INFORMING A DISTRACTED AUDIENCE:

NEWS NARRATIVES IN BREAKFAST TELEVISION

Emma Copeman

Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Bachelor of Arts (MECO), Honours

Department of Media and Communications

October, 2007

Abstract

This thesis takes its lead from Baym's (2004) suggestion that incorporation of entertainment techniques into television news undermines its authority and credibility. To explore this question, textual analysis was conducted on the news bulletins of Australian breakfast television programs *Sunrise* and *Today* with regard to narrative features and the spread of traditional news conventions compared to entertainment techniques. This analysis was followed by a discussion of the dominant meanings produced by the news narratives of *Sunrise* and *Today*.

The two programs employed similar narrative styles that largely adhered to traditional news conventions, positioning themselves as impartial and authoritative relayers of news. However, narratives of both programs also diverged from traditional news: both used entertainment conventions – with *Today* often abandoning the traditional Inverted Pyramid news story structure for new structures – and contained briefer stories, with references to the opinions and personal experiences of the item presenters. In some breakfast news items, the short and sometimes personal narrative structure diminished the construction of impartiality. While entertainment techniques represented a potential threat to the overall authority of the news, in this analysis, the threat was mitigated by the dominance of traditional news conventions and authority was retained.

In summary, departures from traditional news narrative structure and delivery are evident in Australian breakfast television, and may partly decrease its news authority and impartiality. However, the ability of these programs to retain distracted breakfast audiences may depend on the brief, entertaining and sometimes personal nature of the news items.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief;

    i.   incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

   ii.   contain any material previously submitted or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

  iii.   contain any defamatory material.

Signed.

Date.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr Anne Dunn, for her invaluable guidance over this past year. Without her inspiration, tireless enthusiasm and helpful feedback this thesis would not have been possible.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Dr Marc Brennan for all the advice and assistance that he has given me throughout the year.

Finally, I am grateful to my family and close friends for their continued support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

Introduction

> "I'd like us to take a bold step to help restore viewers'
> trust in TV news, by ridding the output of those
> traditional – and rather hackneyed – 'tricks' that have
> been used for years. We are trusted by our viewers to
> make editorial judgments to help tell a story but, at a time
> when viewers are more familiar than ever with how TV is
> made... we need to work hard to retain that trust."
>
> David Kermode, Five News, UK.

On August 30 2007, newly appointed UK Channel Five news editor, David Kermode, announced a ban on "staged shots" in news items. Television executives everywhere took notice. CBS said they had already banned misleading shots and Sky News said they supported moves towards more honest and direct programming (Macintyre 2007). Others were cynical, with one BBC source claiming that it was easy to ban such shots on a channel that reduced complex news stories to small "bites" (Macintyre 2007).

Whatever the impact of Kermode's plan, it highlights a significant issue for television news producers: the influence of editorial judgements on the ability of the news to maintain credibility and attract viewers. In television news, producers and presenters construct credibility through established visual and oral techniques that connote authority and impartiality (see for example, Hartley 1982:107-129; Allan 1999:101; Bignell 2002:116). Yet news programs also use techniques aimed squarely at engaging and entertaining audiences (see for example Postman and Powers 1992:9; Ytreberg 2001:363; Turner 2005:13, Harrison 2006:180*).*

Some theorists argue that techniques that aim to engage and entertain audiences may jeopardise the authority and credibility of television news. Baym (2004) and Dunn (2005) contend that a television news program's authority relies on distinctive combinations of aural and visual techniques that construct the program as providing an impartial view of reality. If these traditional techniques are replaced with new techniques aimed at audience attraction, the program loses the distinctive combinations that rendered it identifiable as a 'news format' and may subsequently lose the authority traditionally associated with news (Baym 2004:296; Dunn 2005:152).

This thesis aims to explore the question of whether audience-attracting techniques undermine the credibility of news, by analysing recent television news bulletins. In particular, it will assess whether such techniques impede the ability of television news programs to construct themselves as authoritative and impartial. The analysis is based on the assumption that all television news items and bulletins are narratives – communication structures that possess inherent cultural and social meanings (Fulton 2005:1). These narratives reflect considered editorial decisions about style and structure (Allan 1999:98), as well as naturalised and dominant assumptions about the workings of life (Hartley 1982:55, Hall 1996). This thesis will explore how the considered decisions of editors, producers and journalists affect meaning in television news narratives.

