

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

SEARCHING FOR "US" IN DAGSREVVYEN

TURKISH READINGS OF NORWEGIAN TELEVISION NEWS

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INTRODUCTION

The study aims at describing the interpretive processes employed by the members of a unique media audience, a group of Turkish immigrants living in Bergen, Norway. The immigrants' interpretations will be explored with respect to the news sent on the dominant public channel in the country, NRK. The side of the audience is privileged in the theoretical design of the study. This is not because the audience side is necessarily the most powerful one in deciding the meanings of media texts, but because of want to explore the complexity of the audience responses themselves. The questions of meaning and interpretation are central to this study. The purpose is to understand how the members of the specific group in concern construct meanings in their encounters with the Norwegian television news. Meaning is assumed to be the "result of a complex, temporally evolving interaction between a fixed verbal structure and a socially situated reader."¹ The intention is, therefore, to concentrate on the interaction of the media text(s) at hand with their specific viewers.

Looking at the interaction of the Turkish immigrants with Norwegian television news, the attention is given to particular aspects. First of all, the interaction is assessed as a clash between two cultures. Turkish and Norwegian culture both have their special ways of making meaning out of the phenomena. This presumably leads to misunderstandings, comprehension difficulties and estrangement - from members of the foreign group as well as from their cultural products.

Secondly, the interaction is assessed as a part of the

immigrants' making sense of the reality around them. From that perspective, the interpretations are part of the strategies of identity management. The second question is, then, what are the means used in the building of identity. "Difference is constitutive of the identity"², i.e. it is always necessary to identify someone as Other. The exclusion of the Norwegians as the Other, hence drawing a boundary between "them" and "us", is considered as one of the most significant strategies of identity management.

Thirdly, the interaction is regarded as part of the long term strategies of adaptation of the immigrants. The interest in the programme, and the items and aspects selected are presumably shaped by these strategies too.

In this study, I choose to distinguish analytically among these aspects. Such an analytic distinction makes it possible to consider the meanings constructed in the immigrants' encounter with Norwegian television news, both with regard to the differences between the cultures and with regard to the question of ethnic identity. It must be underlined here, that cultural distinctiveness is not to be equated with a sense of identity. For the question of identity, what the immigrants think of and select as the distinctive features of Turkish and Norwegian culture is more relevant than the real differences. Thus, the perspectives which are based on the cultural background of the Turkish immigrants and on the reinforcement of their sense of identity account for different dimensions of the process of interpretation.

The questions stated above cannot be highlighted through taking the interview texts at their face value. The interview texts are loose pieces of information which have to be made meaning of. In themselves they can prove no more than the diversity of the viewers' readings. To go further than that requires a critical distance to the informants' statements.³ In the present study, an interpretive approach to the interview texts is preferred in

order to explore the covert significance of the informants' utterances.

For the interpretation of the interview texts, my knowledge of Turkish culture as well as of the life courses and adaptational strategies of the Turkish immigrants are important elements which support the general theoretical knowledge in use.

1

Theoretical Framework: Reception Analysis

1.1 Introduction

Since so called reception analysis has been taken as standpoint in the overall design of this study, a review of the theoretical basis of the analysis, its most important characteristics and its limitations will be presented in the following.

Reception analysis aims to study the decodings of media texts by the audiences. Three aspects distinguish it as a new approach in the media studies. First of all, it maintains that the media texts' use, impact and meaning differ among the receivers.¹ The viewer plays an active part in constructing the meanings, and therefore the viewer's social background, needs and competency work on the constructions. Secondly, the viewer's freedom in making his own meanings is not seen to be unlimited. Meaning is socially patterned, which means that there are positions implied in a text and that the discourses available to a viewer can be influenced by the media. Thirdly, reception analysis tries to understand how audience reception vary within these limitations.

Reception analysis can be viewed, on the one hand, as a continuation of the uses and gratifications tradition (U & G). A number of researchers, Jensen (1986) and Morley (1986) among

them, have explicitly stated the overlapping concerns of their studies and those of the uses and gratifications kind. On the other hand, reception analysis can be considered as a criticism of the earlier studies. The methods of the quantitative media studies, and the claim of the earlier critical theory² that the meaning is immanent in the texts itself, are criticized. However, there is no consensus regarding the sufficiency of qualitative audience research alone for the reconstruction of meanings. While researchers like Schröder and Katz are preoccupied with "how the viewers themselves experience the content"³, several other theoreticians, Ien Ang, Klaus Bruhn Jensen, and Janice Radway, among others, stress the necessity of applying text analysis for the interpretation of the interview texts and for the evaluation of the genre in concern.

Reception studies also derive insights from British Cultural Studies. They both share an extended notion of audience and text. The focus on the decodings, the definition of media messages as culturally and generically coded discourses, and the stress on the social determination of meaning are common to several studies within both approaches.

Lastly, another origin of the reception analysis is the German reception aesthetics. This tradition, with its emphasis on the role of the reader, has been an important source of inspiration for the reception analysis.

1.2 Criticism of the Previous Research Traditions

One of the points of departure of reception analysis is the disapproval of the unbalanced attention paid to the side of the text in the studies of critical theory. The view that media texts position the media viewers so as to impose certain meanings on them is rejected as being too determinist. The viewers are considered to be more active than critical theory allows. It is claimed that readings are not only based on textual structures,

but that they depend on the discourses made relevant by the viewer. The assumption that meanings can be derived only from hints present in the texts is considered to be granting a much too passive role to the viewer. Reception analysis aims to understand the reasons for watching, and the satisfactions gained by it, by referring to the viewers' own explanations.

David Morley, with his innovative research, *The Nationwide Audience*, was one of the first to challenge the prevailing "absolute certainty about the ideological effectivity of television (...)"⁴ Based on Hall's essay "Encoding/decoding", Morley switched the attention to the moment of decoding. His assumption, in his analysis of the programme, was that there is no necessary transparency between encoding and decoding. He supposed that the decodings would vary with basic socio-demographic factors, and with involvement in various forms of cultural frameworks and identifications. To test his assumptions and to get a more differentiated picture of the television audience, he made an empirical audience research where he used in-depth interviews.

That the viewers are not "'prisoners' of the text"⁵ has been stressed by several theoreticians. It has been claimed that content analysis in order to be valid must be the analysis of "the experienced content".⁶ The various positions that the viewers can choose, differing from the ones preferred by the text, and the variations among the viewers' actualizations gained importance in empirical audience studies. One of the motivations of reception analysis is, then, to shift attention to the meanings actively constructed by the viewers.

Reception analysis has, at its point of departure, also questioned the limitations of effect studies which made use of the quantitative methods of the social sciences.⁷ The criticism is directed to the following aspects: First of all, the definitions of the audience and text as isolated from their historical and cultural contexts are regarded as oversimplified.

Secondly, meaning is assumed to be a fixed entity in the quantitative approach. The categories of meaning are established beforehand, and the studies are carried out to find whether these categories are present or whether they recur.⁸ Reception analysis "tries to establish categories of meaning (...) in cooperation with the media recipients."⁹ Meaning is conceived to be not a fixed entity but "an unfolding process of production".¹⁰ Thirdly, the claim to objectivity and representativity is considered to be a barrier to asking the important questions. In order to derive the in-depth knowledge of the relevant kind, the qualitative interview and participant observation have been applied by the reception studies.

1.3 The Influence of Other Research Traditions

Reception analysis shares a number of concerns with and gathers insights from the U & G traditions and reception aesthetics. These have several considerations and presuppositions in common with reception studies. First of all, U & G poses the question: what do people do with media? The studies concentrate on the "the types of content consumed and especially the uses made thereof".¹¹ The functions of the media for the receivers, i.e. the motivations for choosing the programmes and diverse needs that are satisfied through the choices made, are the general concerns of this approach. Thus, secondly, both studies allow an active role to the viewer. Thirdly, the need to differentiate the audience uses of the media texts is a common interest of both approaches.

However, one important difference between two approaches is that the reception studies criticize U & G studies for treating the needs as if they were once and for all given categories. The needs "appear to exist outside time and space"¹² in the framework of U & G studies. Reception studies, on the other hand, stress the importance of understanding the needs from the perspective of the social experiences of the viewers. Especially

the empirical audience studies at the Birmingham Centre have stressed the importance of placing needs in a social setting. Subcultures are focused in order to understand how they provide symbolic resources to make sense of specific situations. Individual utterances are "examined not as personalized, idiosyncratic expressions of a psychological kind, but as sociologically regulated both by the immediate social situation and by the surrounding socio-historical context."¹³ Secondly, reception analysis conceives of the reception as an interaction of text and viewer. The text with its potential meaning is a point of departure of the viewer. Another significant difference is that the U & G studies do not put aside the demand of deriving generalizable and objective results. Therefore, they operate with "objective" standard content typologies.¹⁴ However, generalizable and objective results do not give sufficient room to the meaning aspect, which is the focus of reception analysis. Together with the macro research design, this may be taken to mean that the U & G studies have a relatively low explanatory value.¹⁵

The studies of the reception of literature is another important source of inspiration for the reader-oriented media studies. Theoreticians like Roman Ingarden, Hans Robert Jauss, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Wolfgang Iser have contributed to a theory of reception. They challenged the status of the author, who was normally seen as the most significant moment in the production of the meaning of the text. Iser, by concentrating on the process of reading pointed to the interaction between the reader and the text as being decisive for the reception of a text. A literary work has two poles, according to Iser, the artistic and the aesthetic. The first one is the text created by the author, and the second is the realization accomplished by the reader. Therefore, Iser maintains, a literary work cannot be identical with the text or with the realization of the text; it lies halfway between the two. The text "only takes on life when it is realized"¹⁶, and it is the interaction between the reader and the text which brings it to life. The reader builds expectations

with cues taken from the text. Depending upon the fulfillment or rejection of these expectations, she or he takes into account new aspects which, in turn, excite new anticipations. The fulfillment or rejection of the expectations affect the process of anticipation and retrospection - the evaluation of the previous parts of the text and the new expectations which will be constructed. When the development of the building of the text is not the one that the reader expects, a gap occurs. Gaps of these types occur on the paradigmatic axis. But gaps also exist on the syntagmatic axis, when the reader has to connect the various segments of a text, or on the level of theme and horizon¹⁷ - like when a time interval is omitted. The gaps may be filled in in different ways, which means that there may be different realizations. As a unifying concept, Iser introduces the implied reader. "The term incorporates both the prestructuring of the potential meaning by the text, and the reader's actualization of this potential through the reading process."¹⁸

In recent film theory, the implications of the reception aesthetics have been taken into account. The reader's construction of a story on the basis of the expectations - through fulfillment or rejection of these expectations - is the basis of formalist film theory.¹⁹ With the insights gained from reception aesthetics, the reception analysis in the field of media studies has, however, underlined the necessity of making empirical studies of the audience. Because, the empirical reader is not considered to be necessarily identical with the implied reader.

For the present study, a term introduced by Jauss (1974), "*Erwartungshorizont*", "horizon of expectations", is of importance. The term refers "to an intersubjective system or structure of expectations, a 'system of references' or a mind-set that a hypothetical individual might bring to any text."²⁰ The Turkish immigrants' readings are determined to a certain extent by their previous cultural, social, and aesthetic experiences. This term puts the researcher in a position to infer the

significant determinants of the readings of the viewer. As Jostein Gripsrud says,

The researcher can construct the "horizon" on the basis of his or her knowledge about the specific cultural experiences of specific audiences.²¹

Reception studies distinguish themselves from the previous studies with extended concepts of text and receivers. This brings us to another media research tradition which is a great source of inspiration for the reception studies: cultural studies. The notions of the audience and text of the previous research traditions are criticized and elaborated within the cultural studies. The Frankfurt School, with its "pessimistic mass society thesis"²², conceives the audience as an atomized mass of individuals. Mainstream research, on the other hand, describes the audience within the limits of behaviorist theory. In this case, it is conceived as composed of individuals, i.e. differences between them as well as the differences in media reception were treated as natural. Variations among audience are assessed with respect to the needs of the individual. Cultural studies, however, broke with the passive and undifferentiated conceptions of the 'audience'.²³ In the case of the cultural studies, society is perceived not as "an organic whole but (as) a complex network of groups, each with different interests (...)"²⁴, and each of these "complex network of groups" as struggling to signify things and events in a certain way. The stress on the struggle for signification has implications for the notions of audience and the text and for the meaning the audience may be expected to construct.

In the studies of the Centre the text is replaced in a cultural context. It is neither a "'transparent' bearer of meaning"²⁵ nor a self-sufficient entity. At the Center the historical conditions of production and consumption of a text are emphasized. According to cultural studies, the text in itself is not sufficient to explain the meanings realized by the audience. What counts is the interaction of the text and the reader, that moment when a reader acquainted with a set of cultural codes meets a text built on

other set of codes. Hence, for the cultural studies, the audience is not a passive but an active category. Viewers are conceived of as participating in a struggle for meaning. David Morley describes this process with the following words:

The meaning of the text must be thought in terms of which set of discourses it encounters in any particular set of circumstances, and how this encounter may re-structure both the meaning of the text and the discourses which it meets.²⁶

Certain media genres have gained new attention by the reception studies. In recent studies the so called female genres are evaluated from renewed theoretical positions. Studies by Janice Radway (1987), Dorothy Hobson (1982) and Ien Ang (1985) are examples to these positions. The readings of popular texts are assessed in order to gain a better understanding of how these texts are used and made meaningful by female readers.

In her study of romance fiction, Radway operates with in-depth interviews as Hobson does in her work on soap operas. Both identify a higher degree of consciousness in the choice and use of the genres than formerly assumed. Radway, "(...) looking at the romance-reading behavior of women through several lenses, each trained on a different component or moment of a process that achieves its meaning and effect over time (...) "²⁷ presents a wide spectrum of interesting aspects related to the act of romance reading. She finds that the books are important sources for the women's interpretation of their own problems, and reflections of their hopes. Romance reading may, therefore, to the extent women meet their needs through identification with the heroine, be a symptom of uneasiness and more or less critical attitudes. Reading romance connotes at the same time a free space for women, as "they feel liberated from the need to perform duties that they otherwise willingly accept as their own."²⁸ The study, in this way, throws light on the undiscussed sides of the female readings and points to the limits of ideological power.

With the renewed definition of meaning as an active accomplishment, the contributions of social institutions to the

production of meaning need to be explored over again. News as one of these institutions received, therefore, much attention within the reception studies. The need to take into consideration the uses of the genre by the recipients, in order to understand its potentially ideological value, is expressed within the cultural studies.²⁹ In recent studies, various features of the news reception, like the way television news is integrated into the interpretation of social reality (Jensen 1986), are explored. For what reasons people watch news, into what uses news is put, the importance attributed to visuals, are some of the questions posed by Jensen. News is produced, Jensen maintains, within three contexts, in the news institution, as a distinct news genre, and by the news audience. He interviews two groups composed of 12 persons each and makes a "detailed analysis of 'what people think' (...) to uncover some of the nuances of meaning production."³⁰ Jensen conceives the role of audience in the following way:

The news audience acts on that meaning potential which is inherent in the form of communication and knowledge that news is and processes it further.³¹

1.4 Limits of Reception Analysis

In a recent essay pointing to the weaknesses of the tradition of reception studies, the term "Sisyfos project" is used to describe the impossibility of reaching its goals by the methods in use.³² Is it possible reconstruct every kind of actual experiences? Is empirical research of importance at all when it is not possible to carry out empirical reception analysis for every single text? Do we gain essential insights into the communication process at all from the reception studies, or do they contain only truisms?

One must identify the limitations of the approach to answer the questions above. Reception studies, which opened new dimensions for the communication studies, is not an all-powerful approach. It has certain drawbacks and limits. One such important drawback

is that the reader may be emphasized at the cost of other components. The tendency to undervalue the production link which is an unavoidable part of the communication process, is a sign of this.³³ Secondly, being preoccupied with the activities of readers at a micro-level it is easy to disregard the relations of power, and the question of ideology. Meanings produced by the people is one of the levels of the reception process; without considering the other levels it is easy to lose sight of the relation between the "operations of forms of social power"³⁴ to the activity of watching television. Watching television is an activity embedded in social and cultural practices; it is not an isolated, individual phenomenon. Therefore, other levels of the social production of meaning, institutions within which the receivers are socialized, and the distribution of cultural capital are important dimensions in a study of reception. Discarding the questions of text and ideology, one runs the risk of being too much on the side of the viewers. Such an overvaluation of the receivers may imply that one "cheerfully equates 'active' (audiences) with 'powerful' (ones)."³⁵

Criticism related to the impossibility of reconstructing every kind of experience³⁶ points to one more limitation of the approach: the meanings unreachable through interviews and observation. Meaning is a process, and in the reception of media texts it unfolds in the interaction of text and receiver. There are, however, experiences and meanings which do not allow themselves to be expressed easily through a rational tool like language. The experiences that cannot be grasped through verbal naming are, therefore, a limitation that the researcher should be aware of. Often, we cannot express the thing which fascinates us most of all with an image. Bent Fausing points to the problems included in describing the images:

We can analyze some general characteristic of the individual perception of the images (...) But to expect that one can entirely rationalize the unconscious is absurd.³⁷

Because, as Fausing refers, "the images involve the uncertain, speechless holes of our consciousness."³⁸ The images and symbols

meet a need of expression which the thought and language can not satisfy.³⁹

Tove Rasmussen points to additional difficulties:

Reception analysis can only throw a light on the production of meaning, which is socially acceptable - and possible to be discussed within the discourse of the interview.⁴⁰

Reception analysis is regarded, in certain contexts, as an alternative to text analysis. However, text analysis can be used to derive information and knowledge unreachable through reception analysis. As Gripsrud puts it:

(...) texts of mass communication can be read with a view to unveil what they carry as information about the historical space in which they have been produced.⁴¹

One can maintain that with respect to both the inter-textuality of the reading process, the broader cultural framework it enters into, and the secondary texts, it is disadvantageous to present reception analysis as an alternative to text analysis. The secondary media texts, the so called "textual shifters", - the launching of the films or television programmes in newspapers and journals, reports on the stars in the print media, etc. - "act...upon the reader to produce different readings of 'the same' text (...) (and) also act upon the text, shifting its very signifying potential so that it is no longer what it once was because, in terms of its cultural location, it is no longer where it once was."⁴² To understand how these texts contribute to the process of reception, and what are their ideological implications, we need text analysis.

Another criticism of the approach points to the repeating features of the various studies done. Repetition of the same research design runs the risk of

merely producing an absolute formal 'Truth'(...) (that) people in modern mediatised societies are complex and contradictory, mass cultural texts are complex and contradictory, and therefore people using them produce complex and contradictory culture.⁴³

This last criticism underlines an important weakness of the

reception studies: they often take the differences to be significant in themselves without questioning further the implications of these differences. The varieties within the viewers' readings have to be interpreted for the reception studies to have a higher explanatory value. In this respect, the present study stands close to recent theoretical positions within cultural studies. The main concern here is not to find out that the audience readings differ, but to make sense of these differences, because, as Ien Ang puts it,

Differences are not just simple facts that emerge more or less spontaneously from the empirical interview material; it is a matter of interpretation what are established as significant differences.⁴⁴

Hence, at the outset one should bear in mind the limitations of the approach. Reception analysis cannot highlight every significant aspect of the appropriations of the media text and of the communication process in general. The approach therefore should be complemented with text analysis at certain stages. The analysis of the interview texts and the media text in concern are such levels.

However, these limitations do not mean that the model is not well equipped to study particular media questions - for example the reception of the media texts with a view to the questions of gender, ethnicity, and cultural identity.

2

Objectives and Methodology

2.1 The Design of the Study

With a purpose of understanding the significance of Norwegian television news for the Turkish immigrants and their contributions to its meaning, the qualitative approach to audience appropriations of media texts, so called reception analysis, is chosen as the general theoretical framework.

Dagsrevyen, Norwegian television news, is broadcasted every day at 19:30 pm on the Norwegian public broadcasting channel, NRK. The programme I selected for comments was sent on 26th of february 1990. It was chosen among a number of others with regard to the character of its items. As the span of *Dagsrevyen*'s items change a good deal from day to day, my concern was not to select a representative *Dagsrevyen*, but, especially, one including items which could be a point of departure for discussions of topics relevant to the subject area and the group in this study.

To explore the audience contributions to the meanings mediated, in-depth interview is made use of. It is the intention of the study to take the viewers' own terms as the point of departure. The qualitative interview is considered to be fulfilling the purposes at hand. It is assumed that the semi-structured in-depth interview will make it possible to let the audience describe the

programme and the practices or situations which arise around it, with their own concepts.¹

An interview-guide has been designed beforehand in which the topics to be discussed have been framed.² The interview-guide includes three main sections. In the first section the media use of the immigrants is investigated. In the second section topics are related to the news genre in general. The aspects of perceived relevance, comprehension, accompanying simultaneous activities, reasons for watching, and the uses to which the information is put are discussed here. To describe "the potential role of the news genre in general as a resource in the recipients' social life"³ has been one of the intentions of that section. Additionally, the Turks' orientation in Norwegian society through the news and their activation of the genre in the interpretations of their new existence, are the subject of this part of the analysis. In the third part, which followed the presentation of a tape recorded news programme, the informants' decodings are in focus.

Sixteen informants have been interviewed. A small number of informants is preferred, to be able to work in depth, rather than to derive representative results. The small size of the sampling group puts, at the same time, the researcher in a position to study each interview text thoroughly. At the beginning, a total number of twenty five informants was the target. However, with the experiences gained during the pilot study, it was decided to decrease the number to sixteen. The intention, originally, was to compose the sampling group of equal numbers of female and male informants. However, practical difficulties arising during the sampling resulted in the male informants being a majority in the group. The population register which was consulted before the start of sampling, turned out to be a difficult cooperation partner. The demanded list of Turks living in Bergen has never reached me. Consequently, the sampling procedure has been more wearisome than expected. My network of friends, and their networks respectively, had to be activated.

A number of persons who were selected from the list provided through these methods were contacted by telephone. They were oriented about the study before asking for their participation. The ones who were willing were asked for a suitable time and place for the interview. Discarding the demand for generalizable results, the aim was to have a rich variation within the group. It is supposed that the individual variations will make it possible to look at the role of ethnicity in the context of audience receptions through several perspectives, hence to grasp the complexity of the issue at hand. Thus, beside ethnic identity, variables such as occupation, education, gender, years of stay in Norway, age, and marital status are represented in the composition of the group.

Interviews were made during April and May 1990. As setting, the living places of the immigrants have been preferred, if they owned a video recorder. Those who did not have one, were invited to the interviewer's apartment. After the discussion of the topics in the first and the second sections of the interview-guide, the tape record of *Dagsrevyen* sent on the 26th of February was presented. The discussion of the programme ended the interviews.

The informants' own utterances are one point of departure of the analysis. Another point of departure is the text at hand. Because of the limitations of the reception analysis to evaluate thoroughly the textual meanings, it is essential to combine the research with textual analysis. At the stage of the preparation of the interview-guide it is vital to identify the textual features of the news genre. Being acquainted with them, the researcher will gain a better position to distinguish the most relevant topics to be discussed for the purposes of the study. Besides, such an analysis is necessary for the interpretation of the interview texts. News as a genre has features which are important for the reception of a single programme. Analysis of these features will enable the researcher to evaluate the appropriations of the text at hand.

At two stages a textual approach is employed here. First, for the clarification of the aspects of news as a genre, and second for the analysis of the interviews. Additionally, a description of the news programme presented is made in order to understand the construction of the items, and the text-visuals relations within them (cf. Appendix 1).

2.2 Objectives and Premises

Ethnicity as a variable is hardly to find in the reception studies of television in Europe. The questions of gender and class have occupied the researches done within the realm of cultural studies. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, does not get much attention from the qualitative audience research - especially not in Europe. This lack of attention was one of the reasons for my choosing to analyze Norwegian television news as received by the immigrants and the meanings made out of it. Hence, the first aim of the study is to find out how ethnicity as variable enters into the process of reception.

For the choice of the news genre several factors are taken into consideration: First of all, the news is an important information resource, for immigrants as for the natives. Secondly, news can be put to different uses. It can be used for political purposes, to act as a citizen; for communicative reasons, to have a topic to talk about; it can be of use in the economic area, etc. What characterizes most of the uses is that news makes it possible to participate - or to have the illusion of participating - in the society. Thirdly, Norwegian news is supposedly an important source for the general image which the immigrants receive of the Norwegian society, of its culture and politics. In all these respects, the news genre is of special interest to the strategies of the immigrants and their adaptation to the host society.

Because of, among other things, its claimed credibility and its visuality, television news is used in a wide range of contexts.

My aim is to find out whether this is the case for the immigrants too, and if so, in what way and to what degree. Some of the incentives which will make television news an important source for the immigrants are presumed to be the coverage of foreign affairs news, the contribution of visuals to comprehension, and the information about Norway given in the programme.

The fact that the television news is one the most researched genres within reception studies is also taken into consideration in the choice of this genre. This will give me the possibility to use already completed research as a basis for interpretation and comparison.

The relevance and comprehension dimensions of interpretation are of importance in this study as well as the meaning dimension.

"What we choose to be an 'event' is culturally determined."⁴ Hence, the selection of items for Norwegian news programmes are realized on the basis of what is culturally proximate and culturally relevant. Relevancy, as Galtung and Ruge remark, may be independent of proximity, since "an event may happen in a culturally distant place but still be loaded with meaning in terms of what it may imply for the (viewer)."⁵ What is culturally proximate and meaningful for the Norwegians, is probably not in every context so for the Turks in the same country. The Turkish viewer may be thought of like that North European radio listener in Morocco, used as example by Galtung and Ruge:

(...) the North European radio listener in say, Morocco: he will probably pass by the Arab music and speech he can get on his dial as quaint and meaningless and find relief in European music and French talk.⁶

The question of what the Turkish immigrants pass by or find meaningful will be given a preliminary answer in this study.

As the Turkish immigrants, presumably, lack the knowledge about the Norwegian society, and do not always have enough knowledge of Norwegian language, it is expected that the comprehension of the news will be problematic in certain instances. Therefore the

comprehension aspect is one of the aspects focused on in the study.

The meaning dimension is focused upon at two levels. First, the meanings the immigrants produce with regard to the use of the news genre in general are sought out; secondly, the decodings of a single text are noted and commented upon.

Presumably, the reception of media by immigrants is one of the areas where the cultural embeddedness of reception makes itself most apparent. Watching television is a cultural practice, and in the case of the immigrants, the home culture is a determining factor with regard to the general background as well as the specific context in which reception takes place. The instances of encoder and decoder do rarely share the same codes, and in the case of an immigrant group's use of the Norwegian television news, the differences will probably be more readily perceivable than in most instances. The Turkish immigrants make up a specific interpretive community⁷ and the news texts are encoded by another interpretive community. The purpose is to describe the clashes which take place in such an encounter.

The encounter is, at the same time, context bound. The tradition and the culture of the immigrants will be made relevant on the ground of the new context. Being Turkish in Turkey is not the same as being Turkish in Norway. At the same time, being an ethnic minority in Norway is not the same as being an ethnic minority in USA or Germany. The religious institutions, political systems, and rituals of the new country constitute the background for the informants' interpretations of elements of both Turkish and Norwegian culture. Therefore, the significance of the structural features of the cultural context will be explored.

The interpretations will be discussed related to another concern: the identity management of the immigrants. The process of drawing boundaries in a new culture to build up identity will be described from the standpoint of the interview texts.

The aim of studying the meaning constructions of the Turkish immigrants is not to understand their experiences in themselves. These experiences will be studied as they are expressed by the immigrants. My intention is to observe the meaning categories people use, in an attempt to understand how these categories are used among the immigrants and between me and them. The purpose is, then, to understand the structures of signification in use. The anthropological parallel of analyzing "the native's life" can be given as an example of the method of this study.

"You don't have to be one to know one", says Geertz, in an attempt to point out the difficulty of being like the native one studies. Criticizing the anthropological attempts to "think, feel, and perceive like a native", he remarks:

If we are going to cling - as, in my opinion we must - to the injunction to see things from the native's point of view, where are we when we can no longer claim some unique form of psychological closeness, a sort of transcultural identification, with our subjects? What happens to *verstehen* when *empfinden* disappears?⁸

How is it possible to see the things from the native's point of view if one cannot feel like them? The method is described by Geertz:

The trick is not to get yourself into some inner correspondence of spirit with your informants. Preferring (...), to call their souls their own, they are not going to be altogether keen about such an effort anyhow. The trick is to figure out what the devil they think they are up to.⁹

The ethnographer, although he cannot perceive what his informants perceive, can distinguish what they perceive "with", or "by means of", or "through".¹⁰

It has been stressed in the previous chapter that one can not get into the unconscious regions of the process of reception. Consequently, it is not the unconscious sides of the news reception of the immigrants which I aim at revealing here. The objective is to evaluate their modes of reception, so as to get at the meaning which lies in their shared symbolic universe. In other words, their conception of the world, their system of values and expressions, that which make them an ethnic group, is

the concern of this study. It is the logic of their concepts which are under focus; the concepts which they use in talking about religion, the Third World, power relations, democracy, alcohol habits, youth, etc. The purpose is to map their values, concepts, and categories and to gain "access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live."¹¹ Analyzing the symbolic forms may lead to the desired knowledge: the contributions, through use of media texts, to the construction - or reconstruction - of reality by a group of immigrants.

This task can be accomplished without going into each single individual's feelings. It is the parts of the culture which are open and collective that the study focuses on. Through the study of that manifest surface, one can gain insights into the socio-psychological processes behind, such as identity building.

