiated. Enlightenment was not directly instantiated in the practice apart from some elements addressing team moral and collaboration. As the practice instantiated an audience-friendly perspective that considered both marginal needs and common needs in addition to a programme perspective that enhanced objectivity, one could argue that the production practice of 1978 constituted national unity, emphasising the democratic, national and character-building values of the structural principles.

The main question in section 6.2 has been whether the practice of producing sports programmes continued to fluctuate between the various structural properties even when constraining structures are introduced. As shown the answer to this question is clearly “no”, particularly as sports production can be seen to have instantiated information in its practice. In the next section, the main question is whether the newly introduced structures of NRK (an audience and a programme perspective, in addition to formal programming rules), continued to constrain the production of the Cup Final. In order to answer this question I will move ahead two years and analyse the Cup Final of 1980.

### **6.3 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1980**

During the 1970s and into the early 1980s NRK experienced a loss of legitimacy both from the political system and from its audience. As illustrated in section 6.1.1, two changes took place within the structures of NRK in reply to these challenges.

First, the audience- and programme-based perspectives of structures were closed-in and made more explicit. This made it possible to “merge” two of the structural properties, entertainment and information, into one hybrid instantiation process. The infotainment practice can be characterised as highly person-centred, rather intimate and personalised, particularly within traditional entertainment programmes and children’s programmes. The main aim within the audience-friendly perspective was to fulfil the wishes and needs of the general public, and to enlighten them by constituting democratic and national values within the structural principle of national unity. The audience-friendly perspective also included taking into account the wishes and needs of marginal groups. This approach was particularly crucial within informative programmes, in which the journalists often took the side of small, marginal, and weak groups. The intention was to enhance democratic, humanistic and character-building in order to constitute universalism also as cultural diversity.

Secondly, specific programming rules were introduced within a programme perspective of the structures. The rules emphasised the objective role of NRK, claiming that the programmes should aspire to balanced information, impartiality and content pluralism.

In 1969, entertainment was instantiated in the production of the Cup Final. In the production of the Cup Final in 1971, there was some evidence of the structural property of infotainment, but in the Cup Final in 1978 the production practice instantiated information.

### 6.3.1 *Instantiating entertainment through camera alternation*

For the Cup Final in 1980, I have data for the whole match<sup>143</sup>. The match itself is covered by four cameras placed in identical positions to those in 1978. Table 6.3 shows how the shots of the game are distributed among the cameras.

Camera	Sec. per camera	Number of shots per camera	Average length of shots	% of total shots	% of total duration of shots
C1	4128 sec	162	25 sec	49%	78%
C2	373 sec	65	8 sec	20%	7%
C3	138 sec	17	8 sec	5%	3%
C17	677 sec	87	8 sec	26%	13%
Total:	5316 sec	331	12 sec	100 %	100 %

*Table 6.3. Distribution of camera shots (1980)*

The game camera C1 is still the main provider of shots and the use of the close-up camera C3 is also quite similar to the 1978 match. However, there is less use of the action camera C2<sup>144</sup>, while the activity of the close-up camera C17<sup>145</sup> increases. This change in the camera distribution between 1978 and 1980 suggest that there is a higher degree of variety in camera shots, which has a positive effect on the entertainment value in the coverage as it offers a multiplicity of viewing perspectives. On the other hand, there are significantly fewer shots in 1980 compared to 1978, indicating that the

<sup>143</sup> In addition there is a pre match collage of interviews and highlights from previous matches in the Cup round, although these are not included in the analysis.

<sup>144</sup> In 1980 C2 produced almost 1/3 of what the same camera did in the 1978 match, dropping from 179 shots to 65. Measured in duration, C2 use dropped from 22 per cent in 1978 to 7 per cent in 1980.

<sup>145</sup> C17 increased its share of shots from 52 to 87 compared to the 1978 match. The duration of C17 shots increased from 4 per cent to 13 per cent.

tempo in the camera cutting has decreased, something that has a negative effect on the entertainment value. This example of somewhat conflicting effects is typical for the Cup Final in 1980.

As the number and length of C17 pictures have increased since the 1978 match, one might argue that the number and length of close-up pictures have increased equally. This would indicate that the share of individual pictures, showing the players in “non-action” situations is greater than before. Consequently one might assume that the coverage relies more on entertainment-based person-oriented shots than on informative team-oriented shots. In order to investigate whether this is true, we need to take a closer look at the motives behind the shots. This is carried out in the next section.

### 6.3.2 Instantiating information by focusing on the teams

There are two striking aspects in the review of the pictures’ motives. Firstly, the distribution of the motives is roughly the same in the 1980 match as it was in the 1978 match. As neither the amount of individual pictures nor action shots have increased during the two years, the coverage mainly exhibits the structural property of information<sup>146</sup>. Secondly, attempts at creating entertainment and drama in the 1978 match are followed up in the 1980 match. This suggests that the production practices of 1980 managed to instantiate two different structural properties. In a few cases these instantiations are conflicting, but in most cases they take the form of a merger, i.e. they are evident in the form of *infotainment*.

By using the same schema of classifying the content of the camera shots as in previous match analyses, table 6.4 shows the distribution of team shots, situations shots, individual pictures and shots of the audience.

Type of motive	Number of shots	Duration	Per cent of total shots	Per cent of total time	Average duration
Game shots	137	3771 sec	41%	71%	28 sec.
Action shots	110	826 sec	33%	15,5%	8 sec.
Close-up shots	81	692 sec	25%	13%	9 sec.
Audience shots	4	27 sec	1%	0,5%	8 sec.
Total:	331	5316 sec	99, %	100,0 %	13 sec.

Table 6.4. Distribution of motives of the shots (1980)

<sup>146</sup> The share of close ups have decreased from 16, 5 per cent in 1978 to 13 per cent in 1980, while the game shots have increased slightly from 67, 7 per cent to 71 per cent. As the share of close up shots in the 1980 coverage is relatively stable compared to 1978, the duration of game shots have increased, which reduces the tempo in the coverage.

In section 6.3.3, I will give two examples of how the instantiation of entertainment has increased and in section 6.3.4 I will show three examples of how *infotainment* was instantiated. In the following, I will give three examples of how the production practices of 1980 instantiated information.

The first example showing how the structural property of information is instantiated in the 1980 match coverage is the little attention paid to individual players<sup>147</sup>. Despite the increased use of individual shots by the C17 camera, the coverage does not instantiate entertainment based on personalisation. In particular, there are very few shots of the goal scorers after their goals. In the match there are five goals from four different players. The goals scorers are not directly downplayed in the coverage, but they are definitely not given any extended attention either<sup>148</sup>. As in the 1978 match, it is difficult to subscribe particular roles to the players, as heroes, villains or scapegoats<sup>149</sup>. In addition to the absence of individual shots of potential heroes of the game, the coverage contains only one shot of a manager, after about eight minutes into the second half. This is particularly puzzling as the managers were such a big theme in the coverage of the 1978 Cup Final.

The second example of how information is instantiated in the coverage is the increased average length of team-oriented shots from the game camera C1. In 1978 the average length for a team oriented shot was 19 seconds, while in 1980 the length is 28 seconds. This is even longer than in the 1971 match, which implies that the tempo of alternation from one camera to another has not increased. The longest team-oriented shot was one minute and 53 seconds while the camera follows play in a “transparent” style, only adjusting by pan to the movement of the ball. The “responsibility” of creating excitement and information are more or less left to the rhythms of the match – the television camera only shows what is going on.

The third example of how the coverage exhibits the structural property of information is the number of pictures in which the ball is out of play<sup>150</sup>. Here there is a small decrease in both pace and excitement of the

---

<sup>147</sup> For instance, 26 of the 81 close-ups are simply showing the keepers holding the ball and preparing to restart the match. These do not have any narrative function except for signalling that there is a stop in the match.

<sup>148</sup> Of the five scorers, Erik Foss is shown in a close-up picture nine times, Vidar Hansen is shown seven times and the two-goal scorer Morten Haugen six times. Both Hansen and Foss were also injured in the game, so three of the pictures of each of these players are related to the injury situations.

<sup>149</sup> There are a few pictures of players checking their boots, which may be interpreted as motivated by a slippery pitch, because it had snowed heavily the night before. The icy pitch as an actant was highlighted a few times during the game as one of the Lillestrøm defenders quite suddenly falls after 10 minutes, creating a massive chance for Erik Foss and Brann, which he misses.

<sup>150</sup> There are slightly more of “ball out of play” segments in the 1980 match (73 per cent) compared to the 1978 match (67 per cent).



coverage. The 81 “ball out of play” pictures are merely filling in empty time in the coverage, and best function as entertainment in alternating with the shots from C1<sup>151</sup>. However, because there are considerably fewer pictures in the 1980 coverage compared to 1978, there are also fewer alternations in the 1980 coverage. As the producer in the 1980 match chooses not to replace the “ball out of play” pictures with other pictures the pauses in the game are presented as natural aspects of the football game. The many pauses where players and viewers are waiting for the game to start are highly realistic as neither the pause nor the length of time for that pause is predictable. In other words, the time of the real match coincides highly with the television time in the 1980 match, presenting it in an observational mode.

### 6.3.3 *Instantiating entertainment by focusing on drama*

According to Table 6.4, 1/3 of the pictures in the 1980 coverage show particular situations of the game. Although there are only 29 (of 110) action shots in which the ball is in play, the amount of action shots might indicate that there is a stronger tendency than previously to instantiate entertainment in terms of drama. In this section, I will provide examples of such instantiations.

The first example of how entertainment is instantiated is related to injuries and conflicts with the referee. These themes were not included in the 1978 match to the same extent. In 1980, injuries are given quite a lot of space in the coverage as eight out of nine motivated shots are following situations which include injuries<sup>152</sup>. Although these incidents only occupy about two minutes of the entire coverage, being rather dramatic they attract a lot of attention. Their purpose is mainly to engage the viewers through an exploration of the injuries. Offering an explanation for a pause in the game is also the reason for pictures displaying the referee. In most of the nine shots, the referee or one of the lines men is just shown in a semi-close shot without action, such as gesticulating.

Another example of how entertainment, as drama, is instantiated is the 29 shots of situations such as duels, tackles and leading the ball. Although this category is rather small compared to the 1978 match<sup>153</sup>, the

---

<sup>151</sup> Throw-ins, corners and free kicks make up 46 shots of the total 110 action shots; duels are shown in 16 shots, there are nine shots show goals or attempts on goal and four shots of passes and crosses, keeper handling the ball is the theme in 13 of the pictures, while 22 pictures display various situations of players preparing for shots, handling the ball or just shots of the ball.

<sup>152</sup> In addition, some of the close-ups focus on injuries as when Foss, Dokken and Hansen are down, how Hansen and Foss are helped up, when Dokken leaves the pitch and Foss limps around, when Foss talks to the coach, the knee of Arne Dokken, Hansen returns to the pitch and how he is bandaged.

<sup>153</sup> In 1978 there were 31 pictures of duels compared to the 16 pictures in 1980

majority of the pictures are duels for ball possession, which are rather exciting situations. The duels are dramatic because they display a man-to-man situation and challenges for ball possession. Two concrete example of such picture occurs at the beginning of the second half: When Tom Lund and Erik Foss are fighting for the ball, the producer cuts from C1 to C17 and shows how the fight results in a throw in for Tom Lund and Lillestrøm. After 21 and a half minute a similar situation is captured by C17, this time close to the corner flag, but it ends with a throw-in for Vålerenga.

The duels get even more dramatic if they involve a tackle. For instance, after about 29 minutes, C17 alters between two C1 shots in order to capture a tackle of a Lillestrøm player outside the Vålerenga goal. The four shots of passing and crossing have also a dramatic aspect as there is a possibility for giving the ball away, and because they are all situations leading up to a goal chance<sup>154</sup>.

#### 6.3.4 *Instantiating infotainment through syntax and motivated shots*

In this section I will present three examples of how the camera syntax instantiate both entertainment and information through the use of motivated shots.

Firstly, compared to the 1978 match, there has been an increase<sup>155</sup> in so-called motivated shots (pictures which are provoked by previous actions of the game). The syntactical arrangement is based on C17 shots or C2 shots following C1 shots in order to identify, explain or connect a player to a previous action. This practice was not established in the 1978 game, but in 1980 the practice is more or less consistent during the entire match, although only present to a small degree. The consistent use of motivated shots, particularly when a close-up follows a game shot after a big goal chance or a crucial foul, is, in modern sports coverage termed “hero reaction shot” or “defender reaction shot.

A concrete example of how the syntax between the cameras is built upon reaction shots occurs for instance after about ten minutes of the first half: C1 shows how Vålerenga had a chance to take the lead, followed by two pictures of the player who missed the goal from C17 and C2. Another example takes place after 14 minutes into the first half: Lillestrøm missed a good chance to take the lead when a player was caught offside. The C1 shot of this incident is followed by a C17 shot of the keeper with the ball and a

---

<sup>154</sup> Nine of the action shots are classified as attempts on goal and goals. As six of these are replays, they do not contribute to the excitement per se as the viewers may lose out on a uniquely live atmospheric moment.

<sup>155</sup> For instance, of the 118 close-ups in the Cup Final in 1978 only 22 were motivated pictures, while in 1980, 35 of the 81 close-ups were provoked by previous events in the match.

C1 shot of the players in the mid circle waiting for the game to restart. However, while they – and the viewers – are waiting for the restart, C17 shows the player who was pulled back for offside, Arne Dokken.

Another example addresses faults committed. These are four outside situations, one “hands” and two discussions about a throw in. In two of the offside cases, the names of Morten Haugen and Erik Foss are superimposed. Identifying players, exploring what took place during particular incidents, explaining fouls and engaging the viewers in the events are both elements within the structural properties of entertainment and information.

Secondly, infotainment is instantiated as the producer cuts rapidly between non-action shots, action shots and game shots that are motivated by events during the match. This syntax takes place, for instance whenever there is a corner kick. This cutting rhythm is well-known in modern football coverage, and half of the corner situations in the 1980 match followed this pattern. For instance, after 39 minutes, a rather modern camera cut takes place when Lillestrøm was rewarded with a corner kick. From C1, the view switches to C17 of Tom Lund preparing for the corner kick. After seven seconds, C1 shows the players waiting in the box for about three seconds, before we see Lund’s corner kick in a three seconds long C17 shots followed by a C1 shot of the situation in the box.

The syntax of corner kicks is interesting because it exhibits both entertainment and information within a very short time. The dramatic aspect of this particular cutting rhythm is the identification of the player performing the corner, as a “narrative helper”. Furthermore, the segment exhibits entertainment by enlarging the dramatic moments before a huge goal chance and relevant information (which player performs the corner kick and how the players in the box positioned themselves). As half of the corner situations are structured along this syntax, it is reason to claim that these segments demonstrate the structural property of infotainment.

Thirdly, of the situations depicted in the match all but one of the hero reaction shots are a casual exploration of who scored the goal. In two incidents the identification is supported by graphics as the goal scorers’ names are superimposed over the actual player. These shots also serve to engage the audience, as all but one show players cheering and celebrating. The one non-celebration scene shows one of the goal scorers leaving the pitch due to an injury, but this shot is nonetheless engaging, as one either pities the player or is pleased on behalf of the other team. Similar, the 12 pictures following shots on goal show, in some cases, how frustrated or in despair the players are that missed a goal. As such, the pictures do not simply identify the players; they also bring the players closer to us through internalisation.

### 6.3.5 *Instantiating infotainment through the use of replays*

Another example of how events on the pitch are brought into one meaningful and entertaining whole is through the use of replays. A replay involves a radical transformation of temporal relationship. As several writers have noted, a replay combines two temporal dimensions, the chronology and the narrative time (Morse, 1983; Whannel, 1992 and Marriott, 1996). According to Morris and Nydahl:

*“the slow motion replay... enables a director to present insights that not only alter our understanding of the original event, but also allow us to be recipients of entirely new events outside of real time and space” (Morris & Nydahl, 1985: 102).*

As in the case with motivated shots, these segments of the coverage carry three functions: to explore, to explain and to engage. In the 1980 cup final there are 12 replays, which is a slight increase from the 1978 match. Replays are largely associated with goals, inasmuch as the 1978 match coverage included replays of the three goals and the 1980 coverage included the five goals of the match. These replays would engage most of the viewers, both the fans and viewers with less interest in football. Similar effects are probably created through the five replays in the 1980, which show chances and shots in the post and at the goal compared to the three replays of these situations in 1978<sup>156</sup>.

These replays would, probably engage the football fan allowing him or her to evaluate the content. Ordinary viewers might not find the replay particularly engaging unless the replay also explains and explores what took place in a previous event. For instance, the first replay of the match is related to a villain reaction shot. The sequence starts with Vålerenga attacking in a minute long C1 shot which ends when Erik Foss misses a chance. The C1 shot is followed by a glimpse of Erik Foss in a close-up from C2 which is quickly replaced by a better close-up of Foss from C17. The 15 seconds long C17 shot clearly shows Foss' despair. The shot is followed by a replay of the last 23 seconds of the C1 shot, in order to explain the player's misery.

In 1980 there are no replays of fouls as there is in the coverage of the 1978 match. Rather there are two replays of celebration after the first two goals, just as in 1971. The 1978 match, however, has no replays of celebratory scenes. The replays of players celebrating a goal are merely functioning as engaging the viewers in the atmosphere of happiness.

---

<sup>156</sup> All of the replays are given by the game camera (C1), except for the reaction shots of the players celebrating which is given by both C17 and C2. On average the replays last for 12 seconds, but one of the celebration replays is just a glimpse of one second before another camera takes over and displays the situation.

### 6.3.6 Chapter summary – loosening the constraints

The cup final in 1980 shares many similarities with the coverage from 1978. It is still an observational, transparent and objective transmission of a real event. However, the 1980 coverage is laced with more entertaining aspects, which might suggest that the coverage attempted to instantiate both the structural properties of information and entertainment. Although sports coverage seems like the perfect hybrid genre between information and entertainment, it is in the case of objectivity presumed that journalism and sports journalism are two separate areas (Helland, 2003). In news journalism the structures enable subjective and biased coverage to take place, while in sports journalism, particularly in live sports coverage, the structures constrained the production. As such, the productions practices of the Cup Final in 1980 instantiated both objective information and elements of pure entertainment.

Firstly, it has an entertaining form of alternating images and visual perspectives. Although there is an extended use of the fourth camera in 1980 compared to 1978, the incidence of alternating between the cameras is to some extent controlled. The dominant position of the main camera functions at a distance to the game and emphasises the movements of the teams rather than the individual players. The coverage is marked by slow, laborious and somewhat accidental camera movements that constrain its entertainment value. Overall, the coverage lacked tempo, energy and intensity in the editing, and is primarily static and monotone.

Secondly, and with regard to the content of the shots, there is more focus on dramatic situations, such as injuries, goal chances and fouls. These dramatic events are highlighted as the producer show a more conscious use of camera syntax. On the other hand, the use of close-ups is being withheld. It does not meet the rationale for entertainment in terms of a person-centred entertainment value nor of a “bottom-up” approach. The coverage is very down-to-earth in its presentation of the footballers as real people. There is nothing glamorous about these players. This aesthetic expression portrays them as hard working, but equal and quite ordinary people. The goal scorer, Vidar Hansen, is not just a footballer as the commentator puts it; *“he is also a sheet-metal worker from Ørsta, a small municipality with a population of 10.000 inhabitants”*.

Thirdly, there is a tendency in the coverage for the producer to show some effort to establish control of the event compared to the 1978 match. The producer has sometimes eliminated material that does not represent good television, neither as entertainment nor as information. Since 1970 there has been a steady, but slow rise in the number of close ups and an extended rise in the number of motivated pictures. These shots, along with their employment suggest a more confident structuring of the coverage in terms of a narrative. However, it is not the case that a story line has entirely

replaced a journalistic, observational mode. Rather, the narrative has been added as a second layer. When the narrative is observable, the story is highly plot-driven as opposed to character-driven stories. This is evident in the large amount of motivated shots, usually in terms of hero reaction shots and in the relatively large amount of instant replays.

With regard to the structural property of enlightenment, the coverage shows some tendencies to instantiate the structural principle of cultural pluralism. As the teams' performances are highlighted and the performances of the goal-scorers not emphasised, one might argue that the values and norms expressed through the coverage are linked to a socio-democratic workers' enlightenment of character-building, enhancing collaboration and collective identities. As such, the sports coverage in 1980 addressed issues, such as a positive value of fraternisation, cooperation, equality, peaceful competition, fair play and physical education, directly. The aspect of the match as a festival of nationhood is downplayed, for instance through there being only four shots of the audience throughout the entire transmission. This is slightly different from the 1978 coverage, which included almost doubled the number of pictures lasting half the time compared to 1980. It is somewhat surprising that both matches contain few images of the audience as the Cup Final generally is spoken of as a national ceremony.

In relation to the conflicts regarding the structures in NRK, as discussed earlier in chapter 6, I have tried to show how the new structures both constrained and enabled the production practice to evolve. They enabled the instantiation of values associated with news journalism, as well as constraining the instantiation of certain aspects associated with entertainment. The producers of sports managed, therefore, to gain legitimacy from two separate areas, news journalism and entertainment, while at the same time avoiding conflicts that took place within these areas in other departments of NRK. As the production of sports could draw on two principal sets of practices, a stable basis was created. It was on this basis that the sports production's claim to authoritativeness rested. Another reason for the high degree of stability given to sports production in this period was the emergence of objectivity in sports coverage as a standard convention. Standardisation is a logical but significant extension of stability, because it exhibits commonly accepted ways of doing things.

Summing up, the multiplicity of structures was given space to develop and created vagueness in structural properties. There was a change within the structures when journalists within NRK revised the meaning of objectivity and interpreted the notion of audience differently. A second source of change was the conflicting and contradictions between the values and the interests within NRK. However, the management managed to mediate between the structural principles and structural properties first by putting more emphasis on the audience-based perspective of structures and second, by closing the structures through the introduction of a new set of

Rules of Programming (1975). These two events managed to stabilise the broadcaster in that it regained some of its lost legitimacy, which had been generated by politicians and public opinion. Yet, the instantiation of the new structures was not to last forever. The 1980s represented a dramatic period for the public service broadcaster, NRK, as it lost its monopoly and the number of radio channels increased. In 1981, commercial radio stations were established, followed by satellite and local TV. In 1987 TV3 was established and in 1988 TVNorge, both commercial television channels. However, neither of these changes within the radio and television market came as a surprise to NRK. On the contrary, NRK was well prepared, but nevertheless left with three challenges: to enhance the traditional ideology of public service broadcasting, to win back legitimacy associated both with the political system and its audience, and to deal with competition in a new media situation.

In the next chapter, I will present the resolution for the NRK monopoly and changes that took place within production practices for sport in the 1980s and early 1990s. So far, the analyses have illustrated how the production of the Cup Final in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s have fluctuated in the instantiation of the structural properties entertainment, information and enlightenment as a result of the constraining and enabling forces of structures in NRK. This tendency suggests that enlightenment has been replaced with infotainment and that pure entertainment is more directly instantiated without upsetting the values of neutrality and fairness associated with the structural property of information.