The Case of Breakfast Television

Although debates on the nature of narrative in journalism extend to print, radio and online formats, this thesis is confined to television. The absolute priority of attracting large audiences is most apparent with television. In contrast to radio and

magazines which increasingly target niche audiences with average circulations of

around 45,000 ('Nielsen Media Research Survey No. 6 2007' 2007) and 100,000

('Top 100 Magazine Circulation' 2006) respectively, news and current affairs

programs on Australian free-to-air television aim to attract large and varied

audiences, sometimes managing as many as 1.6 million viewers in a single episode

('Weekly Ratings Report' 2007). While national and metropolitan newspapers may

achieve circulations that are more similar to those of television programs,

television's capacity for visual and aural communication makes it a particularly

suitable medium for investigating the tension between maintaining audience attention

and providing information. Lumby (1999) argues that the nature of television itself

demands entertaining content:

> All television favours elements we traditionally associate with drama
>
> rather than journalism: performance, visually arresting sequences, a
>
> strong narrative, and an appeal to the emotions and senses as well as
>
> the intellect (Lumby: 58).

Moreover, it has been argued that television is regarded as the most authoritative

form of journalism, as audiences equate its perceived immediacy and impartiality

with truth (Bignell 2002:111).

Several aspects of breakfast television news suggest it as an ideal subject for analysis

of the impact of audience-attracting techniques on the construction of news

credibility. First, breakfast television is a relatively recent phenomenon in the

popularisation of the television news genre (Pantti and Wieten 2005:21). The need

to achieve high ratings has been theorised as a key cause of the 'tabloidization' of

news (Turner 2005:50) and breakfast television provides an ideal context to explore connections between attracting audiences and the use of entertainment. Second, breakfast programs are suitable for studying the potential of entertainment formats to undermine the authority of news. The conversational style of breakfast television and the juxtaposition of news items with lifestyle and music segments are evidence of potential threats to authoritative news content. Third, breakfast television programs admit to shaping news stories and bulletins in order to suit their format and their audience. One of the programs analysed in this thesis, Australian breakfast show *Sunrise*, have publically declared that they write news in "a very Sunrise way" and "don't like spin and never allow political speak" ('About Sunrise' 2007). Breakfast program producers deal with a fluctuating and easily distracted audience – as most are getting ready for the day ahead – and need to produce content that will primarily attract and retain attention. As a result, these breakfast programs are likely to produce news items that have different communicative features to the traditional news style. Finally, the area of breakfast television news has only been sparingly explored. To date, there has been no research that focuses specifically on breakfast television news narratives. Thus, studying breakfast television offers the possibility of contributing original data and research findings to the field of media and communications.

As a consequence of the lack of work in this particular area, this thesis will draw on sources from several different fields to inform its theoretical framework. Analysis of news items and their meanings in this thesis is grounded in theory on entertainment in journalism, narrative theory, television theory and current theory on breakfast television. These fields will be further discussed in the literature review in the following chapter.

Research Question and Chapter Breakdown

In light of the above considerations, this thesis poses the following research question: in breakfast television news narratives, are connotations of authority and impartiality undermined by techniques used to engage audiences? This project has been broken down into three separate objectives. The first objective is to provide an overview of how current theory accounts for breakfast television news and establish the theoretical framework that will be used for further analysis. This objective is addressed in the first chapter of the thesis. The second objective, covered in Chapter Two, is to apply the theoretical framework to specific examples of breakfast television news and describe the nature of their communicative features. The third and final objective involves evaluating the nature of communicative features and their implications for the credibility and authority of breakfast television news. This objective will be discussed in the third and final chapter. In the following paragraphs, the chapters are described in more detail.

Since no academic literature specifically focuses on the form of breakfast television *news*, the literature review in Chapter One discusses theory on entertainment in journalism, narrative theory, television theory and current theory on breakfast television. Thus, its theoretical framework draws on studies from a variety of academic fields including Media, Cultural and Communication studies, Literature and History. This chapter forms a theoretical framework based on debate over entertainment in journalism, the connotation of 'objectivity', narrative theory and theory on breakfast television.

Chapter Two provides textual analysis of narrative in the *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins, based on the theoretical framework established in Chapter One: that all texts can be considered narratives and that news-telling is a process of construction involving the use of techniques to connote mythic meanings including 'objectivity' and 'authority'. The narratives of these news segments are found to retain many of the traditional television news conventions as well as to employ non-traditional techniques more commonly associated with entertainment programs. These conventions and codes have been shown to support specific mythic meanings including authority, impartiality, immediacy, friendliness and casualness.

Chapter Three discusses the overall dominant meanings constructed by the narrative techniques used in *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins. Two arguments are put forward. First, the construction of the narrative to connote comprehensive and objective coverage impinges on the connotation of impartiality. Second, narrative techniques used to engage audiences do not necessarily undermine the authority of news programs. In concluding, the chapter provides possible explanations for these results that refer to the influence of commercial pressures, the demystification of television production and the constraints of morning television on the news narratives.