Because of the microscopic characteristic of the study, the results are not generalizable to other cases. Inquiring into the reception patterns of the Turks in Bergen does not give results that can be generalized to the Turks in Oslo, or Trondheim. What is the point of it then? The utmost aim of an interpretive, microscopic study is to be better informed on the case the study is set for, and to sharpen the conceptualization of the question involved. The study of media reception of ethnic minorities through a small group, puts one in a position to gain general knowledge of ethnic processes and to draw a number of conclusions about them. Besides, the concepts of ethnic identity, its construction, the role of belonging to specific interpretive communities, and the interrelation of these with the reception of media texts can be highlighted. The size of the study is no obstacle to deriving conclusions about cultural process in general - because the aim is to generalize within the cases rather than across them. In the words of Geertz:

(...) where an interpretation comes from does not determine where it can be impelled to go. Small facts speak to large issues, (...), because they are made to.¹²

The in-depth study of different groups in various contexts, and

of the various processes of meaning production which the reception of television texts are linked to, will in sum give a more nuanced picture of the television audiences. This study, in particular, stresses the significance of identity management and of the cultural context. It is hoped that, on the basis of the findings of this study, it will be possible to make more advanced studies of ethnic minorities' television watching.

Rather than following a rising curve of cumulative findings, cultural analysis breaks up into a disconnected yet coherent sequence of bolder and bolder sorties. Studies do build on other studies, not in the sense that they take up where the others leave off, but in the sense that, better informed and better conceptualized, they plunge more deeply into the same things.¹³

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Interviewing

There are several advantages of a qualitative interview in studying audience responses. One of them is its flexibility¹⁴. The flexible structure of the qualitative interview makes it possible to change the initial interview guide in the light of new experiences, and to adapt the interview-guide to new informants, so as to gather as much and as relevant information from each of them as possible. For example, it might not be possible to cover the consequences of educational differences or gender differences with the same type of questions. Slightly changing the formulations of the questions, or formulating new ones, the new informant's experiences can be included. A woman informant who was not interested in talking about certain topics such as the reasons for watching news, or the characteristics of the news genre, was willing to describe her husband's interest in the news, and to describe what she discusses at the work place with her colleagues. I preferred not to insist on discussing genre characteristics of the news in that instance. Such flexibility makes it possible to derive varied and relevant information, and, more importantly, to be able to communicate

with the informants. The danger of such a flexibility is that one may lose sight of the original purposes, if the design of the interview guide is changed too much.

The qualitative interview also gives room for the informants' own concepts, so that "Ordinary people are able to describe their own life-world, their opinions and acts, in their own words."¹⁵ Instead of presenting them with finished categories of meaning, they are encouraged to present or to build their own categories during the interview. Thus, the interpersonal communication between the informant and the interviewer is one of the advantages of the qualitative interview. The interview-situation makes it possible to derive the data "by the interaction itself, in the specific situation which is created between the interviewer and the interviewee,"¹⁶ and gives one a chance to interpret the utterances of the informant and respond immediately. Consequently, the qualitative interview makes it feasible to advance the meaning aspect of the constitution of knowledge. It focuses on "the meaning of central themes in the life-world of the interviewee"¹⁷ or, in our case, on the meaning of central themes related to the appropriation of media texts.

Yet, the researcher should be aware of a number of problematic aspects of interviewing. First of all, it is not a completely symmetric relation which obtains between the interviewer and the informant. In constructing the categories, the informants take their cues from the interviewer. It is, first and foremost, the interviewer who decides which aspects of a certain subject will be discussed. When I ask the informants' opinions on the Third World news in *Dagsrevyen*, but not on the local news, I decide the topic on the agenda. If they, in that or some other context, raise the topic of local news, it might or might not be discussed further - depending upon the decisions of the interviewer at that moment. Hence, there is an asymmetry between the interviewer and the informant. Tove Arendt Rasmussen stresses another aspect of the asymmetric relation. She points out that

the researcher, with regard to her educational, cultural and social position, is situated at another level than most of the informants - she knows more than the informant - and especially on the subject she is asking them about- but she has a need for concretization of an abstract scholarly knowledge.¹⁸

Asymmetry, in this case, exists, with regard to the knowledge of the interviewer and of the informant on the subject discussed. However, I would say that the qualitative interview gives room for meaning constructions which are actively not sought out or reflected upon by the interviewer.

At the same time, for the informants to be able to use their own concepts, the interviewer should be trying to avoid questions which imply the answers, or so called leading questions. This also points to the general fact that, the role of the interviewer is vital for the kind of knowledge that will be obtained. The questions s/he formulates, the interpretations s/he makes, the performance s/he achieves in catching the wavelength of the informants, and making them concentrate, are the most important tools in obtaining the knowledge.

2.3.2 Analyzing Interview Texts

Several discourses run together in the interview texts. Some of them are taken at their face value. In others, a comparative and interpretive approach is made use of. Utterances are compared, first of all, with regard to the different phases of the interview. The same person may present contradictory interpretations at different stages of the interview, or interpretations which are complementary to each other, highlighting different dimensions. Secondly, statements made in different contexts (or on different topics) of the interview are compared, in order to arrive at a complete picture of the respondent. For example, comparing the utterances of women on politics in different contexts, one can arrive at conclusions about their handling of female role. The informant fearing that she is overstepping the boundaries of the female domain, may sometimes try to undercommunicate her interest for and knowledge

of politics. Informants saying that they are Muslims in one context, signal in others that they are not devoted Muslims at all. On the basis of this contradiction, one can derive conclusions regarding the value of the Muslim-Christian dichotomy as a sign of specifically ethnic identity. Thirdly, comparisons are made with regard to the different life situations of the immigrants. Some of them have been longer in Norway than others, some of them do have qualified jobs, some of them do not, etc. Variations in interpretive and communicative strategies are not random but are part of the strategies of cultural adaptation and identity management.

All these kinds of comparison allow me to interpret the interview texts. The interpretations are not merely my subjective impressions. Comparison is the method in the process of interpretation which may to some degree correct my subjectivity.

My knowledge about Turkish history, culture, and traditions, my experiences during my stay in Norway, and my knowledge of the milieu of the Turks in Bergen, all are part of the process of interpretation. These resources make the necessary background for the appreciation of the meaning stratifications below the letters of the interview texts.

There are disadvantages as well as advantages in studying one's own culture. The fact that I can speak the immigrants' language and that I am familiar with their conventions and values is an advantage in many instances. Sharing the same symbols, the meaning of their utterances would reach me easier than it would a Norwegian anthropologist. My knowledge about Turkish history, media, gender relations, and the socio-economic conditions in the country put me in a better position to construct the cultural horizon of the Turkish viewer. At the same time, since "I'm one of them", they may be more confident to me than to a foreigner. However, my problem might have been that the subject of study is too close to me. I might have taken many comments at face value because of this closeness. The fact that I am more or less in the

same situation as the other immigrants gives me, on the one hand, an opportunity for better understanding of their situation. On the other hand, it may hinder me seeing beyond the surface of their self conceptions and the taken-for-grantedness of their culture. The distance that a foreigner would have to Turkish culture can be from time to time difficult to establish for me.

My role as a female interviewer and an academic is also decisive for the interview situation and for the statements which will be made. For the interview situation to function, my role has to be accepted by the immigrants. The fact that I introduce myself as a scholar probably makes me seem reliable. It helps in obtaining a "neutral" position, which indicates that the knowledge they will give away will be used solely for academic purposes. So, they can tell me about experiences which they would otherwise not make public. My being as Turk like them may be taken as an additional guarantee that the information will not be used against them. On the other hand, my position as a female interviewer has different consequents depending on the gender of the informant. If the informant is a woman, my role is an encouragement to talk about experiences she would not otherwise share with a male interviewer or with a Norwegian woman. What is acceptable to say, in the presence of a woman, however, and how to say it, is strictly coded in cultural terms for a Turkish man. I had the experience that male informants were careful in the choice of the themes and in their formulations. Discussing the drinking habits of the Norwegians, or Norwegian gender relations, I guess they would have more to say to a male interviewer.

3

Dagsrevyen as Narrative

3.1 Introduction

In *Dagsrevyen*, events taking place in Norway or in other countries are retold in a narrative form. The small texts which retell the events start with an introduction of a disturbed equilibrium. Persons are introduced who are subject to or related to a conflict. The actions of these persons are connected to each other logically and temporally. The small texts are, in turn, interrelated through the narrators of the *Dagsrevyen*. The verbal expressions between the sequences and the items, connect them to each other as a compact story. Consequently, they may be said to compose a complete narrative.

In the following section an analysis of *Dagsrevyen*'s discourse will be presented. Discourse, as it is used here, refers in its narrow sense to the way items are constructed, and includes in its general sense the peculiar way a text chooses to refer back to the enunciation. The insights gained through this discussion will give the background for the evaluation of the interview texts.

3.2 Narrative and News

Narrative is, according to John Fiske, "a basic way of making sense of our experience of the real (...)"¹ The way we make sense of reality changes depending on the cultural context, individual differences, etc. However, what makes narrative a common tool in understanding reality are certain recurrent features which may be found in different cultures and social contexts. First of all, there is a sequence of events in all kinds of narrative. The narrative is a sequential composite, not a "chance compilation".² Events do not come one after the other, randomly, but in a certain causal order. Secondly, in narrative there will be unity of action, i.e. the events will be related logically and temporally. We give meaning to actions through a before-after or a reason-cause chain. Thirdly, there are persons involved in a narrative. Their aims, and the conflicts between them, are the reasons for their actions. Actions are carried out by individuals. In news, too, individuals are involved, either as the active agent, or as the responsible instance or as the accidental subject of an incident.

A narrative has two components, its story and its discourse. Before defining story in the context of news, let us look at the definition of story in the context of fiction film. "The story, (...), is a mental reconstruction we make of the events in their chronological order and in their presumed duration and frequency."³ In the case of the news, then, discourse is the way the events are told. On the ground of the discourse the viewer builds his own version of the event. That imaginary construct is the story. Discourse, to the extent it rearranges the elements of the factual development, includes elements from it. It may tell these elements from different points of view, through different narrators, in different order. The viewer, after having seen the discourse, reconstructs the events with cues taken from the discourse.

The way discourse rearranges the factual development is crucial

for the actualizations of the viewer. Four aspects can be singled out as decisive for that rearrangement: the starting point chosen; the order in which the elements are put into; the means to achieve that order; and the point or points of view from which the factual events are told.

As the discourse determines a certain moment in the course of factual development to begin with, it excludes other possible beginnings. In doing so a specific reader position is implied. To give an example, news about elections in a certain country refers to a factual event that has a beginning and an end. People went to the election pools, votes were counted and a result was announced. If that country was in focus of media interest at that period, certain leaders probably commented on the result. Different responses came from the inhabitants of the country. Winners and losers responded to the developments. Where, then, does the discourse begin? It may begin with the speech of the winner, or the loser, or with the people queuing to vote. It may also begin with a scene from a park where people enjoy the day. Apparently, the point chosen as a beginning has a significance for the reception of the story. The viewer's expectations and meaning constructions will to a great extent rely upon the hints given at the beginning.

The order imposed upon the elements of factual development is another significant feature of the discourse. In the discourse, elements from that development are arranged anew. Turning back to our example one can continue with people protesting at streets against the election results - let the present leader be a "dictator" -, or with people crying - if there was injustice on behalf of the loser. One can have a reportage about the miserable situation the of country, or about the "forgeries" that the new-comer has made in order to win the elections. Clearly, the development of the "real" event is not the one represented. This rearrangement is crucial for the reception of the item's content. Because the priorities of the discourse and its pattern of building the event will, in turn, be taken by the viewer as clues

to give priority to certain meanings at the expense of others. These clues will in turn be decisive for the building of the "imaginary construct" of story.

The means to rearrange the elements of the factual development order is the third distinguishing feature of the discourse. Visual or textual strategies to rearrange the factual development's components are significant for the meaning that will be associated to the text. Ellipses, flashbacks and flashforwards are some of the possible strategies for both visual and written texts. Ellipses are most common in the realistic mode of *Dagsrevyen*.

In giving a new order to elements of the event, the specific kind of narration chosen as framework is essential. The same event may be reconstructed as a melodrama, as a action, or as suspense, etc. A war can be constructed as a love story, or as adventure. Selecting a certain kind of narration among others implies selection of a particular image of the event presented. Stuart Hall points to this aspect in an interview about the coverage of the Falkland War:

(...) it was partly directed to satisfying or fulfilling that absence in the popular understanding of "Are we still a strong nation?" or "Do we still get international respect?" (...) And there you see that the forms of what we would now call the mythic elements of the way in which the Falklands was constructed have very real effects. They underpin, they undermine, they reinforce and strengthen those sentiments, those ways of understanding;⁴

Rearrangements of the material through a particular form of narrative and order has implications for the ideologies that will be supported or challenged. Hall conceives of the Falkland news as serving to specific ideologies. The ideological function does not take, however, the form of a direct effect making the viewers believe what is presented. Narrative functions, as Hall says, causing "a slow transformation of what appear to be the most plausible frameworks we have of telling ourselves a certain story about the world."⁵

The narrator, the point or points of view from which the event is narrated, is the fourth important aspect of discourse. Who is narrating the event is conclusive for the perception of what is told and for the moral behind what is told. An enoncé like, "I think, it is the time to abolish the special financial help to Gypsies", will have different meanings depending on the identity of the speaker, as a right wing politician, a civil servant, or a common man in the street.

The concept of discourse includes the way a text chooses to refer back to the enunciation. Television news' text is a totality of different items which follow each other in segments. Events are told by two components: verbal and visual. There are various elements available for the presentation of both the verbal and the visual texts. The newsreader, the commentator, the correspondent, and the interviewer are examples of the elements for the presentation of verbal texts; the talking head, the graphics, the documentary film with voice over or "stake out", or the "vox-pop"⁶ may exemplify the elements of the visual text.

The narrator's position, the kind of links and transitions between texts and visuals, the use of visuals, the overall studio arrangement are various instances of discourse in forming the structure of enunciation. They do give hints for an implicit reader to the extent that they refer to the enunciation. As Peter Larsen puts it,

To prefer a certain structure of enunciation above others means that one's choices regarding which aspects of the material at hand will be picked up and how they will be organized is limited.⁷

Dagsrevyen aims at unity with the reader, a unity where the sender and the viewer belongs to the same world of the programme. That unity is established through various aspects of the discourse. While certain elements of the discourse signify factuality and objectivity and supply the credibility of the sender, other elements approximate the programme to fiction, in so far as they build unity through identification with the

programme's content.

Appearing every day at the same time on NRK, *Dagsrevyen* gives the Norwegian public the main news from the world and from Norway. For the programme to be used as a source of information the receiver should believe in its truth, its objectivity. Discourse of the television news aims, then, to make the viewer forget that it is a construction, that events are processed before they are presented. The filmographic techniques, the hierarchial structure of the items, the language used in the programme and various other elements of the discourse contribute to that impression of objectivity. Besides, belief in the credibility of television news necessitates a certain degree of authority on behalf of the sender. The discourse of *Dagsrevyen* signifies authority through its use of visuals, through prestige of the anchorman, etc.

The narrative structure is not only a means for presenting the events in the world in a certain order, but also makes the programme pleasurable, imposing "the consolations of the form on the flux of human experience."⁸ The "stars" of television news, the anchorman, the correspondent, etc. are like fictional characters in a film, in that they are the key factors for identification. Identification with the newsreaders, engagement in the stories told, are among the key factors which make the watching television news pleasurable. The discourse of the television news aims at achieving that kind of identification. Therefore, to consider the aspect of pleasure in understanding the programme's appeal, an understanding of the features of discourse giving that pleasure is needed.

The balance between a "naturalist" and an "illusionist" discourse is important to explain the unity built up between the sender and the receiver. Indeed, the co-existence of both forms should be accounted for in the search for the implied reader and in explaining the popularity of the programme. Let us, now, look closer at the discourse of television news to find out how its material are organized and how the enunciation is arranged. In

doing so, the aspects of authority, objectivity, and identification will be singled out.

3.3 Aspects of News as a Genre

3.3.1 Authority

The discourse of news is founded on elements which reflect a desire for authority on behalf of the sender. Authority can be mediated by different means, like the tone of the speech, the use of the camera, the status of the persons interviewed, etc. Television news acquires authority, first of all, through the concept of the programme as informative and enlightening. The programme is supposed to have a central position in realizing the ideals of the public service broadcasting, as an institution that distributes knowledge to the people. The placement of the newsreader in the studio is one of the indications of this concept of the programme.

The claim to objectivity is another means to establish authority. This claim is integrated into the strategies of the discourse of the news. The language used in the programme, and diverse indications of hierarchy among the participants, serve the purpose of communicating objectivity. Credibility on the side of sender is also among the elements underpinning the programme's authority. Indeed, "without an attribution of credibility news could not be distinguished from entertainment or propaganda."⁹ Documentaries used in the programme contribute, on the other hand, to its reliability, being photographic version of current reality. Studio arrangement, the way newsreaders appear, etc. are other important elements for building the credibility of the news.

In the following, elements of discourse which are considered to be significant for the authority of news will be discussed. This is a general analysis of aspects of news as a genre. There are,

however, certain features which are special to news in NRK, such as the title sequence, and the more formal appearance of the newsreaders compared to newsreaders on other commercial channels. These differences, as they are not directly related to the subject in concern, are not discussed.

a. The Title Sequence

The title sequence of the Norwegian news programme introduces a grey globe and the title of DAGSREVVYEN, in red color, which turns into a simple N at the end. The globe appears first in the left lower corner and moves rolling around to the other corner, until it comes to the middle of the screen. "Dagsrevyen", too, moves around the globe and becomes the letter N at the end. Using a globe in the title sequence indicates that *Dagsrevyen* provides news about the world in its entire, and that it provides a broad view over the developments in the world. This omniscieny implied by the title sequence is the first hint given to the programmes' special authority.

The music of the title sequence aims at an impression of seriousness. It is not relaxing and melodical, as for example, music used in the title sequence of serials. It is plain, and, it has an attention calling tone. For the viewers who are familiar with the codes of music in films or on TV, it is a signal that in what follows important events will be covered.

The title sequence of *Dagsrevyen*, then, gives a general narrative image of the programme. "It is a highly, generalized, gestural conception of the programme it advertises (...)"¹⁰

b. The Prime Narrator

The prime narrator is the "invisible hand" behind *Dagsrevyen*, a more fundamental and collective narrator than the newsreader. We are reminded of the existence of this instance every evening by the following voice-over before the appearance of title sequence: "Dette er NRK. Klokken er 19:30. Vi får nyheter." (This is NRK. It is 19:30 o'clock. We now get the news.) Why this announcement

of the channel's name just before the evening news? One may think of several possible explanations. First of all, bearing in mind that the news is one of the programmes that gathers the most numerable audience in front of the screen, this is an occasion for creating channel identity. The viewers are reminded that it is NRK which will present the news.¹¹

Secondly, since NRK is a channel which enjoys the confidence of the majority in Norway, announcing the name of the channel prior to the programme signals trustworthiness. The expectations of the receivers with regard to the status of the information is shaped with this information in advance. According to a public survey in 1986, 79 % had trust in the channel¹².

Thirdly, a preciseness is pointed out by announcing the name and the time. Hence, what is communicated is that the following programme is a precise one, based on factual information.

c. The Newsreader

The position of the newsreader among the other narrators of the news is one of the most distinguishing aspect of the discourse establishing authority in relation to the viewers. S/he is the omniscient narrator who has a general view and control over everything. It's s/he who begins speaking, who passes the word to other reporters or commentators and who always has the last word. The newsreader represents the institution, the NRK, and therefore his/her authority over other narrators symbolizes the power of NRK.

An aura of seriousness around the newsreader is reached, not least, through the use of the camera. A medium-close shot which places the newsreader at a safe distance - never an intimate close shot - is the cliché.

The newsreader always sits by a table. The connotations of sitting behind a table or a desk have their roots in other situations familiar to us - school, for example. Individuals

behind a desk have an authoritative role, often connected to their special knowledge - as a teacher or a judge, - which the listener is supposed not to have¹³.

The telephone on the newsreader's table is also instrumental for establishing the authority of the discourse. The telephone connotes the control of the newsreader over the events s/he mediates. Developments are within her or his reach and s/he can give us the most recent news.

The color used in the studio is blue: cold and serious. Being the background color for the newsreader, it symbolizes his/her soberness and that of the institution he/she represents.

The personal appearance of newsreaders is essential to ascribe seriousness to the programme. They are often in the age group of 30- 45, conceived of as the most dynamic life period.¹⁴

Their dresses can be described as being "proper" - they don't wear jeans or leather jackets. Their figure is also important. They are usually within the limits of normal weight. It is, as Linda Kjerstad observes, possible to guess the results of letting anchorman, who is "70 years old.. with wrinkles on his face, a belly pushing against the table, with bad eyesight and failing voice"¹⁵, read the news on NRK.

The trustworthiness of the newsreader is reinforced through another aspect of his/her appearance: the mimics and the body language. S/he is calm, does not use exaggerated hand movements, and does not move much during the programme at all. His/her face mimics are also at minimum. S/he smiles at the beginning and at the end of the programme, once, and limits her/his personal reactions for the rest of the time. One of the rare occasions in which her or his reactions are permissible, is the reading of "soft" news. On saturday and sunday, for instance, the newsreaders are allowed to smile in the second part of the programme after the presentation of entertaining news.

The newsreader may also seem to have a control over the relative importance of every item, since s/he introduces items of different duration and in a certain order. As Hagen puts it,

Through order, duration of items, juxtaposition and transitions between items, meaning is communicated to the public.¹⁶

Within the genre conventions the presentation order of events indicate their respective importance. As the newsreader represents the channel, her introducing the items in a certain order also symbolizes the power of the channel.

The fact that the newsreader is one of the few in news who can face us directly, i.e. look at the camera, is one more indication of her or his power over us. The effects of addressing the camera directly for purposes of reliability is known from election campaigns - politicians attend courses where they learn the importance of looking at people.

d. Language

The language in *Dagsrevyen* is composed of long sentences and often of technical words belonging to various areas of specialization. Such a choice of language is indicative of the knowledge possessed by the sender, hence of it's authority.

That 60% of the Norwegian population is liable to cross the wrong meaning of the word, *legitim*, and 47% *kreditor*, or that only 18% can give the right explanation of the word *alliert*, is an indication of the fact that the general level of language in *Dagsrevyen* is far from that of the public's, as these words are among the commonly used in the programme.¹⁷ Such a use of language, however, reinforces the distance otherwise achieved between the sender and the viewer and underlines the programmes's position of authority.

e. Documentaries

To show documentaries from the "reality" outside always has its special impact on the viewer. It contributes to the power of the sender through proving that what is mediated is reality itself.

Since the image is there, the photographer - or NRK - also had to be there. The visuals are commonly taken to be the representatives of reality, virtually pieces of it. In the context of the news programme, they give the impression that what is mediated are extracts of Reality itself. The visuals, then, make the programme credible.

When looking at the visual images, the tendency is to forget that a man and the image of the man are two different dimensions of reality; and that there might be hundreds of other visuals to choose among, if, let us say, it is the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian which is to be depicted. As Søren Kjørup says,

We look at images to find out how something or someone looks. We show images to each other in order to show what something or someone looks like. We give or search information through images.¹⁸

In the news, the visuals are used to show what the situation, event, or persons look like. How can one, then, explain the common sense conviction that the image of an object and the object itself are more or less one and the same thing?

The resemblance between an image and the thing it depicts is one possible explanation of the common sense trust in televisual images. Visual images are taken to be natural signs, contrary to the arbitrariness of words of language, "because they are more or less 'like' the things or the creatures they depict."¹⁹ The analogous nature of the image's reference to reality implies that the conventional features of the visual images are often ignored. Looking at the visual images, recognizing the lines, the form and the color of the object represented, one gets the impression of having direct knowledge of the object without mediatory conventions. The perceptual codes learnt in order to recognize women and men, the small and the big, and cultural codes used to differentiate for example colors are not taken into consideration in the everyday comprehension of visuals.

This "illusion of immediacy" is at its strongest in the images

appearing in visual media like photography, television or film. The mechanical process used, for capturing the object, in the case of photography - in contrast to, for example, painting, where a human agent who is obviously creating the visual image - is accepted as the sufficient condition for eliminating any human interference. The apparent absence of the mediatory agent becomes, then, the decisive factor in concluding that photographs or scenes in a film reportage are registrations of reality. The codes become invisible.

Thus, the indexical character of the visuals is another potential explanation for the reality effect. Roland Barthes accounts for this effect in the following way:

The type of consciousness the photograph involves is indeed truly unprecented, since it establishes not a consciousness of the *being-there* of the thing...but an awareness of its *having-been-there*.²⁰

As without a fire there could be no smoke, it is deduced that, without the event or the thing *having-been-there*, there could not be the visuals of the thing or the event.

Visuals do not often illustrate the text directly, but the small part of reality they show is accepted by the viewer as representing the whole. This metonymic character of the visuals results in the viewer construing the pictures as representative of Reality. When the reporter talks about the civil war in Beirut, shots of houses in ruin are presented. The visuals refer to the whole city although it is not known whether the scene is representative for the situation of the city.

Another explanation for the illusion of immediacy may, in case of television, be the cinematographic techniques used in order to make the mediation invisible. The invisible cuts between two shots, the use of light and sound all contribute to the immediacy effect.

The way visuals function is dependent on the relation of visuals to verbal text. In the following a brief assessment of that

relationship will be made.

The Relation of Text and Visuals

Attempts to explain the complex relationship between text and visuals normally emphasize the text at the expense of the visuals. The words, because of the more precise nature of their meanings are comprehended as controlling the interpretation of potential meanings in a text. It is maintained that the polysemic nature of visuals may give the reader a possibility of choosing the signifieds s/he prefers.

Anchorage and relay are described by Roland Barthes as the two possible relations between verbal text and the image. Through anchorage the written text fixes the meaning of the image. At the level of denotation the verbal text identifies the objects in the image.

At the level of the literal message the text replies - in a more or less direct, more or less partial manner - to the question: what is it? The text helps to identify purely and simply the elements of the scene and the scene itself;²¹

At the level of connotation, the words guides the interpretations and tries not letting them go too much beyond the preferred meanings. Here, the text functions as

a kind of vice which holds the connoted meanings from proliferating whether towards excessively individual regions...or towards dysphoric values.²²

In news, the anchorage function of the verbal text is noticeable in many film reportages. The text's comments on the visuals shape their meaning. Let us say, over a shot of a grey, polluted town with lots of industry and where the trees have apparently died, the reporter says: "During the last twenty years the lack of necessary precaution has resulted in a severe pollution in the East-Block countries (...) This town which was once a beautiful vacation place for the tourists during spring and summer is threatened by ecological catastrophe." The verbal text has identified the town in the visual as an East-Block town; it has maintained that the air is polluted, and that it was beautiful

once.

While in anchorage the words speak from a position outside the text, in relay the text and image are in a complementary relationship i.e. text and picture are elements of the same syntagma. The dialogues in a film are an example of relay. The verbal text is integrated into the scene, it advances the action. The text rarely has the relay function in news.

The visuals also control the meaning of a verbal text. They interpret the text through concretizing the content. They fill in the gaps of the text for the viewer. Since the text's content is frequently in abstract terms, the visuals concretize these terms. Therefore, the verbal text as well as the visuals shape the meaning of a news item. In the above example, the visuals have contributed to the interpretation: "A polluted East-Block town looks like this one; pollution means death of trees, grey sky; it is caused by industry (...)" The visuals may also control the interpretations with the extra information included in them. In an item which reports the arrival of Iranians seeking refuge in Norway, the visuals concretize what Iranians look like, what they wear, how they behave. The connotations related to the item will be of a certain nature if these people are starving and looking like skeletons, and of another type if they wear fur coats and jewelry.

In the case of television news, a wide use of visuals has become almost the standard. In *Dagsrevyen*, too, this standard is followed. Seldom, however, "a unified narrative"²³ is the outcome of the coexistence of text and visuals in news. Jensen points out that, in principle, there are two parallel narratives in the news:

The visual narrative which stands in its own right as a document of what really happened, and the spoken narrative which contributes complementary information, yet remains relatively distinct, without compromising the status of the visual narrative as pure information.²⁴

The spoken narrative does not even have the character of

complementary information in many sequences of film reportage. The visuals and the spoken text each include different information. Since it is not very often the film, but rather the text which is the point of departure for the construction of the item, the difficulty arises of finding film material which may concretize the content of the verbal text, and the result is often discrepancy between visuals and the spoken words. While the shots, for example, inform about four attempted coups d'état during the last twenty days in the Philippines, the visuals may present a city in the country where people continue with their daily life.

In addition to filling in the gaps, the visuals may underline the meaning of the text. If we tell the same thing with both words and the visuals the visuals have, then, a function that we may call redundancy. In an item where the text tells about a petroleum leakage in the Persian Gulf, and the visuals show the sea with petroleum spots on it, text and visuals are redundant. In repeating what is already said in the text, the image increases the redundancy of the message.

We should also note that the various functions mentioned above may operate at the same time in the interaction of text and visuals.

f. Hierarchy

The hierarchical structure of *Dagsrevyen*, where the newsreader, the reporter, the commentator and the interviewee have their clearly defined statuses, makes it possible to separate the domain of *Dagsrevyen*/NRK from domain it represents: the domain of the events which *Dagsrevyen*'s discourse refers to.²⁵ When there exists clearly defined positions for the narrators, the domains within which they can speak are also defined.

The newsreader, being the most objective, does not comment on the events, but s/he gives the "facts". When the story develops through film reportage, the reporter is allowed to speak in a

more rhetorical and emotional manner. The commentator, on the other hand, occupies the most subjective position. He can evaluate the developments from his unique point of view. Such a structuring both enables one to preserve a sense of personal presence and of the objectivity of the NRK.