## 7 NRK's loss of monopoly and further on

This last empirical chapter deals with the period before the NRK monopoly was dissolved and the years that followed. The dissolution of the monopoly was a radical transformation of the Norwegian broadcasting system. Within a short period of time, NRK faced two major waves of competition; first in the late 1980s with the introduction of two commercial channels (TV3 and TVNorge), which took NRK by a surprise (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). The second wave came in the early 1990s with the introduction of the commercial public service channel, TV2. This time, NRK was well-prepared (Syvertsen, 1997).

My main argument in this chapter is that ongoing adjustments in production practices, as mere incremental variations on the same structural principles, were essential for an institutional order to survive. In addition, I argue that the mediating level between structural principles and structural properties (i.e. structures) play a vital role in gluing principles and properties together more strongly. The structures of NRK have, so far, proven to be very elastic, and are either relaxed or tightened together in order to enable and constrain the instantiations taking place.

In chapter 4 and 5, I argued that open and elusive structures enabled a multiplicity of structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment to evolve. In chapter 6, however, I argued that the structures regarding the programme perspective (programming rules) were tightened in order to secure journalistic ideals and publishing norms. This change constrained programme production practice, preventing entertainment from dominating the other instantiations. In this chapter, I will show that the structures regarding the audience perspective went through a similar process.

The chapter will also show how the structures regarding the audience perspective were clarified by the introduction of quantitative performance measurement tools and scheduling strategies that were commonly associated with commercial broadcasters. These changes will be reviewed in light of the continued constitution of NRK's structural principles of universalism. In order to constitute the structural principles of NRK, a universal service was, in this period, interpreted, more clearly than previously, as "audience maximisation" and as "national unity". Based on the structure of national interests and concerns and protecting the national



culture and languages, NRK aimed at representing national as opposed to foreign interests. Although NRK was still seeking to provide services that celebrated social diversity, NRK focused more on facilitating social cohesion. Accordingly, the structural properties most apt to instantiate these structures were an audience-friendly programme perspective and entertainment.

For the production practices of televised football, the balance between the structural properties of entertainment, enlightenment and information, were adjusted accordingly. Although, the changes that took place in the production of the Cup Finals during the 1980s and early 1990s were small, ongoing adaptations and fine-tunings, they were capable of contributing to the constitution of NRK as “the” national broadcaster in a new era of competition. In addition, the changes helped to modify NRK’s programme output in terms of flexibility, vitality, quality, innovation and increased productivity. Based on these changes, NRK managed to maintain a high market share, high viewing ratings and its political legitimacy, despite the competition for commercial broadcasters.

### **7.1 First wave of competition**

Throughout the 1970s, NRK was put under pressure by several industrial events. The rise of industrial and commercial interests was encouraged by the growth of new distribution technologies (video, cable and satellite) and by the emerging international trend towards privatisation and liberalisation. Elster, the General Director of NRK between 1972 and 1981, had noticed both the constraining and enabling aspects of a broadcasting monopoly. In 1980 he official claimed that there were no longer any practical reasons for a continued monopoly within Norwegian broadcasting (Dahl & Høyer, 2003). The economical, technical and market constraints, associated with the 1950s, had either been removed or transformed. Instead, a new set of external constraints for broadcasting had emerged. These constraints were all linked to new distribution channels, a move away from the traditional model of public corporations’ organisation, and a shift in the balance between the audience as citizens and as consumers (Syvertsen, 1992).

In the early 1980s, NRK’s legitimacy was unsteady, weak and lacked stability, due to the long-lasting conflicts of programming rules. At the same time, political changes transformed the Norwegian media system. The social-democratic government was replaced by a Conservative minority government in 1981. One of the first acts of the new government was to issue permits to private local radio and television stations, encouraged by general anti monopoly sentiments amongst the public (Dahl & Høyer, 2003: 19). The following years can therefore be viewed as a period in which NRK focused on strengthening its legitimacy both internally and externally, by

constituting its main structural principles more profoundly. NRK had to legitimate why it existed as a broadcaster and why it was still needed.

From this, three main tasks to constitute universalism as a structural principle were derived. The first task was to continue technological developments so that everybody could receive good quality radio and television signals. The second task was linked to a national and democratic value of content universalism. In 1976, NRK established district/ regional offices, enabling the production of both radio and television programmes, and from which NRK received great local support and legitimacy. These offices grew rapidly during the late 1970s and early 1980s. From 1975 to 1982 the number of employees at the district offices rose from 174 to 463 (NRK, 1982: 35) while the number of offices rose from 10 to 14. These parts of NRK established NRK as a true national institution, and not only an Oslo-based company. Following the same political focus on decentralisation, the head office of the second radio channel, P2 (1982) was placed in Trondheim, the third largest city of Norway. More importantly, these three events also constituted a change of attitude in NRK, moving it away from the position of paternalistic enlightenment and elitism towards a social democratic egalitarianism, including civil personal enlightenment.

However, the relaxation of the broadcasting monopoly by allowing the establishment of private local radio stations intensified in the mid 1980s (Dahl & Høyer, 2003) and step by step Norway was turned into a multi-channel society. The Scandinavian TV3 (established in 1987) and TVNorge (established in 1988) captured a small, but significant portion of NRK's audience. In addition, access to Swedish television, CNN, MTV, Eurosport, Sky Channel and Super Channel grew steadily in this period, signalling a turn towards television heterogeneity in terms of both channel diversity and content diversity. NRK dealt with these constraints by adapting to the competition in the market for media goods. Although NRK did not participate in the advertising market, the underlying economic logic of consumer demand was included in NRK's structures in order to maintain its primary goal: to provide a universally available service of the public.

### *7.1.1 Constituting national unity as a structural principle*

As already stated, NRK's strategy to legitimate its existence was to maintain its structural principles according to audience maximisation and national unity. This strategy did not happen by chance. From the analysis in chapter 6, we observed that, in the late 1970s, the instantiation of structural principles into structures was oriented towards two different perspectives; an audience perspective and a programme perspective. By becoming more aware of who constituted NRK's audience, Elster introduced two audience-related dimensions based on what they "needed" and what they "wanted"

from programmes. The dimension of audience demands was, however, given more importance in the early 1980s. Such focus echoed the commercial broadcaster's perspective on viewers as consumers.

It was, however, vital that NRK also took responsibility for the kinds of programming that commercial interests were unable or unwilling to provide. The main argument that instantiated the structure of what citizens *needed*, both as part of a large society and as smaller groups was based on both democratic and humanistic values. A public service broadcaster would secure the continuity of an active, sophisticated and informed body of citizens. It was therefore necessary to uphold, or even strengthen, vulnerable forms of programme categories, and focus more on weak audience minorities. The audience perspective within a democratic value was also linked to national values. The Norwegian identity, its languages and culture was a great concern for the political policy makers as the market was overwhelmed by foreign languages and international channels. Both Dahl and Høyer (2003) and Syvertsen (1992) claim that concern for national culture and identity was, "by far the most frequently expressed perspective in the discussions about broadcasting in Norway" in the 1980s and early 1990s (Syvertsen 1992, part III: 38).

### *7.1.2 Combining the audience- and the programme perspective of structure*

With regard to the programme perspective of structures, NRK had experienced many contradictions and conflicts between the values and interests among the journalists throughout the entire 1960s and 1970s. In the end, Elster had to introduce a set of formal programme rules to resolve some of the tension and confusion within NRK. During the 1980s, little was changed from a programme perspective, except for a stronger focus on television programmes produced in Norway as a mean of handle the "flood" of foreign programmes and a stronger concern for vulnerable types of programming (such as educational, religious, cultural and "serious art" programmes). In relation to the formulation of structures in terms of publicity rules, the General Director of NRK in the 1980s has been described as the anonymous editor of NRK (Dahl and Bastiansen, 1999). Both Elster and Ustvedt had produced political documents in which they set out programming rules for NRK. This was not the case for Gjerde, as two of the small number of documents issued during his time as General Director suggest. The first document, "*Norwegian public service broadcasting in a new media situation*" published in 1982, dealt mainly with the structural principle of universalism in terms of technological developments, economical issues, the competition situation and the establishment of a second NRK radio channel. The second, "*NRK towards year 2000*" (1987)

dealt mainly with programme structure, range and output. The long-term strategy plan stated that NRK would produce radio and television programmes of information, entertainment and “experiences”. It suggests “prime time” as a tool for gathering a broad audience. Broad appeal programmes were given priority over “narrow appeal” programmes. In addition, Norwegian productions would constitute at least 50 per cent of the programme output. During the period of Gjerde, neither the humanistic values associated with Elster nor the character values associated with Ustvedt were emphasised in any guides concerning programme structure. Although some new programme genres were introduced (such as “*Morning television*” and the soap opera “*Dynasty*”) and new, younger and creative employees were given the necessary freedom to develop the second radio channel in 1984, Gjerde did not involve himself in thinking about the structures of programming (such as diversity, reliability and impartiality). Only a few times did the Director General interfere with controversial entertainment programmes for their use of satire and/or abusive language<sup>157</sup>.

Within sports production, the structural principle of national unity as audience maximisation was welcomed. Sport on NRK had always managed to gather a large audience and this was confirmed through viewing ratings during the football World Cup in 1982. Sports coverage on NRK constituted the audience perspective of structures in terms of the demands of a large audience. However, the programme perspective of structures (in terms of sports diversity) was not totally abandoned. The Sports Department frequently discussed which sports and events should be shown on NRK. Although NRK did not operate with a list of sports as did ABC<sup>158</sup> in USA and the BBC<sup>159</sup> in Britain, NRK did have some criteria for selection. For a sport to be broadcasted on NRK, it needed to be of a certain level of quality. In addition, the atmosphere on the sporting arena and the general popularity of the sports were important, and NRK evaluated how suitable each sport was for the television medium. In fact, NRK’s broadcasts were almost single-handedly responsible for the popularity of both handball and skating among the Norwegian public (Hodne, 2001: 63).

---

<sup>157</sup> In 1984, the program “*Nikkerne*” was cancelled after the Minister of Finance had been characterised as a homosexual king having an affair with R. Nixon in a fairytale.

<sup>158</sup> In the 1960s, Arledge drew up a list of 15 events he wanted to secure the rights to (The Olympics, The World Series, The Super Bowl, The Rose Bowl, The Kentucky Derby, The World Cup, The U.S. and British Open, The Indianapolis 500, Wimbledon, Heavyweight championship fights and Tour de France).

<sup>159</sup> BBC’s hierarchy of sports events included horse racing’s Derby and Grand National, the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race, cricket Test Matches, Wimbledon tennis, the Cup Final and some international football games. In addition, the BBC operated with lists of events that “should” be transmitted and events that “might” be transmitted (Whannel, 1992: 19).

Another area in which structures in terms of programming rules were instantiated was in relation to advertisement. Football, in particular, was about to be commercialised in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and NRK had no intention of exposing the viewers to advertising logos on players' shirts. The question of sponsor exposure was regulated between NRK and the Norwegian Football Association. NRK had resented the exposure of shirt sponsoring during the Cup Finals between 1971 and 1978, and in 1979, NRK refused to transmit the Cup Final unless the sponsor exposure was removed (Reinertsen, 2001: 50). In 1980, NRK gave way in its battle over shirt sponsorship.

### 7.1.3 *Continued focus on old structural properties*

Continuity was also a key concept within the structural properties as NRK pursued an all-round service of information, entertainment and enlightenment in order to obtain audience maximisation. The latter structural property was, in some cases, replaced by the concept "experience". The term "experience" had not been used in a NRK policy document before the "*Norwegian broadcasting in a new media situation*" was published in 1982, when it was used to signal a positive connotation in line with "cultural experience" and "mutual escapades" and aimed at contributing to a greater appreciation of the regional, national and European cultural heritage. In the document "*Norwegian broadcasting in a new media situation*" (1982) cultural areas, such as theatre, classical music, opera and ballet are mentioned as examples of "cultural experiences", in addition to programmes that could enrich and develop peoples' perspectives and characters. As such, the term was a badly disguised analogy to the "old" structural property of enlightenment. The term "experience" also – albeit rather cautiously and discreetly – included Ustvedt's character-building and Elster's humanistic values (see section 6.1), but this aspect was not as profoundly expressed as the national value of enlightenment.

The term "experience" was also instantiated as a contrast to programmes from the international entertainment industry. For instance, Norwegian television viewers, who could receive Swedish television, had been introduced to the genre of soap opera, which was not perceived as "good television" by NRK<sup>160</sup>. After stating that entertainment was perhaps the most challenging genre of all, and that the international entertainment industry had control over both production and distribution of television programmes, the document "*Norwegian broadcasting in a new media*

---

<sup>160</sup> The first soap opera on Norwegian television was *Dynasty* in 1983, although some viewers had been able to watch *Dallas* on Swedish television. More striking than the late introduction of real soap opera was the NRK broadcasting of the parody of US soap operas, the comedy series *Soap*, years before an original soap opera.

*situation*” (1982) claimed that “although this kind of entertainment often glitters, it could also be uniform vulgar and preservative” (NRK, 1982: 19).

In the next section I will investigate how a modernisation-strategy of the structural properties affected the production of two of the Cup Finals in the 1980s. In chapter 6, the analysis of the Cup Finals of 1978 and 1980 showed that production practices instantiated both information and entertainment. In turn, this constituted the programme-based perspective of NRK’s structures, in terms of providing viewers with impartial, independent and reliable information. As such, the coverage of 1978 and 1980 represented slow and tiresome hours of straight forward, realistic documentations of the matches. There was, however, some effort at playfulness and storytelling. In the following section I will give a brief summary analysis of the Cup Final of 1984 and a more detailed outline of the Final of 1986. First, each analysis aims at comparing the production of the matches with previous productions, and second, the analysis will explore how the production can be related to the structures of NRK and the structural principles of audience maximisation and national unity.

#### *7.1.4 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1984: Motion, speed and action*

The most striking feature with the 1984 Cup Final is that the coverage was laced with motion, speed and action, instantiating the structural property of entertainment. Compared with the Cup Final in 1980, entertainment is created, more precisely, through faster cutting rhythm, two additional cameras, and a more central place of action pictures and the goals. In addition, as the coverage emphasises the players celebrating and the audience cheering, enlightenment as a feeling of community is instantiated.

In addition to the four cameras C1 (game camera), C2 (action camera), C3 and C17 (the two close up cameras), there are two replay cameras behind and above each of the goals (C8 and C9). Although the alternation between cameras still follows a pattern of “overview” and “breakdown”, the duration of the game pictures of C1 are shorter than they were in the previous games. C1’s game shots still dominate the coverage, both in the number of pictures (46 per cent) and in duration (48 per cent), but in the case of big chances or actual goals, the alternation between the cameras changes the motion and speed of the production.

The syntax in goal situation is usually based on a C2 medium shot of the players celebrating the goal, followed by a C17 shot of the audience, followed by two or three replays of the goal from different angles and perspectives. As the action camera, C2, is more involved in this coverage (there are less C2 shots compared to the Cup Final in 1980, but they last longer), the producer also has the opportunity to show a situation leading up to a goal in a C2 replay. This includes, for instance, several one-man efforts, such as leading the ball, a free kick, a good pass or a long shot on goal. In

some situations, the goal is followed by two different scenes of players celebrating, which last on average for seven seconds. These celebration scenes are the main reason for the rise in the number of close-up pictures and for their longer duration than in previous coverage. The emphasis on scenes of jubilation are strengthened by pictures showing the audience (including members of the Royal Family) cheering.

The inclusion of two additional cameras contributes heavily to the rather interesting and entertaining coverage. First of all, they offer a replay of the goals from different angles and points of view, which correspond to the “ordinary” position of fans at the stadium, behind the goals. The angles and perspective of these cameras function as an alternative to those of both cameras C1 and C2. Although they show the goals in long shot view and a bird’s eye perspective, they are highly informative and entertaining.

The fast tempo in the cutting rhythm between the shots excludes the use of pan and zoom. However, it represents hardly any loss of entertainment value or information for the viewers. The only “dead” time observed in the empirical data for the 1984 Cup Final occurs previous to Fredrikstad’s goal from a free kick. While the producer is waiting for the free kick, he tries to build suspense by showing a medium shot of the keeper preparing (camera C3), a medium shot of the shooter getting ready (camera C2), a long view shot of the other players finding their positions (camera C1) and finally a long view shot from behind the goal (camera C7) that captures the entire scene. The focuses on these preparations are worth waiting for, as Fredrikstad’s Per Egil Ahlsen takes a direct shot at goal from 35 meters<sup>161</sup>. Some sort of drama is also constructed by the two close-ups of Fredrikstad’s goal keeper after he made a crucial mistake at the end of 90 minutes, which sent the game into extra time. Seeing the despair of Fredrikstad’s keeper in two medium pictures clearly puts him in the role of a tragic failure

Overall, the coverage is a celebration of good performances by individual players (displayed in the action shots of camera C2), a celebration of winners (displayed in several close ups after the goals) and a celebration of great goals (displayed in the many replays from different angles). It is almost a celebration of the game itself. Potential controversial situations (such as an annulment of a goal and an award of a penalty kick) are not emphasised, neither is the unlucky Jan Erik Aude who scored on own goal after just 22 minutes. This main impression of the pictures is emphasised by the commentator. While C1 and C2 alternate between “overview” and “breakdown” shots, he is rather calm and silent. He names the players as they are involved in the game, and offers a few personal comments about the players. The vital information (such as time, name of players, previous

---

<sup>161</sup> On NRK Radio, Bjarne Lillelien comment on the match with Egil “Drillo” Olsen. When Ahlsen scores, Lillelien shuts: “How far was that, Drillo? It must have been 100 meters??” in which Drillo replies drily: “25”.

performances, etc.) is given in a comforting and objective way. His criticism of some of the players (for instance of the keeper of Fredrikstad after the equalisation 2-2 ten minutes before full time), are expressed with mild sympathy. Then, when a goal is scored or a big opportunity for one takes place, he becomes livelier (just as he did in the 1971 Cup Final). His enthusiastic praise and outbursts interact with some efforts at analysing what is happening. More importantly, he often addresses the viewers as in “*Did you see that?*” “*What if that had been a goal?!*”, “*Look at this!*” and “*Let us have another look*”. This places the commentator in a position of intimacy with the viewers, involving them in the game.

Summing up, except for the use of narrative plots, the coverage in 1984 continues to instantiate entertainment and information in the same manner as in 1980. However, the structural constraints on information are strongly downplayed and the grey socio-democratic values imposed on the Cup Final in 1978 and 1980 coverage are replaced by the pure joy of individual players performing and celebrating. One might argue, therefore, that one way NRK prepared itself for the competition from commercial television companies, was by giving preference to the entertaining aspects of its Cup Final coverage. At the same time, but also prior to the new broadcasting environment, entertainment had been one of NRK’s main structural properties. From the beginning, NRK had been occupied with the whole population as its audience, and the strategy “audience maximisation” in the 1980s represented an effort to maintain this interpretation of the structural principle of universalism. Some of the previous production practices of NRK had also emphasised entertainment, for instance during the Cup Final in 1980 and in 1971, in addition to the Cup Final in 1969.

In an institutional context, the televised Cup Final 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 the 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. However, as Bastiansen and Syvertsen (1996: 147) also claim, “the institutional ideology, the productional practices and the department structure were not fundamentally altered”. The changes that took place represented more improvements and adjustments of NRK, rather than a genuine alternation of the institution. This argument is also supported by Puijk’s study (1990) of the production of enlightenment programmes, features and documentaries from the 1960s to the mid 1980s, which confirms continuity in production patterns despite gradual external changes. To explore whether this renewed focus on entertainment in the 1984 Cup Final was merely a one-off incident, or if it was a sign of a shift in production practice further towards entertainment, we need to take a closer



look at another Cup Final. For this reason, I will now move two years ahead, to the Cup Final of 1986.

## 7.2 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1986

It has been possible to notice a slight increase in the entertainment aspects of the Cup Finals analysed so far, which can be taken as an example of how production practice instantiated audience maximisation. To some extent, the entertainment aspect of production also enriched the structural property of enlightenment, building a positive experience and cultural endeavour. As such, national unity was also instantiated.

In this section I wish to explore whether production practices were further changed in the mid 1980s, or if they represented a continued revival of the same, old structural properties. The empirical data from the Cup Final in 1986 include the first half of the match and parts of the second half. The analysis shows that entertainment is somewhat downplayed compared to the 1984 Cup Final, but that production includes some experimental segments, such as new camera placements and interviews during the live coverage, which constitutes both enlightenment and information.

### 7.2.1 *Instantiating entertainment through more pictures and variation*

Coverage comprises a total of 303 pictures. In addition to the four established cameras (C1, C2, C3 and C17), the cameras C8 and C9 from 1984 have been replaced by two different cameras (C6 and C7). These are still placed behind the goals, but further up on the stand, among the audience. The distribution among the six cameras is given in table 7.1.

Camera	Sec. per camera	Number of shots per camera	Average length of shots	% of total shots	% of total duration of shots
C1	2001	132	15 sec.	44 %	63 %
C2	395	60	7 sec.	20 %	13 %
C3	374	52	7 sec.	17 %	11 %
C17	356	56	6 sec.	18%	11 %
C6	10	1	10 sec.	0,5 %	0,5 %
C7	20	2	10 sec.	0, 5 %	0,5%

*Table 7.1. Distribution of camera shots (1986)*

Compared to, for instance, the Cup Final of 1978, the average length of C1 has shortened with three seconds. This has, however, not changed the main

camera's dominant position. Both the number of C2 shots, and its duration during the match, has decreased<sup>162</sup> in order to give room for more C3 and C17 shots. Together C3 and C17 have increased their share of shots from 16 per cent in 1978, to 31 per cent in 1980, and to 35 per cent in 1986<sup>163</sup>. Measured in time, they have increased from 6 per cent to 16 per cent to 22 per cent. Consequently, the entertaining variation offered by these cameras has increased considerably. Compared to C2 shots, it may be argued that close-up shots have exceeded action shots in the 1986 Cup Final, compared with the match in 1978. One reason for this may be that many of the so-called action shots are not filled with much action, as these also include "ball out of play"-shots. The producer might have chosen to show a C3 or C17 close-up or medium shot of something rather than a C2 medium shot of some players waiting for the game to start or a keeper handling the ball. However, if we compare the three different types of shots in 1980 and 1986, they are rather evenly distributed (Table 7.2).

	Shots	Number of shots per camera	% of shots	Seconds per camera	% of total duration	Average length
1980	MS	146	44 per cent	1002	19 per cent	7 sec.
	LS	163	49 per cent	4180	79 per cent	26. sec
	CU	22	7 per cent	134	3 per cent	6 sec.
1986	MS	149	49 per cent	1025	32 per cent	7 sec.
	LS	136	45 per cent	2019	64 per cent	15 sec.
	CU	18	6 per cent	112	4 per cent	6 sec.

*Table 7.2. Distribution of camera shots (1980 and 1986)*

The increase of medium shots and the stable use of close ups would suggest that action shots have not been replaced by close-ups. However, the duration of long shots has decreased, while that of medium shots has increased. This would suggest that camera C1, which is the main provider of long shots, has lost some of its domination in terms of duration.

As the descriptive data given in tables 7.1 and 7.2 suggest, the distribution of different camera shots and the distribution between the cameras have changed only slightly. On the other hand, compared with, for instance, the production of 1980, the first half of the game is presented by 260 pictures in 1986 and only by 164 pictures in 1980. The increased use of number of pictures alone, indicates, that there is a stronger focus on motion

<sup>162</sup> From 38 per cent in 1978 to 20 per cent in 1986, and from 22 per cent in 1978 to 13 per cent in 1986

<sup>163</sup> The second close up camera, C17, has strengthened its position, compared to 1978, but decreased compared to 1980 in terms of number of shots.

and speed in the coverage. This development is, however, not linear. In 1978, the first half was filmed with 224 pictures. The 1980 match included only 14 more pictures than, for instance, the second half of the 1971 match.