Methodology

This project examines news bulletins featured on two national breakfast programs, *Sunrise* and *Today*. To explore the tension between attracting audiences and reporting news fully, it is necessary to examine free-to-air programs such as these that successfully maintain large audiences. *Sunrise* and *Today* also provide an opportunity to investigate Australian journalism at a national level, in which journalists must cater to a wide audience and investigate potential news items that are

relevant nationally.

The primary method of the project is textual analysis, as the aim of the thesis is to look at how meaning is created in the texts of specific programs. By selecting a sample of programs, analysing the communicative features of the news bulletins and then discussing the dominant meanings that these features construct, the thesis will fulfil its objective of analysing the form of news in breakfast television.

The methodological design used to analyse the narrative techniques of breakfast television news involves three steps. First, due to the time and space limitations of the thesis, it was not possible to analyse exhaustive amounts of news items and news bulletins. Therefore a typology of breakfast news features was created, from which rich examples were drawn to be discussed in more detail. The creation of this typology provided a manageable amount of relevant material to analyse. Second, the structure and communicative features of the news stories were analysed and compared with common news and story-telling techniques. Third, the meaning that these texts create was investigated. Narrative voice, visual features, language and other aspects of the news were analysed in accordance with their cultural and social context, allowing arguments to be made about possible dominant meanings.

The textual analysis conducted required the following steps. First, the 7am news bulletins of *Sunrise* and *Today* were recorded for the week beginning July 30 2007. Although breakfast television programs broadcast bulletins every half-an-hour from 6am until 9am, the 7am bulletin was selected as it often contains the most news items (around eight items per bulletin) and according to *Sunrise*'s internal ratings is typically the most watched bulletin. The analysis involved creating a typology of styles and selecting particular 'rich' examples which were described in detail.

Finally, the results were analysed using structuralist narrative theory (Propp 1968; Barthes 1974; Todorov 1977) and were compared to the communicative features of traditional news (see for example Hartley 1982:107-129; Allan 1999: 99-105, Bignell 2002:109-136).

With regard to the position of the researcher, I worked as a casual production assistant on *Sunrise* while researching and writing this thesis. The work undertaken was not specifically relevant to the thesis, but involved formatting scripts and operating the autocue. Nevertheless, through observation of production processes at *Sunrise*, the narrative analysis in this thesis is informed by a close understanding of news production.

Research Significance

The significance of this research project is its contribution to a specific debate about television news and more broadly about the role of the media and the use of entertainment in journalism. By providing analysis of the narratives of recent news bulletins, this thesis intends to contribute to debate around the implications of the use of audience attracting techniques. Several recent studies have found that new news-telling techniques ensure better audience retention and understanding of news than traditional techniques such as the Inverted Pyramid structure (see for example Knobloch 2003; Hastall et al. 2004; Yaros 2006; Machill et al. 2007). However, if these new techniques undermine the authority and impartiality of the news, they may hinder the ability of the news institution to retain the trust of the audience. This thesis may assist in exploring this possibility. By discussing the usefulness of narrative theory as a theoretical framework for television news, the thesis will contribute to discussion of the relationship between narrative and media. In general,

this thesis makes a contribution to the academic literature on breakfast television and to discussion of the relationship between entertainment and journalism.

While the study is limited to analysis of Australian breakfast television programs, some of the theory could be applied to programs in other western countries such as the UK and the US. Although Australian television has its distinctive features, the general form of UK and US television has become indigenised in Australia and they share close family resemblances (O'Regan 2004:79). Thus, some conclusions of this thesis may be applicable to breakfast television in other parts of the world. The following chapter establishes the theoretical framework that forms the basis of these conclusions by conducting a review of literature relating to breakfast television news narratives.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Over the past two decades, the volume of academic literature discussing the form of television news has expanded steadily. However, there is no academic work that focuses specifically on news narratives in breakfast television. Consequently, this thesis will draw on a range of theories from other areas in order to map out its conceptual framework. Since this thesis looks specifically at the effect that methods used to entertain audiences have on meaning in the news, this chapter begins by reviewing the debate about mixing entertainment and journalism that emerged with the advent of the mass media in the early twentieth century. This review is followed by a discussion of the concept of 'objectivity' in journalism and an examination of narrative theory as it pertains to television news and to the medium of television. Finally, since breakfast television has now developed specific narrative features of its own, this chapter reviews literature specific to the breakfast television genre.