The newsreader opens a sequence. S/he is shot against a neutral background; s/he can face us, she knows everything in advance and she gives cues for guessing what is to come: if for example, s/he looks down to the left corner, we know that a film reportage or an interview is next; or if s/he turns to the weather reporter towards the end of the programme, we know that the weather report will be presented.

The commentator does not appear often on *Dagsrevyen*. When s/he does, s/he is less formal than the newsreader, in his/her dress, and in not having a telephone within reach. The word "commentator" alone is an indication of the assumption that the newsreader only gives information.

Talking against a background which is not neutral, the reporter or interviewer develops the topic presented by the newsreader. He is the third in the rank of hierarchy. He too can face us. He also represents NRK.

Lowest in the rank are the interviewees. They speak to us through the interviewer and their trustworthiness is low. The interviewees may be divided into two, depending on their status: elite persons and the ordinary persons, where the first group has a higher status.

Such a division of status and labor guarantees that the institution which is behind Norwegian television news and its staff stays aloof from the reality they speak about.

In sum, the title sequence, the newsreader, the prime narrator, the hierarchy of the narrators, the language and the use of

visuals are the means to establish distance and credibility for television news. The question is now whether the discourse of the news programme only accentuates authority or whether there are other dimensions gaining importance.

3.4 Identification

The roles of authority undergo changes in society as new developments and contexts bring forth new concepts of authority. The borderlines between the roles of father/child, teacher/student, women/men, doctor/patient get more diffuse with the renewal of definitions of authority in the current situation. A child may call his father with his first name, the students are allowed to behave more freely in school, women do fairly well at jobs once considered exclusively male.

One can find tracks of this development in the media too. As Jostein Gripsrud points out,

(...) in recent forms of television reportage, the explicit narrator is gone. The public must themselves decide to what degree the present mediations of reality are true (...) ²⁶

In the news programme, although the newsreader, the hierarchical structure, and the olympic title sequence are still there, a decline in the stress on authority is observable through time. The newsreaders are presented "as themselves" at the end of news programme. In a total shot, they are seen as they put the papers in order, and relax. In the last scene of *Dagsrevyen* the entire studio is showed, where the cameras, the cameramen, and the monitors become visible. Among them, the newsreader is an ordinary person. The technical equipment indicates that the newsreader and the reporters do not have more insight into the events, but that they are better informed.²⁷ This last shot stresses nearness rather than distance.

Dagsrevyen, to the extent it shows the backstage, undermines its own authority. Exercising authority "depends on restricted access

to backstage situations and the information available in them."²⁸ *Dagsrevyen*, revealing its backstage, creates a room where the newsreaders are allowed "to be themselves". This is one of the moments in the programme where nearness is more important than the distance, and when the team and the technical apparatus producing the impressions of personal contact and apparently unmediated reality come into view.

Nearness is necessary to produce identification. *Dagsrevyen* not only presents pure facts, but in doing so it creates a room with which the viewers are familiarized and, into which they can enter. Exact time of broadcasting every day, the narrative construction of coverages, the language used in speaking to the viewers, the opening and closing sequences, the appearance of familiar persons and narrators every day, and the personification of the news are some of the aspects of *Dagsrevyen* which puts the viewer in a position to engage with it, to slip into it.

Consequently, identification is an inevitable link in the audience receptions. To account for the pleasure derived from the programme, we should be looking for the features which facilitate the identification of the viewer with the programme. In the following, some of these features are highlighted.

a. The Structure of Items

The dramatic construction of items in news has, usually, a conventional structure. It is parallel to that of a classical narrative's, in the sense that it repeats the moments which are typical for the development of a classical narrative. These are: introduction of a conflict into a state of equilibrium, escalation of the conflict, confrontation, and resolution. Thus, stage-by-stage unfolding the story and introducing new conflicts on the way, a climax is built which is instrumental for the involvement of the viewer with the items. Robert Stam explains the pleasure derived from the news, by emphasizing the moments of expectation and curiosity:

Just as a detective story teases us with the enigma of a murder, or Hitchcock teases us with the problematic etiology of a character's unconventional sexual behavior, news titillates our curiosity and keeps us tuned in and tuned on.²⁹

b. Personification

Involvement with the characters is important for the identification of the viewer with a text. Events in a text are therefore quite often connected to persons. Personification of the events is also common in the news programme. In news, personification is realized at two levels.

The first level is that of the stories. Events are often told in the news to the extent they can be related to persons. In *Dagsrevyen*, a news item about the Labor Party, for example, would be constructed so as to include one of the leading figures of the party. The news about *The People's Movement against Immigration* would include Arne Myrdal, and news about the relations between USA and Russia some top political figures from both countries.

In addition to the familiar structure of the stories, relating matters of political, social or economic importance to persons helps the reader in identifying the heroes and villains of the stories. Often, those who disrupt the equilibrium play the role of villains and those who restore it role of heroes. Such a classification of roles as heroes and villains intensifies the identification with the characters.

The second level at which personification is established is that of the anchor persons. Appearing every day, with her/his own style of speaking and clothing, the newsreaders are the main characters of *Dagsrevyen*. They act for the viewer, alone or together with other newsreaders. They know, for example, when to be newsreader and when to be themselves. They do not relax and lean back before the introduction of the film reportages, but look down at the right corner. They change their tone of speech during the sequential changes. When the newsreaders make

interviews with other narrators, although both have texts that are written beforehand, they act as if they are talking spontaneously.

The newsreaders' images are built as film stars'. Newspapers and magazines write about their style of dress, their character, their affairs, like they write about other stars. A report in the Norwegian paper *Dagbladet* is an example of the press's role in image building. The article claims that the newsreaders in Scandinavia, increasingly, not only mediate information, but also the most recent fashion. The newsreaders of the *Dagsrevyen* are criticized for their ties with dots on them, or for the too red lipstick they put on.³⁰

Yet, the stars of the news are not like the unreachable characters of the movies. TV-personalities are closer to the viewer. First of all it is within the intimate realm of domestic life that TV watching takes place. In addition, the television image is "close", and occupies a relatively restricted space within the field of vision.³¹ Newsreaders open the *Dagsrevyen* saying "Good Evening" and address us directly. Beside a connotation of honesty, direct address expresses a high level of intimacy within the existing cultural conventions.³² Since the viewing context of television is already more intimate than that of film, direct address creates a special relation between the viewer and the newsreader. Besides, the newsreader "enters into" the private life of the viewer more often than a close friend.

In a social situation of interpersonal loneliness, television becomes a meal and bedtime companion, part of the existential fabric of our lives and newscasters become friends and confidantes.³³

Thus, when the newsreader relaxes and acts "as himself" at the end of the programme, everyday after half hours of presentation, the nearness of the newsreaders is underlined. S/he is not a cool reader, but a close and well known personality with whom the viewer can be involved half an hour every day.

c. Rituality

Dagsrevyen is sent every day at a certain time. Watching television news is, therefore, a routine activity. It is possible to integrate watching the programme with other daily practices like sleeping, going to work, coming from work, and eating. Thus, for example, Dagsrevyen is watched after the dinner, maybe in between washing the dishes, or before starting to relax for the rest of the evening. The schedule of the news programme also marks the approaching of the most important hours of prime time. Dagsrevyen is watched before, for example, the wednesday series. The children should be put to bed before Dagsrevyen starts, at 19:30 pm.

The more a programme is a part of our daily rituals, the closer it is to the viewer's private world. It becomes part of their daily rituals. Identification is reinforced by rituality.

d. Frame of the Programme

Another means which makes the programme pleasurable is its constant form. Every day Dagsrevyen presents a new version of the same structure. This structure is based on segments that have no connection between them. These segments are connected through the newsreaders. The presentation of each segment is also standardized. The newsreader opens the first sequence and the following is most probably a film reportage, or an interview. When the film reportage is over, we return to the studio. The construction of the events also has a conventional structure which is repeated as mentioned above. Visual formats are also stable. The medium shot of the newsreader, and the three-quarter face shot of interviewers, are the standards. The familiar structure of the programme is concretized with changing contents every day.

If we take our standpoint in Cawelti, a standardized artistic form meets the two primal needs of the reader: The quest for order and the need for uncertainty, or adventure. The reader experiences excitement through the mysterious, romantic, or

tragic events taking place in the formulaic work; at the same time s/he knows that her/his "sense of security and order is intensified (...), because the excitement and uncertainty are ultimately controlled by the familiar world of the familiar structure."³⁴ In *Dagsrevyen*, catastrophes, and tragic events, covered. It is an unsecured world which is reflected in the content of its items. But the frame of the programme calms down the reader who would otherwise be confused and upset.

Moreover, a formulaic work gives satisfaction because of the ability of the audience to know "what to expect in new individual examples, thereby increasing its capacity for understanding and enjoying the details of a work."³⁵ The news as genre has conventions with regard to the content and the form. The viewer who knows what kind of news will be presented, through which style and which language, will have a background to understand the programme and be involved with it.

e. Language

To create an atmosphere which absorbs the viewer, the fictive subject "we" is often used in television news. "We" travel together with *Dagsrevyen*'s team every evening within Norway, and to other countries in the world. "We" are presented with people on the street or with various experts. The newsreader says :

Da sier vi takk til deg i denne omgang, Hans Sveland (...) (We say thank you, Hans Sveland, for this time ...)

The "we" in this context can be the team of the programme or the audience in general, or both. The referent differs in various contexts.

The intention of using such an encompassing personal pronoun may be to give the impression that *Dagsrevyen* as a team works for us:

Vår intervjuer i Trondheim var (...) (Our interviewer in Trondheim was...)

It is the team which is stressed in this context.

With the use of "we", the purpose might be to "(...) embrace us all".³⁶ When the newsreader says,

Og vi skal straks få værmeldingen, men før det (...) (We are going to get the weather report right away, but before that...),

"we" are the audience.

The use of a fictive "we" might be intended to overcome the inequality of the audience/sender relationship. The implication might be a "false equivalence/ homogeneity between us, dismantling our real differences of position and power."³⁷

Og vi skal hjem igjen. (And we are going to back home).

"We" are invited to think of the relationship to *Dagsrevyen's* team as a friendly one when the reporter implicates us in his discourse. But, it is the journalists not the audience who take the decisions. As Morley says,

When Michael Barratt says "so we thought that tonight we'd go racing", although he may strictly be referring only to the studio group, "we the audience" are implicated because if they go racing, we go racing, unless we switch channels.³⁸

Thus, on the one hand the audience is implicated in the news by the "we". An "imaginary community"³⁹ is constructed where the interests of the audience and those of the team are seemingly the same. On the other hand, "we" is an indication of intimacy. The narrator is not a distant "star", but s/he is one of us. Consequently, identification is produced by certain language forms.

f. Visuals

Identification is reinforced by the visuals. Visuals contribute to making the stories more dramatic. The outcome of the "photo effect"⁴⁰ of the TV image is not only trustworthiness; also, the supposed reality of the scene makes it striking. If fires, sabotages, or earthquakes make impact when they are on the screen, one explanation for this is the assumption that the photographer was there. This assumption results in what Barthes calls the traumatic effect of photographs.⁴¹ Supposing that the scene has really happened, photographs of fires, shipwrecks,

violent deaths, etc. have a traumatic effect.

The effect of nearness is the second mechanism which assumably makes visuals involving for the viewers. The power of the visuals rests in their taking us close to the incident according to Stig Kulset.⁴² TV is a medium in which close shots are very usual. Details are put in front of the viewer. Such a nearness makes the images of TV charged with feelings. Viewers observe the emotional situation of politicians as they appear on TV for the election speeches. Relatives of a person involved in an accident are shot as they look sad or shocked. Refugees from East Germany make more effect when their images appear on TV. Dramatic effect is due to visuals showing the details - of an event, of a facial expression, or a body. The revelation of feelings through visuals might be considered as an important tool through which identification with programme is made possible.

The frequent use of close ups in TV also has an effect of intimacy, especially as the faces are shown approximate to their normal size on the screen.⁴³

Finally, in news filmographic elements like cut and camera angle are often made use of to achieve dramatization. Quick cuts, low camera angle, or focal distance are examples.⁴⁴

3.5 Conclusion

News has a narrative form like most other texts and it rearranges its material accordingly. In its rearrangement of the factual developments, the discourse of the news suggests factuality, objectivity, credibility and hence authority. Appearing every day at a certain time, with familiar personalities, television news also creates a space for identification. The structure of the items, the personification of the events, the frame of the programme, the language, and the visuals are elements instrumental for the identification.

Among the topics discussed the questions of identity and authority will be given special attention in the analysis of the interview texts. Many of the premises for the conclusions reached so far will be altered in a context of interethnic and intercultural communication.

4

Interview Analysis 1: The Use of Dagsrevyen by the Turkish Immigrants

4.1 A Note on Presentation

In the following five chapter the results of the interviews will be presented. The theoretical considerations of the study are given priority in deciding the order of presentation. Therefore, the succession of topics in the interview-guide is not followed strictly in the introduction of the results.

In the present chapter, specific aspects of the reception of television news by the Turkish immigrants, like its use, its function and its comprehension, will be discussed briefly. The discussion will attempt to highlight the cultural aspects of the reception of television news by immigrants.

First of all, a resumé of the observations on the locations will be presented. Secondly, the informants' frequency of watching Dagsrevyen, and their accompanying activities will be reported, as well as the differences between the watching styles of men and women. Thereafter, the use of news on the other channels will be reviewed to evaluate the relevance and sufficiency of Dagsrevyen for the immigrants. The purpose is to explore to what degree the Norwegian television news is a relevant news source for the

immigrants. Fourthly, the various reasons stated for watching television news will be explored. Although "keeping up" is the most manifest reason for watching news, other significant purposes can be distinguished.

4.2 The Viewing Context

TV viewing is an extension of the rituals, norms, values, and sense of time and space existing within a culture. The way television is integrated into the living space is an example to that.

In a village in northern India, the TV set is placed in the womens quarters, writes Neena Behl. This represents a desire to place it in the center of household activity. Further he describes the placement of viewers in relation to the TV set which is placed on a table in the most spacious room:

All family members gather around in a semicircle to watch TV. The first row is composed of males, the second of women. Outside the gate in the corridor more than 50 children are waiting patiently to get a glimpse of the TV.¹

This one example indicates how diverse the praxis of watching television is among the cultures. In a Western context, there will not be rows of people watching, but individuals spread in separate places in the room.

In the present study, interviews are made to a great extent at the living place of the immigrants. Since the same news programme was shown to all informants, it was not possible to observe the natural setting of the immigrants while they were watching television news. Still, it is worth describing some of my own observations from other contexts and on the atmosphere of the interview places.

Television is not something that must be turned off when the immigrants have visitors. The TV set, in its use in Turkey - especially among the working and middle class -, usually stays

on unless the visitors are very formal guests. People continue their talk in the presence of the TV and from time to time somebody comments on the programmes or items that interest him/her. TV, in such a use, can be conceived as background talk that people sometimes switch their attention to. In this context, having TV on does not signalize being "unkind", while it could in some milieus in a Norwegian context. A number of other studies suggest that using TV as background noise is common in some other cultures, too. For example Leoncio Barrios refers, in his study of TV viewing of Venezuelan families, that use of TV as background noise is quite common among the families observed.² Lull in his study of the social uses of TV distinguishes that aspect with TV as another important and common use.³

Once I happened to visit an immigrant family, a couple from the countryside in Anatolia. The family had cable TV. Two more couples, one Turkish and one Turkish-Norwegian, and a single man were also among the guests. The TV was on all the time and discussions about which programme to choose were going on as the interests differed widely. One was interested in the fiction films, the other in the nature programmes, another one wished to follow the sports programmes, the Norwegian woman and me the news programme on NRK. The solution was to choose small bits of each! Watching TV lasted during the whole visit. TV was like a common denominator for people with different backgrounds, two students, two workers, one business man, two housewives, a Norwegian teacher and her son. Watching TV united us.

Television's function of creating topic for people to speak about is stressed by Lull. He found in his study of American families

(...) that the medium is used as a convenient resource for entertaining outside guests in the home. To turn on the set when guests arrive is to introduce instant common ground. Strangers in the home may then indulge in "television talk (...)"⁴

During the interviews, other family members present continued watching their favorite programmes. On one occasion, a male worker sat beside us and watched his favorite sports programme

as I interviewed his wife. On another occasion, a man who is married to a Norwegian woman had the Turkish satellite channel on all the time. He was videotaping the childrens' programme to show it later on to his daughter. A family had the video on when I arrived to make the interview. They had received the video record of Turkish TV programmes broadcasted on new years eve - famous Turkish singers appear on TV that day. Afterwards they switched to a German channel. The series on this channel appealed to her, the woman said, although she did not understand much of the language. Another informant, a student, had the TV on during the interview. The steady flow of images did not disturb him as we continued talking.

A Norwegian-Turkish couple were optimizing their use of TV. The set was on when I arrived at 18:00 pm. The Norwegian wife watched her favorite programme on a cable channel with the head-phones on not to disturb us. The man, on the other hand recorded an episode of the series "Casanova", to watch it later. All this was happening simultaneously!

Since my visit was conceived as a rare occasion by the immigrants I visited, tea and cakes, or even meals were accompanying the interviews. The women often came into the living room saying, "Now you have talked enough, let us take a break", or "Take some tea, you are tired."

When watching the video recorded news programme, I had the tape recorder off. Soon, however, I had realized that interesting comments were made during the act of watching. Informants were enthusiastic to talk about the items and they did not, of course, like repeating the same points to be tape-recorded. Therefore, I noted down the important comments. They commented on the items when they had spontaneous opinions about them. They commented, for example, on the item about Nicaragua, criticizing America, or expressing that this was an important development. One student commented on the news about tunnel construction - where a considerable amount of money was lost - saying that "they had,

for sure, discussed 10 years before the construction whether they should build this or not." They commented also when the images triggered their experiences from Norway or their prior knowledge. On the item about the wine monopoly, they were commenting ironically that "Norwegians are not drinking much indeed" or that they had "heard this a lot." As the equipment for the illegal spirits production was confiscated and crushed so as to make them unusable, one informant was commenting:

Look how solid equipments they have made. (...) yes, now it is done!

For some of the immigrants who had watched the programme before, it was boring to watch it once more. I had to make a lot of efforts to prevent them stop watching and starting to talk with me or with someone else present at the place. They judged the programme as a very extended one and one of them, even, said: "Have you recorded 2-3 news programmes?" I assume this might be a hint to their usual patterns of watching news, in that they do not watch it all through, but concentrate on the items they find interesting. Indeed, as we shall see in the following, the immigrants quite often do not watch the whole programme, but choose certain items among others.

4.3 Watching Dagsrevyen

In the first part of the interviews nine out of sixteen immigrants told that they watch the news programme every day to the extent it is possible. Being out, getting a visit, doing something more important at that time, are given as reasons for not having watched the news programme the day before. Four informants told that they watch Dagsrevyen 2-3 times a week. One of them follows the news also on CNN and BBC. Another is a woman and her source of news is her husband the days she does not watch. A man in this group has a changing frequency of watching news. During periods of work, he can follow the news only in the weekend, but when he is free, he watches it 4-5 times a week. The fourth informant in this group, a student, who does not have a

television set and has been here only for two years, watches the programme once or twice a week at most. He visits his friends or goes down to the TV room in the student village where he lives, to watch TV. A worker, working the night shifts, did not have a regular frequency of watching the news. Since he goes out the days he is free, sometimes he can not watch the programme at all. His expressions about the programme, however, indicate that he must have been watching it at some period. Still, I am singling out him and the student as the non-viewers of *Dagsrevyen*.

The most common activity accompanying the act of watching *Dagsrevyen*, as it appears in the interviews, is talking. It is not seldom, the informants report, that in between the important items, during the unimportant ones or even during an interesting item, comments come from the spouse or from friends. Two informants stated explicitly that they like watching with others. "One does not sit alone with the comments then, but utters them", they told me. Opinions with regard to the simultaneous activity of talking differ between men and women. Although women are content with it, some of the men express the need for concentration. Two men were claiming that their wives ask questions precisely when the most important items appear. One of them said:

Sometimes I quarrel with my wife because of this. Exactly when they say "The situation is tense in Lithuania, soon there may be a fight", she asks "What does that word mean?" (Informant E)

David Morley mentions a similar phenomenon, women "interrupting" the viewing activity of men, among British couples. "Men", he notes,

(...) state a clear preference for viewing attentively, in silence, without interruption "in order not to miss anything."⁵

Morley points to the different styles of watching TV between men and women. For women to watch TV without doing anything else, which is typical with men, is a rare case, he maintains. He refers to Brunsdon, who explains these differences with reference to the domestic position of women at home. Unless all other

members of the household are "out of the way"⁶, she argues, women cannot watch TV attentively.

Differences within the male group, with regard to the need for concentration, should be emphasized. One informant prefers not doing other things beside watching news, because of the condensed form of the information.

In five minutes the man tells about Gorbachov, Moscow, everything. He presents very important news. The day after you may get pages of information about it in the papers that you may read. You don't have that possibility on TV. (Informant A)

Two young men, one bachelor and one married, mentioned also that they do other things during the less important items, like washing the dishes, reading letters, or making phone calls. However, in some cases it is the tone of a man that we hear in the dislike of interruption. As a man said:

If there is no big news you talk. But during the important news everybody has to be silent. (Informant F)

The female informants reported also various other activities except talking. Informant H, for example, knits as she watches the news and informant B reads novels or washed dishes or studies beside watching. Informant J, too, although she claims to be watching *Dagsrevyen* attentively, as far as I have observed, interrupts her act of watching for the domestic work.

Selectivity, either through using the summaries at the beginning of the news to pick out the interesting news and skip the others, or simply doing diverse things instead of watching during the "uninteresting" items, seems to be characteristic of the news viewers. This feature became apparent in several contexts. First, as mentioned above, the immigrants select the "unimportant" items to talk or do other things. Secondly, selectivity was observable when we discussed the relevance of items for the immigrants. The immigrants are not fond of every topic appearing in the news. Almost every informant was referring to some items as uninteresting or irrelevant for her/him. Informant C, for example, experiences the late coming items as the uninteresting

ones:

You sit and wait for the important news. Then you watch the item. I don't know if they do so, but it seems like they put the news in order of importance. First the important news come, then they sort of get tiresome towards the end.

Thirdly, during the interviews, it was observable that the informants were not pleased to be obliged to watch all of the items in single news programme. They switched their attention to other things when the item was not engaging for them.

4.4 News on Other Channels

More than half of the immigrants I have interviewed are watching news on other channels additional to NRK's. News on TV 3 is the most popular ones. More detailed information on each item, more foreign affair news and their being more impartial are some of the reasons listed for evaluating the news on this channel as better than Dagsrevyen. Informant K answers the question "What are the differences between the news of NRK and TV 3" in the following way:

-TV 3 is more inclined to present foreign affairs news. NRK does not cover that much foreign affairs news, I believe.
 -Do they present few foreign affairs news?
 -Yes, very few. If NRK uses 3 minutes on important news, be it politics or an earthquake, TV 3 uses 10 minutes.
 (Informant K)

A well educated woman describes the channel as being more impartial. When I asked her to elaborate the point, she says:

-(...) they are more clear, the reportages are longer and better.
 -What do you suggest in saying that they are more clear?
 -The items are longer and they are more impartial. NRK makes some interpretations, while TV 3 reveals more.
 (Informant J)

She gives as an example the news from Israel about fighting in the streets. While NRK covered it with short information, and being on the side of Israel, TV 3's coverage was longer, she maintains. Longer coverage, then, is the basis on which she bases her inference about the impartiality of TV 3.

Informant E singles out the news on TV 1 as the best among TV 3, TV 2 and NRK.

Dagsrevyen is okay, too. But it is full of domestic affairs. How many fish the fishermen in North Norway caught, etc. The best one is the news on TV 1. Its reportages and international news are of good quality.

News on Sky Channel is watched by two students. Their opinions about the channel are not in accordance with each other. The woman student criticizes the channel's news:

- The news looks like adds (...).
- In its presentation or content?
- Both. For example, they read the headlines that are going to appear in tomorrow's newspapers (...) or choose the "shocking" news. (Informant B)

The other, male, student seems content with Sky News. He says:

- It's more interesting. They have more international news and film reportage. The ones on NRK can be boring.
- What makes the news on other channels more interesting?
- For example during the item they don't show the newsreader that often.
- More film reportages?
- Yes, and the content of the items. Hear, for example, these news about the airports appear again and again. (Informant G)

BBC and CNN are two other channels on which the immigrants watch the news. Immediate and more frequent film reportages are stated, by a well educated immigrant, as the reason for favoring the news on BBC. He gives an example:

When the Turkish army entered two times into the territory of Iraq, NRK did not cover it even for 30 seconds. But, BBC immediately gave a film reportage. (Informant L)

As we see, the immigrants, although they watch *Dagsrevyen*, if they have access to other channels, do watch news on these channels in addition. Norwegian television news is one among several news sources for them. This means they do not have the same type of loyalty to *Dagsrevyen* and to NRK as Norwegians, which in turn is determining for their reception of the programme. In 1990 53 % of Norwegian population was watching *Dagsrevyen*⁷, and the percentage of those who were watching NRK only was 77 %.⁸ While Norwegians identify with that which is Norwegian, immigrants in general lack that kind of

identification.

If we summarize the reasons given for watching news on other channels, it is possible to gather them under four main headings. They are, more international news, longer coverage of single items, more interesting news, and the entertaining forms of presentation. However, as it is not very often that TV 3 gives longer coverages than NRK, one should be careful in taking the reasons at their face value. It is possible that some of the immigrants who find watching news on commercial channels more entertaining present instead longer coverage and more frequent international news as the primary reasons for watching them.

4.5 Reasons for News Viewing

"To find out what is happening around"; "To learn what is happening in the world"; "To worry about things happening in the world"; "To hear and learn what is happening in the society we are living in", these are the most common statements justifying watching television news. This is not a surprising result, though. As Klaus Bruhn Jensen affirms in his study, " (...) the universal and conscious motivation behind newsviewing is (...) 'keeping up'.⁹

Other reasons for watching the programme are also presented: the habit of watching the news; filling in time or being entertained; rituality; following the developments in the local environment in order to be able to give responses.

Informant O, a news addict according to his wife, considers watching news, beside its informative function, as a habit:

It is a kind of habit, and filling in the spare time, a leisure time activity.

Informant C points out, on the other hand, that the scheduling of the news makes it possible for one coming from work to relax and be oriented about what is happening "outside, in the world". He says:

I come from job; often I'm tired. Then, I sit and get the news, at the same time it's a kind of entertainment.
(Informant C)

The entertainment aspect, in the sense of relaxing after work and getting soft news towards the end of the news programme, is an important dimension of watching television news, for informant C.

Rituality is an important background for attending to Dagsrevyen. Informant L, trying to explain why he feels something is missing when he does not watch television news, says:

- (...) watching news is like a part of a normal life.
- Then, you feel like not practicing some routines of your normal life when you don't watch?
- Yes. It's like eating food, you are used to it. Therefore, one feels its absence.

It also turned up in the interviews that watching Dagsrevyen signals responsibility. In the section about changes in viewing habits, informant E stated explicitly that after getting a family he felt the need to watch the news more closely.

I was seventeen then, drinking a lot. We did not watch news that much when we were young. (...) now I have a family. Things happening in the world get importance when I think about the future of my child.

Watching news, as a serious act, is part of the performance of the role of father for informant E. Informant K, considering his reasons for watching the television news, says:

I could do without watching if I was living alone, without a child, a wife, if I was not married.

Keeping up is not a goal in itself, then, for informant K. He watches the television news to be able to fulfill his responsibility as a father.

Informant D maintains that his insufficient mastery of Norwegian, as well as the lack of time, prevented him from watching the news in the first years of stay:

I was a bachelor (he laughs) during the first years.
(I:H-hm). I did not have much time to be at home. There are differences between a family life and that of a bachelor.

Thus watching the television news is, first of all, a part of social life, it is a daily ritual. It is performed in between other daily activities. Secondly, it is an extension of gender roles. Watching television news signifies seriousness. It creates a space within which husbands/men can play their male roles. Women and children, on the other hand, should care for father watching his news. Lull stresses this second aspect in his study of families watching television in various cultural contexts:

I would like to suggest here that the involvements audience members have with television are indeed extensions of themselves. (...) Audience members are family members, too, and their identities, interests, roles are articulated, acted upon, and played out in routine activity at home.¹⁰

Thirdly, watching news is a means to create contact between the home and the world. News creates a public sphere, and makes it possible to participate in that sphere with many others. Watching news simultaneously with the other members of the society gives a feeling of belonging to a community, and to an encompassing world. Morley and Robins points to this aspect in their article accounting for the contribution of media to national identity:

A similar point, and indeed a stronger one, given the necessary simultaneity of broadcast television viewing, could be made in relation to the watching of evening news broadcast for many viewers - where the fact of watching, and engaging in a joint ritual with million of others, can be argued to be at least as important as any informational content gained from the broadcast.¹¹

One may assume that for the immigrants who most of the time lack the means to participate in the public life in Norway, to watch Dagsrevyen at exactly the same time with many others gives them a sense of belonging to the community in concern, of not being totally excluded from it. This sense of belonging may be an important part of the meaning of the expression "keeping up".

4.6 Information

Being informed is stated by most of the informants as the main motivation for watching the television news. However, the question "what kind of information do you obtain from the news"

was a problematical one for some of the informants. Hesitation, reluctance to answer, opposition to answer were common. One of the informants, a student, answered the question like this:

-What do you mean by "what kind of information"?