### 7.2.2 *Instantiating information through interviews during the match*

If we take a close look at the content of the Cup Final coverage in 1986, there is a significant change in the way goals and goal scorers are portrayed compared to 1984. The celebratory scenes have to some extent been replaced with interviews. This represents a radical change from the structural properties of both entertainment and enlightenment towards information. For instance, after the first goal to Tromsø after just two minutes of the match, the goal scorer and his team mates are shown celebrating in a 15 seconds long medium shot, followed by a replay of the goal (C1). In the next shot, C1 shows that the match has restarted, but this is nevertheless followed by another replay of the goal given by camera C7, from high up on the stand behind the goal. The next shot is again given by C1 of the ongoing game, but followed by an interview with the manager of Tromsø. The interview is filmed by camera C17, and lasts for six seconds. Compared to reaction shots of the audience or celebration scenes of the players, this is an experimental way of presenting a “reaction”. In one way, it is interesting to hear what the manager thinks about the goal and how pleased he is, but the interview does not display by far the same immediacy, intensity and joyfulness as the goal scenes in 1984. The manager for Tromsø is interviewed in the same way when Tromsø takes the lead by 2-0 after just seven minutes. This is followed by an interview with the manager for Lillestrøm, one minute later. The same practice is used after about 30 minutes when both managers are being interviewed as a voice-over to pictures of the ongoing.

Interviewing people during a live football match is a highly unusual practice and represents a clear break with the immediacy effect associated with live coverage in that it includes segments normally reserved for a magazine programme or pre- or post match productions (Marriott, 1996). One might argue that the inclusion of such interviews detaches the viewers from the community on the stadium. Traditionally, production practice has emphasised realism from the perspective of a spectator actually present at a game (Morse, 1983). On the other hand, these interviews bring the *managers* closer to the viewers as they reveal their reactions to the game.

### 7.2.3 *Stronger focus on information about individual players*

Although the amount of close ups has not increased compared with the match in 1980, there is still reason to argue that the production focuses more on the individual players in the coverage. The reason for this is that some of the action shots provided by camera C2 are highly individualising.

Consequently, it is not only the close ups provided by C3 and C17 that focus on individual players, but also medium shots provided by C3 and C2. Individualisation in medium shots is also emphasised by the increased use of “name super”<sup>164</sup> that is a caption on screen of the players’ names. This practice was not new in 1986, but the use of ‘supers’ has increased. By superimposing the name of a player shown in a picture, the player is not only identified, but also personalised. This effect is further emphasised as the commentator in most cases, would declare the player’s name when he also sees the super. This individualisation and personalisation is, however, not used in a narrative context. There are no obvious “heroes” and “villains”. The use of name super, therefore, is mostly for informative purposes.

In addition to a stronger focus on the individual players, the referee is to some extent more in the foreground in this coverage than has previously been the case. The main reasons for focusing on the referee would be events such as a controversial decision or because a restart has been awarded because of a foul. In most of the cases, the referee is shown in a picture in relation to awarding a free kick. As such, the main content in these pictures are perhaps not the referee himself, but the possible goal chance the awarded free kick represents. The purpose is, therefore, explanatory and should be assigned to the structural property of information.

As in 1984, in the 1986 coverage there is also a special focus on goal scorers and scenes of celebration. Although there are less scenes of this type in 1986, they still form a crucial part of the coverage. For instance, after the first goal, a medium shot (C3) displays the goal scorer, Solstad, for 15 seconds as he receives congratulations from his team players. The second goal is followed up by a seven second medium shot of a similar scene, in addition to a six second medium shot of the player, Espejord after two replays of the goal. A similar practice is being used when Lillestrøm’s Bjerkeland scores after 51 minutes. In this incident, the scene also includes a 16 second long picture of the audience cheering. After the fourth goal to Tromsø, a jubilation scene for six seconds is succeeded by a five seconds audience shot, before the producer returns to the jubilation. These scenes outweigh some of the serious, journalistic attitudes toward the Cup Final, as represented by features like the interviews with the managers.

One might argue that the interviews are a special service for the extreme football fan who enjoys listening to tactics and evaluations, while the celebration scenes mark a service for the ordinary TV viewer who enjoys “up close and personal” pictures. By combining these two practices, the producer succeeds in addressing two different types of audience and their wishes.

---

<sup>164</sup> Also called supers (after superimposed), Astons, cap gens (cg) and captions.

#### 7.2.4 *Instantiating enlightenment by focusing on the audience*

In the 1986 coverage, the same interest in the audience in the stadium is shown as it was in 1984, when there were seven shots of the audience (including one of the Royal Family) in the first half that lasted for 28 seconds. In 1986, the first half includes 10 shots of the audience, lasting for 54 seconds. In addition, most of these pictures are medium shots, showing the facial expressions of the supporters. Such pictures strongly constitute the structural property of enlightenment, as the primary identification of the viewer is not with his or her team, but with the crowd itself. These pictures represent the physical presence of a community. As previously argued, I have chosen to focus my analysis on the visual presentation of the Cup Finals. However, the roar of the crowd released by a goal also strongly contributes to the viewers' identification with the mass audience present at the match.

The focus on the stadium audience is also presented through the new placement of the two cameras behind the goals. Camera C6 and C7 are, in this match, placed high on the stand, among the audience. They provide long shot views of the goals as actual participants see them. Technically, these are not ideal television perspectives for the TV viewers, but they allow the viewers to identify with the crowd at the stadium.

#### 7.2.5 *Chapter summary: Improving the coverage through innovations*

Summing up the coverage from 1986, the shots of C1 are shorter than in previous coverage of a Cup Final and the amount of overview shots has decreased. Accordingly there is room for more close-ups and action pictures in the coverage. These are, on the other hand, not pure entertainment in terms of being personalised. Moreover, they are highly informative as the practice includes "name super".

More entertainment is achieved in the production by the strong focus on the goals and the subsequent celebration scenes. As in the case of the Cup Final in 1984, all the goals are shown in two or three replays, from different angles and different point of views. Entertainment is also strongly instantiated through "reaction shots" of the audience, although these shots are somewhat neutralised by the "reaction interviews" with the managers.

Compared to the coverage of 1984, the Cup Final in 1986 displays a more down-to-earth attitude. The joyfulness from 1984 has been replaced by more informative elements. There is also evidence of experiments and innovation, for instance by the use of interviews during the match and the placement of cameras above the goals. These experiments would suggest that NRK has deliberately made some effort in enhancing the viewers' experience of the game.

In 1986, NRK's main aim was to constitute itself as *the* broadcaster of national gatherings. Sport had always achieved good ratings, and sports programmes were therefore one of the central programme categories for the purpose of audience maximisation. There is every reason to believe that the production of the Cup Final in 1986 managed to constitute some of the core structures of NRK, in terms of quality, national identity and celebration of the community. However, a focus on entertainment did not dominate production. One reason for this might be that NRK had to secure its traditional public service profile and maintain its political legitimacy through objective and "serious" information (Hodne, 2001). By downplaying the structural property of entertainment, it is possible to argue that the production represented NRK as a well-informed, objective Master of Ceremonies.

In the introduction to this chapter, I stated that, during the first years after the break-up of the monopoly, NRK experienced confusion and frustration regarding the new media situation. It was also argued that the broadcaster managed to enhance both its programmes and self-confidence. Apparently, the broadcaster was not only able to survive in a new media environment, but even to perform fairly well. In the next chapter, I will present what the competitors had to offer, particularly in terms of sports programmes, in more detail.

### **7.3 The relation between the commercial channels and NRK**

In this section, a brief introduction (sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2) to the channels TV3 and TVNorge is given in order to establish what kind of threat they represented for NRK's programme production. In the subsequent section, I will present some of NRK's general strategic countermeasures, particular in respect to the production of sports programmes.

As commercial television stations, both TV3 and TVNorge seek large audiences. Technically, they were not able to address the whole population, as could NRK, so that NRK's structural principle of *universalism* was by and large not affected by the commercial channels. However, as TV3 and TVNorge concentrated on reaching an audience that was attractive to the advertisers, these channels challenged the audience-friendly programme aspect of NRK's structure. This aspect was instantiated in the production practice by focusing on programmes that were of common interest, such as entertainment, news and sports.

#### *7.3.1 TVNorge daring NRK on news, entertainment and sports*

TVNorge started broadcasting on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1988. In its early years, the channel focused on family-friendly programmes, and for many years, it was synonymous with the Saturday game show "*Casino*". The programme

focused on elements such as audience interaction, big money prizes and “ordinary people” as participants (not unlike some of the radio programmes in NRK in the 1950s). The programme was an instant success among the audience, but was also met with political suspicion as the presentation of the prizes was regarded as advertising. With, “*Casino*” and later the dating show, “*Reisesjekken*”, TVNorge established it self as a major actor within Saturday entertainment shows, particular among elderly viewers (Ytreberg, 2000:92).

At the end of 1991, TVNorge launched brief news programmes. Although TVNorge’s news services were transmitted without live pictures, it was somewhat surprising that this small channel would challenge NRK on its main domain; the news. Previously, TVNorge had started to show an interest in sports programmes, NRK’s last bastion. At first, TVNorge transmitted the game show “*Sport Quiz*” on Saturday evenings, but later the small channel also confronted NRK over football coverage. In 1989, TVNorge made a deal with the Norwegian Football Association that secured TVNorge the right to show past Norwegian football matches and highlights of international matches. In April 1991, TVNorge bought the rights for the UEFA cup match between Brøndby and Roma, and to the semi final in the Cup Winners Cup<sup>165</sup> between Barcelona and Juventus. Both matches were to be played on 10<sup>th</sup> April and TVNorge planned a four hours live football night. The UEFA Champions League broadcasting rights approved national football associations to disallow foreign matches broadcast on national television in order to protect national football. However, the Norwegian Football Association would not risk bad publicity by denying the public access to international cup matches. At the same time, the Norwegian Football Association did not want to upset NRK, which strongly believed it owned all the media rights through its general cooperation with the Norwegian Football Association. TVNorge, however, refused to give in. Instead, it was suggested that NRK could show highlights from both matches for free while TVNorge broadcasted them live (Rynning, 1996:129). For the Olympic Games in 1996, TVNorge and NRK shared the rights. Later, TVNorge would broadcast basket ball, international football, alpine and handball, either by itself or in cooperation with another broadcaster.

Although TVNorge tried to challenge NRK on all of the three main programme categories that constituted a national broadcaster (news, entertainment programmes and sports coverage) TVNorge did not represent a serious competitor to NRK. TVNorge could not be received by the entire population and struggled with poor finances. Nevertheless, the small channel managed to unsettle NRK with an offensive programming policy that embraced the structural principle of national unity. TVNorge was aiming at creating a popular and including programme profile in which both

---

<sup>165</sup> Replaced in 1992/93 by Champions League

participants and viewers from all socio-economic background would feel welcome (Rynning, 1996). TVNorge's interest in sport also served as a wake-up call for NRK, particularly with regard to potential competition for sporting rights.

### *7.3.2 TV3 challenges NRK on international football*

TV3 was established in 1987 and defined as a pure entertainment channel. The target group was viewers between 15 and 49 years and programme output typically encompassed sport, films, comedy series, and sometime later, reality programmes. As with TVNorge, TV3's advertisers were interested in, not merely the size of an audience, but also in its demographics. Sport has an extraordinary ability to make high ratings, in all demographics. This means, that sport is an attractive content both for the audiences and for the advertisers (in terms of access to an interesting target group).

Although TVNorge won the first historical battle of football against NRK, it was TV3 that, in the end, represented the most serious threat to NRK's sporting profile. Two years after TV3 was launched, NRK (and the European Broadcasting Union) lost, for the first time in the history, a major sporting event. A Swedish company bought the TV rights for World Championship in ice hockey in Stockholm 1989, and passed the rights on to TV3. At the same time, TV3 also managed to poach sports commentators from the NRK, such as the two important personalities Knut Bjørnsen and Knut Th. Gleditsch, who had both been with NRK since the mid 1960s. TV3 never interfered in Norwegian League football, but managed to build a position as a transmitter of international football. Since 1992, TV3 has broadcast the UEFA Champions League and some international matches. The profound role of football on TV3 is indisputable. For instance, in 1995, nine of the channels top ten programmes on TV3 (measured in viewing figures) were football (Dagbladet, 1996). In 1996, the matches of Rosenborg in the UEFA Champions League took five of the top ten programmes, while the European Championship in handball for men made the other five programmes (Dagbladet, 1997).

### *7.3.3 NRK's reply: instantiating commercial scheduling structures*

Both TV3 and TVNorge proved that NRK was not the only broadcaster that could – and would – broadcast popular programmes, including sport. NRK's main reply to the sudden competition was a dramatic increase in programme production. As such, the structural principle of audience maximisation was addressed through an equal maximisation of programmes, enabled by released resources within the organisation. After the monopoly broke, NRK produced more entertainment programmes, strengthened its news and current



affairs programmes, and created new types of programme that included innovations and experiments in infotainment. However, the programme expansion was also a continuing trend from the 1960s. From 1982 to 1985, NRK's annual production increased by more than 400 hours and from 1986 to 1989 the programme output expanded from 2,870 hours per year to 3,058 (medienorge, 2008). The viewing figures proved a similar trend during the 1980s, and NRK's confidence grew in step with the return of the majority of viewers (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996). The overall impression is that the audience-friendly strategy developed in NRK radio in the 1960s further accelerated in the direction of entertainment-based values and a steady audience maximisation (NRK Report to Parliament, 1989-91:50). For instance, in the mid-1980s, the sports magazine "*Sportshjørnet*" was given more resources, in terms of more broadcasting time and a better position in prime time (Hodne, 2001:90).

After a rapid and dramatic adjustment of programme output, NRK saw the need for a more long-term strategic reply to the second wave of competition that was expected within a short period of time. In 1987, NRK launched a strategy plan<sup>166</sup> for how the institution could become a more flexible, efficient, modern and vital media company. This plan dealt in particular with the structures of NRK, in terms of resources allocations and new rules for programme scheduling. Although TV3 and TVNorge hardly threatened NRK's position, the competition for media rights, personnel and programmes sharpened the need for a more thorough overhaul of NRK's structures. In 1989, the departmental structure of NRK's television service was reorganised and a new set of corporate strategies emerged. Although the report, "*NRK towards the year 2000*" (1987) stated firmly that NRK should carry on its public service obligations with high quality programmes and a large share of its programmes produced in Norway, the mission of public service broadcasting was increasingly defined in terms of specific and measurable targets. While the focus had traditionally been on the need to provide audience-friendly programmes as means of improving programme quality, the new emphasis on obtaining the largest possible audience was seen as a value in its own right (NRK, 1987).

At the same time, the programme structure and range seemed relatively untouched, and as table 7.3 illustrates, in terms of distribution across programme genres or types, was only adjusted with a few per cent of the total output of televised hours.

---

<sup>166</sup> "*NRK towards the year 2000*" (NRK 1987).

<b>Programme category</b>	<b>1986</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1991</b>
News	11	11	10	11	11	12
Social issues	6	7	5	8	7	9
Leisure & life style	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drama	18	22	17	17	16	17
Entertainment	6	4	5	4	7	5
Sport	14	12	17	13	16	16
Children & Youth	10	12	11	11	12	12
Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1
Culture	5	5	4	5	5	4
Nature & Science	2	2	1	1	2	1
Music	5	5	4	4	5	4
Education	6	6	5	6	5	6
Other	14	14	19	16	15	13
<b>Total hours output</b>	<b>2870</b>	<b>2937</b>	<b>3453</b>	<b>3058</b>	<b>3164</b>	<b>3227</b>

*Table 7.3 Programme structure of NRK 1986-1991 (source: medienorge, NRK and TV2)*

As Table 7.3 also indicates, the programme range (the diversity of programme types) was also stable at 13 categories during the first wave of competition<sup>167</sup>. This breakdown of major television genres is an example of how the structure of content diversity within NRK was instantiated.

Studies of NRK in the era of competition (Helland, 1988; Syvertsen, 1992; Puijk, 1990) confirm the continuity in production patterns from the 1960s to the mid 1980s despite the external changes in terms of competition. In the vocabulary of structuration theory, the structural properties and the structural principle were not fundamentally altered when they were constituted. Also, structures, in terms of content diversity, strengthening national identity and protecting culture and languages were continuous. What then, had changed? Syvertsen (1992, 1997) claims that it is justifiable to speak of a new programme strategy by NRK from 1987-1988, that combined ideological public service values and commercial scheduling techniques. More precisely, the structures were closing in on the structural principles of national unity in terms of audience maximisation. In simple terms, the process of “closing in” meant to instantiate the structures of commercial broadcasters. This strategy was officially expressed in a letter from NRK to the Ministry of Culture in 1987. For instance, on the issue of “diversity” the letter stated that

---

<sup>167</sup> In comparison, TV3 only had 4 program types (children’s programs, drama, sport, entertainment) besides TV-shop (medienorge, 2008).

*The NRK shall present a diverse output, and a variety of formats, themes, views and attitudes. ... The NRK shall transmit a variety of Norwegian programmes and a selection of the best productions from the whole world. ... The programmes shall be varied in terms of participants both geographically and in terms of age and gender. ... Programmes can be aimed both at large and more limited audiences, but for each programme the aim is to make it attractive to as many as possible, while jeopardising neither quality nor accuracy (NRK, 1987:10, quoted in Syvertsen, 1992)*

The changes towards new programming techniques were mostly visible in the programme schedule from 1989. Up until 1989, the weekly and annual schedule had been more or less still the same as they were in the 1970s. NRK broadcast films on Mondays, serious drama or plays by the Televised Theatre on Tuesdays, comedy and light drama series were usually on the menu for Wednesdays and Thursdays. Friday evening meant criminal series, while Saturday had live entertainment and Sunday transmitted sports. In 1989, NRK stated that prime time of each day should include at least one programme that was primarily designed to entertain (Syvertsen, 1992). Another example of how NRK instantiated a commercial broadcasting scheduling techniques was that the schedule should be composed in order to avoid major fluctuations in the number of viewers. Programmes aiming at the “needs” of marginal groups of viewers might be replaced or rescheduled if they did not reach their goals in terms of audience figures (NRK, 1987). NRK’s attempts to instantiate scheduling strategies associated with commercial broadcasters were initiated in the strategy document “*NRK towards the year 2000*”. Here, the corporate statement was that: “The most important feature of the prime time output should be that it appeals to a large majority of the audience (NRK, 1987: 17). NRK’s new focus on *prime time* is also an example of how NRK instantiated programming techniques associated with commercial broadcasters. Another instantiation of a commercial broadcasting logic was the introduction of a continuous measurement system of audience reach and consumption. As mentioned in section 5.1.5, audience research within NRK goes back to 1967. In the early 1980s, NRK carried out surveys once every second or third year, but as Syvertsen (1992) points out, in 1985 surveys were being conducted three times a year. By 1992, reach and rating of different broadcasters were measured for more than thirty weeks per year (Syvertsen, 1997).

The new research system showed that NRK managed to uphold its market share. From the late 1980s to early 1990s, NRK’s market share dropped only 6 per cent (from 87 per cent in 1987 to 81 per cent in 1991

(Statistical Yearbook, 1998)<sup>168</sup>. In was, on the other hand, difficult for NRK to instantiate all the scheduling techniques associated with commercial broadcasting in its programming. In particular, the structure of diversity constrained the instantiation of commercial scheduling strategies. One way of avoiding this constraint was to expand prime time by pushing the early evening news programmes forward in 1988 and later also by pushing forward the main evening news (Syvertsen, 1992).

In the view of structuration theory, the changes that took place within NRK were a stronger focus on instantiating structures based on an audience-based perspective that included the structural property of entertainment. To avoid another loss of political legitimacy and its right to the licence fee, NRK focused on constituting itself as a national broadcaster. Also, the role as “the” national broadcaster would mean that NRK needed to strengthen its relationship with the audience by given them more of what they wanted. This argument would, to some extent, legitimate the instantiation of scheduling techniques associated with commercial broadcasters.

In addition to adapting techniques that had been introduced by TV3 and TVNorge, NRK tried to distance its activities from its competitors. In more precise terms, this was accomplished by revamping the “old” argument of Ustvedt; that the audience of NRK not only wanted entertainment, but that they also wanted information, innovating programmes, challenges and impulses. Therefore, part of reworking the three-fold structural properties of entertainment, information and enlightenment, was a more conscious use of the concept of “quality”. In the Annual Report of 1985, NRK stated that quality would remain the NRK hallmark. Similarly, in its Report to Parliament (1989-91) NRK claimed that transmitting programmes of high quality was part of its obligation as a public service broadcaster. Within sports production, a new editorial department was established in September 1988. The aim was to produce live transmission of sporting events that were of such high quality that they would be equal to attending the actual event (Hodne, 2001: 58). On the other hand, instantiating “quality” as a new structural property was not easy in practice. The concept was not clearly defined, and interpretations varied according to context and programme. In the next chapter, I will conduct a brief analysis of the Cup Final of 1989, produced by NRK shortly after its monopoly was removed. The intention is to explore whether any of NRK’s overhauling strategies are implemented.

---

<sup>168</sup> Syvertsen (1997) found a similar drop, from 89 per cent in 1988 to 82 per cent in 1990.

#### 7.4 Analysis of the Cup Final in football 1989

In order to meet the competition from TV3 and TVNorge, NRK focused more on entertainment and quality in its programme output. Entertainment would constitute the interpretation of structures as “audience maximisation” which in turn is related to the structural principles of national unity. In addition, NRK wanted to draw a line between the public service broadcaster and the commercial competitors by focusing on quality in the programme output. Quality was understood as innovative productions that challenged, inspired and gave groups of audience cultural experiences. As such, NRK attempted to constitute its structural principles also as national diversity.

Overall, the analysis of the Cup Final in 1989 reveals that production practice has not changed much since 1986. Earlier in chapter 7, I claimed that the Cup Final of 1984 was rather entertaining, while the Cup Final in 1986 was a more down-to-earth experience. In 1989, the main structural property instantiated in the production practice of the Cup Final was information. However, there is also strong evidence of attempts in transforming the stadium football into screen football, which enlarges the structural property of entertainment.

##### 7.4.1 Instantiating infotainment through camera alternation

In the coverage of the Cup Final in 1989, there are nine cameras present in the stadium. One camera is reserved for the ceremony after the match, but the eight cameras that cover the match have the potential to enlarge the entertainment value of the production. This potential is, however, constrained by the structure of information. In this section, I will put forward three examples of this. The distribution of the camera shots in the Cup Final in 1989 is given in Table 7.4.

Camera	Sec. per camera	Number of shots per camera	Average length of shots	% of total shots	% of total duration of shots
C1	4143	190	22 sec.	44 %	76 %
C2	373	74	5 sec.	17 %	7 %
C3	326	63	5 sec.	15 %	6 %
C12	57	5	11 sec.	1 %	1 %
C16	60	19	3 sec.	4 %	1 %
C17	273	54	5 sec.	13 %	5 %
C6	133	16	8 sec.	4 %	2 %
C7	95	11	9 sec.	3 %	2%

Table 7.4 Distribution of camera shots (1989)

Apart from Cameras C6 and C7, there is a new camera, C12, also covering replays, while C16 concentrates solely on the providing shots of the audience. As such, they indicate that the atmosphere on the stadium is now of such importance that it requires a single camera and that the ability to show a replay is so important it now requires three cameras dedicated to this purpose. However, in the actual transmission, C12 and C16 do not contribute strongly to the coverage.