Entertainment and Television News

Debate on the impact of entertainment in television news traditionally revolves around its effect on the duty and the ability of the media to create an informed public. Concerns about the presence of entertainment in the media can be traced back to the work of Adorno (1991) and the Frankfurt School in the 1930s. Adopting a transdisciplinary approach that incorporated political economy and textual analysis, the group theorised that media owners manipulated people by creating a mass culture focused on entertaining rather than informing. According to Adorno, instead of encouraging people to think analytically, the media use entertainment to distract people from the real issues in life, such as politics. By the 1970s, arguments about the dangers of entertainment in the media had emerged that centred specifically on

television news and current affairs. Langer (1998:1-2) refers to these arguments as a "lament" for highbrow journalism in which theorists argue that journalism's traditional role of creating an "informed" public had been supplanted by television producers whose focus was entertaining audiences. According to Langer (5), these arguments are based on the notion that television news is capable of acting as a "transparent and neutral vehicle for relaying information". One of the more recent proponents of this "lament", Turner (2005), argues that television has the potential to fulfil the role of informing society but often flouts this in pursuit of ratings. He contends that increased emphasis on achieving high ratings in current affairs television through the provision of cheap, entertaining content aimed at national audiences, has undermined its function of informing citizens and contributing to democracy. He describes this shift in content as a move "away from politics and towards crime, away from information-based treatments of social issues and towards entertaining stories on lifestyles or celebrities" (Turner: 50). Central to Turner's argument is the notion that television programs in Australia produced some 'serious' journalism. He lists current affairs programs from the 1970s and 1980s such as *Hard Copy* and *This Day Tonight* in support of his argument. However, Lumby (1999:xii) argues that far from creating an 'informed public' many television and current affairs programs produced before the 1980s excluded important issues from public debate as they were rooted in the paternalistic value system of the time which prioritised the issues of particular members of society. She contends that lifestyle-focused stories are a lot better at informing the public about the things that matter to them than the 'serious journalism' which they have been criticised for supplanting (Lumby: 8).

Conversely, Postman (1985) argues that television will never be able to achieve an informed public. He proposes that the emphasis on the visual in television

undermines its ability to produce 'serious' journalism, and thus "entertainment is the supra-ideology of all discourse on television" (Postman: 87). According to Postman, the nature of the medium of television implies an unavoidable dependence on images, where ideas are of secondary importance. Thus, television news may not be suitable for the discussion of 'serious issues' in news and journalism because more complicated ideas that are unable to be expressed visually are omitted or underemphasised.

Other arguments concerning entertainment and information in television journalism also take issue with the notion of 'informing the public'. Hartley (1999:7) contends that arguments claiming to support informing 'the public' are misleading because they presuppose one homogenous public, when in fact there are numerable diverse publics. The idea of 'informing the public' is thus problematic if only because no program can hope to fulfil all the demands of the plethora of different publics that exist.

Langer (1998:5) argues that the role of journalism on television has never been to inform, rather that "viewer linkages to the news and the larger world it represents may be more ritualistic, symbolic and possibly mythic than informational". Thus television news is not presentation of fact, rather, choices are made about what events should be included in the news, how those events should be framed and how those viewpoints should be communicated. The primary function of television news may not be to transmit specific facts but rather to provide commentary on what is deemed by news producers to be significant in society, and the choices made about what to represent and how to represent it demonstrate the dominant values and beliefs of the society. In this view, entertainment is not conceptualised as a threat to the successful communication of serious facts, as content and ways of

communicating are no longer separated into those that 'inform' and those that 'entertain'. Rather, both are considered as part of a discourse of knowledge on the social and cultural. This idea will be further discussed in the section Understanding Television.

Clearly, the relationship between television news and entertainment is highly contested. In one view, television is an entertainment medium that inherently trivialises information on serious issues. In another, television is a medium that can accommodate both entertainment and information-based formats and has the potential to engage citizens in stimulating and informed public debate. And in a third view, television's main function is as a social and cultural commentator rather than explicitly providing information or providing entertainment. In analysing the use of techniques aimed at engaging audiences in breakfast television news narratives and the dominant meanings they construct, this thesis contributes to this debate on the relationship between television journalism and entertainment.

'Objectivity' in Journalism

To properly discuss the form of news stories, one factor must be considered that has had a large influence over the form of news over the past century – the professional value of objectivity. The concept of 'objectivity' in journalism involves assumptions about the ability of journalists to provide facts about the world that are universally true. Objectivity has been cited as the guiding principle of mainstream journalists, practised in journalism through the use of particular research and writing procedures intended to avoid bias (Schiller 1981:3; Lumby 1999:35). The claim of objectivity became a signifier of authority in the media, as serious journalists held that their 'objective' news reports were incontestable as they were merely 'reporting the facts'.