-I mean, what kind of information, knowledge do you derive from it?

-(He thinks a while). Every kind. I did not understand the question. They give news about economy, society. (I:Yes), about business life, criminality, there is news about everything that we experience. (Informant C)

The need to reformulate question arose with most of the informants. Since most people define the reason for watching news as "keeping up", the fact that they get information was obvious to me. Apparently, the immigrants do not sit in front of the screen to gain, consciously, information about specific topics. They register, however, some concrete events, as they often come up with concrete examples. One of them, informant J, says:

There is news about things that have happened during the day (...) for example, that unemployment increased that much, I mean, current things, the party rallies (...) or the situation of the youth today. Like the news that somebody was murdered at the discotheque Kristian recently.

Another informant refers also to concrete examples:

The domestic affairs news are almost the same over the years, Hurum, TV 2, etc. For foreign affairs news they choose a few countries and concentrate on them. Like Poland. They report from Poland if somebody injures his nose. (Informant G)

When we were discussing the concrete news programme, informants referred to the items through the name of the country or the persons involved: "The news about Nicaragua", "the one about Ortega", "the meeting of Havel with Gorbachov", etc. Informant B, for example, cites the persons involved to make her points of view explicit:

-The fact that Chamorro was elected instead of Ortega makes the item a bit interesting. But I found lots of items boring.

-For example?

-For example that one about LO. Or that one about the visit of Havel to Russia. Later on he was together with the German president. I did not understand why they jumped to that. I was not much interested indeed.

Although she was not much concentrated on the items, she

remembers the person and place names. The examples above indicate, in the same way, that the information they gather is specific to concrete cases, an event, particular places, and persons. Information is, then, conceived as practical, limited, concrete knowledge in relation to news. It is not reflective, explanatory knowledge.

Brigitta Høijer and Olle Findahl refer to a similar pattern of reception in their quantitative studies on the comprehension of news. They found that,

(...) there is a tendency for information about places and principals to come automatically into the foreground in listeners/viewers' memory of the event. The information about causes and consequences recedes into the background.¹²

They explain this phenomenon by three factors. First, in news stress on information about places creates in the long run a memory schemata in which these categories dominate; second, in real life one pays "more attention to the places and principals involved in the events than to their causes or consequences"; and third, in the process of decoding, "information about causes and consequences are harder to decode because it is necessary to establish relations to other information in the text in order to identify these aspects."¹³

It seems that the immigrants, mostly, do not gather information from news consciously to put them to immediate use - except by using the items as discussion topics. Rather the information is seen as something that is stocked and can be used later on if necessary. This process is described by informant K in the following way:

Think of a criminal case or a robbery or an accident. All of them are a kind of information. You don't presume that this information will be of use at that specific moment. You get the information, it may be useful for you or for somebody else at some or other time.

Some of the immigrants, though, use television news to obtain specific information. Informant F says:

- What counts for me are the events happening in Norway, decisions taken by the Norwegian government.
- What kind of decisions?
- For example political decisions about the immigrants.

The interests of the immigrants, incidents related to them and events happening in Turkey are among the most consciously defined areas about which immigrants seek to obtain information. Informant O describes his expectations with the following words:

What we wait for is what is happening in the world. Will we hear any news from Turkey? It is like an expectation. If there is any news from Turkey and you miss it, you get sad or, even though you don't get sad, you say "I missed something important."

For this informant "keeping up with what is happening in the world" is in one sense waiting for information related to his home country. As we will see later in this chapter one of the most relevant news for some Turkish immigrants are the foreign affairs news. I believe this interest can partly be explained by their wish to get information about their home country.

4.7 Credibility

The information derived from television news is not a source upon which immigrants, solely, rely. As Klaus Bruhn Jensen points out:

(...) many of the respondents refer to television news as a preliminary survey or in some cases as one out of several complementary sources.¹⁴

This is confirmed in my study, too. The insufficient amount of information, due to limitations of time, is one reason stated by immigrants to justify the need for supporting information coming from television news. They depend on more than one source.

Informant K portrays this complementarity:

I'm dependent on a few sources. The information that you will get only from television news, is deficient information; not because it is biased, but because it is insufficient (...) for example a ship accident had an impact on lots of people. The information that you get may make you angry; you may hate the owner of the ship, or the captain. But if you complement your information with sources including more information, like papers or radio, you may arrive at a more positive interpretation.

The lack of background knowledge is expressed as another reason for not being able to get enough information from *Dagsrevyen*. Again related to the Turkish army's occupation of Iraq, informant L says:

They'd better not tell it at all. Even I did not understand what was happening. They did not say anything about the reason, the background, possible developments. This is superficial journalism.

About the events in Arendal, the confrontation between the members of the *Folkebevegelsen Mot Innvandring* (The People's Movement Against Immigration) and its opponents, informant M says:

-It was a very limited coverage. They could have given more information.

-What could they cover?

-They covered it very shortly. They could have spent more time on it.

Discussing to what extent they rely upon the information coming from news in building opinions about Norway and Norwegians, all the respondents maintained that they take into consideration their own experiences. Knowledge which they gather through other channels, from other programmes, and from friends, must be used to be able to build such opinions, they said. Access of limited groups to Dagsrevyen, is an additional reason for not considering the programme as giving a complete image of the society and its citizens. Informant K describes the bias as concentration on the material development in society. He maintains:

If there were interviews with the man on the street you would learn his opinions, the ideas in his mind. From his ideas you get an impression of his morality. This aspect is quite weak in NRK.

Lastly, the lack of information about general social problems of the country, was given as reason by some of the informants for not relying totally upon *Dagsrevyen* in building opinions about Norway. They took up the problems like the indebtedness of most people and their dependence on the banks, the very high divorce rates, or the discrimination of the Lapps in the North.

Thus there are several reasons for the Turkish immigrants' not

trusting Dagsrevyen blindly. The most important ones are the briefness of informations because of limitations of time, the lacking background knowledge, the access of limited groups to Dagsrevyen, and the information related only to a certain number of topics. As we will see later on, in chapter five, the fact that the immigrants, sometimes, do not share the common sense of Dagsrevyen is also significant for the explanation of their lack of trust in it.

It appears that visuals in the television news are one of the elements which contributes to credibility. Seven informant pointed to its visual aspect as the reason for choosing television news as the most important news source. We have also seen above that more frequent film coverage was given as reason for choosing other channels. The images make the news more reliable, more lively, they make it an experience which appeals to more senses, the immigrants maintained. The significance of visuals will be discussed more in detail in chapter six. It should be noted, though, that visuals do not in every context function as proof of reality for the immigrants. In several contexts they do doubt the trustworthiness of the visuals mediated (cf. section 6.3).

4.8 Comprehension of the News

Questions related to comprehension have been subject to a number of studies (Høijer/Findahl. 1984; Kintsch/van Dijk. 1978). In the following I will concentrate on the problems related to language, and lack of acquaintanceship with the Norwegian society. These two aspects turned up as the distinguishing features of the problems of comprehension of television news by Turkish immigrants.

Although men speak better Norwegian than women in general, the very different syntax of the Turkish language is a hinderance for most immigrants to learn fairly good Norwegian. This, in turn, makes the comprehension of the television news problematical. To

illustrate the dissimilarity of Turkish syntax, let us take the following sentence:

The hotel where we are going to stay is at the end of this street.

The syntax of the sentence stays almost the same in all the Indo-European languages. But in Turkish it becomes:

Stay-going to-we hotel, this streets end its at is.

Time, and the subject "we", are expressed by suffixes in the above sentence. This is another peculiarity of the Turkish language. A large number of suffixes are used to express different contents of meaning. For example:

ev - house

ev-e - to the house

ev-den - from the house

ev-in - of the house

ev-ler - houses

ev-ler-de - in the house

ev-ler-de-ki - which are in the houses (flowers in the houses)

This characteristic makes it even more difficult to learn languages where, instead of endings, propositions are more common.

Informant N, who has been in Norway for two years, depicts how the language problem make it troublesome to follow the news:

-The problem of language sets a distance between you and the programme.

-How?

-He says something, you understand a bit at the beginning of it. Then you loose contact. The images start, it's a kind of chaos. You don't understand what is really happening.

Ragnar Næss indicates also that,

Turks have more language problems than the other groups partly because they have learned less Norwegian, but also because they do not, as the Indians, Pakistanis and Moroccans, have second languages (English and French).¹⁵

Few informants stated explicitly that they have problems with understanding the news. Two women, with little education, and the

student who has been here for only two years, were the ones who had the most obvious problems with understanding. They misunderstood or did not understand at all parts of the items in the concrete news programme. A man, informant O, on the other hand, told that it is problematical to follow the news when there are visuals with subtitles. It is difficult to follow both at the same time, he asserts.

The other informants were reluctant to answer questions related to comprehension. Two students, however, informant B and C, said that they lose their concentration from time to time, and therefore they do not understand some of the items. Informant B says this can be because of an uncommon dialect while informant C remarks that it may happen toward the end of the programme, as one's attention gets weaker by then.

The difficulties involved in comprehension became apparent when we were discussing the concrete news programme. Related to the item about the suspension of money support given to Gypsies, informant G did not understand that the item was about the abolition of the help. He got the points about the "duties" that the Gypsies do not carry out, but he missed the point that this special financing would be cut off. The use of technical words, like "særomsorg" (money support in a special circumstance), long sentences and complex sentence structure make the comprehension of the item difficult for immigrants.

Little contact with Norwegians renders learning Norwegian even more difficult. The worker families have little contact with Norwegian families. They often visit other Turkish families in their leisure time. Among the immigrants I have interviewed, the students and the women had the least contact with Norwegians. Men had a certain contact with their work colleagues, but their private contact outside work was limited. The difficulty related to getting in contact with Norwegians is stated with an analogy by informant N:

Three bodies stand at a distance. You think it will be easy to communicate with these objects. You say, I can communicate with them through waving my hand or coming closer and talking to them. You go and talk to them. They don't hear you. You don't understand and continue coming closer. Then you hit something. Dunk! You don't understand at first what you have hit. Then, you realize that these persons were inside a transparent crystal.

As *Dagsrevyen* takes for granted the existence of a certain background knowledge, for the immigrants who do not possess that basic knowledge comprehension becomes problematical from time to time. Informant L stresses importance of knowing the background:

For example, the events in Arendal against the refugees. Why did such a thing happen in Arendal? (...) They have a high unemployment rate there. It is not an industrial area, people earn money from tourism during the summer. When refugees come and get help, some Norwegians drink and cause problems.

Informant G describes why sometimes he has problems in understanding:

They say that the director of *Elkem* has escaped to some place. You don't know what *Elkem* produces, or the story behind. Understanding the news becomes difficult then.

The item about the Norwegian labor organization introduces a number of characters that appear often on *Dagsrevyen*, for example its leader (cf. Appendix 1). The same item contains a film reportage showing the workers in the firm *Kværner*. Lack of familiarity with both the leader and the firm, apparently, makes comprehension difficult. Informant B, for example, had difficulties with concentrating and therefore understanding the item. When I asked whether she knew the person who was interviewed in the reportage, she admitted that she did not.

Comprehension needs concentration. Concentration, on the other hand, needs interest in the item. Hence, relevance of the items for the immigrants is a condition of comprehension. The interaction of the cultural background of the immigrants and the new reality that the immigrants find themselves in works to determine the sense of relevance. Let us, then, find out to what extent that interaction is decisive for the relevance of items appearing in Norwegian television news.

4.9 Relevance

The viewing context, the viewing styles of women and men respectively, and the comprehension of the news are cultural extensions of the sense of space, the existing roles, and the language abilities of the immigrants as we have seen above. Let us now find out to what degree the relevance of the items in the news are extensions of the cultural orientations of the Turkish immigrants. "For example", says one of informants,

there are the news about fishermen in the North of Norway. They often come in the first place. On the other hand important things are happening. Like the meeting of Gorbachov with the vice prime minister of Lithuania. (...) They concentrate on national news to such a degree that in the end one ceases to care for the programme.

This utterance comes from an immigrant who has stayed in Norway only for two years. He is quite interested in news in general, and he says he tried to watch the Norwegian news, too. But his poor knowledge of Norwegian language and his indifference to news covering Norway resulted in his choosing not to watch Norwegian television news. The same informant, when he was presented with a video recorded news programme, responded in the following way to an item about the injury of 8 persons as a drag lift had fallen down somewhere in Norway:

It was normal news. They bring those news which interest them (...) An accident has happened. This is a country where it does not happen often. When 8 persons are injured it becomes news here. (Informant N)

For this specific informant, who considered his stay in Norway as temporary, Norwegian news were largely irrelevant. At the same time he was making comparisons with the situation in Turkey, and with the coverage of accidents on Turkish television news. With a standpoint in his experiences from Turkey he is used to hearing news about traffic accidents every day and expects that the news about such matters will be covered on TV with a relatively short piece of information containing the name of the persons involved, and the place where the accident happened. On Norwegian television news, a traffic accident in which 30 persons died

would be covered widely. The relatives of the persons involved, and local authorities who might be responsible for the accident, will be interviewed, and most probably, the item will be covered on more than one day. Therefore the Norwegian way of the telling the story is interpreted as excessive by him. Let us see how another informant, who has been here for 11 years, values the relevance of Norwegian news.

-One would feel herself like half a person, I think, if one does not watch the news.

-What do you mean?

-I mean for example, I usually take the bus to work. When I get on, if somebody says "Have you heard there was a fire on a ship?", and If I have not heard it, I have to ask people, "How was it, why did it happen?" I prefer watching myself. (Informant J)

This woman has been working here for 11 years. For her, watching the news is a symbol of the fact that she is living here, and that she is a part of the society she is living in. Knowing that her work colleagues and the people she meets in daily life will be informed, she feels the need to watch the news and this need makes news about Norway relevant to her. "Since you live here", she says, "you have to inform yourself about things happening here". So, the choices immigrants make in their adaptation to Norwegian society are significant for their involvement with the news on Norwegian TV.

Admittedly, informant J too has problems with some items that appear on Dagsrevyen:

-I don't know whether it is because Norway is a country where certain problems are solved but some sorts of news are (...) you know they say "agurktiden" (dull season) here, not really news but just to fill in the time.

-What kind of news do you have in your mind?

-For example an item which informs that a cat was stuck in the top of a tree, that you can call the organization which protects the animals and trivial things like that. You never get that kind of news in Turkey, you know.

This woman, independently of her strategies of integration, uses her Turkish background in evaluating the importance of news. As it is unusual in Turkey that the interests of pet owners are covered in the news, she finds such material uninteresting even in a Norwegian context.

Certain items are more relevant for immigrants. These are the news about immigrants, news from Turkey and from the countries close to Turkey, and foreign affairs news in general. A woman immigrant watches the news intentionally to get news about the immigrants:

-What kind of news interests you most?

-Mostly, news about the foreigners. This is probably because we too are foreigners. (Informant P)

The informants maintain that watching the news on minorities, they are able to learn through the errors the other minorities have made, to gain insights from the injustices done to others, or to follow "unfair" treatments by Norwegians to be able to respond on behalf of them. Referring to the item *The Economic Support To Gypsies* one of the informants responded in the following way:

It will be the same with us in the future. I mean, when the number of foreigners increases they will start saying: "Let us take back the rights they have, etc. (Informant D)

Another informant who is married to a Norwegian woman formulates why he is interested in the decisions taken by the government about foreigners and events related to the foreigners in the following way:

For example, if they say "A foreigner is killed." This is important for me. What is the event? Why is he killed? Because I'm a foreigner too. No matter to what extent one becomes like a Norwegian, I'm a foreigner here. What decisions are taken about the foreigners? I have to watch those news. (Informant F)

This informant has for example responded actively to Garberg's program on the radio, which is reported to the police for being racist, through calling him during the programme after having read in the papers that he was speaking negatively about the Muslims.

A female student refers to a recent news item about Pakistanis cheating Norwegian banks. She does not remember the news in detail, but knows that it is about some amount of credit taken from the bank:

This news will have negative effects on some people. If it does not, Pakistanis may think that it will (...) I think, as far as I have heard, when you are a foreigner to ask for credit from the banks, if the amount is a bit high, it brings forth some negative attitude in general. I have spoken to some people who have experienced just that. (Informant B)

Another informant who has been in Norway for many years and will continue to do so says:

Whether you live here or not, if an event happens in Turkey or somewhere near Turkey, it interests you more. For example, events happening in Armenia, Iraq, Iran, Azerbaijan and Bulgaria influence you more, of course. Because you regard yourself as somebody coming from there. Their culture, too, is closer to ours.

As nearness is an important news criteria, it is obvious that cultural nearness is decisive for the immigrants' decision about the relevance of the items in *Dagsrevyen*.

The fact that news from Turkey are relatively rare in Norwegian television news influences immigrants' interest in other items, too. Informant A explains this phenomenon:

The Norwegian news programme is not something close to you. I mean, you don't see yourself that much there. Of course there are overlapping interests, like the environmental problems, the youth movements, the economical developments. In such contexts news are interesting for me, but it is not enough. If they could bring news from Turkey it would be more convincing, more influencing.

Later on this informant voices the opinion that Norwegian news is shaped by the underlying understandings and the politics of the society, which makes him skeptical to the ideological standpoint of the programme. The lack of news from Turkey is, according to him, a direct result of the Norwegian standpoint of the programme.

Hence, not being able to "see themselves" in the news forwards the perceived irrelevance of the items for the immigrants. The items are, in this sense, distant both in their geographical and cultural aspects and in their being remote from a Turkish perspective.

All the student immigrants I have interviewed, two male workers

and informant K, stated explicitly that the foreign affairs news are most interesting for them. Informant E says,

We experience daily life ourselves. For example that somebody kills a policeman. Every day somebody is killed in the world. I am interested in the international news.

Informant C explains this by the fact that "we" are used to being internationally oriented in Turkey.

The expectation of getting news from Turkey can be considered as one of the reasons for the interest in international news. A considerable number of immigrants have expressed their disappointment over the poor news coverage of Turkey. Those who have access to Swedish channels watch the programme called *Mozaik*, a magazine programme for the immigrants in Sweden which also includes news from Turkey. However, few have access to the channel although the interest in news from Turkey is quite strong.

In sum, most of the Turkish immigrants I have interviewed watch the Norwegian television news. This may partly be explained by their dependency on the Norwegian media, since they lack media in their own language. It emerged, too, that to the extent they have access to other channels, they watch the news on these channels - if they understand the language in which the programmes are broadcasted. The cultural distance makes certain items irrelevant for the immigrants. In addition, lack of news about Turkey results in identification with the programme becoming difficult. However, their interest in the items are affected by a number of personal factors. Such factors will be taken into consideration in chapter eight.

In the next chapter, the importance for news reception of a different cultural background and of belonging to an ethnic group will be explored. There, interview texts will be approached in the attempt to understand the outcomes of ethnic identity on the meanings produced from *Dasgrevyen*.

5

Interview Analysis 2: The Meanings Produced from Dagsrevyen

5.1 Identity in Question

5.1.1 Ethnic Identity

In the previous chapter we have seen that the comprehension of the Norwegian news, and the perceived relevance of its items are culture-based extensions of the resources and interests of the informants. In this chapter the interview texts will be analyzed further with the aim of understanding better, first of all, the results of the interaction between two sets of cultural codes, and secondly, to account for how the ethnic identity of the immigrants patterns their readings.

In chapter one we have noted that within the communication model of the reception studies the text and its readings are not necessarily identical. The decodings and the functions of the text are not independent of the cultural or sub-cultural codes of the reader. The text sets the limits within which the different discursive competencies, values, cultural and subcultural identities of the readers produce a series of different readings and shape the uses into which the text will be put. In other words, the appropriations of the texts are culturally specific.

As we will see in the following, the Turkish immigrants are keen to discuss topics related to the question of religion. The different religious system they belong is a possible explanation of this preoccupation.

In the case of minorities, however, readings do not only reflect the interaction of cultural codes. They are at the same time the outcome of a process of identity management. The ethnic identity of the immigrants determines to a great extent which aspects of the two cultures will be chosen to represent their relationship to the majority. As the immigrants activate their Third World identity, religious identity or national identity, the handling of their status as an ethnic minority group is the driving impetus behind.

5.1.2 The Dynamics of The Process of Identity Management

Through socialization we learn to conceive the reality around us in a certain manner. We get our first stock of knowledge in the primary socialization where we "take on the significant other's roles and attitudes, that is, internalizes them and make them (our) own."¹ At a later stage we internalize "institutional or institution based 'sub-worlds'."² During this secondary socialization we come to possess "role specific knowledge" and "role specific vocabularies". Hence through the socialization process in general we internalize the society in which we live, its objective reality, and at the same time "a subjective and coherent identity."

Our socialization is never complete and therefore our identity is not something we own. What one calls culture or socially constructed reality has to be reproduced in and made conceivable through practice. One must confirm that reality in one's own experience, by means of various institutionalized performances, customs and practices. Conversation is one such means. Through countless dialogues with others who use the same symbols, the individual reproduces reality and maintains his identity.

In the absence of such practices, the taken-for-granted reality of the immigrants is threatened. The roles they have internalized, the values and the understanding they have acquired through the language they are born into are challenged by the new reality they face moving to a new society. Since reality is organized into structures of relevance and the knowledge one acquires is conceived in terms of relevancy, vast components of the immigrants' knowledge will be irrelevant in the host society. Important aspects of the plausibility structure of their world will also be absent in the new country: The network of people, the characteristic attitudes in everyday situations, the well-known smells of the streets, the colors of the landscape, the way bureaucracy functions, the TV programmes, the clothes people put on, the songs they sing.

Unacquainted with the norms and values of the new society, the immigrants can be described as culturally disqualified. Ethnic differences are a type of social inequality like class or gender, although they function differently. They are an extra burden on the immigrant worker who has otherwise a weak economical and class position, according to Grønhaug.³ He gives as example the helplessness of a migrant who lacks information about the bureaucratic rituals:

When a migrant from a non European country is going to act as a client in a public office, he lacks the technical information about the forms to fill in, etc. and the wider knowledge of the Norwegian society relevant to the act he is performing (...) He must try to behave like a Norwegian, but then it is easy to do the wrong thing and make a fool of oneself, or believe that one does. To behave in accordance with one's own culture can be misunderstood or ridiculed.⁴

Thus, the taken-for-grantedness of the immigrant's reality and identity is threatened when he meets a new culture, whose structuring of reality differs from what he is used to. The new situation in which the immigrants find themselves "makes it necessary for them to have a production of meaning that accounts for, and explains the new life they are experiencing (...)"⁵ In that process, some parts of Norwegian culture and some parts of Turkish culture will be made relevant for the construction of a

new cultural structure. The new situations the immigrants experience, the impulses they get from the new society, have to be interpreted and evaluated. This work has to be done with resources drawn from their cultural background.

However, what the immigrants choose to accentuate is not incidental. This brings us to the dynamic of the process of identity management. The fact that two different cultural systems, each with its own characteristics, meet, and that the immigrants lack some resources to cope with this situation is only one side of the process at hand. As important as the interaction of two peculiar cultures, is the need felt by the immigrants to put emphasis on their being different. For this purpose they select a number of features from both cultures. They underline their being Turks, Muslims, members of the Third World, etc. Norwegians, on the other hand, are Christians, they drink much, they are kind and nice but they often overdo it. What they pick up to accentuate is not necessarily the distinctive features of the respective cultures. The selected aspects are indications of the boundaries between two cultures, and they are, as signs, arbitrary. They are arbitrary, first of all, since they are the outcome of the need to maintain one's coherent identity. They are not mere reflections of real cultural differences, but of how the immigrants interpret and choose to present the differences. Secondly, they are arbitrary, because they do not turn out to be the same for every immigrant. The demand to stress one's ethnic identity will change a good deal from individual to individual depending on the strategies of adaptation.

Ethnic identity cannot, then, be defined by its content, but by the boundaries drawn. As Pistoï puts it,

The critical factor for defining the ethnic group (...) becomes the social boundary which defines the group with respect to other groups of the same order.⁶

Ethnic groups can distinguish themselves from each other by significant cultural characteristics. In the present instance they do. But I find it necessary to separate, analytically, the cultural content and the social boundary. Such a division is

important for two reasons. First of all, because it is not any element of the culture which is chosen by the immigrants to mark the ethnic boundaries. Secondly, the aspects of content and boundary affect the question of the reception of television news in different ways. The persons who have been in Norway a short time have difficulties with comprehension. In that case the problem is obviously a strange cultural content. However, persons who have stayed long enough to understand the programme fairly well, due to the motivation of presenting oneself as a Turk, choose to exclude the Norwegians as Others in their interpretations. In that case it is the aspect of boundary which influences the deviant readings. The case of the second generation Turks in Germany can be used to show that cultural characteristics are not the same as one's sense of identity. The children of the first generation Turks who, under the influence of their parents and as a response to discrimination by Germans irrespective of how much they tried to integrate into the society, developed strong ties to their ethnic group, encounter great problems when they move back to Turkey. They are not treated as Turks. Their attitudes, the clothes they use, even the way they move is not the same as those of the Turks born in Turkey. Although they feel like Turks, more than ever while living in Germany, they do not, according to the people back home, manifest the "characteristically" Turkish ways of being and doing things.⁷

The interaction of Norwegian and Turkish cultural frameworks results in interesting, unexpected meaning constructions. Due to the special status of the immigrants, that of a minority, and their dissimilar cultural background, the meanings produced are, sometimes, outside the preferred ones. Informants construct deviant interpretations just when you do not expect it. A poorly educated worker can be as critical to the preferred readings in the Norwegian television news as a well educated student. In such instances ethnic identity seems to have priority over differences of education and class.

Many immigrants accuse *Dagsrevyen* of being one-sided. They stay, in certain contexts, outside the Norwegian common sense and disagree with the way Third World or East-Block countries are covered, especially when the national or Third World identity of immigrants themselves are at stake, and when the differences between the discourses of Turkish and Norwegian television news are visible to the informants. Immigrants are, for example, not used to the way newsreaders appear in *Dagsrevyen* or the way they read.

The readings of the immigrants are contradictory. Using their Third World identities, they produce critical readings of the news coverage of Turkey and Third World countries. However, in times they want to signal the complementarity of Turkish to Norwegian culture and to the modern world, they come up with widely different readings.

5.2 The Impact of the Historical Background Upon Readings

5.2.1 *The National Identity in Use*

Turkish nationalism plays an active role in the production of meaning by Turkish immigrants. In the interviews such a role appears at several levels. First, related to the news about the minority groups in Turkey; second, related to the news which seem to question the position of Turkey among other nations; and third in the context of the news about the Third World countries.

The unique history of the country contributes to the nationalist ideology. The establishment of the Turkish Republic after the First World War was achieved under the leadership of a very charismatic person, Kemal Atatürk, who became a model for the various leaders in the countries striving for independence from colonial rule. He was the general of the Ottoman army by the time the victorious countries of the First World War intended to divide Turkey among themselves. Opposing the sultan who agreed on their plans, he started the Independence War which ended with the establishment of the new republic in 1923. The minorities, like the Armenians and the Kurds, which sided with the victorious countries to establish their own states, were severely oppressed. In the new republic unity and solidarity were the most vital features of the Kemalist ideology. To make a quite heterogeneous country united around the new ideals, history was mystified and cultural differences were minimized. The new discourse concentrated on the similarities rather than the differences. Such a discourse made the Turks very sensitive to any attempt at demanding minority privileges. It was even forbidden to mention the word "Kurdish" until very recently. In spite of a big group of Kurdish people living in East Turkey, they were treated as they did not exist. For the public radio and television channels they still do not. Recent developments⁸ brought the topic on the political agenda, but most of the population is still very critical to the demand of Kurds for the right to speak their own language, to have their own institutions, etc.⁹ This

attitude appears also in the interviews. The informants are disappointed that it is "often" news related to the Kurdish people that one hears from Turkey.

-What kind of news is there related to the Turkish minorities?

-There was something, not about Turkish but about the Kurdish minority.

-Do you wish that there was some more?

-No, I don't.

-(I laugh) Why?

-They never send anything positive. Always find a defect or a fault.

-What do they find for example?

-With respect to everything. For example they showed the Kurds attacking the Turkish consulate. I've seen it, they caught them. (Informant H)

This informant is not only sensitive to negative news from Turkey but also to news about the Kurdish people. Disinclined to accept the problem of minorities, she complains about the attention paid to it in the Norwegian news.

The attention paid to the Kurds in the international media is excessive and the treatment is one-sided according to informant I:

(...) when a Turk comes and says "I'm Turkish, I want to take refuge, I have such and such problems", they don't accept it. But when he says "I'm Kurdish" they take him in immediately.

Another informant relates the news about Kurds to the general place of Turkey in the eyes of Norwegians:

Related to Turkey, the news is reflections of the foreign affairs policy which is shaped by the social democratic tradition, but in a unique way to Norway. I mean, what kind of a country is Turkey in the eyes of Norwegians? It is a marginal country. They don't see Turkey as a member of NATO, our allied, etc. (...) Therefore, news about Turkey can be Kurdistan, or torture. If there is no such problem, there is not much news from Turkey. (Informant A)

The informant is aware that his impression of the importance of Turkey is different from the Norwegians'.

Beside oppressing the cultural differences to build a strong national identity, the Kemalist discourse stressed devotion to the state and the glory of the military success which was

necessary to build the new nation. The importance of being a Turk, the power of a Turk and the requirement for loyalty to the home country was stressed in the nationalist ideology.

The Turkish national anthem with its dominant military tone, both in its text and music, reminds that history.