Firstly, the number of cameras does not necessarily suggest a spectacular show. On the contrary, the coverage is particular constrained in the tempo of the camera alternations. There are in total 432 shots, 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.

Secondly, looking at the distribution among close ups, medium shots and long view shots, as given in Table 7.5, the coverage of 1989 is more similar to the coverage of 1980 than to the coverage of 1986.

	Shots	Shots per camera	% of shots	Seconds per camera	% of total duration	Average length
1980	MS	146	44 per cent	1002	19 per cent	7 sec.
	LS	163	49 per cent	4180	79 per cent	26. sec
	CU	22	7 per cent	134	3 per cent	6 sec.
1986	MS	149	49 per cent	1025	32 per cent	7 sec.
	LS	136	45 per cent	2019	64 per cent	15 sec.
	CU	18	6 per cent	112	4 per cent	6 sec.
1989	MS	163	38 per cent	792	15 per cent	5 sec.
	LS	221	51 per cent	4431	81 per cent	20 sec
	CU	48	11 per cent	237	4 per cent	5 sec.

*Table 7.5 Distribution of camera shots (1980, 1986 and 1989)*

The most surprising finding in this analysis is the lack of attempts to instantiate entertainment through camera alternation, action shots and camera cutting. This is evident as medium shots, both in numbers and duration, have been reduced compared to the Cup Final of 1986<sup>169</sup>. In addition, there are fewer action segments displayed in medium shots, meaning that the content is primarily players waiting to take a corner, a free kick or a throw-in. The amount and duration of long view shots are similar

<sup>169</sup> In the Cup Final of 1986 there were more medium shots than long shots, but in 1989 the amount of medium shots was just 38 per cent. Measured in duration, medium shots only constitute about 15 per cent of the entire match.

to the distribution in the 1980 coverage, constituting camera C1 the main communicator of the match.

#### 7.4.2 *Instantiating information and drama through replays*

The high number of replays (which occupy more than seven minutes of the game) strongly transform the realistic game on the stadium into an experience on screen, which is an instantiation of entertainment. The replays detach the viewers from the ongoing game both in time and space (the game happens here and now, while the replays take place there and then). As such, the viewers are to a lesser degree watching a realistic documentary of a game, and more a television construction of an event.

There are 44 replays in the 1989 coverage, which is a dramatic increase compared to the match in 1986<sup>170</sup>. The replays particularly display dramatic situations involving goal chances, goals or fouls<sup>171</sup>. The high share of replays of big chances and shots at goal are clearly an informative service to all kinds of viewers. For the football fan, a replay gives her the opportunity to analyse the chance and experience the exciting moment with despair. For a viewer less interested, in football, the replay gives him 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.

The eight replays that show tackles and injuries are highly dramatic and strongly constitute the players as heroes, villains and victims. One of the replays of an injury is triggered by information given by one of NRK's journalists present at the ground. When the game is in play in a C1 shot, he starts talking about the injury and a possible substitution. As the journalist keeps talking, the producer chose to show the situation that led up to the injury in replay, in order to inform the viewers about the incident that the journalist is talking about.

As argued, the replays are primarily present in the coverage to provide a better information service for the viewers. However, sometimes this eagerness to show an incident in a replay is chosen at the cost of events taking place live. For instance, 37 minutes into the second half, the producer shows a replay of an offside. While the viewers are watching the interesting replay and are given the opportunity to judge whether it was on or off side, the commentator is talking about a tackle and a booking. The producer quickly switches to Camera C1, but it only displays the referee booking a

---

<sup>170</sup> In the first half of the Cup Final of 1986 there were only six replays. In the 1989 coverage, the first half had 11 replays and the second half 32 replays.

<sup>171</sup> For instance, eight of the replays showed the goals, which is not unusual compared with the previous matches. However, 24 of the replays showed situations that included great chances or shots on goals, while 8 showed tackles and injuries.

player and not the tackle. Luckily for the producer, and the viewers, camera C3 also picked up the tackle, and the producer can show a C3 replay of the tackle in the following shot.

#### 7.4.3 *Instantiating infotainment by focusing on persons and situations*

The coverage of 1989 continues the focus on individual players as observed in the coverage of 1986. Individualisation is evident not only in the increase of close-ups, both also in action shots and replays. In the following, I will give some examples of this.

First of all, there are several close-ups in the 1989 match, almost double the number seen in 1986. Although the close-ups individualise the game and make the Cup Final more “up close and personal”, the shots are also highly motivated by previous events<sup>172</sup>. They explore and explain what took place, which one of the players was involved, and what the consequences are. The identification of the players are emphasised as graphics superimpose the names of some of the players. For instance, whenever there is a situation involving an injury or foul, a close-up picture will identify the “victim”. The situations are, in most cases, also explored through a replay. A concrete example of this takes place 24 minutes into the second half when a player from Molde is tackled in a C1 shot. This is followed by a short C6 shot of the injured player and a replay from C7 of the tackle. Then a ten-seconds-long C6 shot displays the injured player receiving treatment, while his name is displayed on the screen.

Secondly, the focus on individual players is also evident in the high amount of medium shots. As several cameras provide medium shots, the variation in content is high, instantiating both entertainment and information. In earlier coverage, C2 would rather often display one of the keepers simply holding the ball, a shot that is highly empty and boring. In 1989, few of these shots are included in the coverage. Instead, there are, for instance, 21 duals shown in medium shots, which are highly entertaining in terms of individualisation and excitement.

Thirdly, the many replays are not only a service that informs the viewers of what happened. They also explain who was involved. Three of the replays in the first half show Jostein Flo’s chances. The syntax in which the replays are involved emphasises both individualisation and personalisation. For instance, after about 18 minutes into the first half, C1 shows Molde attacking and someone heads on goal. Subsequently, C2 shows Jostein Flo in a close-up for 8 seconds, followed by a C1 replay of the chance. As there is a stop in the game right away, the producer chose to show another close-up of Jostein Flo (C3) for five seconds. At the end of the first half, a similar syntax displays Jostein Flo as the main character, with

---

<sup>172</sup> Only six of the 48 close-ups are not motivated by previous events.



one replay of the chance and two close-ups of the player, in addition to a four second shot of the audience. The focus on individual players is made even stronger as the graphics display the players' names on 24 occasions when they are shown in a close-up.

#### *7.4.4 Instantiating information through interviews*

In 1989, two journalists were present at the Cup Final in addition to the commentator. This is a practice that instantiates the structure of information directly, and it is particularly aimed at viewers with a high interest in the tactical features of the match. As in 1986, these provide the viewers with interviews during the match. The two interviews with each of the managers in the first half are not displayed in the pictures being transmitted. The viewers are only able to hear the journalist and the manager talking. In the second half, both the journalist and the manager of Molde are shown in a C3 shot.

The use of two journalists in addition to the commentator indicates that NRK prioritised the coverage with regard to available resources, such as personnel and economical resources. It is unlikely that either TVNorge or TV3 could have afforded this type of production. As such, NRK managed to send a signal to both the politicians and the audience, that there was only one major broadcaster that was suitable to broadcast large national events, such as the Cup Final.

#### *7.4.5 Chapter summary: Constituting NRK as the "main" broadcaster*

The Cup Final in 1989 exhibits structural properties of both information and entertainment. Although there is little evidence of the use of experimental production techniques in the coverage, it stands out as highly professional production, constituting NRK not only as a quality broadcaster, but as "the" national broadcaster for special and spectacular events.

The large amount of replays acts as a particular valuable service for several kinds of viewers and the syntax between the camera shots displays a tight connection between the various shots, although the tempo is somewhat slow. More importantly, it seems as if the producer somewhat plays down the use of entertainment elements in the production. This might be interpreted as an effort to contrast NRK to both TV3's and TVNorge's emphasis on pure entertainment.

Overall, although the first wave of competition hit NRK with a surprise, the TV3 and TVNorge were, after a few years, viewed more as "exotic provocations" than "serious competition" to NRK (Rossavik, 2007:285). NRK managed to improve its legitimacy both in political circles and with the audience by instantiating entertainment and information in terms of quality, professionalism, audience maximisation and, to a certain degree, innovations. These efforts were, however, not sufficient to secure the

institutional control of an additional television channel. In the next section, I will outline some of the incidents that took place when the second wave of competition, in terms of the establishment of the commercial public service broadcaster, TV2, hit NRK.

### **7.5 Second wave of competition**

Looking back, 1967 represented a watershed in the political conflict of NRK as the Labour Party joined the conservative forces and insisted on more stringent norms for the journalistic practice within NRK<sup>173</sup>. Although the political turbulence calmed down after the introduction of more formal structures in NRK (in 1967 and 1975), the political right-wing continued the pursuit of a counterbalance to NRK (Dahl & Høyer, 2003). In 1981, the conservative government put forward a proposal to establish a second “official” television channel. About ten years later, in 1992, TV2 started broadcasting. However, at this point, NRK’s legitimacy had reached an all time high, both among politicians and the audience. The overhauling strategy had paid off. As such, NRK was not caught by surprise when the second wave of competition came. On the contrary, NRK was well-prepared for the arrival of TV2.

TV2 was given nation-wide distribution to its advertisement-funded public service obligation<sup>174</sup>. As such, the hybrid should compete for advertising revenue against TVNorge and TV3 as a counter force to commercial channels, and at the same time offer public service programmes as an alternative to NRK. The relationship between NRK and TV2 has in Norwegian media studies been known as the “Great TV War” (Syvertsen, 1992). The battle between NRK and TV2 in the 1990s was particularly fought out over news, entertainment and sports programmes. Both channels were guided by the structural principle of national unity. This also suggested that the channels shared similar public service structures, in terms of producing programmes for both mass audience and small groups of viewers with a special responsibility for diversity of programmes and genres, i.e. national diversity (Syvertsen, 1992).

However, as TV2 was to compete in a dual television market against TV3 and TVNorge, nobody expected TV2 to be “as much a public service” as NRK. Rather, TV2’s existence was secured in a conception of “light” public service broadcasting or “commercial” public broadcasting where market interests were a central part of the broadcasting structure. This

---

<sup>173</sup> As discussed in section 5.1.3.

<sup>174</sup> TV2 was given monopoly for nationwide distribution, while TVNorge and TV3 could be received by 37 and 34 per cent of the population respectively (Bastiansen & Syvertsen, 1996).

interpretation of TV2's structures led to some political dissatisfaction with TV2 during the mid-1990s<sup>175</sup>.

The financial situation of TV2 was difficult the first couple of years, but as the Government liberalised advertising and ownership restrictions in 1993, the situation improved for all the commercial broadcasters. TV2's market share raised from 6 per cent in 1992 to 19 per cent in 1993. In 1994, NRK's market share dropped below the "magic" 50 per cent limit for the first time, as TV2 reached a market share on 24 per cent. As such, TV2 had proven to be a considerably more serious threat to NRK than TVNorge and TV3. In the next section, I will argue that TV2's pursuit of sports coverage was a major reason for its success.

#### *7.5.1 TV2 as another national broadcaster – particular for sport*

When TV2 started broadcasting, it pursued the structural principles of a national broadcaster with broad social responsibility. Within this strategy, news services and debate programmes were singled out as core programmes, in addition to sports coverage. These programme types would not only give TV2 credibility and profile in the market place by delivering lucrative audiences to advertisers. They would also strengthen TV2's image as a national broadcaster within the concept of public service that focuses on the wishes and interests of the public. Although NRK had tried to pursue this understanding of "public service" in the 1980s, the old monopolist had never quite managed to shake off the image as an authoritative, paternalistic institution of high culture elitism.

With regard to sport, from the very first day, TV2 tended to promote itself as a national arena of unity, including big sporting events. This was a role NRK Television had had the monopoly of for more than 30 years. Sport, and particularly sports that could bring national success, soon became important for promoting TV2 as a national public service channel. TV2 penetrated NRK early by buying the rights for the European Championship in handball for women in 1994, and the rights for the English Premier League in 1995. This was a demonstration of power and a real loss for NRK, which had transmitted the English Premier League since 1969. During the first 9 years, TV2 put up a hard fight for several sporting rights. Of particular interest were high popularity sports, such as football, alpine and handball<sup>176</sup>.

---

<sup>175</sup> TV2 was accused of neglecting its duties towards diversity, minorities and the strengthening of national language and culture (White paper no. 42, 1993-94; Norwegian Media Authority, 1996).

<sup>176</sup> In 1996, sport represented 5, 8 per cent of the total program output on TV2, which is 302 hours. In 2001, TV2 had 527 hours of sport in its schedule, which is about 9, 3 per cent of the total hours. In comparison, NRK transmitted 815 hours of sport in 1996 (which is 20 % of the total hours, including the Olympic Games in

One of the biggest challenges faced by both channels with regard to competition was increased expenses concerning personnel, services and sporting rights. NRK started to feel the pressure in the 1980s, and to avoid outbidding, NRK temporarily secured the rights for the biggest national and international sporting events even before TV2 was established<sup>177</sup>. The competition over sport between NRK and TV2 was particularly hard as both channels had been members of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) since 1993, and thus had equal rights over many of the same sporting events. Eventually, the channels decided to replace competition over sporting rights with cooperation, a decision which was supported also outside the broadcasters<sup>178</sup>. In 1996, TV2 and NRK presented a list of which events they would co-operate over, and set out how they should divide the events between them. However, the co-operation was an enormous fiasco: repetitious misunderstandings and disagreements dominated the process, and the climate between TV2 and NRK became increasingly sour. The situation reached its peak during the World Championship in Skiing in Ramsau, Finland in 1999 when both channels transmitted the same pictures from the same sports at the same time.

“The Great Winter War” regarding the World Cup in Finland, was a senseless situation (TV2, 1998; Dagbladet, 1999). Paradoxically, both channels would benefit of transmitting the Ramsau World Cup in stereo. TV2 preferred to transmit it for two reasons. First of all, they needed to secure their credibility and the legitimacy as a “true” public service channel, and they needed to prove that they were not a narrow national sports channel. To obtain a position in the old core areas of NRK’s monopoly, TV2 needed to challenge NRK on the same spot. Secondly, TV2 needed the advertising income the World Cup would bring. Popular sporting events are one of the most effective market products when it comes to gaining viewers for the advertisers. As for NRK, it would be regarded as broadcasting suicide to give away viewers to TV2. If NRK gave away big sporting events it would also mean a loss in the variety and broadness in its sports coverage, which again would lead to a risk of losing its position as market leader. A high rating from the World Championship would defend both the claims for licence and NRK’s position as the national carrier of culture.

For all its tragedy, the “Great Winter War” actually represented a positive turning point in Norwegian public service broadcasting. The alliance between TV2 and NRK was forced onto a more serious track. A

---

Atlanta) and 495 hours of sport in 2001, which is 10 per cent of its total hours of transmission (medienorge 2008).

<sup>177</sup> In 1990, extra funds were earmarked sporting rights (Hodne, 2001:58).

<sup>178</sup> In 2002, the Norwegian Media Authority urged NRK and TV2 to cooperate in order to free resources for other public services (Allmennkringkastingsrådet, 2002: 53).

new four years agreement regarding the EBU rights were made, which seemed to satisfy both parties<sup>179</sup>. However, some sports are naturally more popular than others and some sports correspond better with a channel's identity and corporate image than others. These aspects were the core conflict in the cooperation between NRK and TV2 during the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City 2002. For instance, both of the channels wanted to cover the big popular national sports, such as the biathlon, but it was NRK who pulled off the coverage<sup>180</sup>.

The Olympics in 2002 turned out to be quite expensive, especially for TV2. This might have been the turning point in the competition for representing the national TV sports broadcaster, at least regarding winter sports. In June 2002, the channels presented a new deal. NRK would cover most of the sporting events, and thereby sustain its position as the main broadcaster of winter sports and the great Olympic events. TV2 enjoyed the rights to popular sports, such as the European Championship in football, in addition to handball and some branches of alpine skiing.

The rights for the national football league were divided equally between NRK and TV2 in the period from 1998 to 2005. In 2005, TV2 and Telenor (the incumbent telecommunications company in Norway with extensive TV distribution operations in the Nordic Countries) bought the rights for the next three years, leaving NRK without any national football coverage. In the latest deal (July, 2008), it looks as if NRK is back in the field, having secured the broadcasting rights for the Saturday game, the rights for the 1<sup>st</sup> Division and all the Cup matches. TV2 has the right for the Monday and Sunday matches, while Telenor is left with nothing (The Norwegian Football Association, 2008).

With regard to the sporting event analysed in this thesis, the Cup Final was, in the beginning, not affected by competition. However, for the first time in the history, TV2 transmitted the Cup Final in 1999, which attracted 1,121 000 viewers - the fifth highest rating for TV2 that year (after four handball matches during the World Cup for women and one news programme)<sup>181</sup>.

---

<sup>179</sup> For instance, in 2001, TV2 transmitted the World Cup in alpine in St. Anton, Norway's football games, the UEFA Cup and the English F.A. Cup. Due to a stressful financial situation, TV2 let go of the women's World Championship in handball the same year, and withdrew from the Nordic co-operation of buying the rights for the World Championship in football the following year.

<sup>180</sup> In total, NRK transmitted 150 hours from the Salt Lake City Games, while TV2 broadcasted 60 hours of alpine and skating (Dagens Næringsliv, 2002).

<sup>181</sup> TV2 transmitted the Cup Final in 2001 and 2003, the latter in parallel with NRK's coverage of the World Cup in rally (in which a Norwegian competitor won). Since 2005, TV2 has owned the rights to the Cup. NRK has taken over the rights from the year 2010.

The biggest success of TV2's Sports Department during its first few years was perhaps the marketing of the channel's image. In her analysis, Susanne Østby Sæther (2002) concludes that "since 1994 TV2 has actively used their people in marketing and branding of the channel, and the staff has achieved an almost emblematic function for the channel" (2002:108). All of the sports journalists in TV2 have a friendly, personal and relaxed style, which portrays the channels as playful, informal and down to earth. This charismatic authority (Ytreberg, 1999) is sharply contrasted by the more distanced authority of the NRK. In a comparative analysis of NRK and TV2's coverage of the European Championship in football in 2002, Helland (2003) draws a similar conclusion. For instance, despite similarities between the channels' commentators (for example a strong national enthusiasm), NRK's commentator emphasised the informational aspect of the coverage, loyalty to the game, objective orientation. According to Helland (2003: 160), he resembled a "national Master of Ceremonies". TV2's commentator's style was, on the other hand, more popularised, entertaining and informal. Helland (2003: 160-161) claims that the TV2 commentator facilitated a critical oriented entertainment tradition in which he focused on the appealing and attractive value of the game, both for the viewers and the advertisers.

#### 7.5.2 *NRK's reply to TV2: Constituting both national unity and diversity*

In TV2, NRK found a potentially dangerous competitor. In most European countries, the competition between a public and a private public service broadcaster favoured the private channel. In the early years of the duopoly, NRK carried out four major projects: first, NRK produced the Olympic Games at Lillehammer in 1994; second, it established more district and regional offices, which produced both radio and television programmes at this time; third, in 1993 it established a third radio channel; and fourth, in 1996 it established a second television channel. All of these projects were viewed as strategic weapons in the battle against TV2, and particularly to confirm NRK as the main national channel. At this point, it was not only necessary to constitute the structural principles of *universalism* in terms of national unity (see section 7.1.1), NRK also needed stronger, more solid and stable principles, especially aimed at ensuring the principles *universalism* as national diversity.

First, with regard to constituting NRK according to the structural principle of national unity: On the level of structures, NRK's strategic response to the new competition was to confront the commercial competitors by adopting more commercial scheduling strategies itself. This scheduling strategy was partly based on a direct confrontation regarding those areas of programme categories where the private channel sought to carve out a niche

---

for itself (i.e. sport and entertainment) and partly on continuously adopting strategies associated with commercial broadcasting for the programme structure, range and scheduling<sup>182</sup>. Syvertsen (1997) has demonstrated how NRK made dramatic changes regarding both vertical and horizontal scheduling, serialisation and higher frequency of programmes, counter programming and exploitation of prime time. Although during the 1970s NRK had come to recognise the needs of its audience and paid particular attention to some minority groups, the new discovery of its audience was now labelled as a commercial strategy in which NRK adopted the economic logic underpinning advertising-supported broadcasters. One example of how NRK instantiated a structure based on audience maximisation logic was that programme makers could no longer decide where and when their programmes should be scheduled. Strategic steering documents and rating figures would decide what to produce and when a programme would be broadcast. Earlier, performance criteria had been defined so loosely and vaguely that it was almost impossible to measure them. Now, legitimacy was determined by quantitative indicators.

In order to constitute NRK in line with the structural principle of *universalism* as national unity, in the period from 1989 to 2001, the General Director of NRK, Einar Førde, pointed to two areas that would be crucial for NRK's licence fee and in order to survive: sport and entertainment. With regard to sport, the strategy of NRK was crystal clear. NRK must not, under any circumstances, give up its position as the main sports broadcaster of Norway (Rossavik, 2007:287). In a meeting with the Broadcasting Council, in September 1990, Førde said that there are examples of leading national broadcasters that "have become fourth-rate because they lost the sport. NRK can be outdistanced to any form of ritual, which is of importance to the public, be it the Cup Final or morning service<sup>183</sup>" (Hodne, 2001: 60). Other European public service broadcasters had, according to Førde, given up the sports coverage too easily, and by that, signed their own death sentence. The second part of Førde's strategy was to maintain entertainment as a core structural property within NRK. To lose the popular entertainment programmes would also mean suicidal for NRK. The old monopolist needed to have the "most watched" television broadcasts. NRK might also have the

---

<sup>182</sup> For instance, when TV2 introduced special daily sporting news, NRK did the same in 1995. Later, both channels rescheduled the sporting news in order to claim the start of prime time (Hodne, 2001).

<sup>183</sup> My translation (...har vorte fjerderangs fordi dei mista sporten. Og NRK kan ikkje distansere seg frå nokon form for rituale som er viktige for det norske folk, det vere seg cupfinale eller høgmesse).

“least watched broadcasts”, but without top rated programmes, NRK would lose the race for broadcasting supremacy<sup>184</sup>.

With regard to constituting NRK as the national broadcaster based on the structural principles of *universalism* as cultural diversity, NRK pursued its own public service remit by strengthening its unique characteristics and what distinguished the broadcaster from the commercial channels. During the early 1990s, the four core values (national, democratic, character building and humanistic) of NRK’s structural principles from the 1960s were revitalised. For instance, the productions of the regional offices constituted the national democratic value of universalism. Rossavik (2007) claims that the development of six regional offices in 1996 not only denied TV2 the opportunity to establish something similar, it also gave NRK its political legitimacy, as most of the politicians represent the districts. Humanistic value was instantiated as structures of reliability and impact on society, in addition to diversity. The elusive value of character-building was instantiated as programme properties associated with innovation, critical reflections and quality, particular within the “new humour of NRK”. The structural property of enlightenment had almost vanished in terms of pure educational programmes. However, this structural property was taken care of through concepts such as quality, innovations and cultural experiences. For instance, NRK put considerable effort into protecting and strengthening the three Norwegian languages by increasing the production of programmes aimed at the Sámi population<sup>185</sup> (Rossavik, 2007: 320).