Tuchman (1978) challenges the view that news merely reports facts. She argues that news does not provide an exact reflection of reality; rather, it is "a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity" (Tuchman: 97).   In her view, any act of representation is an act of construction, as the nature of the representation will be influenced by the person constructing it, the materials used and the person interpreting it. Tuchman (1999:304) argues that journalists and media institutions have developed certain techniques that misleadingly denote 'objectivity' in order to protect themselves from criticisms of bias and bad reporting.   A particularly problematic technique, according to Tuchman (1999:302), is structuring a news story in an Inverted Pyramid style where material facts come first, when each reporter will have a different idea of what actually constitutes a material fact.

Tuchman's theory precludes the existence of objective news reports, but does not rule out altogether the value of objectivity as a professional ideal. A journalist can acknowledge that they will never achieve objectivity in reporting yet still develop ways that they can get as close to objectivity as possible. However, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that using objectivity as an unattainable ideal is problematic, noting that attempts at objectivity often result in heavy bias. Despite these criticisms, objectivity still plays a major role in journalism today (Schudson 1995: 9). But perhaps in part due to these criticisms, objectivity increasingly operates alongside the principle of "engaged journalism" (Ytreberg 2001:363) in which the journalist acts as an active, compelling relater of the news event instead of a mouthpiece for information.

Narrative Theory and News

Contemporary narrative theory of television is based on narrative theory of literature and film. Despite the different narrative constraints of literature and television, some

of the narrative theories of literature remain influential in work on television narratives to this day. Of particular significance are the structuralist theories of narrative espoused by Propp (1968) and Todorov (1977), which focus on explaining the structure or organisation of a story. Propp argues that folk-tales are linked by a common structure involving archetypal characters including the villain who creates a narrative complication and the hero who restores the narrative equilibrium by embarking on a quest. Todorov's (1977) theory of narrative centres on conflict and resolution. He theorised that all conventional stories begin with a stable situation and the ensuing action revolves around a disruption or a series of disruptions to this situation and their eventual resolution either reinstating the initial situation or developing a new equilibrium (Todorov: 111). Drawing on such literary theory, some media research has focused on establishing news stories as examples of narrative form (see for example Hartley 1982; Sperry 1992; Barber 1998). For instance, in her study of news coverage of the 1997 Canadian political elections, Barber (1998) found that examples consistent with Propp's hero story narratives were widespread.

Other theorists have developed narrative theories specific to television news. Hartley (1982:118-119) argues that the narratives of individual television news items are characterised by four different stages or "moments": "framing" where the newsreader establishes the topic and discursive frame, "focusing" where a reporter or correspondent explains what the item is about, "realizing" where the item is established as authentic through the use of quotes and actuality footage and "closing" where a preferred meaning or interpretation of the news event is suggested. Theorists have also described the general communicative features of traditional television news using semiotics (see for example Hartley 1982:107-129, Allan 1997:

15

99-105, Bignell 2002: 109-136). These studies analyse the visual and aural conventions of television news and argue that they are used to construct mythic meanings of impartiality and authority. These traditional news conventions will be discussed in more detail during the analysis in Chapter Two.

Some have explored the possible implications of television news narratives for journalism. Baym (2004) argues that increasing use of techniques that are hallmarks of entertainment programs risks undermining the authority of the news. In using formats that are too similar to primarily entertainment-oriented programs, such as lifestyle-shows and talk-shows, news programs lose their distinctiveness and may come to be considered as entertainment (Baym: 296). Baym contends that a key indicator of this shift is that news stories in the 1990s use symbolic visual footage to create a narrative whereas those in the 1970s merely tried to depict reality. For example, 1970s footage predominantly uses static or panning wide shots to position the viewer as an impartial observer. Conversely, the 1990s footage forces viewers to compare US President Bill Clinton to earlier president George Washington by beginning zoomed in on a portrait of Washington and pulling out to reveal Clinton speaking in front of the portrait (Baym: 286-7). According to Baym (289, original emphasis), "[In the 1990s] packaging of the real claims not to offer what *is,* but what *may* be". Thus, news no longer signifies its traditional authority and becomes more akin to entertainment programs that offer possibilities rather than reality. This argument is grounded in the notion that television creates meaning by referring to codes that are already at work in society and in television (Bignell 2002:113; Fiske and Hartley 2003:155). Baym's central point is that use of codes common to entertainment-oriented formats blurs the distinction between formats in the audience's mind, and thus their treatment of the visual and aural signs they are

presented with changes. His argument continues the tradition of concern about the impact of entertainment on the ability of the media to inform.