Don't be afraid, the flag which flies on the horizon
won't be extinguished
Before the last home in this country is perished¹⁰

The oath which the students take every day in the primary schools serves cultivating the nationalist ideology in early years:

I'm Turkish, I'm honest. My law is to protect those who are
younger than me and to respect those who are elder than me;
to love my country and my nation more than my own self.

Expressions like: "A Turk is equivalent to a world", or "How lucky is one who can call himself Turkish", which were uttered first by Atatürk with reference to the victories won, have later become standard expressions serving as support for the self-confidence and nationalist feelings of the Turkish people.

Being an immigrant in a foreign country, the Turks become more aware of the marginal place of Turkey in world politics. At the same time their identity as Turks is at stake in a new and dramatic way. The historical memories and nationalist ideologies become more relevant when they arrive here. Their ethnic identity is of significance to account for the activation of nationalist discourse and the resulting critical readings of the coverage of news from Turkey. They select some parts of Turkish history and of the nationalist discourse to establish a sense of group identity. History is a common denominator for the Turks living in Norway and is as such suitable to draw boundaries vis a vis another group. A "given group recognizes itself through its recollection of a common past."¹¹ Thus, selectivity is crucial to understand how ethnic identity functions.

That the immigrants' nationalist feelings become more relevant when they are here, can be expounded from another perspective, too. An immigrant with some degree of nationalist feelings meets a similar phenomenon here, the nationalist discourse in Norway.

After being a colony of Denmark for a considerable time and of Sweden for some time, the requirement to create cultural unity at the cost of oppressing the present diversity made itself felt in Norway. A parallel process of nation building, where arbitrary symbols of unity are extracted to represent the country is manifest for Norway as well as for Turkey (cf. Østerud, 1986; Johansen, 1990). The focus on unity was observable, not least, in relation to the situation of the Lappish minority in country. This large group of citizens in the country was detained from their rights until recently.

The process of building a nation is marked by the same artificiality both in Norway and in Turkey, and the fragile construction of unity makes the reinforcement of ideology necessary, in both cases. Therefore, what we witness is not only an encounter of two cultures or nations, but also of two nationalist discourses. Each of them emphasizes the peculiarity of the national culture to draw the borderlines between "us" and "them". They blow up the national differences and suppress the ones within the nation. The meeting of the two nationalist discourses is distinguishable in the utterances of the immigrants.

Informant D interprets the news covering Norway as a heightening of the position of Norway:

-What kind of news is presented in the *Dagsrevyen* about the Norwegian society?

-They make it public all the time that they are richer. How good they are (...) that others are poor and that they are very nice to them, they want to show that always.
(Informant D)

Informant J, too, reads the news related to Norway as being too good to be true:

-What kind of information, knowledge about Norwegians do you get through the *Dagsrevyen*?

-The main conviction about the Norwegians, I mean, the conviction and the thing they want to show, is their being "snill og grei" (kind and nice), and 90 % is so indeed. (...) But they exaggerate sometimes and show themselves as excessively positive.

-Like in what kind of news?

-Like when it comes to economic help to the developing countries. They show it excessively, like there is not coming any help from other places in the world. Or in news about refugees, etc. It's like nobody else in the world accepts refugees (...) (Informant J)

5.2.2 The Third World Identity in Use

The Turkish history is also made relevant in the readings of the news from Third World countries. When we discussed the news about Norwegian politics, one of the informants responded like this:

-They show that, when it comes to human rights they are superior.

-In what way?

-I mean they show that they are superior compared to the Third World countries, that they have more respect for the human rights.

-Can you give some example?

-For example showing the strikes in Turkey or events in the prisons.

-Torture?

-Torture, etc. In this way they want to make pressure upon the country. They involve in domestic affairs.

-You mean this is involving in the domestic affairs of the Turkey?

-Yes, in my opinion it is. It happens here too, but they don't show it. (Informant O)

The immigrant takes sides when he criticizes the coverage of Third World countries. "They", the First World, confront "us" the Third World.

Another informant is critical to the news about Nicaragua claiming that *Dagsrevyen* shows only negative sides of Third World countries, but does not explain why. He holds that the poverty and misery of these countries is the result of exploitation. He says:

If they had paid the money equivalent to the value of their products, they would not be in that condition. They pay 6 Norwegian kroner for the cocoa. This is not solidarity. (...) They sent dried fish to Africa, they (Africans) don't know how to eat it, used it as tile instead. (Informant E)

In a Norwegian context, with respect to Turkey's fight against imperialist states before the establishment of the republic, and the relative poverty of the country, the Third World identity of the immigrants is triggered. This results in their interpreting the unfavorable presentation of the Third World as biased coverage, even as involvement in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Informant G compares the coverage of Norway and the Third World countries:

I don't know why, but they always show the bad sides of the Third World countries. The consequence is that those countries are perceived in a wrong way. This has its origins in the politics of the Norwegian state, I think. They try to make their citizens sleep (I laugh), by showing only bad sides from other countries and good sides from their own country.

The news that presents the economic aid to Third World countries or the news which shows the miserable condition of East-Block and other poor countries are, according to the informant, an exaggeration which expresses Norway's desire to show themselves as helpful or morally superior.

The inclination to take sides, and to make use of the Third World identity, is not only a manifestation of differences between Turkey and Norway, but also drawing of lines between the two cultures. In defining ourselves we distinguish ourselves from the Other.¹² Therefore who the significant Others are defines which aspects will be chosen to draw the boundaries. In Norway, a so called First World country, Turkish immigrants make use of their Third World identity in constructing meanings from the Norwegian television news. For a Turk living in Iran or Pakistan the Third World identity would not, probably, be relevant to the construction of cultural identity.

5.3 Religious Identity

It turned up during the interviews that informants make use of their religious identity and their sense of the symbolic importance of religion in their interpretations. A worker, 28 years old says:

Take the help given to the East Block. Things happen in Bangladesh, too. They too are starving. When are they going to make that into news? The cold war was shown like a war between imperialism and communism. But the real war is the war between Christians and non-Christians. That is my impression from the news. (Informant E)

Norwegian television news is seen almost like a tool for the home mission by this informant. The belief that religion influences the world view of *Dagsrevyen* and that it shapes both the choice of countries to be covered, and the mediation of events in the Third World, has been expressed by other informants too. Informant F, for example, believes that Norwegian television news is controlled by the government:

-(...) they bring news from Israel every day but they do not bring any from Turkey. Because they are Jews!

-What are the reasons, in your opinion, for not covering Turkey that much?

-The right-wing government is at the top now. The foreign affairs ministry is at the hand of Bondevik today. Since he is on good terms with the Israelis, they always bring news from them. But only once in a year from Turkey. Something really big must happen, like when they shot the prime minister.

Elements from both cultures are made relevant to arrive at the conclusion that religion plays a vital role in the mediation. First of all, this informant is evaluating the coverage of the Third World countries as if it was dictated by the government; in doing so he refers to his experiences from Turkey. In Turkey, TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Broadcasting), except a brief period of autonomy, has been open to influence from the governing parties. In Norway, although Norwegian common sense characterizes the television news, instructions are not given for the selection of the items. The informant interprets the new society with his experiences from the old one.

Secondly, his religious identity plays a considerable role in his

interpretation. Turkish society went through a modernization and secularization process after the establishment of the Republic. The reforms introduced had the aim of making Turkey a Western state, and abolishing the symbolic ties to islamic history. So the Arabic alphabet was changed with a Latin one, traditional clothes with Western clothes, etc. Women got the rights Western women have. The new state was declared to be a secular one. However, since religion was an unavoidable part of their identity, for the Turkish people it was not easy to leave their religious rituals and symbols all at once. Today, religion still plays a considerable symbolic role for the identity of the Turkish people in Turkey. In the case of informant F, when he criticizes the more frequent coverage of Israel, we witness the activation of that identity.

When I was discussing with one of the female informants, her husband, who was listening to us, involved in the discussion when the topic was the coverage of the Third World. He said:

-(...) some values that constitute our cultural foundation enlighten us to value certain things. Since the structure of society (Norwegian) is founded on some principles of Christianity, this is reflected onto everything in society. -In politics too?

-Yes. I mean, today a radical never contradicts the principles of society. (...) Consequently they base their relations to others on the way Christianity defines "human". When somebody treats you in a good manner he does so not to look kind to you but because he learned it through Christianity. (man, engineer)

This immigrant, too, interprets Norwegian manners with his experiences from Turkey and by drawing upon his religious identity. Religion is seen as a foundation for the morality in society in the same way Islam is supposed to be.

Religion as a part of their identity becomes more important than ever when the Turks arrive in Norway. The persons I have interviewed are not devoted Muslims. They do not pray five times a day, they do not fast, or carry out other obligations of the Islam. But religion in the context of Christian culture gets significance as an indicator of ethnic identity. Revitalizing their religious identity underlines the difference between their

culture and that of the host society. Dichotomizing "us Muslims" and "them Christians", i.e. separating some people as others "implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance (...)"¹³ The ethnic border is maintained by the help of this dichotimization.

Informant J grew up in a big city in Turkey. She is one of the secular Muslims. However, in her interpretation of the news covering the Third World, religion is of special significance. She describes the economic aid to poor countries with the metaphor of religion: Bible in their one hand and dried fish in the other. She regards religion as one of the factors explaining Turkey's lack of prestige in the Western world:

The fact that Turkey is a Muslim country is a negative feature in the eyes of Norwegians. The reason that we can not enter the Common Market is religion. This is why Turkey's and Greece's positions are so different although historically they both have a rich background.

Informant L does not mark his Muslim identity in daily life. But he does utilize religion as an indicator of ethnic identity, and he criticizes the Norwegian news for giving an incorrect image of the Muslims.

-What do you think about the news that covers the immigrants/foreigners in this country?

-Some of them makes really a negative effect.

-Which ones?

-The news covering the responses to Salman Rushdi, for instance. (I:H-hm). I could not understand how they managed to find so many fanatic people at one place and show them on television. I could not believe my own eyes.

-Did they find them?

-I don't know who has found them. But they did not bring a reasonable man to the screen and interview him.

(...) My impression is that they presented the religion (Islam) from a negative perspective. (...) Hence the programs are not objective, they represent a certain group.

-Which group?

-For example a fanatical group. They never give place to the opinions of a liberal group. (Informant L)

The daily experiences of the immigrants in Norway play a role in their interpretations. They refer to them to back up their

opinions, like informant P who says: "The color of their faces changes when I say, 'I'm Muslim'."

Informant H often refers to everyday episodes to clarify her points of view:

- (...) they favor the countries practicing the same religion as themselves. They don't esteem the Muslim countries.
- Do you get that feeling from your daily experiences or from the news you watch in *Dagsrevyen*?
- Both.
- What have you experienced for example?
- They are more unsympathetic towards the Muslims. They regard those who practice the same religion as their brothers. Let it be Sweden, Denmark or Israel..
- You mean this is why they are not interested in Turkey?
- Turkey or Iran or Iraq, they are not interested in Muslim countries. There is discrimination because of religion.
(Informant H)

Another informant, M, refers to the closing of the restaurants and pubs during Christmas and Easter in Norway to specify how powerful the religious institution is in the country.

In sum, in their interpretations of the Norwegian news, the immigrants compare the religion of Norway to their own, the religious attitudes of Norwegians to theirs, the way religion is practiced in Norway to the way it is done in Turkey, and the influence of religion upon institutions here and in their homeland. Moreover, in the treatment of the question of religion we have found that it is not just a case of two different religions meeting. Religion is handled in the new context with entirely new significance. Through drawing the lines between "us" and "them", it is a means for the immigrants to maintain their sense of identity. Religion becomes a symbol of ethnicity.

5.4 Stereotyping

5.4.1 Producing Stereotypes

To maintain a sense of identity in the new surroundings, one of the available solutions for the immigrants is stereotyping. Stereotyping is "the process through which distinct categories of personnel produce, elaborate, and standardize images of each other."¹⁴ When relating their new situation to their values, knowledge and traditions, Turkish immigrants produce stereotypes of the Norwegians. They produce, for example, stereotypes about the Norwegians' drinking habits, the food they are eating, their attitudes to work. Stereotyping as a part of the dichotomization process is a means for the immigrants to "draw up lines between their own group and the 'other'(...)" This is of crucial importance in their work to maintain their identity and image of self (...)"¹⁵, says Tesli. He has, in his study of the Turkish immigrants in Denmark, uncovered a number of stereotypes:

The Turks present many stereotypic opinions about other ethnic groups. This is quite natural, and a means to mentally keep other groups apart from one's own. They have stereotypes about the Danes, the Pakistanis, the Moroccans, the Arabs, and many others. A stereotype that is much used is "the others" attitudes and adaptations with regard to work (...)"¹⁶

Through stereotyping, the immigrants try to create a manageable image and overview of the new society. They form simple categories, which are easily comprehensible and clearly dichotomized. They refer to the differences between two types of lifestyles, to dissimilar routines of hygiene, to the differing relations between men and women, etc.

Here is one of the stereotypes which turned up during the interviews:

-The situation of the youth for example, their laziness, their expectations that the state will supply everything for them, I know this from some of my patients.

-What do you mean by "lazy"?

-I mean., like, they say *giddeløs* you know. You go to *EKKO* (a supermarket chain) and observe these youths there. (I:H-hm). He will go one floor up to the cafeteria, but you hear him saying "I don't bother to move, I'll take the elevator." (Informant J)

The stereotyping related to work, which also appeared in Tesli's study, illuminates a vital aspect of the process. We know from other contexts that in Europe and in Norway it is not unusual to find stereotypes which stress the laziness of the Turkish, Pakistani, or Moroccan migrants. Encountering the same stereotypes with Turkish immigrants illustrates the imaginary character of these stereotypes. The idioms used, the attitudes or customs pointed out to produce stereotypes are not only indicators of the actual differences. The stereotypes, however, are used to build up the identity of the immigrants in their new environment. They signal the differences to distinguish the Turks and their culture from that of Norwegians. In that sense, the symbols chosen function as metonyms. Grønhaug marks this peculiarity of stereotyping:

We select a concrete element from our given life context, and put it in contrast to our other chosen elements. The metonymic operation consists in letting the element stand for the whole from which it was selected, e.g. a category of people.

Let us take another stereotype which was used by one of the informants who considered the foreign aid items in the Norwegian television news as excessive.

I think that they are more egoist. They say they are rich, etc. and don't help. They conceive of Turkey as a poor country but the help from Turkey is 10 times greater than theirs. Kurdish refugees came from Iraq to Turkey, 70-100 thousand, (I:H-hm). Also from Afghanistan. But they, although they are rich, consider whether or not to give accommodation to three families. They are throwing them out in full consciousness of the consequences. They've thrown out recently one Afghan family. (Informant D)

The stereotypes informants use refer one or other extremity such as laziness or egoism. They strive to indicate clearly the

differences drive people to focus on the extreme cases of their experiences. As Tesli says:

It is the shocking and unexpected idioms that are "good to use" in the production of stereotypes of other ethnic groups.

5.4.2 Drinking Habits

The most repeating stereotype in the interviews is the "bad" alcohol habits of the Norwegians. The quite different ways the two people integrate alcohol into their life become observable for the immigrants when they move to Norway. Therefore, when two or more Turks come together, one of the most common subjects relating to Norwegians is their drinking habits. During the conversations, they generalize some of their observations to the whole of the Norwegian population. At the same time the immigrants communicate their identity by signaling the differences between drinking habits.

The item reporting illegal private spirits production, included in the news programme I showed, was just the right topic to discuss upon. To my question whether there were some items that reflected typical Norwegian mentality in the *Dagsrevyen* he watched, informant E gave the following answer:

The item about alcoholic drinks. Nobody does that except Norwegians. Maybe in the East-Block. They (Norwegians) drink 96 % alcohol without adding water. This is not something a man can do but only a Norwegian. Does a man burn himself consciously?

In relation to the same item one of the informants referred to his experiences from Odda where he was working "8-9 years ago":

Cases of bier in front of the youth today. If it was free (a liberal politic instead of the monopoly) they would have a glass in front of them. Again, competition among the youth: "I'm drinking a case, how many are you drinking?". From the bottle culture to the case culture. (Informant K)

Another informant comments that she knew beforehand the information included in this item: that Norwegians do make spirits at home. I ask whether she is acquainted with their

drinking habits. She answers:

- They drink a bit too much.
- Through which channels do you know that? Have you observed yourself?
- For example there is one of them, son of an elderly woman living in the house for elderly where I am working. The welfare office treats these alcoholics a bit too kindly. They help them financially. Therefore they can go and buy alcohol again. He can't quit alcohol (...) This person got an apartment from the welfare office but could not handle it. He lives on the streets now. This side of Norway is bad you know, he can't quit alcohol. (Informant H)

5.5 Summary

Both in section 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4, it has been observed that the drive to underline their being different from the Norwegians is active when the immigrants watch the Norwegian news programme. The items appearing in the programme are regarded by them as carriers of "Norwegianness". Therefore, they project meanings onto it which reflect the distinctive sides of their own culture. They draw the boundaries over again while they make sense of the text of the news programme. The categorization "us" and "them" is consciously used by them not to allow the collapse of the most important support of their identity: the boundaries.

5.6 Contradictory Positions

5.6.1 Signalling Complementariness

In the previous sections of this chapter, utterances of the immigrants are discussed to find out how they relate their own culture to the Norwegian one. The Turks are occupied with underlying the differences as we have seen. Here another dimension of the process of identity management will be pointed out: signalling the complementariness of Turkish and Norwegian culture.

The immigrants criticize Norway's image of Turkey as a

traditional country. They want to show the modern side of the country, something the Norwegians can appreciate. Hence, Turkish immigrants who in some contexts identify with the Third World countries, are in other contexts willing to underline that they are a part of the modern world. The result is an ambiguous attitude, i.e. a continuing change of the positions from which they speak all through the interview.

Minorities who need to signal their uniqueness, draw boundaries in what is called a dichotomization process. They produce stereotypes about Norwegians, they activate their national and religious identity and feel more Turkish than ever. But to balance their subordinated position they also indicate complementariness to the host society. Tesli points out that cultural expressions signalling complementarity

are found in some cultures living in an under-dog position, where the individuals feel their cultural identity and values threatened by the influence of the dominant society.¹⁷

Informant J tells that she wants to see modern Turkey on screen:

90 % of the film reportages on Turkey show "nomad women" in the mountains. You can't see Turkey, I mean, except in programmes like *Reiseliv* (tourism programme). Generally, women with *salvar*¹⁸, run after their goats in the mountains. (...) Otherwise you don't see programmes from other regions of Turkey.

This informant, who is well educated, experienced a modern Turkey as she was living in a big city. She wants to get something other than women with *salvar* related to Turkey. This indicates her wish to see Turkish culture presented as acceptable from a Norwegian point of view. Instead of underlining the exotic sides she puts emphasis on the parallel and modern sides.

5.6.2 A Case Study

Informant I will be taken as an example of the contradictory readings of the immigrants. Informant I has been here for 12 years and he has worked in different jobs during that period. He comes from a small city and is married to a Turkish woman

recently. He defines himself as a Turk in the same way as the other informants. However, during the years of stay he has adopted some Norwegian values with the result that he presents contradictory points of view during the interview.

He is critical to Third World news in the same way as the other informants:

-Are there differences in the way they cover news from Pakistan and from a non-Muslim country?

-Yes.

-How?

-For example when they show Romania, their approach is more sympathetic.

-Where do you see that sympathy?

-They gave a hand to them immediately. (I:H-hm) (...) The same thing is done for the Armenians. But not for Azerbaijan. After the earthquake in Armenia, all kinds of help was given. But when Azerbaijan was crushed under Russian tanks nobody even raised their head to look at it.

He makes use of his religious identity like other immigrants. He is against Western imperialism, but he considers the Western societies progressive. He wishes Turkey to be a Western society. When we were discussing the differences between Turkish television news and Dagsrevyen he maintained that:

-Dagsrevyen shows events as they happened - if they are about domestic affairs. In Turkey the prime minister can decide everything. There is no democracy in Turkey, no freedom.

-Do you explain this impartiality with the existence of democracy here?

-Yes, This is a much more democratic country than ours.

-How do you come to that result?

-Politicians here say: "First comes our country", they don't try to fill their own pockets first of all.

Later on he continues with examples revealing his admiration for Norway:

-The citizens have lots of social rights, lots of rights that we don't have. For example they can go to the hospital and get treatment without paying five kurus (ore). (...) or they get money from the state when they do not have a job.

-You mean they have less social problems here?

-Yes, they have hardly any. It is not like with us: "I'm going to give that much to my son, my daughter is going to marry, or my son will join the military" (...) Every one is hanged from his leg here.

His utterances about Turkey reflects his criticism of the lack of freedom and justice, of the tightly woven structures of society¹⁹, obliging relatives, friends, and neighbors to involve with one's problems. In a loosely structured society, individuality is appraised more than the network of social relations. In Turkey, it is tradition that, especially in the countryside, the family of the bridegroom buys lots of jewelry and in some cases pays a certain amount of money to the bride. Also the furniture for the house of the new couple is supplied by the families of the bride and bridegroom. When the son does his military service, his family has to support him financially. All those responsibilities are an extra burden for the families. But they know that in their old age they will be taken care of by the sons or daughters, if not financially at least morally and emotionally. It is from the network of people around, not from the state, that one gets support. The state functions in this sense as a substitution for these lost networks in the modern, loosely structured societies.

The informant, therefore, explains the absence of social problems with the emphasis put upon individuality in the loosely structured societies. He relates, implicitly, individuality to democracy. It is a system where everybody does his own job. The prime minister does not decide what is to be written in the newspapers, and one's family and neighbors do not involve in one's personnel matters. A father is not responsible for his daughter's furniture in her new house, and she is not responsible from him when he is old.

Informant I is norwegianized in one sense. He is critical to the values he inherited from Turkish culture. He chooses individuality above the old network of social relations. Still, there are certain things which are attached to the problematic of ethnicity in his discourse. Religion is one of them as we have seen.

On one occasion informant I complained to me about the food

habits of the Norwegians. He observed that they eat all kinds of luxurious food with boiled potatoes: "They have no food culture. You don't eat the best meat with boiled potatoes."

He is critical to the relationships between men and women in Norway too. He does not want to take his wife to discotheques. He claims that drunken Norwegians have no respect for the couples. The lack of precise outward boundaries in the relations of men and women in Norway, is treated as a characteristic feature of Norwegian culture, and as a matter of his distinction in ethnic terms.

Hence, arbitrary symbols like religion, food habits, and gender relations are chosen by informant I to refer to his Turkish identity. His criticism of certain Turkish values and his need to mark his Turkish identity, however, give us a total picture which is quite contradictory.

Although he considers Norwegian television news as more objective than Turkish news, in the discussion of *The Elections in Nicaragua* Item he gets critical to the coverage:

They showed the little child in the garbage heap (cf. figure 5). Does not Nicaragua have better places than that? Nicaragua must have more beautiful places. It is an underdeveloped country, they have poverty, etc. But if I was a Norwegian, I would say that Nicaragua is just that. (Informant I)

At a previous stage in the interview, when I wanted him to compare the Turkish and Norwegian news, he once again ends up with contradictory utterances:

-In Turkey what will be mediated differs according to who is governing for the time being.

-And here?

-I don't think it will be so here. They show it as it happened. But, if a foreigner causes an event, they show it negatively.

Hence, although he takes for granted the objectivity of the news in the domestic affairs news in *Dagsrevyen*, he questions the foreign affairs news and news which speak of the dimensions or features which he selects to communicate his ethnic identity. The context, then, is decisive for whether he will read

critically or whether he will take the common sense for granted. Although he conceives of Norway as a more democratic country than Turkey, and receives the visuals without any suspicion in certain contexts, in others the chance that he will question the objectivity and reject the common sense behind the visuals, increases.

5.7 Seeing Through The Common Sense of Dagsrevyen

As it is clear by now, Norwegian news is not only a reflection of Norwegian reality in the eyes of the immigrants. They criticize it for showing a distorted picture of Norway or of the world. In doing so, they step outside the common sense that the television news takes for granted. I asked to one of the informants what would be his impressions of the Norwegians, if he were to judge solely from the news programme:

-I would say that Norwegians are like angels.

-Why would you say so?

-Because they never show the dark sides on the news. It is always about the good part. Norwegians are shown like angels. (Informant D)

This answer reflects one of the aspects regarded as biased by the immigrants. Comparing the information with their own experiences, the immigrants infer that it is mostly the positive qualities of Norwegians that appear on *Dagsrevyen*:

-There is one's own judgement first off all (...) corruption in Oslo, etc, they come into view too. But other than that, one should judge with a standpoint in one's own experiences, since they show more of their good sides.

-What kind of bad sides you have experienced?

-It is not that I have experienced bad sides, (I:H-hm) but okay there is "good" and there is "perfect". They show always the "perfect". I did not mean "bad" but they show it like it is better than it is. (Informant J)

In the interviews disbelief in the objectivity of *Dagsrevyen* manifests itself in different contexts. I did not pose direct question regarding the objectivity of news, but topics like news about refugees, Third World countries, Norwegian politics, and general themes appearing in *Dagsrevyen*, often resulted with

informants telling that *Dagsrevyen* is partial, biased, that it does not show all sides of Norway and Norwegians:

-Things happening in Oslo recently. Youth movements...

-Blitz?

-Yes, *Blitz*. It is an important thing in my view. It is a new dimension of the new generation which appeared in the recent period. They have demands from the society and this is not reflected that much. They occupy houses, wear strange clothes (I:H-hm). They are not interested in folklore the way their parents were. They are more oppositional. It is indeed an interesting change for Norway, I mean, for a country which has not experienced that much change. But such things do not come into view on television. (Informant A)

The informant, who orients himself about the radical youth movements through other television programmes, and newspapers, refers to the youth movement as a phenomenon which is addressed not that frequently. Only the negative sides of the movement turn up on TV. He himself judges them as a new, interesting development which should be given much more attention.

In some contexts the intense involvement of the news programme with the drastic changes taking place recently in the East Europe, is evaluated as having a concealed goal:

If we take one example from the recent news, there is the news from Eastern Europe. I see partiality there, too. It seems like they say: "You see, you said socialism, socialism all the time, and it fell on your head in the end. "The Western or capitalist system is approved through presenting the events in such a way. When they say "Nothing has still happened in Albania" (...) they meant "it should have happened, but Albania still is not ruined." (Informant B)

Disbelief in the objectivity of *Dagsrevyen* can be accounted for from different perspectives. First of all, the Turkish television news, which is always under the influence of the governing parties, is obviously partial. This in turn affects the Turkish immigrants' belief in television news in its entirety.

Secondly, due to the process of identity management, they take a critical attitude towards the news programme. Watching the news programme is one of the occasions when they carry on the building of their identities. They look for the unique features of other groups in the information. These features are then placed vis à

vis their own.

-It is a matter of giving news in accordance with the Norwegian political tradition in general. For example, the corruptions which came into sight, like the corruption in Bergen Parkerings Selskap, or the corruption in Oslo Municipality. (...) or the corruption in the weapon industry. They all came to the agenda in the last 6-7 months (I:H-hm). They seem to tell: "We are not used to such things, what is happening?"

-What was the political tradition that you had in mind?

-The social democratic political tradition.

-How do you connect that with the way news are mediated?

-The interpretations are selective. Let us say social democracy is within the tradition anti communism. Therefore the news covering the execution of Ceausescu in quite a positive way, saying: "How nice a dictator has gone." But he had 30, if not 20, years of background in Romania. He appeared at some stage of societal development and became a leader, he oppressed the people, but he did other things beside. (Informant A)

Thirdly, the Turkish immigrants see through the Norwegian common sense which is the base on which *Dagsrevyen's* discourse is built. Meeting another culture whose premises is different from one's own enables one staying outside of those premises. For the Turkish immigrants who do not internalize the Norwegian way of making sense of reality, it is much more easier to question the common sense taken for granted in *Dagsrevyen*. The very fact that one is a foreigner means that the cultural forms which are taken for granted in the experiences of everyday life becomes strange and questionable. The distance to the unfamiliar culture makes the things which are self evident for the members of the native culture not an obvious fact but questionable objects. The critical distance is due to not being able to find one's feet with the natives, as anthropologists call it.²⁰

The differences between the enunciation of Turkish and Norwegian television news make it difficult to find feet one's with the natives. The enunciation of Norwegian news programme aims at identification with the viewers. But the cultural background of the immigrants becomes a hinderance at this point. The appearances and reading styles of the news readers are important for the possibility of identification with the programme. But the

norms that the immigrants are used to from Turkish television make the identification problematic. First of all, on Turkish TV female newsreaders are often excessively dressed up and good-looking. Secondly, both newsreaders and commentators read the news in a tempo which suits the general speed of speech in Turkey. And thirdly, the language of the news is high Turkish, any kind of dialect is unacceptable.

The appearances and reading styles of the Norwegian newsreaders give hardly any support to identification for the immigrants. One of the informants commented that "they should have found more pretty people to read the news programme." Another one held that the calm reading style of the newsreaders on TV makes it difficult for him to engage with the programme. "In Turkey", he says,

they read it as if they have experienced it themselves, in a more exciting manner. On Norwegian TV they read it in an indifferent manner. (Informant M)

What is his concern here is the different standards of credibility in Norway and in Turkey. While in Norway being natural, being oneself, is believable, in Turkey portraying the content of the message is far more important.

The existence of two official languages in Norway means that news is mediated in both languages on Norwegian TV. For some of the Turkish immigrants this is difficult to accept. One of the informant, a student, expresses it through his friend's words: "My friend says what a strange dialect this is!" (Informant N).