The relationship between national unity and national diversity was strained, to some degree, and for the Sports Department this was expressed as a conflict between the audience perspective and programme perspective within the magazine programme “*Sportsrevyen*”. The conflicts and discussions within NRK’s Sports Department were mainly about the coverage of common, popular sports versus marginal, unknown sports and the lack of professional, critical sports journalism (Hodne, 2001: 114). NRK’s structure of providing critical information and features of marginal interests was to some extent downgraded in order to cover broad and popular sports, which the majority of the audience demanded (Hodne, 2001). When

---

<sup>184</sup> In line with these strategies, Syvertsen (1997) found that in the period 1988 to 1995, the number of entertainment programs on NRK increased while the share of cultural and educational program decreased, particularly at prime time. With regard to program structure, she also observed that the amount of sport on NRK rose from three per cent in the early 1990s to seven per cent in 1995, the same level as on TV2 (Syvertsen, 1997: 171).

<sup>185</sup> In 1991, NRK Sámi Radio started to transmit television programs for children, and between 1989 and 2001 the program output rose from 1, 5 hours per day to 5, 5 hours per day (NRK Sámi radio, 2008).



critical journalism was given a lower priority in the sports magazine and another magazine (“*Sportsrunden*”) was terminated, some of the old publicity ideals were outstripped by the ambition of satisfying the wishes of the broad public. The changes were, on the other hand, legitimised by increased rating figures.

### 7.5.3 *From moral legitimacy to measurable, pragmatic legitimacy*

The introduction of scheduling strategies for commercial broadcasters and the use of regular surveys, in addition to economic indicators of performance, represented a new situation for the programme departments within NRK. For the Sports Department, although they always knew their programmes had been popular, the staff was pleased that they could produce figures that proved their popularity. For instance, the magazine programme, “*Sportsrevyen*” had most of the time between 800 - 900.000 viewers (Andersen, 2003: 59). In an interview with Andersen, one of the producers in NRK’s Sports Department claimed that:

*“For us in NRK Sport, the ratings have been an advantage, because now we are able to see exactly how many watch sport, and that also means something within NRK. For a while, we said disrespectfully that the rating did not mean anything for us, but this was wrong. We realise that without viewers, there is no reason for us to exist (Johnny Brenna, 13.11.2002, in Andersen, 2003: 60).”*

So far, I have discussed pragmatic legitimacy merely as an acceptance by the audience. When NRK adopted the commercial paradigm of “public service” and started to address the public both as citizens and as consumers by giving them both what they needed and what they wanted, it is fair to claim that the pragmatic legitimacy includes two elements: social acceptance by the audience as citizens and that of a popular acceptance by the viewers as consumers. The changes in NRK’s programme structure, range and scheduling were all to a certain extent aimed at audience maximisation. Although the value of maximisation is an implementation of commercial business objectives, is also the core element in the nature of public service broadcasting. Several writers point to the usefulness of performance criteria that deal with audience size in the matter of public service broadcasting: If the audience is not sufficiently large, a public broadcaster will not be able to achieve its social objectives (Picard, 1989; Doyle, 2002). The “grand meaning” of a public service broadcaster is the notion of “public” and “broad” as opposed to “personal” and “narrow”. Although NRK has a special concern for linguistic and ethnic minorities, it is the tie to the public as a whole that make the broadcaster’s objectives possible. In short, the obligation to serve the national interest, strengthen national identity and

national culture would be impossible to fulfil without functioning as a service to the whole population. As such, NRK tried to constitute itself as not only the natural national public service broadcaster, but also as the natural *choice* of a public service broadcaster.

Following this argument, it is obvious that the need to attract large audiences is not something new in the history of public service broadcasting. What happened in the late 1980s was that traditional public service performance criteria were supplemented with quantitative indicators. Measuring performance by quantitative indicators (for instance that at least 25 per cent of NRK's verbal output must be in the language "new Norwegian"<sup>186</sup>) is expressed as a percentage of the population. The underlying philosophy of this quantitative criterion, and its result, is to a large extent identical to a traditional regulation that NRK is expected to play a part in defending the Norwegian language, culture and identity. The two means of measurement have different instrumental use. For instance, the traditional indicators embody the wider social function of public service broadcasting, while audience quotas can force the broadcaster to schedule programmes so that they have a fair chance of reaching a substantial audience<sup>187</sup>.

Up until 1987, structural properties of the so-called "Reithian trinity" of information, education and entertainment had been an adequate enough instantiation of the public broadcaster's mission. The government added a national emphasis where the broadcaster was expected to help build national identity, while the Broadcasting Council focused on the obligation of objectivity. The main point is that up until 1988, tasks had not been detailed, but rather described as general principles by the broadcaster itself. Nevertheless, the government reaffirmed the large degree of editorial autonomy for NRK. Only one formal control mechanism over content was made explicitly; the obligation to broadcast 25% of its programming in the "new Norwegian language" (NRK Regulations, 1988)<sup>188</sup>. Other control mechanisms were not imposed until 1992 when the licence agreement was established in relation to TV2, and later, in 1996 when the Public Broadcasting Council was established. Increased political criticism and suspicion, audience disapproval and competition from private broadcasters gradually did away with the vague and normative structures from which NRK had previously derived its mission.

---

<sup>186</sup> NRK Statueter 1988 [2004].

<sup>187</sup> NRK does not give out statistical data about its program output in prime time, probable because this period is dominated by "broad appeal programmes, such as entertainment and news.

<sup>188</sup> The explicit obligation was imposed as NRK became a public foundation in 1988.

Regardless of the instrumental measurements, it is safe to say that during the strategic changes made to programme structures in the early 1990s, NRK's basic structuring of its mission remained untouched (Syvertsen, 1992). From the perspective of structuration theory, this means that the structural principle of NRK as the fundamental and normative understanding of NRK's basic obligations was reproduced apparently unaffected. One explanation of why the structural principles generally remained unchanged when NRK lost its monopoly is that, when the broadcasting market was liberalised, it was the monopoly of NRK that was questioned and not the nature of public service itself.

With regard to the structural properties of production practice, NRK continued to instantiate audience maximisation (which had been a core characteristic of public service broadcasting as far back as the 1950s) through entertainment (which was considered vital since the 1960s). In addition, NRK continued to instantiate information and enlightenment in relation to the nation-building aspect of public service broadcasting (which had been an absolute political claim since the start of broadcasting). The biggest challenge for NRK was to constitute itself as a modern, vital and innovative broadcaster that was appropriate for the new media market. In the next section, I will give some examples of how NRK met this challenge within the production of the Cup Finals in 1992, 1995 and 1997.

#### *7.5.4 Analysis of the Cup Final 1992; entertainment and innovations*

So far, I have argued that sport played an important role in the competition between NRK and the commercial public service broadcaster TV2. The question considered in this section is how this competition affected the production practice of NRK's coverage of the Cup Finals in the 1990s.

From a 15 minutes extract of the coverage of the 1992 Cup Final, it is evident that there are several striking features concerning production practice compared to that of 1989. All of these features can be labelled as efforts at enlarging the entertainment and informative values of the production.

First, in the Cup Final in 1992 two camera positions, known from the Cup Final of 1961, are back in the production<sup>189</sup>. Cameras C4 and C5 are placed between the corner flag and the goal post and provide medium shots of great goal chances and actual goals. The angle and perspective of these camera shots are highly dramatic and intimate. For instance, Lillestrøm equalises to 2-2 after a skilful manoeuvre by their left winger, Buer. This effort is not captured well by the game camera C1, but in the replay by C4, his skills at dribbling the ball are highly visible. This is also the situation

---

<sup>189</sup> They were also present during the Cup Final in 1990, 1991 and 1993. In this match, they replaced C7 and C8.

with the 3-2 goal to Rosenborg in the 90<sup>th</sup> minute, in which a C5 replay shows how the ball, after a long shot by Bjørnebye, hits a Lillestrøm player, changes direction, is missed by the Lillestrøm keeper, and enters the goal.

Secondly, most of the pictures from the Cup Final in 1992 are now motivated by previous events. There are very few random shots. When there is a stop in the game, the work division between the cameras seems to have established a regular syntax. For instance, whenever a player performs well or badly in a C1 shot, leading to a stop in the game, camera C2 or C6 will locate this player in a close-up or a medium shot in the next picture. If it is a particularly important incident, the player's name is also displayed on-screen. A similar composition is made after a great goal chance, when C3 either shows a reaction shot of the audience or one of the managers. Seeing a manager smoking nervously, an anxious old lady or a young boy mad with joy in a close-up indicates that the "old" strategy "up close and personal" no longer only works on the players, but anyone involved in the game.

Thirdly, the coverage is marked by higher tempo and greater variation in the cutting rhythm than what was the case in 1989. There are more shots, and although the number of C1 shots still constitutes the majority, the duration of these shots is shorter than in previous analysis of 1989 (approximately 14 seconds). This is particularly true in situations involving a goal. If there is time before the game restarts, the producer cuts rapidly between shots of the players celebrating, the crowd cheering, a replay of the goal, more shots of the audience and a final replay of the celebrating players. After the 2-1 goal to Rosenborg, the producer also tries to include a reaction shot of the Lillestrøm's goalkeeper. This is not a great shot as the angle is too low and the view too long, but it shows an attempt at the construction of a tiny dramatic moment related to the goalkeeper's frustration. The use of medium action shots is restricted as long as the game is in play. When there is a stop in the game, the producer often chooses a close-up instead of a medium shot. Only occasionally will the producer use a medium shot of a dribble or a tackle in order not to disturb the team-oriented pictures delivered by the game camera, C1. However, there are a few examples of replay medium shots (C2) that illustrate a particularly good individual performance.

With regard to innovative production techniques, the practice has previously included interviews with the managers during the match. Instead, the coverage now includes pictures and sound of the managers speaking on a phone about the tactics to, probably, someone in the management team. This is an interesting experiment, insomuch as it offers a glimpse of the managerial tactics behind the teams. It is, however, also an informative service to a marginal group of viewers (the football fans).

Another “innovation” is that the main commentator has been joined by a so-called expert commentator<sup>190</sup>, which enlarges both the entertainment and informative value of the coverage. After each goal, the commentator describes what happened and asks the viewers to pay attention to particular details. The expert commentator is mainly an additional service to the football fans that are interested in analysis and evaluations. As such, the expert commentator is more critical and strict in his evaluations of both the players and the teams. In general, the commentary is restricted to short informative messages (naming of the players, the time, historical details and comments about performances). It is by and large, the pictures that communicate the game, supported by relevant information in the commentary.

However, the presence of two commentators also enhances the entertaining aspects of the commentators. Football is basically a game one enjoys more if one shares it with others – both in the stadium and on TV. The “next-man” role allows the commentators to get carried away, to give chauvinistic fire and overall display subjective journalistic comments. As such, the commentators establish a fundamental attitude of joviality and fellowship with the viewers. The intimacy between the commentators and the viewers is also emphasised by the conversation between Scheie and Olsen, which the TV-audience overhears.

The most prominent aspect of the production in 1992 is the understanding of the Cup Final as a “national festival”. This theme is fronted by an increase in pictures of the audience, both as large groups and individual fans. The diversity of the audience is also present in terms of old and young spectators, celebrities and ordinary people, women and men. A similar theme was found in an analysis of NRK’s production of the Cup Final ten years later (Andersen, 2003). When the producer briefed the crew before kick off in 2002, he instructed several of the camera operators to focus on the audience, by claiming that “it is the audience and the atmosphere that is important today and which we will give high priority to dramaturgy” (Andersen, 2003: 67).

#### 7.5.5 *Analysis of the Cup Final 1995: individuals, actions and drama*

Analysing the Cup Final in 1995 based on an extract of 20 minutes, there are three main changes compared to the coverage in 1992. First, even more emphasis is put on situations leading to a goal chance or an actual goal. The two cameras (C4 and C5) are still present between the corner flags and the goals posts, which enlarges the dramatic and intimate aspects of duels and crucial situations in front of the goals. In addition, C6 and C7 are also

---

<sup>190</sup> He was also present during the Cup Final in 1991, but not in 1990.

present behind the goals<sup>191</sup>, providing replays of the goals. The large number of cameras only covering replays of the goals, strongly contributes to the instantiation of both information and entertainment in the coverage. It is now possible for the viewers to engage, explore and evaluate the goals from at least three very different angles and perspectives<sup>192</sup>. This is emphasised as the two commentators interact with the viewers in their analysis and evaluation of both individual and team performances. Entertainment is further enlarged as goals are followed up by at least two reaction shots of the audience, either as small groups or as a large crowd.

Second, there is strong tendency to construct a short story line when allowed by a pause in the game. This composition is mainly made up of individual close-ups and, in some cases supported by replays or reaction shots of the audience. 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”. The two reaction shots are followed by a replay of the situation, allowing the viewers to judge the situation. This is also the case when there is a shot at goal, in which the goal chance is constructed as a particular dual between the keeper and a striker. In some cases three close-ups follow in a row: a close-up of the player responsible for the shot, a close-up of the keeper who made a save, and a close-up of a single spectator applauding. In another situation, a player is shown a red card and asked to leave the field of play. Camera C6 stays on the player as he leaves the pitch, followed by a reaction shot of the manager by C3, followed by C2 shot of the player as he leaves the pitch from a different perspective. The sequence ends with a medium shot of the audience, hissing at the decision. A similar sequence takes place after a goal has been scored. Camera C2 follows the goal scorer as he celebrates; C6 shows a reaction shot of the keeper, followed by a reaction shot of the audience. 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. Another variation of a story line includes a close-up of a player that had a shot on goal, but missed, a reaction shot of the audience and then a reaction shot of the manager. This is also the case before the penalty in favour of Rosenborg 22 minutes into the first half. In this situation, the producer seems so absorbed with providing close-ups of the player performing the penalty and the keeper that he almost misses the penalty shot in the game camera C1.

Overall, there are no “empty” shots, unmotivated cuts and generally few mistakes by the camera crew and the producer. It is obvious that the production crew has been briefed before the game and that each camera

---

<sup>191</sup> These cameras were missing in 1992.

<sup>192</sup> Provided by C1, C4 and C6 on the left side and by C1, C5 and C7 on the right side.

operator has a dedicated role<sup>193</sup>. As there is a large degree of predictability in which camera displays what kind of situation, the tempo in the camera cutting has increased. There are more and faster cuts than previously, also when the ball is in play<sup>194</sup>. Previously, when the producer could not be sure whether another camera was standing by with another picture, he could not risk cutting from one camera to another. In 1995, however, this is not a problem, and the producer can be confident that he can cut between the best content of each camera. This is not only evident in the segments where the ball is out of play, but also when the ball is in play. In earlier productions, the camera C1 would film as long as the ball was in play and the producer would cut to another camera mainly when the game stopped. In 1995, the producer also cuts between the cameras when the ball is in play, which enlarges the level of action in the coverage, hence instantiating the structural property of entertainment.

With regard to the commentators, they display the same mix of entertainment and information as in 1992. The main commentator is placed in the role of omniscient storyteller while the expert commentator holds the role of authoritative storyteller. One might argue that there are slight increases of elements that personalise the commentary as the expert commentator also addresses the players by their first name or nick-name (such as “*Mini*” and “*Ivers*”). He obviously knows the players personally and by shares this intimacy with the viewers.

In the Cup Final in 1995, there are few examples of changes within production techniques. One exception is the introduction of viewers voting for the best player of the match, an attempt to interact with the viewers and achieved via on-screen graphics.

#### 7.5.6 Chapter summary: same, same, but different

Having outlined the situation in Norwegian broadcasting in the late 1980s and early 1990s, I have argued that NRK met the increased competition by trying to constitute its structural principle of *universalism* by focusing both on national cohesion and national diversity. One consequence of the competition was that NRK and TV2 began to compare their sports

---

<sup>193</sup> The production of the Winter Olympics at Lillehammer strengthened NRK’s production competence. In addition, most of the technical equipment was upgraded or replaced (Hodne, 2001; Pujk, 1997).

<sup>194</sup> On a average, the shots last for 5,6 seconds (Andersen, 2003: 126).

coverage<sup>195</sup>. The race to produce the best sports coverage triggered larger production teams and justified most budget overruns<sup>196</sup>.

The analysis of the Cup Finals in 1992 and 1995 reveal that NRK overhauled its production practices without disturbing the balance between instantiating entertainment, information and enlightenment. On the contrary, it seems that the effort in constructing small story lines in the coverage enhanced all structural properties. NRK managed to produce an entertaining coverage without losing its basis of an objective and balanced production and by using dramaturgical techniques. As such, the production aimed at audience maximisation, such as commercial productions, but at the same time, aimed at contrasting NRK to its commercial competitors by focusing on objectivity, quality and innovations.

During the 1990s, NRK managed to constitute itself as the national broadcaster, both as a cultural conveyor and defender, and as a “natural” choice for many consumers (constituted by high ratings). *Universalism*, both as national unity and national diversity, was instantiated directly in structures by a stronger focus on scheduling strategies appropriate for commercial channels and by introducing quantity-based measurements. In addition, NRK wanted to include both an audience perspective and a programme perspective in its structures. With regard to the audience, NRK aimed at providing services to both the entire population and to marginal groups. Both the needs and the demands of these groups would be cared for by NRK. The same objectives were related to the programme aspects. NRK should produce programmes aimed both at gathering a large audience and smaller, “more challenging and innovating” programmes. As such, NRK constituted itself as a modern broadcaster by instantiating directly many of the same structures as commercial broadcasters and by instantiating structures that were unique to a public service tradition.

---

<sup>195</sup> The coverage in 1998 was the last Cup Final NRK produced as the only national broadcaster in Norway. The following year, TV2 was given the job, and after 1999, the broadcasters alternated and each produced a Cup Final every other year.

<sup>196</sup> For instance, the Cup Final in 1978 was produced by 8 people and one journalist, while the Cup Final in 2002 required 80 co- works and 4 journalists (Andersen, 2003: 62).



## 8 Conclusions

The subject for this thesis has been the proud past of NRK, the Norwegian public service broadcasting institution that has encompassed people's cultural rights to information, entertainment, experience, knowledge and participation. The key fundamental assumption underlying my work has been a two way relationship in which institutional change and stability are recursively coupled. As stability and change coexist in a mutual process of production and reproduction, a theory must deal with both and not just one of them (Luhmann, 1995: 347). This premise has motivated the use of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and the explorative research question of *how changes in organisational practice are related to institutional structures*. The question has been explored by identifying how a practice exhibits institutional structures on three levels and using the example of a public service broadcaster, such as NRK. The levels are:

- Abstract structural principles in terms of institutional values and ideologies
- Organisational rules and resources (such as legitimacy) that mediate between the structural principles and properties
- Concrete structural properties such as practical procedures and production guidelines

The structural principles are linked to structures and structural properties through a process of *instantiation*. The concept refers to the creation of a real instance or particular realisation of an abstraction. To instantiate is to give an institutional value or goal the necessary rules, resources and meaning in order to perform an organisational practice. The result of instantiations is, thus, both a particular type of practice and the constitution of the abstract structure that enabled the practice to take place.

In order to explore how the process of instantiation links structures and practice, I have analysed an institution's particular organisational practice: namely, a public service broadcaster's production of the coverage

of Norwegian Cup Finals in football for men between the early 1960s and early 1990s.

Public service broadcasting illustrates well the duality of structure in the structuration theory (1984) and its three structural levels. First, as a structural principle, public service broadcasting is an abstract model, associated with values of universalism, in terms of “public good” and “cultural goods” (Doyle, 2002). Traditionally, public service broadcasters are institutions widely trusted and deeply interconnected with politics of the public sphere. Its existence is, however, dependent on various types of legitimacy, internally as well as externally. In the words of Suchman, “legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995:574)

Second, the ideologies of public service broadcasting frame a particular system of rules and resources that enable the production of and delivery of television and radio programmes. One level down from institutional legitimacy, organisational legitimacy is viewed as the operational resources a production practice requires in order to work (Suchman, 1995: 575).

Third, public service broadcasting can also be viewed as a particular output, in terms of television programmes. Public service broadcasters generally transmit programmes that aim to improve society. By informing, enlightening and entertaining the audience, a public service broadcaster seeks approval (or avoidance of sanction) from its audience. At its simplest form, legitimacy from the audience can be measured in viewing rating or as funding and regulation from the political system.

The choice of NRK, as a case-study for my research, is based on the traditionally strong and important role this institution has played in the Norwegian society since its inception in the 1930s. My focus on football coverage is based on the broadcaster’s ability to reinforce public service broadcasting by transforming sporting events into media events (Whannel, 1992). Within football, the Cup Final is a particular yearly, ritual media event that is deeply anchored in national culture, identities and community. By analysing how NRK produces the same media event over a period of years, I am able to identify and discuss how this particular production practice changes, and to relate it to the developments taking place on the institutional level of NRK.

Having outlined the background and the research strategies for my analysis, the following sections will discuss the potential for theoretical, methodological and empirical implications to be derived from the study, as well as its limitations.

## 8.1 Empirical contributions

The thesis includes a two-fold empirical analysis. First, I have studied how the practice of producing the Cup Final on television has changed from the early 1960s to the late 1990s. By focusing on a relatively fixed programme output as the Cup Final, I have been able to compare production practices over time. An overview is given in Table 8.1. The analysis suggests it is moderately easy to change structural properties that inform the production practice. The changes are small adjustments and fine-tunings, they are not linear and they are continuous.