While Baym (2004) argues that deviations from the traditional narrative form of news may have dire consequences, Koch (1990) argues that the traditional narrative form itself is problematic for news. He contends that the "unary grammar" of narrative forms used by journalists limits them to communicating news as specific, unique events and re-iterating official or government lines on these events (Koch: 168). The news form prevents journalists from exploring the cultural and social context of an event and creating a well-informed public. Jaramillo (2006) also discusses implications of the communication of news by comparing news items to the narratives of "high concept" Hollywood films. She argues that television news is wrongly believed to be "divorced from and above the rest of television programming" and that all television narratives are better understood as relating to the entertainment industry (Jaramillo: viii), echoing Postman's (1985) theory that television is only capable of producing entertainment. Defining "high concept" films as non-cerebral Hollywood films that involve simplistic characters and plots, Jaramillo (2006:35) argues that television news stories are structured in a similar way to "high concept" films and inherit their problems of oversimplification, reductionism, consumerism, commercialism and "backward ideologies" (349). As Turner (2005:31) has postulated for current affairs programs, Jaramillo (2006:350) argues that entertainment-focused news narratives do not achieve an "informed citizenry" as they distort the truth, prioritising the "pleasurable form of narrative" – those that contain binary oppositions and a clear beginning, middle and end – over accurate representation.

Other theorists argue that narrative is only one in a series of structures identifiable in television news. Drawing on the work of Branigan (1992:20), Ytreberg (2001:359) argues that in order to be considered narrative, texts need to resemble a "focused chain" in which events are linked. Texts that only display cause-and-effect relationships, such as the Inverted Pyramid structure, are instead "composite modes of description" (Ytreberg: 358). Ytreberg (365) argues that in order to explore narrative in news properly, it is important to analyse narrative and non-narrative modes separately, as "the notion of a narrative conquest of television news may blur some important issues". His arguments consider useful ways of theorising the forms of news items. However, in contrast to Ytreberg's argument that only specific television news items should be classified as 'narrative', other definitions of narrative embrace practically all news items. Fulton (2005:1) argues that narrative is anything that is "historically and culturally positioned to turn information and events into structures with existing meanings for their audiences". According to this definition, the bulk of television news stories would be classified as narrative, as they have a particular structure, the Inverted Pyramid, which connotes authority, immediacy and professionalism through its long association with 'serious' news.

Certain other approaches to analysing the form of television news have been made, including considering individual items in relation to communicative and informative 'frames' that have become naturalised over time (see for example, Cottle and Rai 2006, 2007). These frames "pre-exist the discursive constructions of any particular issue or news event" (Cottle and Rai 2007:44), but often apply to specific news content, such as the "community service" frame or the "cultural recognition" frame (46). Since this thesis is interested in analysing the more general communicative features of news, it will employ broader theories of narrative rather than specific

communication frames. This thesis uses Fulton's (2005) definition of narrative, as it accords better with the view held by several prominent media theorists that the primary function of news involves myth-telling, rather than simply disseminating information (see for example Bell et al. 1982:145; Fiske 1987:131-2; Bird and Dardenne 1988:70; Bignell 1997:125; Langer 1998:5; Lumby 1999:59; Fiske and Hartley 2003:159). In this context, the term 'myth' is understood as an "anxiety-reducing mechanism that deals with unresolvable contradictions in a culture and provides imaginative ways of living with them" (Fiske 1987:131-2). In other words, myths are particular beliefs used to explain difficult or incongruous aspects of the world in a way that assists society to function by helping people to think about and discuss those aspects. In considering all news items to be narratives as Fulton (2005) describes them, this thesis contends that the way news is communicated demonstrates particular social and cultural values. Thus, it is able to explore the mythic as well as the informational functions of news.

Understanding Television

Arguments about news narratives and the impact of entertainment on journalism both refer to the significance of the medium of television. Therefore it is important to consider recent ways the medium of television has been theorised. Fiske and Hartley (2003:65) argue that the role of television is similar to that of a bard in traditional oral cultures. The bard did not create new stories but relayed stories about society on to others using oral and visual signs. In this way, the bard played a central role in the community, making sense of events and ideas in society according to the set of dominant values. According to Fiske and Hartley, by acting as an interpreter of the wider world, television provides commentary on what is significant according to dominant ideologies. In this vein, some theorists have looked at the ideological

implications of television news (see for example Allan 1999; McNair 1998; O'Shaughnessy and Stadler 2005; Hall 1996; Croteau and Hoynes 2003). By selecting certain stories to broadcast and not others, and by choosing to portray them in a certain way, television news programs function as a societal authority on what issues are important, how they should be framed and who should discuss them. Fiske and Hartley's definition of television is useful in discussion of news narratives because it conceives of television as more than merely communication technology through which information is relayed. Rather, television is understood to have an important role in society that people feel a sense of connection with. This is significant because it influences the way the meaning of news narratives are interpreted. News is not just chains of facts about the world but stories crafted to appeal to people and influenced by beliefs about what is real and significant in society and how it should be engaged. As acknowledged by Hartley (2003:xxi) however, new forms of television that facilitate audience participation and feedback and are aimed at niche audiences have "supplemented if not supplanted" the bardic role of television. Television is no longer the central and most important storyteller that speaks to all of society. Improvements in television ratings measurements mean that producers are able to reflect the views of more and more people and the advent of digital technology means that they can cater to smaller and more specific audiences. Moreover, the rise of other communication formats such as the internet means there are now larger numbers of channels for diverse storytelling. However, since this thesis refers to national breakfast television programs that cater to large and diverse audiences, television's role as society's bard, or at least one of society's most prevalent and influential bards, remains a valuable framework for understanding the role of news narratives.