The high number of dialects acceptable in the Norwegian public sphere makes it even more difficult to grasp the items. One of the informant says:

The man speaks with the language of a peasant. How can I understand that? I can understand, but how can one who has been here only for three years? If you listen to it on the radio, you don't understand what he is saying. (Informant E)

Speaking like a peasant, I assume, means for the informant speaking without authority. In Turkey, the ones who have

authority will speak high Turkish. Thus, one can assume that the interaction of ethnic identity and different cultural background, through undermining the authority and hindering a certain degree of identification, makes it easier for the immigrants to see through the common sense of the news.

In sum, first of all, the struggle for ethnic identity gives the Turks in Norway a motive for seeing through the common sense in *Dagsrevyen*. Secondly, the strangeness of *Dagsrevyen* and the lack of familiarity with its forms make it easier for the Turks to step outside Norwegian common sense. Thirdly, the lack of autonomy of the broadcasting institution in Turkey make the Turks suspicious of the news genre in general. Therefore, the intended identification with the viewers does not prove to be successful in contexts where the listed factors are at stake.

6

Interview Analysis 3: Visuals in Reception

6.1 Introduction

In chapter three I have maintained that visibility is a significant factor in explaining the appeal of television news for the viewers. The visuals are conceived as a track of reality which assumably makes the news more credible. The factuality of the news is signalled by the use of visuals. Another assumption is that the viewers become more involved in television news due to the presentation of visuals. The assurance the viewers that the events have really happened is an important factor in promoting involvement in the programme. Besides, the effect of nearness in the visuals is, assumably, a strong drive for identification with the programme. The concern here will be to find out whether these assumptions are valid in the case of the Turkish immigrants, and if so, to which degree.

6.2 The Impact of Visuals

In the interviews, informants referred to visibility as the decisive aspect for using television news more than other news sources. As we discussed in depth the role and importance of the of visuals for the news in the second part of the interview, the informants emphasized various aspects of the visuals.

First of all, they consider the visuals as a significant part of the television news and claim that the visuals make the television news more appealing than other news sources. Most frequently, the dramatic images are referred to in order to explain this appeal:

-It depends on the film reportage. There are some which really have an impact. They make you watch the news.

-Which ones for example?

-For example the news covering protests. They recently showed Romania. It was really bad. They hit somebody who lies on the street. It made really influence on me. It makes you think about it for a few days (...) One remembers such news. (Informant D)

To characterize the appeal of the visuals, expressions like "Visuals make an impact", "They affect you more", you are more impressed" are often used during the discussion.

The use of visuals in television news are of great importance for Informant N's attraction to the programme:

If I say "a red rose", you would not be much impressed by these words. However, if I show you close visuals of a rose with the dew drops on it, you would have a totally different image (...) Or, let us say, Israeli soldiers have killed a Palestinian by hitting him on the head with stones. If they mediate this on radio you say "Oh! What a pity", not more. But if you see it, it affects you more. (Informant N)

Various informants described the effect of visuals as making the "television news more lively", or as "making things come to life." When I wanted him to explicate why the visuals are important, informant A answered:

You see something living; for example, that huge tunnel (referring to The Tunnel Construction Item) (...) Visuals show the hugeness of the tunnel. When they say a tunnel, one may miss the point that it is five meters or ten meters. When you see it live, in front of you, you get more impressed.

Another informant compares radio and television news to explicate why visuals are important:

The visuals have more influence. Let us say one hundred persons have died in a mine accident. If you hear it on the radio, you can imagine it in your mind. However if you see it on television it has more impact, you feel more pity for the people. (Informant E)

Informant P, in order to make the point that visuals make the news more trustworthy, points to the impact of the visuals:

Visuals underline the meaning of the item. This is more observable in the news covering catastrophes. Would there be any organization collecting money for the people starving in Africa, if there were no film reportages showing them dying, the children with big stomachs (...) (Informant B)

In most of these examples and in many other utterances in the interview texts, the traumatic effect of the visuals becomes observable. I have pointed out that the assumed existence of the photographer at the place of incident makes the visuals more dramatic (cf. section 3.4.1). This effect is noticeable in the above quotations. The scenes concretizing hunger, fighting, earthquakes, are astounding. They make an impact on the viewer. However, the traumatic scenes hardly allow themselves to be verbalized. This is one of the moments where the qualitative interview reaches its limitations. My informants were conscious of the great impact of visuals of accidents, fires, floods, dead bodies. But they could not state the reasons for this impact. The fascination with the visuals cannot always be rationalized (cf. section 1.4). The unconscious mechanisms which make the certain images traumatic do not allow themselves to be verbalized during the interviews. Therefore, when I asked them to clarify their statements, they added several examples including dramatic scenes: "You see that the men lie there"; "You see the boat in fire"; "(...) that the compartments are crushed."

We can allude to Meyrowitz to access the effect of visuals from another perspective. Meyrowitz points to the new forms of the interaction of various social spheres brought about by the electronic media. He says:

While we usually tend to think of situations in terms of what and who is in them, situations are also defined by what and who is outside of them.¹

As an example he mentions that doctors, when they are off duty, do not read or eat at the corner of an emergency room because it would be difficult to say "Sorry I can't help you. I'm off duty" to a bleeding patient. "Separation of situations allows for separation of behaviors"² according to Meyrowitz. Without being at the same place as the suffering people it is easier not to take account of them. The statement of many parents: "Finish all the food on your plate. Children are starving in Africa" is ineffectual "because so rarely are there any starving African children peering through the window"³.

As the boundaries of the situations change with the electronic media they give us new events and behaviors, Meyrowitz claims. The impact of visuals which appear in television news can be considered as an example of these new situations. Television brings the visuals of starving children into our living rooms. The boundaries are overstepped. The children with "big stomachs" look into our eyes. It is no longer so easy to ignore their misery. Thus, when the informants remark in many contexts on the dramatic effects of the visuals, the effect of the rearrangement of social borders might be as important as the assumed reality of the scene.

The effect of presence in the visuals make them charged with feelings which in turn brings the informants to focus on them. The shots after the speech of Ortega in *The Elections in Nicaragua Item* (cf. Appendix 1) were one of the most referred sequences. The shot of "the crying man" was recalled by several informants:

When the visuals and the text are complementary, I get the information correctly. For example related to the news in Nicaragua. In that item there were visuals of people who were gathered at that place, the visuals of the flags, and of people crying.. They can also say on radio that "People are crying", but to see it affects one more. You see that there are people who are not happy about the development. You see that with your own eyes (...) (Informant K)

The medium-close shot of the man who cries (cf. figure 2), and several other shots which display the sadness of people present at the press conference, are focused on by this informant. The visuals, since they show the details of a situation, "affects him more."

The text and visuals are hardly complementary in that sequence. But, as it has been remarked before, when verbal text and visuals give different information, the concrete content of the visuals might be focused at the expense of the verbal text. The informant does not refer to the content of the verbal text, but takes it for granted that the visuals underline the text. The visuals make him believe that the information given is correct. "I see with my own eyes", he maintains. As we have seen in the case of informant B, visuals are considered as making the news trustworthy. Also in the above case the informant conceives the information at the level of both text and visuals as correct.

To see with one's own eyes, reinforces the belief that the television news is credible, as Ingunn Hagen maintains. She suggests, in her study of the reception of *Dagsrevyen* by Norwegians, that the visuals contribute to the trustworthiness of the programme through functioning like traces of the reality which is covered.⁴

Accounting for the differences between newspapers and TV, informant O says:

Its images. They make the programme more lively. At the same time you see, for example, whether help has reached its destination or not. When one reads such news in the paper, one gets suspicious.

The visuals convince the informant that the news presented are true. He conceives them as extracts of reality.

In chapter three I have pointed out that the effect of presence in visuals may lead to higher involvement in the programme. This viewpoint seems to be valid for the immigrants:

-How does the use of film reportages affect your experience of watching television news?

-(...) They make the news more interesting to me.

-Why?

-You see the event, do not only hear.

-How does it affect to see the event?

-I get more involved in the subject, both in the sense of giving more attention to it and in the sense of being tuned to it. (Informant G)

As an example, he points to the visuals in *The Wine Monopoly* Item. The visuals of the process of filling the bottles, and of the big wine barrels were getting his attention. The close shots of the bottles (cf. figure 9), of the assembly line, and of the equipment make the viewer involved in the item. The movements within the scene and the tempo achieved through the cuts are, assumably, also important for the viewer in getting fascinated with the visuals in that item. However, the informants express this fascination, indirectly, by the sentences like these: "You see the bottles, they move on the assembly line (...)" or "It is interesting to see the process, for example how the covers are put on the bottles."

The use of visuals makes it easier for the informants to put themselves in the position of others. One informant says that he feels sorrow while watching certain news, and refers to the news related to the fire on a boat:

-How does the use of visuals affect the experience of watching the news?

-It causes sorrow. For example, in the news of a catastrophe. This is like the difference between reading a novel and watching a movie. I assume one places himself in the place of the others while watching the film. In the news, too, you think you might have been in the same boat when they show the visuals of the fire. (Informant M)

This is not, however, the only aspect of the visuals which make him involved. The movement, the closeness, the traumatic effect are some of the aspects necessary to account for in order to understand the involvement in the visuals in news.

As the visuals are charged with feeling, as they come close, as

they appeal more, and make more of an impact, the outcome is that the viewers often remember them⁵:

-What is it that affects you more in an image than in a text?

-For example, let us take the presence of the crying people in the Nicaragua item. You can never get it in the news on radio. They did not tell on the television news that there were people crying. But the visuals of that man gave the feeling included in that sentence. (Informant A)

It has been referred above that most of the informants recalled the visuals in *The Elections in Nicaragua Item*. The visuals of the guerillas and their weapons in this item (cf. figure 4), and the visuals of the small child at the garbage heap (cf. figure 5), were called back by several informants. Further, the visuals in *The Wine Monopoly Item* (cf. figures 9-11), visuals of *The Drag Lift Accident Item*, and of *The Economic Support to Gypsies Item* (cf. figures 6-8) were most frequently recalled.

Both in *The Elections in Nicaragua Item* and *The Economic Support to Gypsies*, visuals emotionalize the sequence. In *The Wine Monopoly Item*, on the other hand, the visuals give pace to the sequences and concretize the verbal text. They show how the equipment look, and how they are crushed. *The Drag Lift Item* also includes astounding visuals: What a big drag lift looks like, in pieces, when it has fallen down. The visuals are remembered at the expense of the text sometimes. For example in the discussion of the first sequence in *The Elections in Nicaragua Item* nobody said: "The Sandinists have to get prepared for the role of the oppositional politicians, a role unaccustomed for this movement (...)" They recalled the visuals however: "The man was crying", "The people at the conference were sad". The language difficulties, the long sentences in the text, and the background knowledge necessary to follow the text make the item difficult to grasp in its entirety. The informants, however, when asked, claim that they have understood the item.

Informant C recalls the visuals in *The Wine Monopoly Item*:

-Visuals are part of the perception. They talk about the Philippines and show at the same time garbages laying around. They send a complete message.

-What kind of effect has getting extra visuals?

-Visual information makes the item permanent in your mind. For example, that item about the illegal spirits production. If we had heard it on the radio, we would not have seen the equipment. You see what the equipment looks like. Policemen have crushed them afterwards. How could they mediate such things on the radio?

The necessity of concentration on visuals contributes to recall, according to a female informant with good education:

If there were no visuals on television, everybody would follow the radio news. One can get more diverse news on the radio. However, in the presence of visuals, contrary to radio, you have to sit and look. One can listen to the radio while doing other things. Visuals also enable recalling. (Informant J)

Høijer and Findahl found, in their quantitative study of the television news, that visuals have great importance for the understanding of an item. Compared to a short item read by the newsreader, an item including visuals is much better recalled.⁶

Visuals do give "extra information" beside reinforcing the message of the text. Two informants referred to the information aspect explicitly. One of them, a well educated woman, describes visuals as "silent information":

They are kind of extra information. I mean, when they speak about Nicaragua you see the nature there, and what kind of place it is. Or you see what kind of people are living there. (Informant J)

Another informant, who is poorly educated, explains the attraction of news partly by the extra information he obtains from visuals about the countries he has not been:

-You see the countries you have not seen before, be it Africa or America. The people living there appear on television.

-You suggest that the visuals give additional information about countries where the events take place?

-Yes. They are both informative about the country and they give news about the event (Informant O)

6.3 The Decodings of the Visuals in The Economic Support to Gypsies Item

Although the immigrants reserve an important place to visuals in their experience of the news, they disassociate themselves from them in certain contexts. Some of the informants who claimed that the visuals make the television news trustworthy, criticized the choice of visuals in the discussion of some concrete items. Some of the informants who, at an earlier stage of the interview, maintained that visuals underline the text through showing extracts from the reality it speaks for, later on criticized certain film reportages for being supporters of a one-sided coverage. The informants who pointed out that visuals make them involved in news, took, however, a distance to visuals in the case of certain items. As an example to the disassociations, I will refer to the decodings of the visuals in *The Economic Support to Gypsies Item*.

Informant D who takes the objectivity of visuals for granted in the case of news from Romania, is critical to the visuals in *The Economic Support to Gypsies Item*:

They showed the villas they live in. They give an image saying, "Look, we are taking care of them, giving them villas."

The houses are shot twice: Once when the reporter says that the support will be abolished, second, when she says that the employment programme for the Gypsies has not been successful (cf. figure 7). Row houses connote comfort and good standard. A parabola antenna connotes luxury. However, this informant, who is critical to the item's content, takes a distance and criticizes the image, which, he maintains, insinuate that the gypsies have a very high standard of living.

Informant A has also a similar interpretation of the same visuals:

The row houses got my attention. It seems they are trying to give the image that although these persons did not work, the Oslo municipality gave them place in nice row houses and a comfortable life.

The credibility of the visuals is restricted in the case of the immigrants. The context is significant for the reception of visuals. In the context of news covering minorities in Norway, the immigrants are generally skeptical to the visual coverage, and often claim it to be biased. The visuals are not considered as objective when the ethnic identity of the informants are at stake.

The text which accompanies the visuals is integrated into the interpretation of informant A. In the sequence where the reporter informs about the unsuccessful employment programme, the row houses appear. Informant A derives the conclusion: The message is that although they do not work, their standards of living is very high.

Informant K refers to the responses from Norwegian friends to exemplify how the visuals are effective in building opinions:

They say: "They (the Gypsies) do not accept to work, but they have houses, parabola antennas, television, cars, everything. The state supports them and they live free of charge."

The relation of the visuals to the text in the item may be considered as significant for the critical readings. The "unfocused type" of anchorage, the discrepancy between visuals and text, or the very abstract kind of relation between them open the news to alternative interpretations from the viewers. In the sequences where the row houses and parabola antenna are seen, the visuals and the text are minimally related. The critical readings of the items, then, can be assessed from the perspective of the correlation of text and visuals in television news. The inclination to discover the "biasedness" may presuppose a certain discrepancy between the text and the visuals.

Informant B mentioned that visuals are important to make the message credible. She has, on the other hand, a critical reading of the use of visuals in the case of the item about the Gypsies:

- Which visuals have attracted your attention?
- (...) in the news related to the Gypsies the image of a child was shown.
- What have you paid attention to in that sequence?
- The child had big eyes, (...) For me they (the NRK) seemed to tell us that: "If there will be assimilation in the future, it will begin with this little child. He is only eight months old, he cannot speak. He should learn Norwegian first when he starts talking".

She interprets the use of visuals, in this context, from an oppositional position. They are not reflections of reality, but of the intentions of the Norwegian authorities, according to her. However, the text in that sequence is important for her interpretation. The text has an anchorage function (cf. Appendix 1) and it interprets the visuals in a way she integrates into her own interpretation.

Informant M too is critical of the use of visuals in the item:

The visuals are from the "Diamond Case" (a news item about fraud in which Gypsies are assumably involved). The man was crying, the children were around. The woman was lying (...) They show the Gypsies in a helpless position. This is a general opinion about the Gypsies. It has nothing to do with the item.

The visuals in the item are selected from another reportage. In that reportage the accused Gypsies are seen coming to court in a Mercedes. The "luxurious cars" are recalled when the informants interpret the news about the Gypsies. This recalling might be because of the use of shots from the previous reportage, or it may be due to the long term effect of previous news. It is difficult to differentiate the cause here.

Informant N however makes a different interpretation of the visuals in the item:

- What is the specific effect of visuals then?
- They showed the Gypsiness better with the visuals.
- By which means?
- For example people who in no way fit the image of Norwegians were speaking Norwegian. They are accepted as Norwegians, aren't they? This seems a bit extraordinary.
- Why?
- Because everybody is blonde here. The fact that different kinds of people are also Norwegians attracted my attention.
- What else is different with them?
- Their attitudes, manners (...)

The attention of this informant is focused on other levels than the previously quoted informants'. He is concerned with the appearance of the Gypsies. The informant has comprehension difficulties which make him concentrate on the concrete content of the visuals without being able to relate it to the verbal text.

Informant C does not have difficulties in understanding Norwegian. However, he too is occupied with the differences of the Gypsies' manners.

-What has attracted your attention in these visuals?

-A different civilization. The man is sleeping no matter what happens around him. The children are moving around. (I:H-hm). A certain naturalness is noticeable.

The need to abstract in order to relate the text and the visuals has been addressed previously. The informant builds his interpretations on the visuals independently of the text. He is in general critical to the intentions to integrate the Gypsies totally into the Norwegian society. In this sequence, however, it is the naturalness of the Gypsies' manners which attracts his attention, not the 'flourishing prejudices' which the reporter stresses.

Consequently, although visuals are influential for the reception of the items by the immigrants, the contribution of visuals to the credibility of television news is changing in different contexts. They affirm the factuality and objectivity of the visuals unless the ethnic identity or the cultural background of the immigrants are at stake. Hence, context is significant for the reception of the visuals. The texts accompanying the visuals are also of great importance. The lack of the anchorage function of the text, or "unfocused anchorages", is a further factor contributing to the blockage of the effectivity of the visuals. The informants, depending on the background information they have about the item in concern, and their language abilities, concentrate on different levels of the visual information.

7

Interview Analysis 4: Female Readings

7.1 The Gender Variable

Although women represent a small number in the total interview group, the gender variable is of special significance with respect to the news genre, which is considered to be a male one. In the following the readings of women will be concentrated upon to analyze how womanly roles act upon the readings.

Four interviews are done with the female immigrants. Two of the women, informant P and H, are poorly educated. Informant P is from a rural area and informant H from a small town. They both came to Norway after they got married to Turkish men who had been working in Norway. Informant P is a housewife and has three children. Informant H is working in an institution for elderly people. The other two women, informant B and J have urban backgrounds and are well educated. Informant B came to Norway to study and has been living in the country for four years. She is newly married. Informant J also came to Norway after she got married to her present husband who had been working in Norway. She has been living here for 11 years and has been performing her profession during that time. She is married and has two children.

7.2 Women in Turkish Society

It is difficult to make generalizations about the role of women in Turkish society. For Europe, which has been witness to a migration wave from Turkey after the 50s, the image of Turkish women is almost identical with the "wife of the migrant" : she is religious, wears traditional clothes, is isolated and dominated by her husband. But, at least in Turkey, in the towns and cities, the images of women are more complex than the description above. One can see them in the streets: the students with their jeans, the teachers or officials with their skirts and blouses, women bringing their children to school, rich women with luxurious and modern clothes going shopping, women belonging to particular sects who have their green, grey, etc. colored raincoats on in spite of the summer heat, prostitutes with excessive make-up, and religious women with their long black clothes.¹ Because of rapid changes taking place in the Turkish society, various forms of economical and social forms exist side by side. In the big cities the statuses and roles of women are of another character than in Anatolia where traditional women roles are dominant. However the big cities include *gecekondu* districts - shanty towns - where the roles of women are not similar to that of women with urban background. Economical factors, the fact that more women work outside the home even in the small cities and towns in Anatolia, also bring substantial changes in the roles of women there.

Instead of defining women as a subordinate category in a male dominated society, it is more relevant to look at women's roles from a perspective of male-female separateness. The "male dominance" theory, or the "myth of male dominance" ignores "the dimensions of this separateness, (and) (...) also of the character of the women's spheres and their activities."²

Spatial separateness is one such dimension, as Emelie Olson defines it. Disengaging areas in which women and men carry out their activities is a tradition that goes back to Ottoman time.

Today, women participate in public life at a rate incomparable with these periods. However, in the countryside the borderlines are more clear than in urban Turkey. It is common, for example, that in the villages the wife does not enter the guest room when there are male visitors at home. In the cities, on the other hand, the separateness reflects itself in the fact that men have more public lives than women. Going out alone during the evening and night is, for a woman, a privilege limited to those living in big cities like Istanbul and Ankara, and their number is very small although it increases.

Secondly, separation between the sexes affects the "definition of tasks and occupations" considered appropriate to each sex.³ In the domestic realm, food preparation for the family, cleaning, and caring of children are women's work. "Within the extra-domestic realm of work," the differentiation "(...) varies according to the occupation and the social class."⁴ For example, it is a common presumption that a well educated woman will have a continuous working life like a man. However, in non-professional occupations, male and female jobs show great differences. Waiters and bar-tenders are almost all men and maids in private homes are women.

Thirdly, sexual separateness is quite apparent in all forms of social interaction. Especially in the countryside, "a woman is typically part of a close-knit network of women, composed of kin, in-laws, neighbors, etc."⁵ In the towns, it is usual that women come together in the afternoons. These gatherings are scheduled, i.e., each woman has once a month what is called *kabul günü* (reception day). In the cities, too, boys and girls have unisexual networks - the exception being the big cities. In public places like cafes and tea gardens, groups of male and female youth often sit isolated from each other.

Underlying the male-female separateness is the concept of namus (honor). A woman is the honor of a man, a brother, a family or even a neighborhood. *Namus* refers to the sexual purity of a

woman. To protect that purity borderlines are necessary. But definitions of borderlines differ from rural to urban areas. In rural areas, where the purity of a girl/woman is coded with sharper norms, wearing a modern, short dress or being seen around with men can be interpreted as being without honor. "Honor crimes" are more frequent in rural areas than in urban. However, a working woman has to be at the same place as the men. In this case both she and they will care for the existing norms of honor.

Women's engagement in political life is less than men's. Both the low number of active female politicians and the few women participating in the elections are indications of this. One can explain this phenomenon, first of all, from the perspective of the division of labor. The separation of sexes affects the definition of tasks and occupations. As a result, the main responsibility area for women is the home. Since the labor they perform at home is outside the production process, a big majority of the Turkish women are excluded from the political decision making mechanisms.⁶

One may also refer to the prevailing concept of honour in society. Women's engagement in public life can be a violation of the proper womanly roles and an offence to the husband, thus a sign of lack of honor.

Now, with this background information in mind let us look at the reception of *Dagsrevyen* by the female immigrants.

7.3 The Readings of Female Immigrants

Informant P watches *Dagsrevyen* every day. She is a heavy TV consumer. She has the TV on "from the beginning of the sending until it ends." As her husband works outside Bergen, TV is company for her. She sits at home most of the time when he is away. Her knowledge of the Norwegian language is very limited. She tells that she makes herself understood to her womanly

neighbors in the apartment. She has been to language courses twice for very short times, one month in Bergen and three days in another town. She says:

I went to the course for a few days. They taught new Norwegian. I forgot the Norwegian I had already learned.

She learned, with the help of womanly friends she has and from her daughter who is born in Norway, some Norwegian through time. Her husband, however, is not that enthusiastic about her learning Norwegian:

Also, my husband doesn't want me learning Norwegian. He says, "You know so much Norwegian, where did you learn it from?" I say, "I have my friends." "The number of your friends increased since we came here (to the new neighborhood)", he says. What shall I do? Either I would not learn anything, like the wife of (...) But I need it, too. I should for example, go to the doctor.

Her level of mastery of the Norwegian language reveals to her husband her involvement in public life. To him it is a manifestation of the honour crime.

She does not follow all the items, she contends. She is more interested in news related to immigrants in the country and about sensational news, like murder, rape, robbery, accident, and natural catastrophes. She is not interested in the political activities of political parties:

I don't like these party things. One says "I will do so many positive things if I come to power." He only increases the prices when he is elected.

Her lack of interest in political news, which is constituting a considerable part of *Dagsrevyen*, her problem of concentration because of the kids, and her insufficient knowledge of the Norwegian language make it difficult for her to understand the contents. She concentrated most on the visuals of the *Dagsrevyen* I presented, and she commented on them without paying much attention to the verbal text. For example, when the item about illegal spirits production appeared, she started telling about the neighborhood in which they were living previously:

There were a lot of drunken people there. They drunk a lot and threw the bottles away. This place was called "Chicago". When you take a taxi, say Chicago, they will take you to that place.

She commented on the news which referred to the Norwegian labor organization, LO, saying that "Look, I'm not interested at all when these people come into view", and on the news which referred to the loss of money in the construction of a tunnel, remembering a traffic accident that once happened at the entry of a tunnel.

She did not like the visuals from Nicaragua where a boy gathers things from a garbage heap:

Fortunately they don't show something like that from Turkey. I get very angry when they show that. Aren't there other places to show?

But she does not understand why people hearing the speech of Ortega cry, and says:

Look he cries, I would ask ... (her husband) why he cries, if he were here.

Visuals trigger personal memories in an uncontrollable way. They enter into her private world of ideas and call forth associations. This is an extreme variant of reception. The text is nothing beyond a cue for her. She assigns meanings to it which are not at all intended. She sees, for example, the visuals of illegal spirits production and remembers the neighborhood she was once living in. Private associations of this kind may be a peripheral part of the television experience for many viewers, but for informant P, they are the heart of the matter.

The other little educated woman, informant H, who works in the institution for elderly, watches *Dagsrevyen* at most three times a week. "Television is on most of the time when the programme is broadcasted", she says. Her husband watches it, but she does not watch it that often:

I watch the news when I'm not busy. But it often happens that I'm tired (...) When I come from job I feel tired; later on I feel better and I continue with the housework. Therefore I can't follow it all the time.

Although she works, she has the responsibility for the housework. The opposite would not be honorable for her husband. He is a typical news addict and he is one of her news resources indeed.

- (...) they (the men) never miss the news. They always watch it. At least, my husband is a news addict.
- And you, aren't you interested?
- No, I don't bother that much.
- Why don't you bother yourself about it?
- I don't know. Maybe because he listens.
- Because he would tell you?
- (...) yes, since he always watches, if something important happens he would tell me.

The division of labor between men and women is helpful in explaining her "lack of interest" in the news. She cooks the food, washes the dishes, etc., and he brings her the necessary information. Therefore her husband has the right to sit and follow the news while she is doing the housework. Also, getting involved with politics is overstepping the limits of the womanly role for her:

- I am not interested in politics and my husband doesn't tell that much about it either.
- Political events in Norway, don't they interest you at all?
- Not at all.
- For example who comes to the government or goes?
- That does interest me. He should not come to power, who was it...Carl i Hagen should not come.
- You say Carl i Hagen should not come to power. Do you follow the changes in government?
- Yes. I want of course good persons in government. Otherwise politics does not interest me that much.
(Informant H)

As we see, it would be wrong to conclude that she is not interested in news or politics. But she is almost "afraid" of expressing that she is concerned with political affairs. We can assume that her utterances are not only a reflection of her real interests; these utterances are also a part of the role, a traditional Turkish woman, she is playing. I believe she would rather not give the impression that she is interested in politics - although is interested to a certain extent. Both she and informant P say categorically "No" to the question whether they are interested in politics. But during the conversations it becomes apparent that they are. Informant P, for example, although claiming that she is not interested in politics, to explain why the Nicaragua item is important used her general political knowledge:

America is at war with them. The children were in the garbage. Soviet was in Afghanistan, it took a long time before they withdrew. The big nations do everything. Radioactivity, atom bombs (...)

Thus, both women indicate with their utterances that they do not want to step into the domain of men and threaten their authority. To watch the news programme is an extension of the male and female roles, as we have already elaborated in chapter four (cf. section 4.4). It is a meta-language where people say something about themselves. This is valid both for the gender roles and for the role of being a member of the society.

Work colleagues are other sources of information for informant H. Although she expresses at one place that her female colleagues do not follow the news that much and discuss between themselves films and series rather than news, she mentions later on that she learns about society through these discussions:

(...) Sweden buys most of Norway. They speak about it. One colleague said, she saw in the paper that, somebody was demanding all the foreigners to go out of the country; not only those with black hair and skins, but Swedes too.

Informant H also had trouble with the comprehension of the *Dagsrevyen* being showed. She did not, for example, recognize Daniel Ortega:

-Did you know that man's name before?
 -I easily forget foreign names.
 -Could you recognize him again? Have you seen him before in the news as the president of Nicaragua?
(she does not answer)
 -You have not seen him?
 -I think I have not seen him, or I've seen and forgotten.
 I forget since I don't bother that much.

She did not understand that it was through elections that the government shift took place in Nicaragua. She believed that a man died and somebody took over his position. The visuals of graveyard and of a man who cry might have led her to that conclusion. Thus, her lack of familiarity with the topic and the persons are important factors which hinder her comprehension of television news. Otherwise, language problems plays a role in her comprehension difficulties. She remarks that she does not understand all of the content of *Dagsrevyen*:

- I don't understand it all.
- Is it because the language is difficult?
- I don't know. Things that I don't understand appear there. Like the words that turn up there. There are unfamiliar words, I don't understand them.
- Maybe that is why you don't watch news that much?
- Yes, that plays a role too. If I had gone to the course in time, everything would have been easier, also to read newspapers. I read newspapers too, but words that I don't know turn up. Then I have to ask other people. (Informant H)

Consequently, "lack of interest" in news by the little educated immigrant women can be explained by the inability of women to comprehend the news. It is like a vicious circle. Their traditional roles do not allow them to engage that much with politics, or with the public sphere; they do not understand the topics handled in the news and they, in turn, are not interested in news.