<b>Cup Final</b>	<b>Production practice</b>	<b>Instantiated structural property of</b>
1961	Observational mode - documentary 3 cameras Some camera variation (overview – reaction shot) Audience shots (CU and MS) Some goal chances and goal Not team performance Commentary: Humorous and critical	Entertainment - pleasure - excitement - intensity Enlightenment - personalisation
1963	Observational mode - documentary 1 camera (2 not active) Some camera variation (overview – reaction shot) Audience (mixture) shots (CU and MS) Emotions Goal chances and goal Commentary: Objective, formal and friendly	Entertainment - pleasure - excitement - intensity Enlightenment - personalisation - intimacy
1966	Constructive mode 2 cameras (2 not active) Some camera variation (overview – action shot) No audience shots Focus on both performances and goals Graphics with information Commentary: subjective information	Information - impartiality - analysis Enlightenment - celebration scenes - Personalisation
1969	Professional construction of a TV event 2 cameras (2 not active) Variation (zoom, pan, content, views) Rapid cutting pattern Some audience shots Commentary: intense, engaged, spontaneously	Infotainment - pleasure - liveness (immediacy) - intensity Enlightenment - celebration - atmosphere (drama)
1971	Constructive mode 3 cameras Some variation (overview – action shot) Team and individual performances (Wirkola) A few “up close and personal” Dramatic situations Many replays (analyse and evaluation) Attempts of constructing story lines Commentary: informative, intimate, enthusiastic	Infotainment - action - drama - variation Common and marginal wants Enlightenment - personalisation - drama

1978	<p>Observational mode  4 cameras  More variation and dynamic in camera cutting,  C1 (overview) dominates more (zoom out)  Some replays (C1)  No celebration scenes  Not attempts of story lines  Attempts of using motivated shots (managers)  Commentary: informative, team-oriented</p>	<p>Information  - objectivity  - realism  Attempts of enlightenment  - personalisation  - individualisation</p>
1980	<p>Observational mode  4 cameras  More variation, slow camera cutting  More motivated shots  Attempts of story lines  Team performance  Dramatic situations (injuries, conflicts, fouls)  Replay for various groups of viewers  Some celebration scenes</p>	<p>Information  - objectivity  - realism  Entertainment  - drama  - intensity  - excitement</p>
1984	<p>Construction of a televised match  6 cameras  High variation, fast camera cuttings  More CU and MS  More motivated shots  Celebration scenes (both players and audience)  Replays of team- and individual performances  Commentary: informative, friendly, enthusiastic</p>	<p>Entertainment  - excitement  - intensity  - drama  Information  - analysis and evaluation  Enlightenment  - feeling of community  - personalisation</p>
1986	<p>Construction of a televised match  6 cameras  More pictures  More variation (LS dominates less, more MS)  Experiments (interviews)  Individual performances  Audience shots, goals and celebration scenes  Reaction shots of managers</p>	<p>Entertainment  - excitement  - intensity  Information  - detailed, objective analysis  - individualisation  Enlightenment  - personalisation  - community, celebration</p>
1989	<p>Construction of a televised match  8 cameras (9)  Replay focus on goal and big chances  Less pictures, slower tempo  Less MS, more CU  Replays for analysis and of dramatic situations  Players as heroes, villains and victims  Interviews</p>	<p>Entertainment  - drama  - individualisation  Information  - neutral analysis  Enlightenment  - atmosphere  - drama</p>

1992	Construction of a televised story 6 cameras (7) High tempo in cutting rhythm Action replay camera by goal lines Replay of dramatic situation for analysis Almost solely motivated shots (managers) Audience reaction shots Regular syntax between camera cuttings Regular use of graphics Players as heroes, villains and victims Commentary: 2 commentators, analytical, informative and enthusiastic	Entertainment - drama - intensity - individualisation - story line Information - objectivity - analysis and evaluation Enlightenment - atmosphere - community - celebration
1995	Construction of a televised story 8 cameras (9) More pictures, faster cutting rhythm Regular syntax Large number of replay camera (variation) Story lines made after great performance, duals, fouls and goal chances No “empty” shots Many reaction shots of audience and managers Commentary: interacts with the viewers, analytical and enthusiastic Graphics: voting	Entertainment - intensity - drama - story lines - interactivity Information - rich analyse, evaluation - individualisation Enlightenment - personalisation - community celebration - drama

*Table.8.1 Changes in the production practice of the Cup Final and its structural properties within NRK, 1961-1995*

Second, I have studied how changes within the production practice of the Cup Final relate to the structures of NRK as a public service broadcaster in the same period. The analysis suggests that practice has changed in order to maintain some stability within the structures of NRK. As such, the empirical insights offered by my study are that stability and change are both necessary for institutions like NRK, not only to function, but to survive. On one hand, NRK seeks the reduction in uncertainty that stability can provide. On the other hand, NRK (at least after its monopoly ended) pursued change to enhance its competitive position.

Changing how a stable institution works may be potentially threatening for that institution, in terms of lost legitimacy. NRK’s social and cultural ties with its viewers and the political context are an important lubricant for the institution to instantiate structural principles into structures and into structural properties in order to produce products and services. In this respect, change is understood as ongoing adaptations, re-combinations and adjustments of incremental properties of that institution’s practice. These changes can harbour more fundamental, long-lasting changes within the structural level of an institution.

In the following I wish to sum up how the four empirical chapters illustrate my main arguments given above. In chapter 4 my main aim was to illustrate how the practice of producing television programmes in the early 1960s was based on the radio programme production practices of the public service broadcaster NRK. In other words, the structural properties of information, education and entertainment that informed the production of radio programmes were implemented into the new medium of television. As such, the coverage of the Cup Finals of 1961 and 1963 displayed a practice that simply resembled “radio with pictures”. They were, however, also culturally educational coverage. For a short period of time, the production practices of NRK Television and NRK Radio constituted the common structural principles of NRK, although these principles were only vaguely conceptualised in terms of national unity. However, as the television also represented a threat to radio, the practice of radio production needed to change in order for radio to survive. The structures of NRK were so loosely defined that they enabled many changes within radio production practice to take place. This new practice instantiated structures associated with an audience-friendly focus (i.e. what the audience wants), which, in turn, led to a fusion of entertainment and information, so-called infotainment, into the practice. As the new radio practice gained legitimacy both external to NRK and internally, it constituted both the practice and the many different instantiations of the structures, opening up the structural principles to include both cultural diversity and national unity.

In chapter 5, the aim was to illustrate what happened when the abstract structural principles of both diversity and unity, enabled a multiplicity of structures to evolve, particularly within television production practices. Basically, two aspects of structures were instantiated, an audience-based perspective and a programme-based perspective. In some production practices this led to conflicting, inconsistent and controversial interpretations of the structural properties that almost irreparably damaged the broadcaster. As a result, the structures changed, in terms of introducing more formal and explicit programming rules, which constrained the general production practices within NRK. The production of sport, both instantiated and constituted these changes. In the Cup Final of 1966, the structural properties of audience-friendly infotainment showed signs of instantiating both information and enlightenment, and in the Cup Finals of 1969 and 1971, there is evidence of infotainment-based production practices.

Chapter 6 shows that the interpretation of the structural principle of universalism as cultural diversity was given preference over national unity, and allowed a continuous multiplicity of structures to evolve according to two perspectives. Within the audience perspective of structures, NRK wanted to satisfy both the needs and wants of both marginal and broad groups of viewers. Within the programme perspective of structures, the lack of formal production norms and journalistic guidelines enabled a myriad of

production activities to take place, creating more contradictions and conflicts both within and external to NRK, which over time reduced the broadcaster's legitimacy as the representative of national culture. As such, the flexible structures were constrained by the introduction of formal journalistic conventions and production guidelines in the mid 1970s. The instantiation of the structural property of entertainment was thereby constrained by the structure associated with programming rules. In this period, the production of the Cup Final in 1978 and 1980 instantiated merely the structural property of information, almost neglecting the structural properties of both entertainment and enlightenment.

Chapter 7 dealt with the ways in which NRK adjusted and adapted to the changing environment, which resulted from its loss of a broadcasting monopoly, by focusing on universalism both as national unity and national diversity. The structural principles of NRK as national unity were strengthened according to the structure of audience maximisation and the audience-friendly perspective, commonly associated with commercial broadcasting. The structural principles of NRK as national diversity were also strengthened. These interpretations were instantiated according to the structure of content diversity, i.e. protection national culture and language, reflecting cultural and social pluralism. As such, structures, both within an audience-based perspective and a programme-based perspective emphasised content diversity.

In the production practice of the Cup Final in 1986 and 1989, these instantiations are evident as structural property of entertainment, information and enlightenment. The analysis of the Cup Finals in 1992 and 1995 suggests that entertainment, information and enlightenment are being instantiated in the production practice by dramaturgical techniques, which suggests a domination of the structural property of entertainment.

Summing up the empirical findings, the practice of producing the Cup Final in NRK has changed considerably. However, the change is not a linear development towards one particular type of practice. As the analysis has shown, some of these changes are significant even though they are small rather small adjustments. The changes take form as testing the legitimate limits for how the practice can balance the instantiation of entertainment, information and enlightenment. If a practice shows signs of conflicting with the dominate structure of a particular period, the instantiations are adjusted accordingly. As such, the production of sport served as a reasonably stable and continuous part of the NRK system, which for most of the time gained legitimacy both from within and from outside NRK.

## 8.2 Contribution to structuration theory

Structuration theory is about understanding how a social system is reproduced and produced by the interaction between structures and the actions of human agents. The theory suggests that structures are both the medium and outcome of human agents' actions. Through the enabling and constraining force of structures, abstract structural principles may be turned into structural properties that agents apply as guides for their actions. When agents apply structural properties in their practical life they are also reproducing them. However, actually *how* structures are both enabling and constraining is still largely an unsolved puzzle among researchers interested in structuration theory.

My suggestion towards solving this puzzle is related to two pieces that Giddens (1984) presents without any particular discussion; instantiations, and the open/ closed system-perspectives. In addition to this, I have tried to place the concept of legitimacy in the jigsaw.

Instantiation (along with constitution) refers to the process taking place between structural principles and structural properties: the process of turning something abstract into concrete versions and vice versa. For this to take place, I believe that there must be a certain dynamic space between the structural levels – that one level is more elusive and open than the other level, which is more closed and tangible (Thompson, 1967). Instantiating a structural principle into a structural property means turning something abstract, open, elusive and ambiguous into a concrete, closed and clear version by applying available rules and resources. Similarly, constituting a structural property of a practice into structural principles refers to the process of turning a complex range of activities into a simple form that establishes the structures governing the system.

In this respect, my understanding of stability is as a “product” of the interaction between an abstract idea and a concrete artefact. The constant instantiation process provides stabilised scaffolding for the system, i.e. that both abstraction and concretisation participate in providing relatively fixed, stabilised and durable frameworks that govern and coordinate the institution.

Both constitution and instantiation bear with them elements of translation of meaning. With regard to legitimacy, the process is about fixing scales at different levels of legitimacy, for instance as institutional, moral or pragmatic legitimacy. Instantiation is a process of zooming in on legitimacy or to give it a local frame, either as structural principles, as structures or as structural properties. As such, instantiation may be interpreted as a relatively stabilised scalar enabling the agents to act accordingly to existing beliefs and practices. If instantiations are necessary for agents to solve a problem, then constitution is about legitimating these actions. In constitutions, local instantiations are being rescaled for a different, more abstract level in order to universalise the meaning. When a structural property is re-scaled from a



situation meaning to a generalised meaning, the property has been given legitimacy and been stabilised.

The movement from structural principle to structural property through instantiations and constitutions resembles a process from something durable, but elusive, to something concrete, but immediate and instant. As abstract and fragile ideas, structural principles are activated when agents instantiate their meanings into locale scales. The result is a structural property, instantiated in practices. Structural properties are concrete instants that enable the agents to perform and act. Although concrete, they are not durable. By the constitution directed in the opposite scale, the system is being re-established as a structural principle. The second structural principle may become similar to the first as it is reproduced, but the two are never identical.

Summing up, my main contribution to structuration theory is the discussion of instantiations as conceptual glue that links structural principles, structures and structural properties together. Next, I have tried to show how vital structures, in terms of rules and resources, function as a mediating level between the principles and properties. Structures that are flexible can be opened up or closed in, as necessary, to enable or constrain a particular instantiation taking place. If too many instantiations take place that contradict or conflict with each other or that do not manage to constitute the structural principles, structures can be made more explicit and formal in order to guide the instantiation in a particular direction. As such, structures are both enabling and constraining the activities.

### **8.3 Contribution to organisational studies**

Drawing on structuration theory several writers have conceptualised change as production and reproduction as stability. This insight is useful in understanding that the different dynamics that balance stability and change are tightly connected. However, these writers do not emphasise that change and stability are interdependent. In this thesis I have argued that change and stability co-exist like two ends of a seesaw; you cannot have one without the other.

The interdependency between stability and change is not just a question of a horizontal motion from a stable equilibrium to another stable equilibrium. More interesting, my analysis shows that stability and change co-exist on a vertical as well as on a horizontal dimension. With this I understand the abstract structural principles as a level of duration and stickiness. The meso-level structures change a little bit more easily and faster while at the surface level, structural properties are constantly changed as they are instantiated by agents in their daily practices. As such, an instant is a transformation plot point. In this respect, I disagree with the

understanding of stability as pure reproduction and change as production. Rather, when structural principles are instantiated they can be seen as durable properties of a practice that give stability to the system over time and space. Stability can therefore also be viewed as production. In my analysis I have shown that this takes place as instantiation creates stability by activating several structural principles (Sewell, 1992). However, instantiations produce only temporal stability, and can therefore be considered as local stabilisations. They constitute a particular concrete representation of a more complex, dynamic and elusive structural principle. If these instantiations can also be stabilised into constitutions, the resulting organisational pattern may be expected to drive the system into even more stable structures.

With regard to institutional theory, my study reinforces a less deterministic view of institutional processes. The analysis suggests that, when applying structuration theory, institutionalisation does not affect actors covertly as an abstract process. Institutionalisation is deeply embedded in the practices and the taken-for-granted rules that shape activities. In my study, I may not have articulated strongly enough that agents do not enact structures in a vacuum. It would, perhaps, have been helpful to describe and analyse the institutional contexts more fully and to detail how other systems have constituted structural elements in this case.

#### **8.4 Methodological contribution**

As noted by Poole and van de Ven (1989), Barley and Tolbert (1997) and Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005) it takes a multi level analysis to address the interaction between institutional structures and organisational activities. However, as my analysis illustrates we also need better methodological tools for taking time into account, particularly when dealing with organisational change and stability. For instance, my study suggests that structural principles were altered in some ways, but that none was abolished entirely in the process. This is similar to a development noted by McNulty and Ferlie who argue that “The resilience of these ”deep structures” predicts continuing limitations to reform strategies designed to achieve “big bang” change in public service organisations” (2004: 1409).

My main contribution to empirical work using structuration theory is that the structural principles, structures and structural properties not only work at different levels of an organisation, but also within different time modes. Structural principles may be viewed as institutional logics that act as an invisible hand on practice, producing a slow historical shift. Structures act more as field frame: They display durability and stickiness of an institutional logic, but akin to strategic framing. Structural properties act as short term strategic frames. They are malleable and explicit, actors are consciously aware of them and may modify and combine them as they see fit.

Putting the methodological challenges aside, I fully agree with Giddens' view that "structuration theory is not intended as a method of research or even as a methodological approach" (Giddens, 1989: 296). However, addressing the paradoxes identified by Poole and Van de Ven (1989) I chose to clarify connections between organisational levels and introduce the concept of instantiation. This has led me to formulations that specify the levels and instantiation. By viewing structures at different levels I have tried to show how it is possible to study the linkage between structures and practices as processes from abstract to concrete versions and vice versa. When departing from a stance that views change and stability as moving targets (both vary in time and space), it is obvious that one needs to combine at least two methodological strategies. The combination of a narrative analysis and a temporal bracketing strategy therefore seems a suitable choice. If I only had chosen a narrative strategy I would have faced the risk of providing a plain idiosyncratic story with less abstraction and theorisation. If I had relied solely on the bracketing strategy I would have lacked the rich contextual aspects the brought some life to the case. The combination of methodological strategies helped to make the connection between differing accounts of the data and the illumination of the mutual shaping between the individual actions and the structures.

### **8.5 Implications for further research**

The most obvious empirical implication for further research would be to investigate the production practice of NRK in recent history and within other programme outputs. It would also be highly interesting to compare the development of public service broadcasting in diverse countries, and compare the practice of producing sports coverage among different types of broadcasters within different societies.

With regard to structuration theory, there are at least three main suggestions for further research. First, a specific focus on the aspect of agency would have been good. The narrow path of structuration theory gives little leeway before falling into either the conceptual ditch of structure or agency. By applying a "practice lens" I have illustrated that through the process of instantiation, agents select elements from different structural principles for the purpose of solving a particular problem at hand or for handling conflicts with norms and beliefs. Agents exercise instantiations when they select, combine and recombine institutional elements available to them, either in new and creative ways or as part of a routine. I agree with Giddens when he argues that "to be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons" but that "purposive action is not composed of an aggregate or series of separate intentions, reasons and motives"(Giddens, 1984: 3).

Second, structuration includes both instantiation and constitution. I have focused almost solely on the process of instantiation. Although I have touched upon the process of constitution in terms of focusing on institutional and organisational legitimacy, it is clearly a gap in understanding the constitution-building aspects of structuration. This task has been beyond the scope of this work and needs a bigger study.

Third, Giddens suggests three types of structures, signification, legitimation and domination. I have limited my research to legitimation. It is, as Orlikowski argues, however, important to note that the separation of structures into the three dimensions of signification, domination, and legitimation is merely a helpful analytical distinction since in practice the dimensions are inextricably interlinked (Orlikowski, 1992).

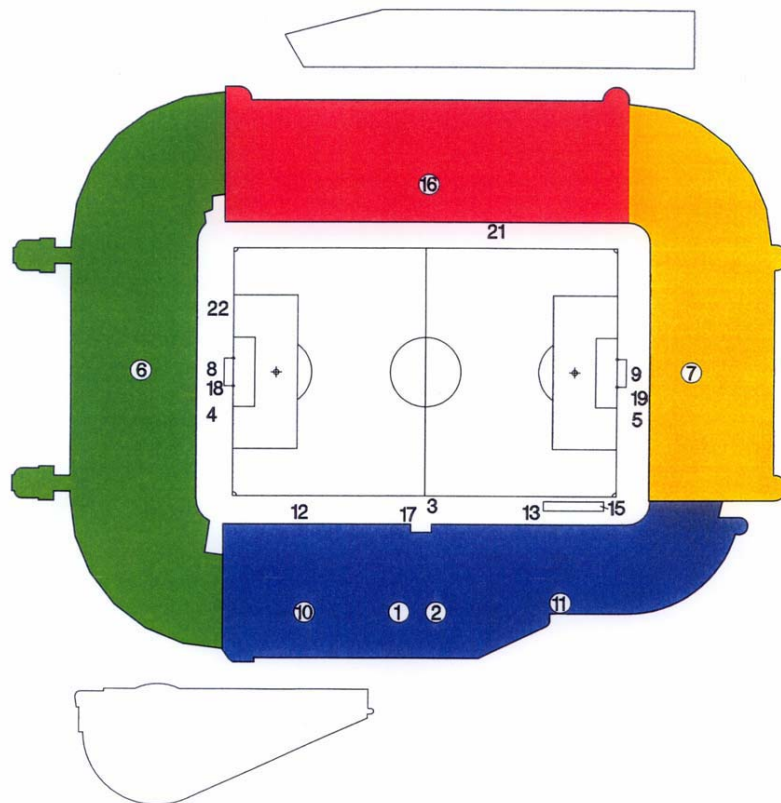
With regard to organisational theory, we need theoretical concepts and analytical tools that are able to grasp the dynamic, complex, non-sequential and paradoxical relationship between change and stability.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Camera information

The main camera positions at the Cup Finals, Ullevaal Stadion.

ULLEVAAL STADION



#### Camera descriptions:

- Camera C1: Main camera, fixed positioned at the midfield, providing long shots of 1/3 of the pitch. Named **game camera** in the analysis.

- Camera C2: Fixed camera, positioned below C1, providing medium shots from the inside of the field. Named **action camera** in the analysis.
- Camera C3: Mobile camera, positioned at the pitch level (next to the bench), providing close-ups of the players. Named **close up camera** in the analysis.
- Camera C4 and C5: Next to the goal posts cameras.
- Camera C6 and C7: Fixed camera positions, behind the goals, providing overview.
- Camera C8 and C9: Above the goals cameras.
- Camera C10 and C11: Positioned parallel to C1, audience shots.
- Camera C13 and C21: Mobile cameras, right and left view from the attacking team's right and left wing, positioned at the pitch level.
- Camera C12: Mobile camera, left view from the defending team's left wing.
- Camera C15: Corner camera.
- Camera C16: Positioned opposite C1, providing long shots.
- Camera C17: Mobile camera, positioned next to C3 at the pitch level, providing pictures of substitutes' bench, the audience and the ceremony after the match.
- Camera C18 and C19: Mini goal cameras, positioned behind the goal, filming through the net.

#### **Types of shots:**

- Long shot (LS): Gives a 1/3 picture of the pitch, showing the development of the match in far view. Usually showing "team-oriented" pictures. Provided mainly by C1.
- Medium shot (MS): Brings the subject closer to the viewer, isolating it from the surroundings. Often referred to as "action camera" as it shows corners, free kicks, tackling, injuries and throw-ins. The shots are provided mainly by C2.
- Close-ups (CU): Pictures of individual players, usually 1-2 players. Camera C3 mainly provides these shots. In some cases, pictures can be classified as both close up and action shot. In order to define such pictures I make a decision based on the central motive of the shot. If the motive is a particular action, for instance a free kick, I have grouped this as an action shot. If the player as a person is emphasised as the main motive, the picture is classified as a close up.

#### **Types of motives:**

- Game shots: Following the action changes from one location to another depending on where the action is taking place. Game shots

mostly rely on camera C1 to follow the action by panning from side to side.

- Action shots: Particular situations such as corner, a tackle, keeper with the ball, injuries, throw-ins, substitutes etc. These shots are usually motivated by natural pauses in the game.
- Close-ups: Individual players, managers or members of the audience, usually the full or half shot (showing the upper body), but in some occasions also ultra close ups are used, showing facial expressions.
- Audience shots, these pictures can be far view shots (showing the masses), medium view shots (a crowd) or even close ups (individual spectators).
- Reaction shots: often a “after-action” pictures, showing celebration scenes (MS) or players/ audiences in despair.
  - Hero shots: Performance shot of a player doing particular well (scoring or goal keeper making a save).
  - Goat shot: Performance shot of a player who messed up
  - Victim shot: Performance shot of player who was for instance injured in a tackle.

### **Camera techniques:**

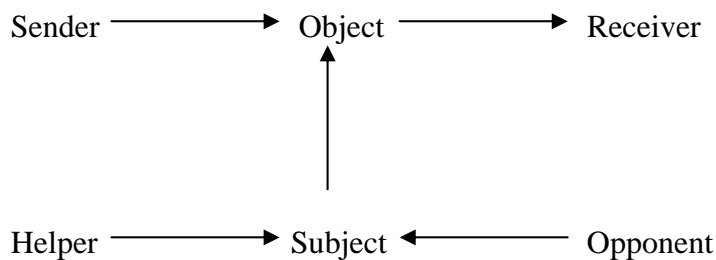
- Zoom: A technique designed to create meaning in a picture, either by zooming in on something that is of importance (i.e. the ball, a facial expression or a line) or by zooming out in order to create a context, to see more of the situation and to give a wider perspective.
- Action replay: repetition of something valuable, either as an informative service or in order to highlight something dramatic, exciting or indistinct.
- Pan: Camera pan motion is generally used by Camera 1 as it moves to the left and the right in order to follow the ball during the match. The speed of the pan movement is very slow, imitating the eyes movement of a spectator. The movement provides overview and orientation for the viewers.
- Slow motion: A technique whereby time appears to be slowed down. In sports coverage, slow motion is used to achieve diverse effects, for instance to demonstrate skills and style of athletic activities or to recapture a key moment in an athletic game, typically shown as replay.

## Appendix 2: Narrative techniques

### Actant model:

The so-called *actant model* was originally worked out by A.J. Greimas on the basis of V. Propp's morphological investigations of Russian folk tales. The model can theoretically be used to analyse any real or fictional action. In the model, an action may be broken down into six components, so-called actants along three axes; the axis of desire (project), the axis of conflict and the axis of communication.