Bell et al. (1982) also argue that the primary function of television is to communicate social knowledge. Bell et al. (3) refute the "dominant paradigm" theory by which media are neutral channels that merely present information. They argue that information cannot be separated from the way it is communicated, as television does not just impart information; it encodes it with instructions as to how the information should be processed and which parts are most important. It represents people, objects and ideas in particular and meaningful ways.

Arguments about the flow and composition of television content also relate to narrative in television news. Holland (1997:129) argues that television is characterised by a continuity of flow that allows its domestic audience to engage and disengage with it at leisure as they go about household tasks. Ellis (1992:145), who also famously talked about television as 'flow', argues that television features a specific narrative mode: the "open-ended format". According to Ellis, television segments often pose problems but do not resolve them. Instead, they continually update the status of the problem, just as a 6pm news bulletin might provide an update on a story in an earlier bulletin. Ellis also argues that the regular interruptions required for commercial breaks and domestic viewing settings ensure television narrative is increasingly characterised by segmentation. This is specifically relevant to breakfast television, a format well aware of the importance of delivering content in portions palatable to distracted and time-poor viewers.

Breakfast Television

While television programmes such as news, talk shows and serials have long been the focus of academic research, the genre of breakfast television has received relatively little attention. Much of the discussion surrounding breakfast television involves its comparison to primetime news bulletins (see for example Cottle 1995;

Scannell 1996; Harrison 2000; Marshall and Werndly 2002). One particular way that breakfast television has been theorised is as a genre obsessed with its own "liveness", constantly trying to move seamlessly between fragmented segments by linking to the next segment and by foregrounding time (Feuer 1982:16). Media theorists Pantti and Wieten (2005:22) contend that the idea central to the breakfast genre is not so much one of "liveness" but one of "dailiness". They argue that in order to attract audiences during a time when they are usually rushing off to school or work, breakfast television aims to involve itself in the daily routines of the viewer by assisting to structure and sustain them. Pantti and Wieten provide evidence of generic constraints that may influence breakfast news narratives. These hinge on two key problems with attracting viewers in the breakfast timeslot: programs need to appeal to an audience that is diverse and to an audience that is only half-watching or listening due to the fact they are getting ready for the day ahead. According to Pantti and Wieten, this leads to three specific characteristics of breakfast television programs: they are full of contradictions, they are self-reflexive about their own production and they are fragmented. This theory of the fragmented nature of breakfast television accords with Ellis' (1992) theory of segmentation of television narratives.

The relationship between breakfast television and infotainment has also been analysed. Wieten (2000) argues that it is misleading to consider breakfast television to be infotainment. While some segments could be classed as entertainment and some segments could be classed as news, the two exist separately and respect, to a large extent, conventions of their individual genres (Wieten: 193). According to Wieten, breakfast television cannot be charged with undermining serious news items. Although the differing contents may exist in the same program, they are allotted

separate segments with distinctly separate moods. On the other hand, Hallin (1994:92) argues that breakfast television is best conceived as "entertainment first, journalism second". Hallin contends that even though some of the news stories that are broadcast may be considered to be 'serious news', they must have a large entertainment quotient in order to justify airing on breakfast television.

Conclusion

Discussion in this chapter established a specific theoretical framework for the analysis of breakfast television news narratives. This framework can be expressed in terms of four specific tenets. First, myth-telling, rather than the provision of information, is the primary function of news. Journalists make sense of events and ideas in society according to a particular set of dominant values and thus provide commentary on what is held to be significant and what is held to be real (Fiske and Hartley 2003:65). The second tenet is that news does not reflect reality; it constructs a particular version of reality. News items are not mere accounts of the world or descriptions; but are rather narratives with in-built values and assumptions about the world that are central to the process of myth construction and reaffirmation. Third, traditional television news produces specific mythic meanings such as 'objectivity' and 'authority' through the organisation of visual and aural cues into codes. These codes only make sense to viewers who have knowledge of the news discourse and the wider societal discourses from which it borrows (Bignell 2002:113). While individuals may interpret these codes differently based on their personal context, a dominant societal meaning is still established (Hall 1980). Fourth, breakfast television audiences are characteristically diverse and distracted, leading to programs that are fragmented and happy to expose their production processes in order to establish a closer relationship with the audience (Pantti and Wieten 2005:28).