Informant H, too, is highly interested in the news covering immigrants:

- I'm interested in the thoughts about the foreigners. For example when they show how many foreigners live in the country it has negative results in many ways.
- You mean they react to that?
- They get more hostile towards the foreigners then. Once when they showed how many Pakistanis live here, it was a bit sad for me (...) There was a woman (in the elderly house); she popped out saying: "Do you know how many Pakistanis live here? (...) Why do they come? I would not eat any foreign food, I eat only Norwegian food, etc." She stopped it when the others did not answer.

Both women, informant P and H, are emotionally engaged with the news covering immigrants. They relate it to their daily experiences and like to talk about these experiences. Sensational news are favorite topics for informant H too. Hence, their womanly roles set limitations to what they pick up on the television news and how they comprehend it.

The two well educated women, informant J and B, have a tangibly better comprehension of *Dagsrevyen*. They both watch *Dagsrevyen* every day. However, informant J seems more involved with the programme than informant B who is critical to the news genre in

general:

I don't watch news believing that I'll get information about the real reasons of the events. They gave every day reports from China, but I still don't know what were the original reasons of that development. (Informant B)

She is apparently skeptical to the utility of the news. She was bored watching the news programme I showed her. She claimed that it was very long. She told later during the interview that she does not usually watch all the items in *Dagsrevyen*. She follows the international news, and "listens to" the summary at the beginning to find out if there is something interesting. Moreover, she "hates politics": "It is a play that the grown ups play, (...) especially men." Her approach to politics is quite different from the two women informants above. She does not like the news but gives an elaborated explanation for it. Beside, she is interested in politics. Because, regardless of her considerations about politics, she believes that,

Since everything is political, you get involved with it in one way or another; hating does not help.

She watches the news programme not to be excluded from the discussions in the public sphere. Her husband's interest in news can be another explanation for the fact that she watches the programme. He puts the TV on in any case and she catches the items which interest her.

Informant J is interested in all kinds of news except the ones brought "to fill in time" (cf. section 4.8). She watches the programme both at home, and, the times she has night shift, at work. Informant J and B are good in Norwegian. The one who is a student went through the introductory language course at the university. The other informant has been both studying, giving lectures and working during the years she has been here. Their contact with different milieus in Bergen has made them acquainted with the Norwegian society. Consequently, their comprehension of *Dagsrevyen* is better than that of the educated women. Comparing the comprehension of the two items will show the differences in reception between the two groups of women.

7.4 Reception of Concrete Items

We have seen above that both informants with little education had obvious problems with understanding the *Elections in Nicaragua* Item. Informant P did not understand it in the sense that she did not receive the main message: Ortega has lost the election and Chamorro has won. But she selected certain parts of the text. These were the parts from the film reportages, *Contras with weapon* (cf. figure 4), and the child at the garbage heap (cf. figure 5). She referred to both reportages while discussing the item:

- They told that America has ruined the country. They said that while the child was walking around the garbage heap.
- How did America ruin the country?
- I think they said there was a war.

Visuals are point of reference for this informant who does not understand much Norwegian. She is hooked on to the item as long as the visuals attract her attention or includes information relevant to her. Informant H, too, misunderstood the item, as we have seen above.

Informant B and J had some relevant background knowledge for the items. Informant J's answer to my question why she chose the item as the most important story in the news, is an indication of that knowledge:

- Because the people in Nicaragua does not want him and it is a subject which has been problematical for a long time.

Informant B's comment on the presentation of the item made it clear that she had a good comprehension of it:

- The evaluation of the result in president Bush's speech, which was placed in between the two film reportage, seemed like it was pushed in between the other material. What would Bush have said if Ortega won the elections?

The different discursive contexts -or the extra-textual context⁷ utilized by women with different educational and class background were triggering different interpretations in the case of another item too. Informant P was activating the extra-textual context of her experiences from a former neighborhood for *The Wine*

Monopoly Item:

They drink a lot and get crazy, they walk in the streets like mad. We've moved, therefore, to this new place considering that more elderly people live here. But they are here too.

Informant B, on the other hand, uses the context of the general discussions about the monopoly situation:

I find it interesting. Because of the high tax-rates in the country they develop that kind of reactions. I mean, the fact that they make alcohol at home (...) They should rather conclude rationally that since alcohol is consumed that much alcohol prices should be decreased.

There are clear differences of orientation and interpretation between the two informants. Since the first woman is not interested in the message, and possibly has severe comprehension difficulties, she attaches her personal experiences, and memories to the text. The second informant, however, comes up with advanced interpretations, relevant to the message of the text.

In sum, women with different educational backgrounds show important differences in their reception of the programme, both on the level of pure comprehension and on that of interpretation. Gender is more at stake for the women with little education. They are less interested in news in general and more in the sensational news in particular. They have more problems with comprehension. The other two women, although they may not be that enthusiastic with the facts presented - as in the case of informant B - value news as something worth watching. As they are already active in public life and do appreciate equality with men, they do not follow the traditional patterns for division of work. Therefore watching news is a necessity for them as well as for the men. The meanings they construct are more complicated and relevant to the items. This is partly because they comprehend the items better and partly because they are better oriented in the topic and in society in general.

8

Interview Analysis 5: The Individual Strategies

8.1 Introduction

Up to now, with regard to individual differences, only the gender variable and the variations within the female group have been considered. Otherwise, ethnicity is considered to be the most vital motive for the meanings constructed.

However, in chapter four, it was briefly mentioned that varying interests can be decisive for the degree of relevance of television news for the Turkish immigrants. It has been noted also, in chapter five, that the features selected to exclude some people as "others" and include some people as belonging to "us" are varying among individuals.

In the present chapter, ethnic identity will be considered as a part of the collective identities of the immigrants. In other words, ethnic identity will not be regarded as the most decisive factor shaping the meaning production of immigrants in their new environment. It will rather be viewed as a variable dependent on other factors like the aims, abilities, levels of education, professions of the each immigrant and on the circumstances the immigrants find themselves in.

8.2 The Various Strategies of Identity Management

"Identity", states Epstein,

(...) is a concept of synthesis. It represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self.¹

That is to say, we do not own a singular identity; but our identities are composed of several component identities. Family identity, national identity, religious identity are some examples of the diverse components of our identities. Ethnic identity, then, is one of several identities and how it affects other components of one's identity and how it molds adaptations to the host society differs among the immigrants.²

Immigrants in a host society choose certain strategies of integration. The strategies chosen depend on a number of factors. Demographic factors like age, gender, marital status, and education are some of the important determinants. The impact of gender has been discussed in chapter seven, and it will be addressed further in the context of the present chapter.

With regard to age, one may think of the effects of generation differences on the process of adaptation. The immigrants who come to the host country at a relatively young age, through engagement in its working life, schools and universities, have the possibility of acquiring a less painful process of adaptation. Learning language, getting friends, and learning the established cultural codes in the host society is easier for a younger immigrant. The case of an elderly woman whom I met recently is an example to that. She came to Bergen recently to join her husband who has been working there for many years. She was spending most of the time at home without any possibility to get into contact with Turkish or Norwegian women. Although the young Turkish women are more isolated than men, through giving birth, working, going to language courses, meeting other young Turkish women, they do get some contacts. This elderly woman, who was living in almost total isolation, was yearning for her hometown.

The effect of marital status is stressed in the study of Tor Halfdan Aase on Finnish immigrants living in Finnmark. Aase, who interviewed 53 Finnish immigrants, distinguishes gender, marital status and professional competence as the most weighty statuses determining the course of life of immigrants after they migrated to Norway.³ The bachelor immigrants with little education stay the same "social person" they are, i.e. do not change any of the other statuses, they possess, and get little contact with the Norwegian people, if they do not marry a Norwegian. On the other hand, a considerable number of Finnish women who work in a fish processing factory, before marrying, change their job, their leisure activities and their circle of friends after they get married to Norwegians. The change of jobs can be explained partly by the appropriation of Norwegian values, according to Aase, as jobs in the fishing industry is regarded as low status jobs in Norway.⁴

Immigrants with high education will take other standpoints than poorly educated ones in their adaptations. As we have seen in chapter seven, the educational backgrounds of women plays a role for their participation in public life in Norway.

Occupation is another factor which contributes to explaining the orientations towards the host society. The job determines the circles the immigrants will enter into, the attitude he will meet from the members of the majority society, and therefore his opinions on the host society. For example, a man who works as an engineer has a different position in the host society than an immigrant working as a garbage man, which in turn affects their intentions regarding integration into the host society. A male worker, whom I have visited with two other Turkish immigrants, has been in Norway for twenty three years and has a low status job. All these years, he has been considering to move back to Turkey. As he could return home any time, he did not buy much furniture. He listens to news on a Turkish radio channel every day and he did so when we came to visit him.

Duration of stay in the host society is also important to account for the different strategies of adaptation. An immigrant who has been in Norway for a short time and who has little knowledge of the society and the language will have other opinions of the society than an immigrant who has been there long enough to get friends, learn the traditions and customs, and adapt to them.

Lastly, the factor of main motivation for coming to the host society will be taken into consideration. A worker who is in Norway mainly to make a certain amount of money to be able to start a desirable life in his own country, assumably has a different process of adaptation than an immigrant who wants to settle down permanently.

We should keep in mind that the factors listed above are not constant. With regard to the Finnish immigrants, changing marital status implies changes in the course of life of immigrants. Also, changing professional, educational career, or changing the original motive for staying in the country in the course of time, modifies the strategies of the immigrants. A student who decides not to go back to his country, will reconsider his opinions of the host society. He will, presumably, enter into new circles of friends, get more oriented about Norwegian society, and change his free time activities.

The varying educational, occupational backgrounds of the immigrants, their different duration of stay in Norway, and other demographic factors like gender, age constitute the 'horizons' with which they approach to television news and construct meanings from it. The interpretations differ significantly depending on the variations in these factors.

However, whether ethnic identity will have more effect than the other components, is dependent on the context as well as on the immigrants' backgrounds and aims. As Tesli writes:

Which one of the different identities that will be dominant in a particular situation is completely dependent upon the interactional situation; who the interaction-partners will be, the actors' resources, and other aspects of the empirical context and situation.⁵

Thus, the particular cultural and socio-economical context in which the immigrants find themselves can be identified as the second set of determinants of their adaptations. The ethnic composition of the host society, its history and present political structure, the existing facilities offered by the host society are some of the significant structural features of that context.

Armin Alt and Ralf Romotzky, in their study of the integration of immigrants in Köln, underline that the positive trend of integration is under the burden of new developments in the city. The increasing shortage of housing in Köln, in addition to the already present unemployment problem, influences the climate of integration. They note that contrary to 1987, when only eight percent of the inhabitants were referring to the high number of immigrants as the most important problem of the city, in 1988 this percentage had increased to twelve.⁶

In Köln there were living 152 000 immigrants in 1989, and 43 % of them were Turkish. In the present context of unemployment and shortage of housing, immigrants are considered as the unpleasant competitors. In Norway, on the other hand, there were 80.000 immigrants in the whole country in 1981, and the Turkish population was 2449⁷. Such a low number is surely positive to prevent reactionary attitudes in the Norwegians. However, it has its drawbacks too. For example, the existence of an already established Turkish community in Köln and in many other German cities represents an opportunity for many immigrants to start their own businesses, like restaurants, video shops, jewelry shops, small fast-food shops. In 1985, 22.000 Turks had independent jobs of this kind in Germany.⁸ In Norway, the possibility of starting such business is quite minimal - except in the capital, Oslo. One of the informants claimed that his Turkish food shop did not do good business and he should have to

close it down. He wants to move to Germany, if Norway enters the Common Market.

In spite of the low number of immigrants in Norway, their housing conditions are far from desirable. The research Bente P. Bø has carried on among 500 immigrants from India, Pakistan, Turkey and Morocco shows that there are considerable differences between the immigrants and the other Oslo citizens. While two thirds of immigrants interviewed live in the inner zones of the city, only one third of the other Oslo citizens do so.⁹ The future of the immigrants' houses is uncertain, or short. While there is living on the average 2,1 persons per room in the apartments of the immigrants, the average is 0,9 for the other citizens.¹⁰ The housing standards of the immigrants were not that encouraging either. For example, while 80 % of the other citizens had good standards of sanitary equipment, only well over one fourth of the immigrants did so. Also, only 27 % of the immigrant households had their own bathroom.¹¹

The working situation in the host society is also significant. Ragnar Næss stresses this aspect:

(...) it is important to see how the working situation affects the immigrants' possibility of bettering their general situation in Norway'.¹²

The fact that one third of the Turkish immigrants have shift work prevents their participation in social life or in activities like evening courses, according to Næss.

Media facilities for immigrants can be taken as one of the indicators reflecting the general level of services given to immigrants in that country. In countries like Germany and England, where, the immigrant populations are bigger, the newspaper and radio services are better than in Norway. In Germany, it is possible to buy seven Turkish newspapers in the big cities, *Hürriyet* (Freedom), *Milliyet* (Nationality), *Tercüman* (Translator), *Günaydın* (Good Morning), *Türkiye* (Turkey), *Gazete* (The Newspaper) and *Milli Gazete* (National Newspaper). These papers are printed in Frankfurt and, except for *Milli Gazete*,

they can be found in the railway stations and Supermarkets in the smaller cities too.¹³ Additionally, a rich variation of magazines and journals is available.

In England, there is a wide spectrum of daily and weekend newspapers for the ethnic minorities. *The Carribean Times*, *Janomat*, *Nawai Wagt*, *Sing Tao* are examples presented by Charles Husband. Also, one can find a number of local papers, he notes. However, the majority of the British press in England - as a result of the minority politics pursued until the mid of sixties, which assumed that the immigrants should learn to be British - is for the white public.¹⁴ In Norway, there are no Turkish papers or magazines sold in the small cities. There is one Turkish newspaper which is sold in Oslo, *Hürriyet*. Besides the magazines *Hafta Sonu*, *Hibir*, *Nokta*, *Yüzyıl*, *Avni*, *Kadınca*, are available in this city¹⁵.

To sum up, factors like housing standards, job facilities, the present economic conjuncture, working conditions, and the total number of immigrants are decisive for the life courses of the immigrants in the new society. The media facilities, on the other hand, are another group of resources which cannot be overlooked. All of the dimensions discussed, by contributing to the immigrants' opportunity situation, affect the maintenance of the ethnic boundaries. They give motives to accentuate, play down, undercommunicate their status as Turkish immigrants - and hence affect their prospective on Norwegian culture and media. As Husband says:

The ethnic belonging is not only a question of the identity of the subject, but it is conclusively determined through the material reserves and the existing infra structures.¹⁶

Although such structural conditions set limitations space for individual differences remains. Immigrants media use and their reception of media texts reflect the wide variation of interests, strategies, and points of view among them. In the following, the interview texts will be analyzed to find out how other components of identity interact with ethnic identity.

The examples chosen are considered to be the ones which most

instructively reveal the individual variations.

8.3 Individual Variations

Two women with little education choose *The Drag Lift Accident* as the most important item in the news. Informant P explains her choice in this way:

If it is an accident, they also bring a film reportage. Visuals get my attention. When they just speak I don't find it interesting.

The second most important item for her is *The Elections in Nicaragua*. The visuals are decisive in this context too. The visuals of the child and the garbage heap, and "the woman with the crutches" are the ones she retells:

They said America has ruined the country and showed at the same time a picture of a child by a garbage heap (...)

Afterwards she continues with her general knowledge of the damage caused by the "big nations" (cf. section 7.3).

Educational background and gender are two significant factors, in the case of this informant, determining, first the intentions for her new existence, and secondly, her reception of the news programme. Her status as a woman limits her participation in the society. Her motivations for gathering information relevant to the new society are, therefore, few. Her poor educational background becomes another barrier to participation. Lacking the necessary abilities through which she can derive further knowledge applicable to the new society, her incentives become even fewer. She chooses, as a result, to stress her ethnic identity. As she remarks, she does not like that Norwegians mix her with the immigrants from Chile. "I'm Turk", she says, "I want them to infer that I'm a Turk." She pays attention to the "Muslim" - "Christian" differentiation and is sensitive to Norwegian reactions to the immigrants in the country. She does not make plans for her future life in Norway, and wishes to return as soon as possible. This attitude to the host society can be identified in her reception of the news. She is usually

interested in the news covering the immigrants. The other type of news that attract her attention is with regard to the content or to the mediation easily comprehensible news. The visuals are a help to comprehension. Beside, she usually pays attention to the sensational news:

-At the beginning there is the summary. If there is something interesting there, I watch. If it is about the foreigners, I watch. If about Norwegians I don't.

-Are there no interesting news about Norway?

-If they kill somebody or kidnap them, then I watch.
(Informant P)

She concentrates on the news about the immigrants and the dramatic news, and the most important stories she identifies can be seen as a part of her general strategy of adaptation. This strategy, on the other hand, is limited by her individual resources.

Informant H picks up *The Drag Lift Accident* as the most important one and *The Union of Two Banks* as the second. About her choice of the first item she says:

Maybe it is because I understood the story. That the drag-lift had fallen down (...) It had broken down. People were injured.

The relatively uncomplicated nature of the report is, obviously, of importance to this informant who has a similar background as informant P. However, informant H is working and has, consequently, more contact with Norwegians. She meets from time to time her work colleagues outside the job. Although working does not affect her traditional womanly role very much, it does bring an other vision of Norway. She is more interested in the news covering Norway. We may assume that her interest in *The Union of Two Banks* may be an indication of this.

Informant K is one of the immigrants who has a relatively high social status. He is well educated and has a good qualified job. He has been in Norway for eleven years and is married to a Norwegian. During the first years of his stay he was active in *The Turkish Association*, (*Den Tyrkiske Foreningen*), and therefore in good contact with the other Turkish immigrants. However, the association is dissolved recently, as a result of the disinterest

of both the previously and recently arrived immigrants, and his contacts with the Turks were at a minimum by the time I made the interview. He moved from the student village to a private house after he got married, and this contributed to his less frequent contact with the Turks. He does not plan moving back to Turkey and is not occupied with giving his child knowledge about Turkey or his mother tongue. He judges Turkish as a less developed language than Norwegian, a consideration which he presented as we discussed the difference between the Turkish and Norwegian television news:

- The politicians here talk properly as a politician should do. If they promise something or warn somebody, it is more serious than the promise or warning of the politicians in Turkey. (...) For example, if I were speaking in Norwegian here, there would be a big difference of level. Because I can't express myself in Turkish as well as in Norwegian. (...) Maybe it is because of the characteristics of the language. Norwegian is like a more developed language (...)
- Do you refer to the language or the way it is used?
- Turkish is a less developed language. I mean they (Turkish politicians) speak the same way as they did ten years ago.

The informant, who took his education here, is assumably acquainted with a wide spectrum of abstract and technical words in Norwegian which he can not translate immediately into Turkish. Moreover, he refers to the language of politicians when he criticizes the Turkish language. He is critical of the way politics is practiced in Turkey which he refers to the language used by the politicians. His case is almost the reverse of the above immigrants for whom ethnic identity is central to their sense of identity. He feels limited when he wants to express himself in Turkish. His ethnic identity becomes apparent at other times, as when he criticizes the drinking habits of the Norwegians (cf. section 5.4.2). But his high status and the long time he has spent there is, evidently, of importance to his adjustment to the host society. In the context of the news covering the minorities in Norway, he was preoccupied with minorities other than foreigners:

There are almost no news covering them. They could mention the. Lapps, the migration from North to South Norway. Why do they migrate? (...) the unemployment problem of Norway, for example. I consider unemployed people as minorities. They do not have a stable position as the other minorities, one day among the employed, another among the unemployed.

Compared to informant D, for example, he is not much interested in the news covering refugees or other immigrants. Since a number of immigrants maintain that the news present the foreigners as a problem, I asked his opinion about it. He says, he does not have the impression that they are too often covered.

Two items, which are often ignored by the informants or regarded as uninteresting, are selected by informant L as the most important stories: *The LO Item*, and *The Union of Two Banks Item*.

-If one considers the order of items the one from Nicaragua does not interest Norwegians.

-Why not?

-Things happening in Nicaragua are not relevant. First of all the dismissal of Bergen Bank's employees is important. It is relevant at least for one person in every family. Also the negotiations of the *LO*. These are the ones which interest Norwegians most.

-And which ones are most important for you?

-First *LO*, second *Bergen Bank*.

The informant chooses the items because they are the ones which involve him most. The negotiations of the *LO* will affect his salary, and dismissals in *Bergen Bank* touch him indirectly - as *Bergen Bank* owns the firm which controls fifty percent of the shares in the firm he is working for; this may mean dismissals in his own work place, too.

This informant, who has been living in Norway for fifteen years, also has a well qualified job and good living conditions. He chooses the local news as the most important items. Except for two other male workers and two women who singled out *The Drag Lift Accident*, this is an uncommon instance. Seven informants referred to *The Nicaragua Item* as first most important item. Informant L, on the other hand, was not interested in the item at all. When we were discussing *The Gypsies Item*, the informant made the following comments:

-One of the biggest problem in this country is the tax rates. Everybody has to pay high amounts (I:H-hm). (...) Therefore, when somebody gets more rights than others they get angry. When they show negative responses to the foreigners, it is because of the same thing. They say: "I pay my taxes, I tear myself apart to reach a decent standard of living, then they come and get everything at once."

-Is it that easy?

-You know interesting things happen. Recently a refugee told me that he found an apartment and paid very much for the furniture. I considered it afterwards: When I came here, I only brought fifty marks. I did everything on my own. (...)

His standpoint when approaching the item reflects the position he has reached in society, and his degree of integration. He is not critical to the coverage of the Gypsies as some immigrants are. He takes sides with the Norwegians. He uses Norwegian values: One should work hard. He refers to the dominant idea of equality: Why are the Gypsies an exception? He does not need to put emphasis on being Turk as much as the other informants. His position as member of an ethnic minority is not a big problem, as it is in some other cases - owing to his long years of stay, his high education, his good job and hence, his degree of integration. Therefore the need to maintain the ethnic boundaries does not often manifest itself, in his case.

For a male worker, informant O, *The LO Item* is the most important one too. His reasons are, however, different. He is married to a Turkish woman who also lives in Norway. He has been in Norway for sixteen years. But such a long duration of stay does not mean only positive integration for him. Whereas the two well educated informants mentioned above managed to reach a good standard of living over the years of stay, he has met a totally different situation, being unemployment. Recently, because of the present crisis in the industry he is working for, he lost his job. His interest in the local news, therefore, is not an indication of the interest in Norwegian society, but a reflection of his vulnerable situation.

Another male worker, informant D, who has been here for eleven years, is married to a Turkish woman. He chooses *The Elections*

in *Nicaragua Item* and *The Economic Support to Gypsies Item* as the two most important news. The informant, who makes plans for moving back to Turkey with his family, is critical of the Norwegian television news in general. He criticizes the programme for not showing the problems of Norwegians:

Lots of people are bored to death here, because they are alone. On Saturdays or Sundays, they don't know what to do. Compared to informant K, who does not consider the presentation of the immigrants as being too frequent, he criticizes the news about foreigners for being excessive.

When three or five families arrive, they speak about it for hours. This causes people to be more preoccupied with the foreigners. I wish that there were fewer news about them. They overdo it, they cover every single person who applies for refuge. People then think: "There are so many refugees".

He actively combats prejudices against foreigners. For example, he called a newspaper which covered a rape as if the guilty was a foreigner, and made them aware that this was a biased coverage.

His readings of the items are in accordance with his generally critical attitude. He regards *The Czechoslovakia Item* as biased. About the visit of Havel, he says:

They (the Norwegians) try to tell us that the Soviet system is no good, that they (the Russians) accept today the system they once abolished. I don't agree with them. Okay, they are poor, but at least they don't have the inequalities which exist here: some people are poor and some rich. (...) Besides, if they had an egoist system of the Western kind, they would have been rich too. They care for the society, therefore they are a bit less developed.

This immigrant obviously disagrees with immigrant L, who regarded the system in Norway as an equalitarian one. Informant D explains the level of welfare with reference to the egoism of the system while immigrant L points to the assiduousness of its members, he himself being one of them.

Informant A, who has been here for six years, has been studying during this period. He does not have comprehension problems when watching the news programme. He was interested in politics when he was in Turkey. He has been judging the news covering

corruption in Norway and Eastern Europe as a criticism of the social democratic system (cf. section 5.6). He criticizes the Norwegian television news for its coverage of the immigrants, and refers it to government policy:

They don't present much news related to the foreigners. The ones presented reflect government policy. They have a trend recently for accepting fewer refugees. Therefore, on the one hand they say: "What a pity, why do they leave their country?"; on the other hand they create suspicion: "But they even do not have passports, how do these cheaters come into Norway."

The informant does concentrate on the differences, but in doing so he alludes to his general political orientation. He refers to government policy, not to the demands of Norwegians wishing to underline their positive sides, or their being egoist. He chooses *The Nicaragua Item* and *The Wine Monopoly Item* as the most interesting ones for him. He explains that the Wine Monopoly item is engaging,

because it does not reflect the dominant ideology. There is a linkage. They try to give an impression that they treat the case as severe. Still, it has to do with something which is not unusual in this society: to be against the laws.

To conclude, the individual variations are significant. Focusing on the interview texts only from the perspective of ethnic identity would cause one to overlook these differences. The backgrounds, present statuses and resulting adaptational strategies are important components the immigrants' 'horizons' and they vary among the immigrants. Resultantly, although being Turk is signalled by all the immigrants, they do not emphasize it to the same degree. Besides, what they select to indicate it is not the same for all. Such variations become noticeable in the interview texts. The choice of the most important stories is one such context where divergences become apparent. Another one is the general attitude towards the programme. While underlining the irrelevancy of the items or disapproving of the main stance of the programme is typical of many informants, some of them completely accept its choices and priorities. Divergences are apparent in the readings of particular items too. The meanings constructed differ a good deal depending on what the immigrants

pick up from the home and host cultures in their ongoing process of "exclusion" and "inclusion". For one immigrant it is the drinking habits of the Norwegians which is focused and made a sign, for another it is the established political system. One points to the equality in Norwegian society, another, points to the problem of loneliness, or the situation of the elderly.

CONCLUSION

Often, the encounter of two cultures have been viewed as a "meeting" of cultures. Such a consideration directed the attention to cultural differences in themselves and not to the formation of these differences. As Frederik Barth says,

One has tended to think in terms of different peoples, with different histories and cultures, coming together and accommodating themselves to each other.¹

However, cultural differences get new significance in the interaction between the cultures. In the present study, which has the aim of understanding Turkish immigrants' use and appropriation of the Norwegian television news in terms of ethnic processes, the encounter of different cultures is regarded as a process of exclusion and inclusion as well as a "meeting". The importance of that assumption is that the reception of television news by the immigrants is part of a work of signification - of interpreting, ordering, and strategically handling a new social reality - as well as a moment in the clash between ready-made cultures.

Cultural differences are of importance for the readings as far as they relate to the dimensions of the comprehension, credibility and relevance. The lack of background knowledge of the items, a sense of a strangeness with regard to both form and content, and the difficulties involved in learning a new language impede the comprehension of the Norwegian television news for the Turkish immigrants. Cultural orientations are also pertinent to the question of relevance. The Turkish immigrants' expectations as to what is relevant and interesting are shaped by their

previous experiences and by the degree of cultural closeness of the items. The type of items which mostly appear on Turkish television news, and the "Turkish" way of telling the stories, constitute the basis of their anticipations. Since in the production of *Dagsrevyen*, the expectations of an other public is implied, the relevance of the items decreases for the Turks. The topics which are most relevant for them are news about immigrants, news from Turkey, and foreign affairs news. The expectations of the informants also affect the perception of the items. In certain contexts, for example, the immigrants conceive the interference of other institutions with NRK as being considerable, which in turn shapes their understanding of the items in concern.

In the production of meaning from Norwegian television news, Turkish history and religion, Norwegian drinking habits and attitudes to work, and gender relations get a new significance for the immigrants.

Turkish history is made relevant to the interpretations, as it contributes to the group identity of the immigrants. Events in the course of Turkish history and discourses referring to them are selected to the extent that they contribute to that group identity. The discourses of cultural unity are, for example, employed in the understanding of items related to Turkey and its minorities. History is also made relevant in the triggering of the immigrants' Third World identity. Negative news from the so called Third World countries are given meaning from the perspective of a conscious member of Third World. The Third World identity does not, however, constitute a significant component of the Turks' identity in Turkey. It is in the context of being an ethnic minority in Norway that it comes to play such a vital role.

For the maintenance of the ethnic borders, religion is another appropriate means. The informants load their religious identity with symbols of ethnicity. Often, the dichotimization "us"

Muslims versus "them" Christians is employed in the interpretations. Dichotomizing in this way helps the immigrants make sense of the new social reality and at the same time it supports their sense of identity. Differences between the Turks regarding degree of religious devotion are underestimated while the differences between Muslims and Christians are overvalued. Thus, religion not only gives a perspective on life in general, it also helps to integrate the Turks as a group.

Ethnic groups take cultural differences into account. However, there is "(...) no one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences."² The informants select the differences which they conceive as significant. Ethnic identity management is, then, one of the important motives behind the process of selection. To which parts of the given text the immigrants respond is shaped by their cultural background as well as by the process of identity building. Consequently, to keep a sense of group identity, of belonging to an "us", even an immigrant who has spent many years in Norway may select the news related to Turkey as the most relevant for him.