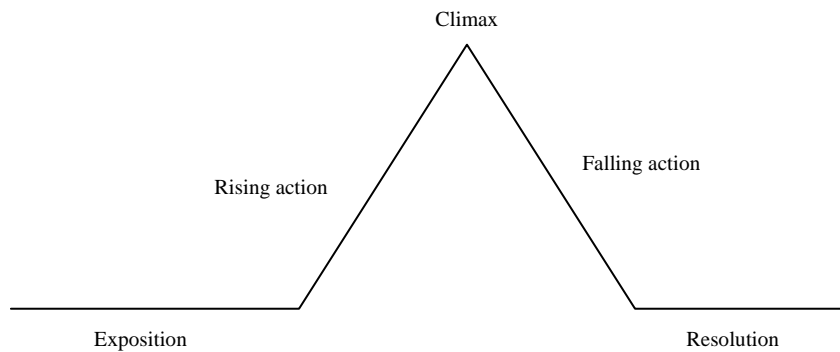
- The project axis depicts the *subject* (the hero, one of the football teams or particular players) and its project of wanting to obtain an *object* (the Princess in folk tale or winning the match in a Cup Final). It could also be a moral object, such as playing a fair or entertaining game.
- The conflict axis depicts a *helper* (for instance team colleagues, the strategy of the manager, personal characteristics of some of the players (speed, a sweet left foot or enthusiasm) or the advantage of home ground in a football match) who promotes and an *opponent* (the other team, bad team moral, the lines men or the referee) who opposes the subject's project.
- The communication axis depicts the sender (for example the King in folk tale or the Football Association in a football match). The sender instigates the action while the *receiver* benefits from it. In most cases, the receiver is the subject or the opponent.





**Freitag's triangle (1973):**

A classic way to understand the structure of a story is to follow the model of Freitag's triangle.



The model provides a beginning, middle and end, in which the x axis is time and the y axis is dramatic conflict. In the **exposition** central characters are introduced in addition to background information. In the next stage, the conflict is introduced (the conflict axis between the subject and its opponent), which leads to the complication or **rising action**. The stage offers a series of events that complicates the subject's situation. At some point (point of no return) something forces the subject to make a decision or take a course of action. The **climax** is the actual moment when the story turns, when the entire story comes together into a single action. What happens at this point determines the outcome of the story (Whether or not the subject will meet its goals or projects). In **falling action** the conflict begins to resolve itself and the consequences of the characters actions are seen.

### Appendix 3: Production guidelines

	<b>Journalistic practice</b>	<b>Entertainment practice</b>	<b>Dramatic practice</b>
Mode of documentary	Observational	Performative	Construction
Guiding principles	Impartiality, neutrality, balance,	Competition, uncertainty, transparency, community	Conflicts, actors Narrative
Role of commentator	Objective engagement	Energetic, spontaneity	Narrator and a character in the story
Rhetoric of commentator	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
Liveness	Immediacy and realistic effect	Exploring the unknown	Collage of live and recorded material
Camera syntax	The important elements	Interplay of repetition and variance	The logic of the real match
Viewer	Understand	Pleasure and identification	Involvement
Semantic level of picture	Overview	Close-ups	Conflicts and highlights
Replay	Analysis	Pleasure	Repeating narratives
Slow motion	Analysis	Pleasure	Repeating narratives
Graphics	Information	Package and presenting	Orientation
Wild sound	Realism	Realism	Realism
Motive of pictures	Team	Audience, individual players, situations	Individual players and situations (duals)

## References

- Aldrich, H.E. 1979. *Organizations and environments*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice- Hall
- Andersen, K.O. 2003. *Fotballvisjoner – Live-sport som estatisk praksis i NRK1 og TV3*. Trondheim NTNU: Master thesis
- Ang, I. 1991. *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge
- Archer, M. 1998. Realism and Morphogenesis. In Archer, M. Bhaskar, R. Collier, A. et al. (Eds.). *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*. London: Routledge
- Archer, M. 1982. Morphogenesis versus Structuration: On Combining Structure and Action, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 33: 4, 455- 483
- Arndt, M and Bigelow, B. 2000. Presenting Structural Innovation in an Institutional Environment: Hospitals' Use of Impression Management. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45: 3, 494-522
- Bakken, T. & Hernes, T. 2006. Organizing is both a verb and a noun: Weick meets Whitehead. *Organization Studies*, 27: 11, 1599- 1616
- Barley, S. R. 1986. Technology as an Occasion for Structuring: Evidence from Observation of CT Scanners and the Social Order of Radiology Departments. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 31:1, 78- 108
- Barley, S.R. & Tolbert, P. 1997. Institutionalization and Structuration: Studying the Links between Action and Institution. *Organization Studies*, 18, 93- 117
- Barnett, S. 1990. *Games and Sets: The Changing Face of Sport on Television*. London: British Film Institute
- Bastiansen, H. G. 2001. Kampen om TV-opinionen, Partipressen og NRK-fjernsynet. In Bastiansen, H. G. & Meland, Ø. (Eds.). *Fra Eidsvoll til Marienlyst, Studier i norske mediers historie fra Grunnloven til TV-alderen*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget
- Bastiansen, H. 1995. *Fra referat til reportasje: Dagsrevyen 1960- 1969* [[From report to reportage: Dagsrevyen 1960- 1969. Universitetet i Oslo: Master thesis
- Bastiansen, H. & Syvertsen, T. 1996. Towards a Norwegian Television History. In Bond, F. & Bondebjerg, I. (eds.). *Television in Scandinavia* (156- 181) Luton: John Libbey Media

- Blain, N., Boyle, R. & O'Donnell, H. 1993. *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*. Leicester: University Press
- Blackler, F. & Regan, S. 2006. Institutional Reform and the Reorganization of Family Support Services. *Organization Studies*, 27:12, 1843-1861
- Bourdieu, P. 1998. The Olympics: An agenda for analysis. In Bourdieu, P. *On television*. New York: The New Press
- Boyle, R. and Haynes, R. 2000. *Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture*. Harlow: Pearson Education
- Bradford, P.K. 2002. *Aesthetics of Change*. New York/ London: Guildford Press.
- Brown, A. 1996. Economics, Public Service Broadcasting, and Social Values. *Journal of Media Economics*, 9:1, 3-15
- Bruun, H. 2006. Underholdning. In Hjarvard, S. (Ed.) *Dansk Tvs historie*. [Danish TV history]. København: Samfundslitteratur
- Buscombe, E. (Ed.). 1975. *Football on Television*. London: British Film Institute
- Callinicos, A. 1985. A. Giddens: A contemporary critique. *Theory and Society*, 14: 133- 166
- Cantelon, H., & Gruneau, R. 1988. The production of sport for television". In Harvey, J. & Cantelon, H. (Eds.). *Not just a game: Essays in Canadian sport sociology*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press
- Cashmore, E. 2005. *Making Sense of Sports*. London and New York: Routledge
- Chandler, J.M. 1988. *Television and National Sport: The United States and Britain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press
- Chia, R. & Tsoukas, H. 2002. On organizational Becoming: Rethinking Organizational Change. *Organization Science*, 13: 5, 567- 582
- Clarke, A. & Clarke, J. 1982. Highlights and Action Replays - Ideology, Sport and the Media. J. Hargreaves, j. (Ed.). *Sport, Culture and Ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Clegg, S. 1989. *Frameworks of Power*. London: Sage Publications

Comstock, G. 1980. *Television in America*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications

Corner, J. 2003. Finding data, reading patterns, telling stories: issues in the historiography of television. *Media, Culture & Society*, 25, 273- 280

Corner, J. (1984) "Olympic Myths: The Flame, The Night, and The Music", in L. Masterman (eds) *Television Mythologies: Stars, Shows & Signs* (Comedia/MK Media: London)

Critcher, C. 1987. *Media Spectacles: Sport and Mass Communication*. In Cashadan, A. (Ed.) *Studies in Communication*. Oxford: Blackwell

Cyert, R.M. & March, J.G. 1963. *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

Czarniawska, B. 2004. *Narratives in Social Science Research*. London: Sage, Thousands Oaks & New Delhi

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. 1996. Process of Organizing, in Warner, M. (Ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Business and Management* (3966-3981), London: Routledge

Dahl, H. F. and Høyer, R. 2003. *Spillet om TV2. Da Norge fikk kommersielt fjernsyn. [The TV2 power game]*. Oslo: Damm & Søn

Dahl, H. F. and Bastiansen, H. G. 1999 *Over til Oslo: NRK som monopol 1945-1981, NRKs historie III (Over to Oslo: NRK as monopoly 1945-1981, the history of NRK III)*. Oslo: Cappelen

Dahl, H. F. 1994. The Pursuit of Media History. *Media, Culture & Society* 16:4, 551- 563

Dahlén, P. 2002. Idrotten och medierna under 1900-talet. In Lindroth, J. & Norberg, J. R. (Eds.): *Ett idrottssekel. Riksidrottsförbundet 1903-2003* (314- 341). Informationsförlaget.

Dahlén, P. 1999. *Från Vasaloppet till Sportextra. Radiosportens etablering och förgrening 1925—1995* [From Vasaloppet to Sportextra. The establishment and development of radio Sport 1925- 1995]. Stockholm: Stiftelsen Etermedierna i Sverige

Dayan, D. & Katz. E. 1992. *Media Events: The live broadcasting of history*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

DeSanctis, G. & Poole, M. S. 1994. Capturing the Complexity in Advanced Technology Use: Adaptive Structuration Theory. *Organization Science* 5: 2, 121- 147

Diesen, J.A. 2005. *Fakta i forandring: fjernsynsdokumentaren i NRK 1960-2000 [Changing Facts: Television documentary in NRK 1960-2000]*. Kristiansand: IJ- forlaget

DiMaggio, P.J & Powell, W.W. 1983. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48:2, 147- 160

Doyle, G. 2002. *Understanding Media Economics*. London: Sage Publications

Edin, A. 2006. Times Have Changed – On the Relationship Between Swedish Public Service television and the Viewing Public. *Nordicom Review 2, plenary III*. Göteborg: Nordicom. Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from [www.nordicom.gu.se/common/publ\\_pdf/242\\_edin\\_2.pdf](http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/publ_pdf/242_edin_2.pdf)

Eileng, N.A. 2000. *Sport i en allmenn og kommersiell kringkaster: en komparativ analyse av NRK og TV2s sportsdekning [Sport in a public and commercial broadcaster: a comparative analysis of NRK and TV2's sports coverage]*. University of Bergen: Master Thesis.

Elveson, G. 1979. *Reportaget som genre*. Uppsala: Avdelingen för litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen

Enger, J. 2006. *Hele landet på lufta: Historien om NRKs distriktskontorer. [The whole country on the air: The history of NRK's regional offices]*. Oslo: NRK Aktivum

Feldman, M. S. 2004. Resources in emerging structures and processes of change. *Organization Science*, 15:3, 295- 309

Feldman, M. S. 2003. A performative perspective on stability and change in organizational routines. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 12, 727-752

Feldman, M. S. 2000. Organizational routines as a source of continuous change. *Organization Science*, 11: 6, 611–629

Feldman, M. S. & Pentland, B.T. 2003. Reconceptualizing Organizational Routines as a Source of Flexibility and Change. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 48, 94-118

Findahl, O. 1991. Public Service Broadcasting – A Fragile, Yet Durable Construction. *Nordicom Review 1: Reflections on Public Service Broadcasting*. Göteborg: Nordicom. Downloaded 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008, from [http://www.nordicom.gu.se/eng.php?portal=publ&main=info\\_publ2.php&ex=33&me=13&](http://www.nordicom.gu.se/eng.php?portal=publ&main=info_publ2.php&ex=33&me=13&)

- Fiske, J. & Hartley, J. 1978. *Reading Television*. London & New York: Methuen
- Fuglum, A. 2003. *Magiske Øyeblikk: Høydepunkter fra NRK Radiosporten gjennom 70 år* [Magical Moments]. Oslo: N. W. Damm & Sønn and NRK Aktivum
- Frandsen, K. 2003. Globalisation and localisation – TV coverage of the Olympic Games in Sydney 2000. In Hjarvard, S. *Media in a Globalized society*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press
- Frandsen, K. 1996. *Dansk Sportsjournalistic – fra sport til publikum* [Danish Sport Journalism – from sport to audience]. Aarhus, Denmark: Department of Journalism. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis
- Førde, E. 2005. NRK mellom marked og monopol. [NRK between marked and monopoly]]. In Lehmkuhl, K. *Lehmkuhlforelesningene: 1958- 2005*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget
- Gaustad, T. 2000. The Economics of Sports Rights. *Nordicom Review*, 21: 2, 101- 113
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self- Identity: Self and the Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Giddens, A. 1989. A reply to my critics. In Held, D. & Thompson, J. B. (Eds.). *Social theory of modern societies: Anthony Giddens and his critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity
- Giddens, A. 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradictions in Social Analysis*, London: Macmillan
- Giddens, Anthony (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method*. London: Hutchinson
- Goksøy, M. & Olstad, F. 2002. *Fotball! Norges Fotballforbund 100 år* [Football. The Norwegian Football Association 100 years]. Oslo: Norges Fotballforbund
- Goldlust, J. 1987. *Playing for Keeps: Sport, the Media and Society*. Melbourne: Longman
- Goodwin, A. & Whannel, G. (Eds.). 1990. *Understanding Television*. London: Routledge
- Gramstad, S. 1989. *Kringkasting i folkets teneste. [Broadcasting in the service of the people]*. Volda: Møre og Romsdal Distriktshøgskole, 17

Greenwood, R. & Hinings, C. 1996. Understanding radical organizational change: bringing together the old and the new institutionalism. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 1002–1054.

Greenwood, R. & Hinings C.R. 1993. Understanding Strategic change: The contribution of Archetypes. *Academy of Management Journal*. 36: 5, 1052- 1081

Greenwood, R., Suddaby, R. & Hinings, C. R. 2002. Theorizing change: The role of professional associations in the transformation of institutionalized fields. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45: 1, 58- 80

Gruneau, R. 1989. Making spectacle: A case study in television sports production. In Wenner, L. (Ed.), *Media, sports and society*. Sage Publications: Newbury Park, CA

Hake, K. 2006. *Historien om Barne-TV: barndomsbilder 1960- 2005. [The history of Children's TV. Childhood pictures 1960- 2005]*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Halse, K. J & Østbye H. 2003. *Norsk kringkastingshistorie. [Norwegian Broadcasting History]*. Oslo: Samlaget

Hannan, M. T. & Freeman, J. 1984. Structural Inertia and Organizational Change. *American Sociological Review*, 49: 2, 149- 164

Hargreaves, J. 1986. *Sport, Power and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity

Hargreaves, S. 2003. Conceptualising Legitimacy for New Venture Research. Paper presented at the "Small Enterprise Association of Australia and New Zealand 16th Annual Conference, Ballarat, 28 Sept-1 Oct, 2003. Downloaded 24<sup>th</sup> June 2008 from <http://www.cric.com.au/seanz/resources/21HargreavesNewVenturesandLegitimacyfinal.pdf>

Hatch, M. J. 1997. *Organization Theory: Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helland, K. & Solberg, H.A. 2006. Journalism – An instrument to promote TV- sports rights? In Desbordes, M. (Ed.). *The marketing of soccer*. Oxford, England: Butterworth- Heinemann

Helland, K. 2003. *Sport, medier og journalistikk – Med fotballandslaget til EM [Sport, Media and Journalism – Going with the Norwegian Football Team to Euro 2000]*. Bergen, Fagbokforlaget



Hellmann, H. 1999. *From Companions to Competitors: The Changing Broadcasting Markets and Television Programming in Finland*. Tampere: University of Tampere. Ph.D Thesis

Heracleous L., & Barrett, M. 2001. Organizational change as discourse: Communicative actions and deep structures in the context of information technology implementation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44: 4, 755-778

Hernes, G. 1976. Structural Change in Social Processes. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 513- 547

Hernes, T. & Schjelderup, G. E. 2005. En forklaring av stabilitetens dynamikk: Et rekursivt syn på dypstrukturer og strategisk endring [An explanation to the dynamics of stability: A recursive view on deep structures and strategic change]. *NOS*, 1, 5-31

Hernes, T. & Weik, E. 2007. Organization as process: Drawing a line between endogenous and exogenous views. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 23: 3, 251- 264

Hjarvard. S. 1999. *TV- nyheder i konkurrence* [TV news in Competition]. København: Samfundslitteratur

Hodne, M. 2001. *Baklengs inn i framtiden. Sportens rolle i NRK – fjernsynet 1960- 2000* [Back into the future: The Role of Sport in NRK Television 1960- 2000]. University of Oslo: Master Thesis.

Jameson, F. 1980. *Aesthetics and Politics. The Key Texts of the Classic Debate within German Marxism*. London and New York: Verso. Downloaded 17<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from [http://books.google.no/books?id=zR8cVTNLLjwC&pg=PP1&dq=aesthetics+and+politics&hl=en&output=html&sig=h-pU6P8jjRiz8gXLXFCX4HUy\\_R8](http://books.google.no/books?id=zR8cVTNLLjwC&pg=PP1&dq=aesthetics+and+politics&hl=en&output=html&sig=h-pU6P8jjRiz8gXLXFCX4HUy_R8)

Jessop, B. 1996. Interpretive Sociology and the Dialectic of Structure and Agency: reflections on Holmwood and Stewart's Explanation and Social Theory, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 13: 1, 119- 128

Jhally, S. 1989. Cultural studies and the sports/ media complex. In L. Wenner, L. (Ed.). *Media, sports and society*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication

Johnsen, H. W. 2003. *A cost perspective on televised sport: the optimal economic utilisation of sport's media rights*. Oslo, Norwegian School of Management: Discussion Paper, 2003/2

Kjekstad, E. 1974. *Da gjernsynet kom til Norge. NRK, Stortinget og fjernsynssaken 1950- 1957* [When Television Came to Norway. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company, the Government and the Question of Television 1950- 1957]. University of Oslo: Master thesis

Kinkema, K.M. & Harris, J.C. 1989. Media Sport studies: key research and emerging issues. In Wenner, L. A. (Ed.) *MediaSport*. London: Routledge

Kjus, Y. & Kaare, Hertzberg, B. (eds.). 2006. *Humor i mediene. [Humour in the media]*. Oslo, Cappelen akademiske

Korsgaard, O. 2002. A European Demos? The Nordic Adult Education Tradition – Folkeopplysning – Faces a Challenge. *Comparative Education*, 38: 1, 7-16

Kozloff, S. 1987. Narrative Theory and Television, in Allen, R.C. (Ed.). *Channels of Discourse*. London: Routledge

Kumar, K. 1983. Holding the Middle Ground: the BBC, the Public and the Professional Broadcaster. In Curran, J. et al. (Eds.) *Mass Communication*. London: Edward Arnold.

Layder, D. 1987. Key issues in structuration theory: Some critical remarks. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 8, 24- 46

Langley A. 1999. Strategies for Theorizing from Process Data. *Academy of Management Review*, 24:4, 691- 710

Latour, B. 1986. The powers of association. In Law, J. (Ed.). *Power, Action and Belief* (pp. 264- 280). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Lauridsen, P. S. 1986. En fodboldfortælling [A football story]. *Sekvens. Filmvidenskabelig Årbog*. Copenhagen

Leana, C.R. and Barry, B. 2000. Stability and Change as Simultaneous Experiences in Organizational Life. *Academy of Management Review*. 25:4, 753-759

Levin, K. 1951. *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper & row

Lillelien, B. 1985. *Saken er klar [The Case is clear]*. Oslo: Aschehoug

Luhmann, N. 1995. *Social Systems* (translated by Bednarz, J. Jr.). Stanford University Press

Löwstedt, J. 1993. Organizing frameworks in emerging organizations: A cognitive approach to the analysis of change. *Human Relations*, 46:4, 501-526

MacNeill, M. 1996. Networks: producing Olympic ice hockey for a national television audience. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13: 2, 103- 124

March, J. G. 1981. Footnotes to organizational change. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26: 5, 563-77

March, J. G. & Simon, H. 1958. *Organizations*. New York: Wiley

Marriott, S. 1996. Time and time again: "live" television commentary and the construction of replay talk. *Media, Culture & Society*, 18: 69-86

Mathews, M. R. 1993. *Socially Responsible Accounting*. UK: Chapman & Hall

McKay, J. & Rowe, D. 1987. Ideology, the media, and Australian sport. *Sociology of Sport*, 4, 258- 273

McNulty, T. & Ferlie, E. 2004. Process Transformation: Limitations to Radical Organizational Change within Public Service Organizations. *Organizational Studies*, 25: 8, 1389-1412

McNulty, T. & Pettigrew, A. 1999. Strategists on the board, *Organisation Studies*, 20: 47-74

McQuail, D. 1997. Accountability of Media to Society. *European Journal of Communication*, 12:4, 511- 528

Meslo, E.M. 2001. *VG og Aftenpostens dekning av Euro 2000: en kvantitative og kvalitativ innholdsanalyse av VG og Aftenpostens dekning av Euro 2000* [A qualitative and quantitative analysis of VG and Aftenposten's coverage of the Euro 2000]. Norwegian School of Sport Science: Master Thesis

Meyer, J. & Rowan, B. 1977. Institutionalized Organizations: Formal-Structure As Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology* 83:2, 340-363

Meyer, J. W. & Scott, W. P. 1983. Centralization and the legitimacy problems of local government. In Meyer, J. W. & Scott, W. P. (Eds.) *Organizational Environments* (191- 215). Newbury Park: Sage Publications

Montealegre, R. 1997. The Interplay of Information Technology and the Social Milieu. *Information Technology & People*, 10: 2, 106-131

Morris, B. S. & Nydahl, J. 1985. Sports Spectacle as Drama: Image, Language and technology. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 18: 101-110

Morse, M. 1983. Sport on Television: Replay and Display. In Kaplan, A. (ed.) *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches*. Los Angeles: American Film Institute

Mouritsen, J. & Skærbæk, P. 1995. Art and Accounting: The Royal Theatre – An Enterprise between Institutions. In Scott, R. & Chistensen, S. (eds.) *Advances in Institutional Analysis*. London: Sage

Munir, K. A. 2005. The social construction of events: a study of institutional change in the photographic field. *Organization Studies*, 26: 1, 93- 112

- Møller, J. 1986. *TV-Sport*. Danmarks Radio, DK: Forskningsrapport nr. 3B/86
- Nelson, R. R. & Winter, S. G. 1982. *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Nielsen, N. K. & Qvortrup, L. 1992. Sport i TV: Journalistik eller show? [Sport on TV: Journalism or Show?] *Mediekultur*, 19, 5-21
- Nonaka, I. 1991. The knowledge creating company. *Harvard Business Review*, 69: 96- 104
- Orlikowski, W. 2000. Using Technology and Constituting Structure: A Practice Lens for Studying Technology in Organizations. *Organization Science*, 12, 404-428
- Orlikowski, W. 1999. Awareness is the First and Critical Thing. *Converstation with Claus Otto Schramer*, MIT Sloan School of Management, September 7, 1999. Downloaded 29<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from <http://www.dialogonleadership.org/Orlikowski-1999.html>
- Orlikowski, W. 1996. Improvising Organizational Transformation Over Time: A Situated Change perspective. *Information Systems Research*, 7, 63-92
- Orlikowski, W. 1992. The Duality of Technology: Rethinking the Concept of Technology in Organizations. *Organization Science*, 3, 398-427
- Orlikowski, W. & Yates, J. 1994. Genre Repertoire: The Structuring of Communicative Practices in Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39: 4, 541-574
- Owen, B. and Wildman, S. 1992. *Video Economics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Parsons, T. 1951. *The Social System*, New York: Free Press
- Parsons, T. [1956] 1960. *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*, Glencoe: The Free Press
- Penrose, E. [1959] 1995. *The theory of the growth of the firm*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Pentland, B. T. 2003. Sequential variety in work processes. *Organization Science*, 14, 528- 540
- Pentland, B.T. 1995. Grammatical models of organizational processes. *Organization Science*, 6, 541- 556

- Pentland, B. T. & Feldman, M. S. 2005. Organizational routines as a unit of analysis. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 14:5, 793- 815
- Pettigrew, A. M. 1987. Context and Action in the Transformation of the Firm. *Journal of Management Studies*, 24:6, 649-670
- Pfeffer, J. & Salancik, G. R. 1978. *The external control of organizations: a resource dependence perspective*. New York: Harper & Row
- Picard, R. 1989. *Media Economics: Concepts and Issues*. New York: Sage Publications
- Poole, M.S & DeSanctis, G. 1993. Microlevel structuration in computer-supported group decisionmaking. *Human Communication Research*, 91: 5- 49
- Poole, M. S. & Van de Ven, A. H. 1989. Using Paradox to Build Management and Organization Theories. *The Academy of Management Review*, 14:4, 562-578
- Porsum, A. 1993. Radiosporten. In Jønsson, B., Nes, O. & Ustvedt, Y. (Eds). *Svingende bølger* [Swinging waves] Oslo: Eidem forlag
- Pozzebon, M. & Pinsonneault, A. 2005. Challenges in Conducting Empirical Work Using Structuration Theory: Learning from IT Research. *Organization Studies*, 26: 9, 1353- 1376
- Pozzebon, M. & Pinsonneault, A. 2001. Structuration Theory in the IS Field: An Assessment of Research Strategies. *Global Co- operation in the New millennium*, the 9<sup>th</sup> European Conference on Information Systems Bled, Slovenia, June 27-29, 2001. Available from [is2.lse.ac.uk/asp/aspecis/20010090.pdf](http://is2.lse.ac.uk/asp/aspecis/20010090.pdf)
- Puijk, R. (Ed.) 1997. *Global Spotlights on Lillehammer. How the World viewed Norway during the 1994 Winter Olympics*. Luton, University of Luton/John Libbey
- Puijk, R. 1990. *Virkeligheter i NRK*. [Realities in NRK], Eget forlag, Lillehammer
- Rader, B. G. 1984. *In Its Own Image. How Television has Transformed Sports*. New York: The Free Press
- Ranson, S., Hinings, C.R. & Greenwood, R. 1980. The structuring of organizational structures. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 25:1, 1-17
- Real, M. 1989. *Super Media A Cultural Studies Approach*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Reinertsen, J. E. 2001. *Sendingen blir presentert av: Kommersialiseringen av norsk football ved hjelp av TV- mediet i perioden 1969- 1999* [The program was presented by: Commercialisation of Norwegian football with the help of TV in the period 1969- 1999]. University of Oslo: Master Thesis

Reimer, B. 2002. *Uppspel. Den svenska TV-sportens historia* [Re-Play. The History of Sport on Swedish Television]. Stockholm: Prisma

Rimmon- Kenan, S. 1983. *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*. London: Methuen

Rojek, C. 1992. The Field of Play in Sport and Leisure Studies. In Dunning, E. & Rojek, C. (Eds.) *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. London: Macmillan

Roksvold, T. 1993. *Sport i avis: 7 analyser av norsk sportsjournalistikk* [Sport in Newspaper: 7 analysis of Norwegian Sports Journalism]. Fredrikstad, Norway: Department of Journalism.

Roksvold, T. 1975. *Holdninger i avisenes fotballreportasjar: ein studie i språkbruk* [Attitudes in the football reports of newspapers: a studie in language]. University of Oslo: Master thesis.

Rolland, A. 2005. Establishing Public Broadcasting Monopolies: Reappraising the British and Norwegian Cases. *Media History Monographs 8:1* (2005-2006). Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from <http://quicksilver.elon.edu/facstaff/copeland/mhmjour8-1.pdf>

Lippe, G. 2001. *Idrett som kulturelle drama; møteplasser i idretts sosiologi og idretts historie* [Sport as cultural dramas]. Oslo: Cappelen Akademiske Forlag

Roos, J. & Victor, B. 1999. Towards a new model of strategy making as serious play. *European Management Journal*, 17:4, 348-255

Rose, J, 2000. *Information systems development as action research – soft systems methodology and structuration theory*. Lancaster, England: Lancaster University. Ph.D. thesis

Rose, J. and Jones, M., et al. 2005. Socio- theoretic Accounts of IS: the Problem of Agency. *Scandinavian Journal of Information Systems*, 17: 1, 133- 152

Rossavik, F. 2007. *Stikk i strid. Ein Biografi om Einar Førde*. Oslo: Spartacus

Rowe, D. 2004. *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity*. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Rynning, E. 1996. *TV-revolusjonen i Norge – Maktspill og intriger*. [The Television revolution in Norway]. Oslo: MLI International Consultants AS

Sahlin- Andersson, K. 1989. *Orklarhetens strategi – organisering av project samarbeite*. [The strategy of vagueness – organising project cooperation]. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Salo, P. 2007. On the concepts of the Nordic adult education tradition. *Nordic Conference on Adult Education*. University of Linköping Linköping, April 2007

Sand, G and Helland, K. 1998. *Bak TV- nyhetene: produksjon og presentasjon i NRK og TV2*. [Behind the TV- news in NRK and TV2]. Bergen-Sandviken: Fagbokforlaget

Scannell, P. 1990. Public Service Broadcasting: The History of a Concept (p. 11- 29). In Goodwin, A. and Whannel, G. (Eds). *Understanding Television*. London and New York: Routledge.

Schatzki, T. R. 2006. On Organizations as they Happen. *Organization Studies*, 27: 12, 1863- 1873

Schlesinger, P. 2004. *Do institutions matter for Public Service Broadcasting?* Working paper, published on 30<sup>th</sup> of September 2004 at Ofcom, The Office of Communications, UK. Downloaded from [www.ofcom.org.uk](http://www.ofcom.org.uk) 14<sup>th</sup> June 2008.

Schmidt, M. 1981. Et stadion i stuen? In Sepstrup et al. (Eds.). *Underholdning i TV*. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Scott, R. W. 2001. *Institutions and organizations*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), California: Sage Publications

Scott, R. W. 1992. *Organizations - Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall

Scott, R. & Meyer, J. 1994. *Institutional Environments and Organizations. Structural Complexity and Individualism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Schmidt, Mogens (1981) “Et stadion i stuen? Om fodbold i fjernsynet”, in Frands Mortensen, Jørgen Poulsen and Preben Sepstrup (eds.) *Underholdning i TV*. Viborg: Nyt Nordisk Forlag

Selznick, P. 1957. *Leadership in Administration*. New York, Harper & Row.

Selznick, P. 1949. *TVA and the grass roots; a study in the sociology of formal organization*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Senn, A. E. 1999. *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics

Sewell, W. H, Jr. 1992. A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 98: 1, 1- 29

Silk, M & Amis, J. 2000. Institutionalized Production Practices: The Case of Kuala Lumpur 98. *Journal of Sport Management*, 14: 4, 267- 293

Simon, H. 1947. *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision- Making Processes in Administrative Organizations*. New York: Free Press.

Smith, R. A. 2001. *Play-by-play: Radio, Television, and Big-time College Sport*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Solberg, H.A. 2007. Commentary: Sport Broadcasting: Is it a Job for Public Service Broadcasters? A Welfare Economic Perspective. *Journal of media Economics*, 20:4, 289- 309

Solvoll, M & Johnsen, H. 2007. The demand for televised Football. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 7:4, 311- 335.

Solvoll, M. 1999. *Fotball på fjernsyn: En fengslende fortelling for publikum i stua* [Football on television: An Absorbing story for the living room audience]. University of Oslo: Master Thesis.

Suchman, M. C. 1995. Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches. *Academy of Management Journal*, 20: 3, 571 - 610

Strang, D. & Meyer, J. W. 1993. Institutional conditions for diffusion. *Theory and Society*, 22, 4, 487-511

Suddaby, R. & Greenwood, R. 2005. Rhetorical Strategies of Legitimacy. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 50: 1, 35- 67

Syvertsen, T. 2004. *Mediemangfold: Styring av mediene i et globalisert marked* [Media pluralism: Governance of the media in a globalised marked]. Kristiansand: IJ- forlaget

Syvertsen, T. & Karlsen, Mogstad G.M. 2000. The Norwegian television market in the 1990s, *Nordicom Review*, 21:1, 71-100

Syvertsen, T. 1999. The Many Uses of the Public Service Concept. *Nordicom Review* 1/99 (5-12). Gøteborg: Nordicom.

Syvertsen, T. 1997. *Den store TV- krigen: Norsk allmennfjernsyn 1988- 96*. [Norwegian Public Service Television 1988-96]. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget



Syvvertsen, T. 1992. *Public Television in Transition: A Comparative and Historical Analysis of the BBC and the NRK*. The University of Oslo: PhD thesis, Oslo: KULT/NAVF. Downloaded 25<sup>th</sup> June 2008  
<http://home.chello.no/~trine.syvvertsen/PHD/phd-intro.html>

Taalesen, Bjørn. 2006. *Milliardspillet: Kampen mellom TV2 og NRK om tv-fotballen: sett fra innsiden*. [The Billion Game: The fight between TV2 and NRK over the tv- football]. Oslo: Damm

Theisen, S.J. 1993. *Underholdning på norsk. "Kvitt eller dobbelt" og andre internasjonale underholdningsformater i NRK fjernsynet 1959- 1969*. [International Entertainment Formats in NRK Television 1959- 1969]. The University of Oslo: Master thesis.

Thompson, J. D. 1967 [2003]. *Organizations in Action*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publ.

Thompson, J. 1989. The theory of structuration. In Held, D. and Thompson, J. (Eds.). *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics 56-76*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Tichenor, P. J., Donohue G. A. & Olien, C. N. 1970. Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34: 159- 170

Tolbert, P. S & Zucker, L. G. 1996. The institutionalization of institutional theory . In Clegg, S. R., Hardy, C. & Nord, W. R. (Eds.): *Handbook of organization studies* (175- 190). London and Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications

Totland, G. 2001. Fjernsynet før fjernsynet, NRKs prøvesendinger 1954-1960 [Television before the Television, the NRK's Test Broadcasts 1954- 1960]. In Bastiansen, H. G & Meland, Ø. *Fra Eidsvoll til Marienlyst. Studier i norske mediers historie fra Grunnloven til TV- alderen*. Kristiansand: høyskoleforlaget

Totland, G. 1992. *Fra Filmavis til Dagsrevy. En studie i fjernsynsnyhetenes historie*. [From Newsreel to Daily News Program: the Story of Dagsrevyen]. Universitetet i Oslo: Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon. Master Thesis. Levende Bilder 6/92, Oslo: NAVF/KULT

Tushman, M. & Romanelli, E. 1985. Organizational evolution: a metamorphosis model of convergence and reorientation. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 7, 171–223.

Tsoukas, H & Chia, R. 2002. On organizational becoming: Rethinking organizational change. *Organization Science*, 13:5, 567-582

Turner, J. 1997. *The Institutional Order*. New York: Longman

Turner, J. H. 1991. Structuration Theory of Anthony Giddens (519- 539). In *The Structure of Sociological Theory* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). California: Wadsworth.

Urry, J. 1991. Time and space in Giddens' theory of structuration (160-175). In Bryant, C. G. A. & Jary, D. (Eds.). *Giddens' theory of structuration*

Vestheim, G. 1995. *Kulturpolitikk i det moderne Norge* [Cultural politics in the modern Norway]. Oslo: Samlaget.

Waldahl, R., Bruun Andersen, M. & Rønning, H. 2002. *Nyheter først og fremst: norske tv- nyheter: myter og realiteter*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Weick, K.E. & Quinn, R.E. 1999. Organizational change and development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50: 361- 386

Weick, K. E. 1995. *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, Cal: Sage

Weick, K. E. 1979. *The social psychology of organizing*. Reading, Mass: Addison- Wesley Pub.

Wenner, L.A. (Ed.) 1989. *Media, Sports, and Society*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Whannel, G. 1992. *Fields in Vision: Television sport and cultural transformation*. London: Routledge

Whitehead, A.N. [1929] 1978. *Process and reality*. New York: Free Press

Whittington, R. 1992. Putting Giddens into Action: Social Systems and Managerial Agency. *Journal of Management Studies*, 29:6, 693- 712

Willmott, R. 1999. Structure, Agency and the Sociology of Education: rescuing analytical dualism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20: 1, 5-21

Willmott, H. 1987. Subjectivity and the dialectics of praxis: opening up the core of labour process analysis. In Knights, D. & Willmott, H. (Eds.). *Labour Process Theory*. London: Macmillan

Zucker, L. G. 1977. The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence. *American Sociological Review*, 42: 726-743

Yates, Simeon J. and Sumner, Tamara R. (1997) "Digital Genres and the New Burden of Fixity", *Genres in Digital Documents*, Wailea, HA (Jan 7-10), 1997, Vol. VI: 3-12

Ytreberg, E. 2002. Continuity in Environments: The Evolution of Basic Practices and Dilemmas in Nordic Television Scheduling. *European Journal of Communication*, 17: 283-304

Ytreberg, E. 2000. Scheduling in Nordic public service television. General description of an ongoing research project. *Nordicom Review*, 1: 25-32

Ytreberg, E. 1999. *Allmennkringkastingens autoritet: Endringer i NRK Fjernsynets tekstproduksjon, 1987-1994. [The Authority of Public Service: Changes in the Text Production in the NRK Television 1987- 1994]*. The University of Oslo: Ph.d Thesis, Rapport nr. 35.

Ytreberg, E. 1996. Textual strategies in recent Norwegian television: Public service television's reaction to the challenge from commercial channels. In Bono, F. & Bondebjerg, I. (Eds.) *Television in Scandinavia* (156- 181). Uton: John Libbey Media

Østby Sæther, S. 2004. Med glimt i øyet – profilering og merkevareidentitet i TV 2. In Syvertsen, T., Enli, G. S. & Østby Sæther, S. *Et hjem for oss- et hjem for deg*. Oslo: IJ- forlaget

**Official publications, reports and statistical sources:**

St. meld.nr. 57. 2000- 2001. I Ytringsfrihetens tjeneste. Mål og virkemidler i mediepolitikken. Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kkd/Dokument/Proposisjonar-og-meldingar/Stortingsmeldingar/20002001/Stmeld-nr-57-2001-.html?id=195313>

Ot.prp. nr 2. 1999- 2000. Om lov om endringer I lov 4. desember 1992 nr. 127 om kringkasting (Endringer som følge av tillegg til EØS- avtalens fjernsynsdirektiv). Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kkd/dok/regpubl/otprp/19992000/Otprp-nr-2-1999-2000-.html?id=160139>

Innst. S. nr. 24. 2007- 2008. Innstilling til familie- og kulturkomiteen om kringkasting i en digital framtid. Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from <http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2007/200708-024-001.html>

St. meld. nr. 42. 1993-95. Kringkasting og dagspresse 1993 m.v.

St. meld.nr. 32. 1992-93. Media i tida. Mediemeldingen

Innst. S. nr. 23. 1974. Innstilling fra kirke og undervisningskomiteen om kulturarbeid og kulturpolitikk

Report to the Storting No. 8 (1973-74)

Report to the Storting No. 52 (1973-74): *New Cultural Policy*

The Norwegian Football Association. 2008. *Medieavtalen*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2008, downloaded 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from <http://www.fotball.no/t1.aspx?p=51831&x=1&a=230231>

Norwegian Media Authority. 2002. *Public Service Broadcasting Report 2002*. Available from <http://www.medietilsynet.no/no/Tema/Allmennkringkasting/Tilsyn-med-kringkasting-1/>

Norwegian Media Authority. 1996. *Public Service Broadcasting Report 1996*. Available from <http://www.medietilsynet.no/no/Tema/Allmennkringkasting/Tilsyn-med-kringkasting-1/>

NOU. 1982. *Maktutredningen: Rapporten om massemedier*. [The Report on the Powers of the Mass Media].

Medienorge (2008). *Facts about Norwegian Media*. The University of Bergen. Based on statistics from TNS Gallup and Synovate MMI. Downloaded 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2008 from <http://www.medienorge.uib.no/?cat=statistikk&medium=tv&queryID=136>

Statistics Norway. NOS Kulturstatistikk 1998: 80. Radiolytting og fjernsynssjåing blant personar 9-79 år, 1985- 1998. Downloaded 31<sup>st</sup> August 2008, from [http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos\\_kultur/arkiv/nos\\_c554/tab/T-080.html](http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos_kultur/arkiv/nos_c554/tab/T-080.html)

**Media:**

Dagsavisen, 18<sup>th</sup> June 2008. *Betal-TV uten grenser*. <http://www.dagsavisen.no/kultur/article355299.ece>

Dagsavisen, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008. *Rikes røst*. <http://www.dagsavisen.no/kultur/article349924.ece>

Dagens Næringsliv, 6<sup>th</sup> February 2002. *OL er et pengesluk for TV2*. <http://www.dn.no/arkiv/article24962.ece>

Dagbladet, 18<sup>th</sup> February 1999. *VM- fest i to kanaler*. <http://www.dagbladet.no/tekstarkiv/artikkel.php?id=5001990009500&tag=item&words=ramsau>

Dagbladet, 23<sup>th</sup> February 1999. *Slått av NRK kameraten*. <http://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/1999/02/23/158673.html>

Dagbladet, 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1997. *Mest sett på TV i 1996*. <http://www.dagbladet.no/tekstarkiv/artikkel.php?id=5001970000430&tag=item&words=tv3>

Dagbladet, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1996. *Mest sett på TV i 1995*  
<http://www.dagbladet.no/tekstarkiv/artikkel.php?id=5001960010965&tag=item&wolds=tv3>

NRK Sámi Radio 2008. Downloaded 31<sup>st</sup> August 2008, from  
<http://www.nrk.no/sami/diedut/>

NRK 2005. Annual Report. Downloaded 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008, from  
<http://www6.nrk.no/informasjon/2005/NO/forord.htm>

NRK. 2004. Magiske øyeblikk med Bjørge Lillelien. Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from <http://www.nrk.no/programmer/radio/norgesglasset/4182440.html>

NRK. 2003. Men radioen var ikke død! [The Radio was not dead after all] Downloaded 7<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from  
<http://www.nrk.no/programmer/radio/agenda/3277352.html>

NRK. 2002. *Noe for alle. Alltid.* [Something for everybody. Always] 2002-2006. Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from  
[www6.nrk.no/informasjon/pdf/noeforalle.pdf](http://www6.nrk.no/informasjon/pdf/noeforalle.pdf)

NRK. 1990. *Programregler med kommentarer* [Rules of Programming of 1975], revised in 1982 and in 1990. Downloaded 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008, from  
<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kkd/dok/NOUer/1996/NOU-1996-12/17.html?id=140604>

NRK. 1989- 91. NRK Report to Parliament

NRK. 1988 [2004, 2007] NRK Statutes/ Regulations. [Vedtekter for Stiftelsen NRK], revised in 2004 and 2007. Downloaded 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008, from  
<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kkd/tema/andre/kringkasting/Kringkasting---regelverk.html?id=86810>

NRK. 1987. *NRK mot år 2000.* [NRK towards year 2000]

NRK. 1982. *Norsk rikskringkasting i en ny mediesituasjon* [Norwegian Broadcasting in a new media situation]

NRK 1975. *Programregler* [Rules of Programming]

NRK. 1969. *Kringkastingens oppgaver og plass i samfunnet* [The Responsibilities of Broadcasting and its Place in Society]

NRK. 1967. *Publiseringsregler* [Publicity Rules]

NRK. 1956. *Fjernsyn i Norge* [Television in Norway]

NRK. 1962 [2008]. *Ringnes Haagen: intervju med den nye kringkastingssjefen Hans Jacob Ustvedt.* Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from  
<http://www1.nrk.no/nett-tv/klipp/52516>

TV2. 2002. Annual Report.  
<http://www.tv2.no/omtv2/mediehuset/rapporter/article1666608.ece>

TV2. 1998. Annual Report.  
[pub.tv2.no/multimedia/TV2/archive/00553/TV\\_2\\_\\_rsrapport\\_199\\_553190a.pdf](http://pub.tv2.no/multimedia/TV2/archive/00553/TV_2__rsrapport_199_553190a.pdf)

**International documents:**

BBC. 2006. *BBC Statements of Programme Policy 2006/2007*. Downloaded 7<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/statements2006/tv/bbccone.shtml>

BBC. 2004. *The BBC and Sport. Submission to the Independent Panel on Charter Review, September 2004*. Downloaded 14<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/foi/docs/bbc\\_constitution/charter\\_review\\_submissions/Charter\\_Review\\_Submission\\_Sport.pdf](http://www.bbc.co.uk/foi/docs/bbc_constitution/charter_review_submissions/Charter_Review_Submission_Sport.pdf)

Official Journal of the European Communities. 1996. *European Parliament Resolution of the broadcasting of sports events*. IRIS 1996-8: 6/9. Available at <http://merlin.obs.coe.int/iris/1996/8/article9.en.html>

European Broadcasting Union (EBU) . 2008. Downloaded 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from [http://www.ebu.ch/en/about/index.php#public\\_service](http://www.ebu.ch/en/about/index.php#public_service)

European Broadcasting Union (EBU).2002. *Media with a purpose. Public Service Broadcasting in the digital era*. Geneva. Downloaded 14<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from [http://www.ebu.ch/CMSImages/en/DSG\\_final\\_report\\_E\\_tcm6-5090.pdf](http://www.ebu.ch/CMSImages/en/DSG_final_report_E_tcm6-5090.pdf)

Nordic Media, 1994- 2003. <http://www.nmn.org/indexi.htm>

Nordvisjon. <http://www.nordvision.org/>

Nordicom, Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research (Last updated 19<sup>th</sup> March 2008). *Television market shares 1996- 2006, the Nordic Region*. Downloaded 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2008 from [http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/stat\\_xls/1168\\_5530\\_tvchannelmarketshares\\_1996-2006.xls](http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/stat_xls/1168_5530_tvchannelmarketshares_1996-2006.xls)

Terra Media. 2006. *The Olympic Media Dossier*. Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from [http://www.terramedia.co.uk/change/olympic\\_games\\_1960.htm](http://www.terramedia.co.uk/change/olympic_games_1960.htm)

The New York Times. June 22, 2003. “Roone”: *Abecedarian*. Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/06/22/books/review/22CARTERT.html?ex=1216180800&en=57e91fd6e2e0ba85&ei=5070>

TVWF Directive. 1989/1997. *The Television without frontiers Directive* (89/552/ EEC, article 3 (a) (2). Adopted in 1989 by the Council, revised in 1997 by the European Parliament and the Council Directive, and in 2007 to become the

“Audiovisual Media Services Directive”. Downloaded 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008, from [http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/tvwf/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/tvwf/index_en.htm)

UEFA, 2006/08. *Regulation of the UEFA European Football Championship*. Downloaded 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008, from [www.uefa.com/newsfiles/19079.pdf](http://www.uefa.com/newsfiles/19079.pdf)

Youtube.com. 9<sup>th</sup> September 2007. *Funny Cricket Commentating*. Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3k0qZDdfvZk>

Wikipedia.org. 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2008. *Jumping after Wirkola*. Downloaded 12<sup>th</sup> July 2008 from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jumping\\_after\\_Wirkola](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jumping_after_Wirkola)