However, to maintain that the interpretations are the result of a process of ethnic identity management only, would be an oversimplification. Comparing how different factors affect the reception, I have tried to reveal the complicated nature of the reception process. Structural conditions in the host society determine this process as well as demographic factors like education, civil status, and profession. An immigrant who has a high status job or is married to an Norwegian, has a different point of departure in the choice of adaptational strategies than an immigrant who has a badly paid job or a Turkish family in Norway, and that difference in turn, is decisive for the reception of the texts.

I have paid special attention to the aspect of gender. The clear-cut divisions between the roles of men and women in the rural areas in Turkey affect the interpretations. The female informants

coming from these areas have little formal education, which also shapes their interpretations. Beyond educational differences, their being women determines that they either conceive the news as mostly "their husbands' programme", or that they tend to be not interested in the political news. Indifference to the political news indicates that they do not want to step into the domain of men. There are also marked differences in comprehension of the content of the items between the women from rural and urban areas. Less substantial differences between the roles of men and women in the urban areas means that female informants with an urban background conceive the television news to be as relevant for them as it is for men.

The visuals are undoubtedly a vital part of the television news. The popularity of television news among the informants are to a great extent due to the visuals. Visuals in news often have a traumatic effect. Images of accidents, catastrophes, and misery affect the viewers. That impact has its roots, partly, in the belief that what is on the screen is real, since the cameraman or photographer must have been at the place of the incident. The closeness of the visuals is also powerful. TV often reveal human bodies and feelings, in detail. Besides, the movement in the images, and the very pace of the cuts, make the visuals fascinating. Visuals, consequently, generate involvement with the programme.

However, there are limitations to the informants' involvement in the Norwegian television news. Cultural differences and ethnic identity act together in diminishing the intended identification with the programme. The immigrants' trust in television news is limited. Their expectations, shaped by their experiences from Turkish television news, is one factor behind the restricted trust in the programme. The cultural distance to the common sense of the programme is an other factor. The common sense taken for granted by Norwegians is sometimes strange to the Turkish immigrants simply because they are foreigners. Being a foreigner means that the immigrants are unacquainted with the cultural

forms and values conventional in Norway. Consequently, the elements of enunciation of *Dagsrevyen* are sometimes not appreciated by the Turks. Aspects like the existence of two official language and the use of dialects, as well as the appearances and reading styles of newsreaders induce detachment and encourage critical distance.

The distance to the forms and cultural premises of the Norwegian television news is produced, on the other hand, by the process of ethnic identity management. The immigrants stay critical in certain contexts, because the text puts their ethnic identity into question or more generally because they will underline their being Turk.

Due to the extensive knowledge derived from the interviews, it is not possible to present here all the important aspects included in the interview texts. However, I would like to comment on one last topic, the demand of the immigrants to get news in their own language and related to their homeland. The immigrants often expressed disappointment over the lack of programmes taking up their own problems and of information from their own country. *Mozaik*, sent on a Swedish channel, has been taken as an example to the desired type of programme. The immigrants wish, first of all, getting news in their own language. Secondly, they would like to "see themselves" more often on the screen - in the sense of being informed about their own problems and events in their own country. Thirdly, they want to obtain news constructed from perspectives other than merely a Norwegian one. They state that fulfillment of these demands will make Norwegian television news and the channel it is sent on more trustworthy for them.

NOTES

Introduction

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3. See Jostein Gripsrud's assessment on the role of the researcher and attainment of the "adequate knowledge" in J. Gripsrud, "Toward a Flexible Methodology in Studying Media Meaning: Dynasty in Norway", in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 7(1990), p. 124-6.

Chapter 1

1. The point of departure is Klaus Bruhn Jensen's description of "three maxims of reception" in K. Jensen, *Making Sense of News*, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1986.
2. By critical theory I refer to the Screen theory.
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6. K. Schrøder, "Et Måleinstrument's anvendelighet...", p. 30.
7. K. B. Jensen and K. E. Rosengren, "Five Traditions in Search of Audience", in *European Journal of Communication*. Vol 5 (1990), p. 214.
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19. See D. Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film*, London: Routledge, 1985.
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21. J. Gripsrud, "Toward a Flexible Methodolody in Studying Media Meaning: Dynasty in Norway", in *Critical Studies In Mass Communication*, 7(1990), p. 121.
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44. I. Ang, "Culture and Communication..." , p. 107.

Chapter 2

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11. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books: New York, 1973, p. 24.

12. *ibid.*, p. 23.

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5. A. Tesli, *Individual Adaptations, Domestic Units, and Identity Management Among Turkish Migrants in an International Setting*, Departement of Social Anthropology: Bergen, p. 334.
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9. After the recent developments in Middle-East, president Turgut Özal took the initiative to make the use of Kurdish free in the country. This initiative met, however, opposition

from the conservative parties. The law is under revision.

10. The translation is done without preserving the aesthetic qualities in the poem. I have rather tried to uphold the literal meaning of the poem.

11. D. Morley, and K. Robins, "Spaces of Identity:...", p. 14.

12. *ibid.*, p. 10.

13. F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Universitets Forlaget: Oslo, 1970, p. 14.

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16. *ibid.*, p. 307.

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7. R. Næss, *The Turkish Immigrants in Norway: Situation and Problems*, Work Research Institute, Oslo, 1981, p. 2.
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get the total number of foreigners for the same year. See R. Næss, *Innvandrere på Norske Arbeidsplasser*, Arbeidsforskningsinstituttene, Oslo, 1985.

8. F. Sen, *Türkei. Land und Leute*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986, p. 147.

9. B. P. Bø, *Fremmedarbeidere i Oslo*, Diakonhjemmets Sosialscole, Oslo, 1979, p. 280.

10. *ibid.*, p. 283.

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12. R. Næss, *The Turkish Immigrants in Norway...*, p. 19.

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15. These are the ones present in March 1991.

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Conclusion

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APPENDIX 1

Description of the News Programme Presented to the Informants

1.1 The Time Schedule

The news programme sent on February 26th 1990:

- 00.01 The Title Sequence
- 00.16 The Summary Lead
- 00.40 The Elections in Nicaragua Item
- 06.33 The Czechoslovakia Item
- 08.43 The Economic Support to Gypsies Item
- 11.7 The Union of Two Banks Item
- 13.26 The LO Item
- 16.00 The Drag Lift Accident Item
- 18.17 The Wine Monopoly Item
- 22.35 The Tunnel Construction Item
- 24.36 The Actors Item
- 25.27 The Weather Report
- 29.50 Repetition of the Headlines
- 30.41 The Studio

1.2 The Summary Lead

00.12 The Elections in Nicaragua Item: "The opposition won the elections in Nicaragua. Ortega recognizes the defeat".

00.19 The Economic Support to Gypsies Item: "The special economic help to Gypsies should be removed, according to minister of social affairs Wenche Frogn Sellæg."

00.26 The Drag Lift Accident Item: "Eight people are injured in a drag Lift accident. The lift fell down on the mountain Strande in Sunnmøre."

00.33 The Wine Monopoly Item : "The monopoly is loosing ground to the illegal spirits producers. Smuggling and illegal production account for half the consumption."

1.3 Description of the Items

In the following, a synopsis of all the items and a detailed description of a number of selected items will be presented.

The Elections in Nicaragua Item, The Economic Support to Gypsies, and The Wine Monopoly Item, with regard to their narrative construction and to the special character of text-visuals relations in them, are considered to be the most relevant and controversial ones for the immigrants. During the interviews, such an assumption was confirmed. Additionally, *The Czechoslovakia Item, The Drag Lift Item, and the LO Item* were seen to be important by the informants. However, compared with the three other items mentioned above, they were not so often subject to discussions.

1.3.1 *The Elections in Nicaragua Item*

a) *Synopsis*

At the beginning, the election results from Nicaragua are presented by the newsreader. Afterwards, in the first film reportage, the atmosphere at both the loser's and the winner's side is depicted. Daniel Ortega, the loser, recognizes the results at a press conference and Chamorro, the winner, celebrates with her followers.

The next reportage, including the speech of president Bush, characterizes the responses from America. The reporter, Eva Bratholm tells that the American foreign affairs minister James Baker characterizes the victory "as a victory for freedom."

The third film reportage brings a view over the recent history of Nicaragua. It starts with a scene where Violetta Chamorro places flowers on her husband's grave. The rest of the reportage has the characteristic of background knowledge. Here, the Sandinist revolution, Chamorro's position in the new government after the revolution, and the support of the non-socialist political leaders to the Contras, is narrated.

The last reporter describes the present economic situation in the country.

b) *The Construction of the Item*

The introduction is followed by a long film reportage which includes shots of Ortega's press conference, of the headquarter of the opposition, of Chamorro's arrival to the headquarter, of the jubilation after the results are known. The reportage is given a dramatic characteristic by the text of the reporter and by cuts which reveal the emotional responses of the Ortega adherents. The contrast of atmosphere in two different locations, Ortega's headquarter and Chamorro's, makes the reportage almost melodramatic.

Shot

Daniel Ortega at the press conference.

Text

The president of Nicaragua and the government will respect and carry out the people's mandate and the results of this election.



Figure 1

The reporter starts with his story after Ortega's speech. The text stresses the "dramatic results" of the elections. The accompanying visuals are cuts from the press conference:

Shot

Ortega's wife hugs him at the end of his speech.

Text:

The loser of the elections in Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, admitted the election results in an emotional speech when half of the votes were counted. Ortega and the Sandinists must from now on,

Shot

Closeups of a young man who is crying as Ortega admits his "defeat".

Shot

A man stroking the hair of a woman who sadly leans to his breast.

get prepared for the role of oppositional politicians, unaccustomed for a movement which have had almost complete control during the last ten years.



Figure 2

The concluding scene of the first part of the reportage is a close shot of Ortega as he listens to the "International", his left hand raised. The shots - Ortega's disappointed expression, his wife's hug, and the shot of a young man crying - make the sequence dramatic. The text-visuals relation in the sequence is of a changing character. The first sentence underlines the previous visuals. It explains what Ortega was saying and in which mood. Afterwards, the text and visuals each give different information. While the text tells that the Sandinists have been in power for ten years, and that they must prepare themselves for the role of opposition, the visuals describe the moods of the people at the press conference. At this point there is a minimal connection between the visuals and the text. While the text

speaks about the defeat, the visuals show a concrete situation after the defeat. They cover the feelings, the support, etc. The only connection is that they show Ortega's emotional condition for the moment.

In the continuation of the report, some of the visuals are shots of Chamorro, of her adherents hugging her, of the cheerful masses. The text on the other hand informs about the "active help" of USA to Chamorro and about the expectations for the suspension of the present trade boycott. The text and the visuals include separate information in this sequence as well.

The next reportage begins with President Bush's speech. It covers the comments of Bush and Baker on the election results and their significance for the Nicaragua-USA relations.

The visuals have, in the beginning of the report, a function of redundancy. They show the Congress and the talking heads of Bush and Baker. In the sequence where Bush gives his speech, the text has a function of what Barthes calls relay. There is a unity between the text and the visuals. Later on, however, the visuals include different information from what is referred in the verbal text.

Shot

A quarter of FSLN: a barrack with F S L N written on both sides of the entrance door. At the reception sit three young people with election campaign t-shirts and hats. A woman stands up and opens her jacket to show the t-shirt's logo: Daniel president. One of the men also turns around to make his t-shirt's logo visible.

Text

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, James Baker, has, early today, invited Nicaragua to an armistice in the country. For the US, the result of the elections in Nicaragua has several practical consequences. The most important is the demand of economic aid, from USA to Nicaragua, which is now raised.



Figure 3

This is one of the sequences where the visuals and the text have least in common. To establish a kind of connection between text and visuals in this sequence, one must be operating at a very abstract level: The armistice implies the ongoing war, hence one of the partners, FSLN. To see this connections, the viewer must have at hand substantial information. The discrepancy between text and visuals probably makes the sequence open to anchorages from the viewer. As the text's anchorage function is poorly developed, the viewer might use the visuals in construction of other meanings than the preferred ones. At the same time, the meanings produced will be more dependent on information already acquired than in the case of items where the text has a clear function of anchorage.

The third reportage includes shots of Chamorro as she leaves flowers on her husband's grave and as she gives her vote; some archive visuals including shots of Sandinists as they take over power; and shots of Contras with their weapons. In the first sequence, the text has a function of anchorage. The text tells that Chamorro went to her husband's grave and informs about the surgery performed on her leg. The visuals show the crutches as

she puts flowers on the grave. Afterwards, her political background is reviewed with accompanying visuals from archive. Lastly, the contributions of the non-socialist Nicaraguan political leaders to Contras are commented upon with the parallel visuals of Contras and their weapons.



Figure 4

Next are visuals of poverty from Nicaragua. While the voice-over tells that the country is economically ruined after revolution, war and natural catastrophes, we see a child at a garbage heap. Here, the visuals support the text's meaning: Nicaragua is economically ruined. The text's function is that of anchorage. It interprets the visuals: This is not any garbage heap, this is a sign of bankruptcy. The visuals, too, interpret the text: Economical ruin means garbage heap, small kids looking for usable items at a garbage heap and very thin cows. The visuals underline the meaning of the text by concretizing it. They show concretely what the text tells about.



Figure 5

The difficulty in interpreting such constructions of text and visual is that it needs an abstraction on the basis of elements included in the visual. In some cases, this abstraction may be a demanding process, which makes the meaning potential of the sequence ambiguous. In this item, the abstraction from garbage to economic ruin may not be that demanding. However, there are several examples in the television news where a high level of abstraction is needed to find any connection between visuals and verbal text. The outcome of such a divergence may be that the viewers focus on the concrete content of the visuals at the expense of the verbal text.

1.3.2 *The Czechoslovakia Item*

This item covers the official visit of Havel to Moscow. The newsreader introduces the item: Havel is going to discuss the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Czechoslovakia. In the first film reportage the reception of the Havel on the airport is covered. The reporter portrays Moscow's previous attitude to Czechoslovakia over the visuals: "Victims of the new Stalinistic regime which came to power in Prague after the Soviet invasion

in 1968, are now honored guests in Moscow."

The reportage continues with visuals covering the withdrawal of the Soviet army, starting on the same day as the visit of Havel to Moscow. The text informs that the details of the withdrawal are under preparation.

The reportage ends with the problematic situation between Poland and Germany. Chancellor Kohl does not recognize the Oder-Neisse border. Therefore Poland, contrary to Czechoslovakia, demands that some Russian soldiers stay in the country. This part of the reportage includes a good deal of information about a topic which was not introduced by the newsreader: the problems between Poland and Germany. This is an unconventional construction. The usual procedure would be to go back to the studio before introducing the new topic. As we will see later, this creates difficulties in understanding.

1.3.3 The Economic Support to Gypsies Item

a) Synopsis

The abolition of special money support given to Gypsies is covered. In the interviews, the minister of social affairs and the leader of the council for Gypsies explain why the support will be removed. In the reportage, the housing conditions of the Gypsies and their attitude to work are presented.

b) The Construction of the Item

"Now to the support to Gypsies which the minister of social affairs Wenche Frogn Sellæg is resolved to stop." The newsreader opens the sequence with this sentence. A film reportage is next. The reporter, over the visual of a Gypsy child, and two women tells us that "Samson Caroli is one of the children the Norwegian authorities would like to integrate completely into Norwegian society."



Figure 6

The text has an anchorage function. It tries to fix the meaning of the visuals: This is not any child. This is one of the Gypsy children the Norwegian government wants to integrate into Norwegian society.

Afterwards, one of the visual motives which appear often in the item, the row of houses in which the Gypsy family lives, is seen.



Figure 7

The voice over repeats, over the shot, the information given by the newsreader: The support given since 1972 will be removed. These visuals function like an introduction to the following text's content: "The Gypsies live in these houses. They are integrated to a certain extent. But they do keep their caravans which are symbols of their foreignness. They are not completely integrated. They do not, for example, want to work."

The following text starts with the interview of the minister who motivates her decision. The minister says that the settlement of the Gypsies has been successful and that the Gypsies can now do their duties like other Norwegians. They can, for example, send their children to school. In another interview, Gunnar De Capua, the leader of the council for Gypsies, also stresses that the time has come to stop the support.

The next film reportage starts with shots of the office for settlement. From now on, the construction of the shots is of crucial importance. Here, the borders between fiction and documentary is vague. The documentary visuals are constructed as in a fiction film to underline the text's message.

Shot

The names of the employees, on the wall in the settlement office, are shown. The door is opened as a woman enters.

Text

The settlement of the Gypsies has been successful, maintains the office for Gypsies.

Shot

Camera tracks in to the left corner. A man is writing something on a PC.

Shot

One of the row houses. A pan to the right makes visible the caravan.

But employment has been much more difficult to carry out for the office.

Shot

A mailbox which is not locked - the key is broken. With a tilt up the row houses come into the scene.

During the last seventeen years only one person has been employed.

The minister of social affairs is on the screen once more :
 "Yes, our expectations were maybe too optimistic regarding employment, although we made good progress in settlement..."
 Then follows the rest of the film reportage:

Shot

An elderly woman is lying on a couch. She is crying. A young girl is sitting on the other end of the couch. She is looking at the old woman, apparently upset.

Text

But the support did not resulted in complete integration of the Gypsies in Norwegian society. Prejudices have flourished.



Figure 8

Shot

An elderly man is sleeping or mourning. He gives the impression of apathy.

The text hangs together; first it reports that there are difficulties involved in putting the Gypsies to work. Then the interviewee comments on that topic; at the end, the reporter comments that the help given did not reach its goal. The visuals, on the other hand, like in almost every other news item, do not hang together. They are selected as film material for the item and to symbolize the text's meaning: The shots of the office for settlement visualize the part of the text which mentions the office; the shots of a caravan and a mailbox underline the part of the text which tells that the Gypsies do not work. They symbolize that the Gypsies do not function in the society in the way they should. The construction of the text is such that little space is left to the viewer's own interpretations. The visuals, on the other hand, to the extent they are not directly connected

with the text, are open to associations. In the last sequence, for example, the visuals signify that the Gypsies are not that well off anyway. However, the abstraction level needed to reach that conclusion is very high.

1.3.4 The Union of Two Banks Item

The proposal for the dismissal of a high number of employees is reported in relation to the approaching union of two big banks in Norway. This is one of the topics which is covered repeatedly in the news. Hence, the news about the union have been introduced on other occasions. This time it is the dismissal of some bank personnel which is in focus. By the time this news programme was sent, unemployment was a hot topic in the Norwegian media and in *Dagsrevyen*.

In this item, visuals often have a function of redundancy. When the reporter tells that up to 300 can be removed, the shots are from the interior of a bank. The counter and the people working behind it are seen on the screen. Additionally, there are two interviews, one with the chief of the concern and one with a union leader.

1.3.5 The LO Item

The decision taken by the labor organization in Norway not to include local payment raises in the central negotiation frame, is the topic of this item. The newsreader presents the decision taken. Then, follows a film reportage presenting images from a firm, *Kværner*.

Shot

Closeups of a worker. We see him through a machine at which he is working.

Zoom-out: We see the worker and the machine.

While these images replace each other, we hear that, although there has been dissatisfaction within lots of firms since *LO* decided that local raises will be

Shot included in a central frame,
 Another worker who is working the fright is now gone.
 with a hammer.

Shot
 A third worker working with
 his gloves on.

After the interviews with two members of the joint representative committee of the firm, and with the union leader, the next shots are from the meeting of the LO's secretariat. The leader of LO, Yngve Hågensen, is interviewed.

The film reportage goes on with shots of the Kvernner plant. The reporter gives us an overview over the firm's recent profits and explains that the employees want their share to regain the purchasing power. Member of the presentative committee appears once more and points to the fact that a 10 % increase in salaries is necessary to balance the increase in prices.

1.3.6 The Drag Lift Accident Item

This is a coverage of an accident in Sunnmøre, in which eight people were injured as a drag lift fell down at the mountain of Stranda. In the film reportage, the details of the accident are presented with shots from the location of the incident. The visuals have a function of redundancy in this context. They refer to the same context as the verbal text. While the reporter says that the lifter for a 900 meter drag lift has fallen down, we first get a long shot of the place of the incident, then close shots of the lifter which has fallen down.

The interview with the leader of the skiing center is cut into the reportage which ends with shots of the skiing center and with the further comments from the reporter.

1.3.7 The Wine Monopoly Item



Figure 9

a) Synopsis

This is a report on the contribution of wine monopoly to the state budget. According to the statistics Norwegians drink less spirits than before. However, the report is related, later, to the exposure of a illegal spirits production factory in Melhus. The consumption of spirits, we are told, is more or less out of control.

b) The Construction of The Item

The first part of this item is composed of an interview with the director of the wine monopoly and of the reporter's comments on the shots from the wine production assembly line. As an introduction, over a shot of a bottle of red wine, the reporter informs us that during the eighties the Norwegians began to consume more wine. The interview with the director is less serious than the rest of the interviews. In a shot which is obviously planned on beforehand, he shows us the monopoly's biggest success:



Figure 10

The interview continues with accompanying shots from the assembly line. "Smuggling and illegal private production are the alternatives to monopoly", the director of the wine monopoly maintains, and the second film reportage refers to the "competition" from the private producers in Melhus. It is reported that the police have found 5.5 thousand liters of pure alcohol and confiscated 2.000 liters of finished products. The shots of the confiscated products underline this information.

Later, the houses used for production, and the luxurious lives of the producers are described. Reminding a detective film narrative, the camera approaches the houses on the road, and the villas of the producers are revealed.

At the end, the reporter tells that as the producers dared to steal the confiscated equipment, the police decided to destroy it. On the screen are shots showing how the equipment is crushed.

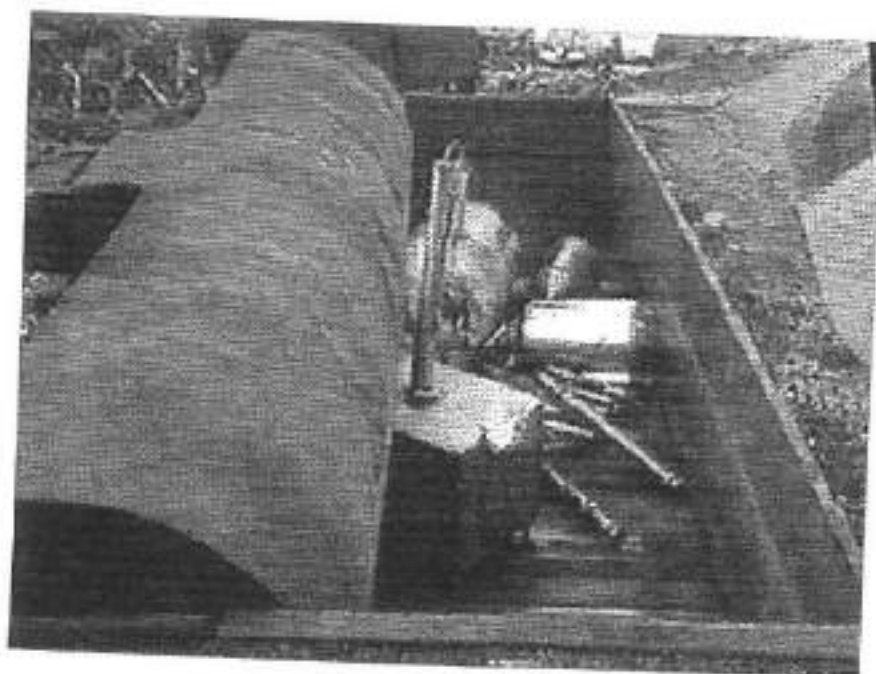


Figure 11

1.3.8 The Tunnel Construction Item

This is a report about a huge sum of money, 300 000 million kr., which will probably be lost in the construction of a tunnel near Ålesund.

The reporter, over the shots of the opening ceremony, the graphics of the tunnel plans, and the tunnel under construction, gives more information about the problems with construction, and background knowledge related to the tunnel. The item ends with an interview: It is the chairman of the administration for the construction of the tunnel who is interviewed.

1.3.9 The Actors Item

This is a short item reporting the death of two theater actors, Arne Bang Hansen and Finn Kvalem. The photographs of the actors are seen on the screen as the newsreader reads the text about the their careers.

After this item, following are repetition of the headlines, and the weather report. The last sequence is a total shot of the newsreader and the weather reporter. At the same time we see the cameraman and the cameras in the studio.

APPENDIX 2

1.1 Interview Guide

1.2 Media Use in General

1) Newspapers:

Which papers do you read regularly?

How often do you read them?

How long time do you spend on each of them?

2) Journals:

Which journals do you read?

How often do you read them?

Do you buy or borrow them?

3) Books:

What kind of books do you usually read?

What is the title of the last book you have read?

How many books do you read approximately in half a year?

4) Radio:

Which channels do you listen to?

How long do you listen to the radio daily?

Which programmes do you like?

5) Television:

How long do you watch television daily?

Which programmes do you prefer?

6) Cable TV:

Do you have access to cable TV?

In case, how long do you watch these channels daily?

Which channels do you prefer ?

7) Video:

Do you have a video recorder?

In case, how often do you watch video?

a) seldom b) 2-4 times a week 3) more often

What kind of video film do you watch?

8) Cassettes and LPs:

How long time do you listen to music cassettes and LPs daily?

What kind of music do you listen to?

9) News sources:

What is the most important news source to you ?

Why?

1.3 Watching Dagsrevyen

1.3.1 Use in General:

1) How many times a week do you watch *Dagsrevyen*?

2) Did you watch it yesterday? If not why?

3) Do you watch news on other channels than NRK? In case, on which channels?

4) What do you think of them?

5) What do you think of the broadcasting time of *Dagsrevyen*? Do you want it to be changed ?

1.3.2 Context:

6) Do you do other things while you watch *Dagsrevyen*?

7) Do you watch *Dagsrevyen* together with other people? If yes, how often?

- 8) How is it to watch together? Can you, for example, compare it to watching alone?
- 9) To what extent do you discuss the items in *Dagsrevyen* with other people afterwards? With whom do you discuss?

1.3.3 Understanding/Information:

- 10) What are the reasons, you believe, for people watching television news?
- 11) What are your reasons for watching television news?
- 12) What kind of information do you in general obtain through *Dagsrevyen*?
- 13) What kind of information do you obtain about Norway? Can you give some examples?
- 14) Do you obtain information from *Dagsrevyen* which changes your opinions about Norway? Can you give some examples?
- 15) What kind of information do you obtain about Norwegians through *Dagsrevyen*? Can you give examples?
- 16) To what degree are these informations in accordance with the image you have formed previously? Through which other programmes or channels do you obtain information about Norwegians?
- 17) To what extent is it possible to arrive at judgements about Norway and Norwegians through the information presented in the news?
- 18) To what extent do you use this kind of information to understand what is happening around you and the events in the world?
- 19) To what extent can other minority groups use this information?

1.3.3: Awareness of genre characteristics/Relevancy:

- 20) What are the subject matters or topics with which *Dagsrevyen* is most often concerned?
- 21) What do you think is decisive for the order of the items in *Dagsrevyen*?
- 22) Which are in general the topics that interest you?

- 23) Which are the topics that do not interest you, can you an give example?
- 24) Are the themes that do not interest you in the majority in *Dagsrevyen*?
- 25) Why does NRK, you believe, give priority to these topics?
- 26) What other news topics do you like to watch?

1.4 Discussion of Specific Topics:

- 1) What do you think of the coverage of minorities living in Norway?
- 2) What do you think of the news covering the Turkish immigrants in Norway?
- 3) What are your opinions about the news covering Third World countries?

1.5 Comparison:

- 1) If you compare the Turkish and Norwegian television news, what are the differences between them? How do you explain these differences?
- 2) What were your opinions about *Dagsrevyen* during the first year you were here? To what degree could you understand the news by then?
- 3) Have your opinions changed during these years? In what way?
- 4) Do you watch more or less now?
- 5) How can you explain these changes?

1.6 Discussion of the Dagsrevyen Presented

1.6.1 First Impressions:

- 1) What are you first impressions of the programme?
- 2) What are the most important news in this sending for you? Why?
- 3) What other items were interesting? Why?

1.6.2 Information:

- 4) What kind of information have you derived from these news?
- 5) What kind of information have you obtained about Norway and Norwegians?
- 6) Were there any item including information in conflict with your opinions about Norway and the Norwegians?

1.6.3 Opinions:

- 7) What are your opinions about the foreign affairs news?
- 8) What are your opinions about the item covering the minorities?
- 9) Were there any items that you disliked? Why?
- 10) Were there any items which were not, you believe, in accordance with reality? Why?
- 11) Were there any item which, with regard to its content, included examples of typical Norwegian mentality or attitudes?

1.6.4 Visuals:

- 12) Which visuals have you paid special attention to? Why?
- 13) How does the use of visuals affect your experience of watching television news?
- 14) To what extent, you think, are the use of visuals important for the television news?

1.7 Personal data

Gender W _____ M _____

Age _____

Civil status Married _____ Bachelor _____ Liv. tog. with
som. _____ Divorced _____ Widow _____

Number of children _____

Education (number of years) _____

Profession _____

APPENDIX 3: Overview Over the Informants

Informants	Gender	Age	Civil Status	Children	Education	Profession
A	M	30	Single	0	18 years	Student
B	W	26	Married	0	20	Student
C	M	34	Married	0	22	System operator
D	M	30	Married	1	7	Furniture maker
E	M	28	Married	1	16	Electrician
F	M	32	Married	2	10	Business man
G	M	32	Divorced	0	22	Student
H	W	30	Married	1	5	Worker
I	M	29	Married	0	6	Waiter
J	W	39	Married	2	22	Academician
K	M	29	Married	1	14	Engineer
L	M	39	Single	0	23	System programmer
M	M	49	Married	2	11	Business man
N	M	24	Single	0	18	Student
O	M	34	Married	1	8	Worker
P	W	26	Married	3	7	Housewife