Chapter Two: Analysis of *Sunrise* and *Today* News Bulletins

The main task of this thesis so far has been to establish a theoretical framework for analysing the form of breakfast television news. This chapter applies that theoretical framework to specific examples of breakfast news in order to explore their communicative features. The analysis is based on the 7am news bulletins of the two Australian breakfast shows, *Sunrise* and *Today*, for the week beginning July 30, 2007. Due to the time constraints of this thesis, one week of programming was selected to provide a representative sample of the features of breakfast television news narratives. This study incorporates both quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis was conducted on story structures and functions in order to document the spread of these features among the texts analysed[1]. This analysis included 10 news bulletins (Monday to Friday), comprising 86 news items, and classified them into four structure-related categories and two function-related categories. The qualitative analysis included textual analysis of visual and aural features of the narratives of news items and bulletins. To assist the analysis, the vast array of visual and aural elements of the news bulletins were organised into six areas, called 'communicative features'. These six communicative features are: (i) structure, (ii) language, (iii) camerawork (shots, movement and sequence), (iv) graphics, (v) music and sound effects, and (vi) reader presentation. Audiences recognise familiar combinations of these features, 'codes', in audio-visual texts and associate them with specific dominant meanings. This chapter discusses the use of these features in breakfast television news and compares them to traditional features of news, in

---

[1] Results of the quantitative analysis are included in Appendices A and B

particular those discussed in the work of Allan (1999:99-105) and Bignell (1997:109-136).

The analysis of *Sunrise* and *Today* revealed that communicative features of the two news bulletins were very similar. This was not surprising given that both programs claim to serve the same function, are broadcast in the same timeslot, have similar budgets and are vying for the same audience. This chapter argues that the communicative features of *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins lead to potentially conflicting meanings. On the one hand, the use of traditional news structures and associated visual and aural codes construct mythic meanings of authority, impartiality and immediacy. In some cases, traditional structures and codes were adapted slightly to suit the constraints of breakfast television. Despite this minor adaption, use of these standard news techniques still contributed to the positioning of the program as an authoritative and impartial relayer of 'real' events. On the other hand, structures and visual and aural codes not traditionally associated with news are used to construct a narratives that are more entertaining. The programs draw attention to production processes, construct newsreaders as individual personalities and borrow visual and structural elements from the entertainment genres, in order to achieve a more personal and engaging narrative.

The possibility that the use of techniques to construct an entertaining narrative could undermine meanings associated with traditional news conventions, as Baym (2004) and Dunn (2005) have suggested, will be discussed in the final chapter. The following section considers these two different constructions of breakfast television news in turn, analysing them against the communicative features that apply to each mythic meaning.

The Dominance of Traditional News Conventions

The analysis revealed that traditional news conventions were prevalent in the news narratives of *Sunrise* and *Today*. Media theorists have identified several visual, aural and structural techniques used by television news programs to connote the mythic meanings of authority, impartiality and immediacy. The following paragraphs discuss the codes associated with traditional news that *Sunrise* and *Today* have retained.

Inverted Pyramid

The Inverted Pyramid structure is a core technique used to connote the mythic meanings of 'authority' and 'impartiality' in news (Bignell 1997:116). A hallmark of print and broadcast journalism in the first half of the twentieth century, the Inverted Pyramid structure has been described as one of the "most familiar news conventions of our day" (Schudson 1995:55) the key to objective reporting (Lumby 1999:35). Use of the Inverted Pyramid also connotes authority as the emphasis is on reporting 'the facts' in the active tense, in a way that is non-negotiable and finite.

The structure focuses on effectively and efficiently communicating a news event by reporting the 'five Ws and the H' - the 'who, what, where, when, why and how' of the event - and ordering the details from most important to least important. In this analysis, a structure was classified as Inverted Pyramid if there was evidence of a summary lead and an effort to order information from most important to least important (Conley 1997:155). Other factors typically associated with the Inverted Pyramid include an effort to balance viewpoints and a lack of opinion or commentary in the body of the work (Conley 1997:165). These factors were not deemed necessary for identification of the Inverted Pyramid however they will be discussed in the course of the analysis. While both breakfast programs used the Inverted

26

Pyramid structure in the majority of news items, the structure featured much more frequently in the *Sunrise* news bulletins, accounting for 74% of the analysed *Sunrise* news items and only 54% of the *Today* items. It is clear that *Sunrise* adhered more stringently to traditional news structures, while *Today* exhibited more experimentation with form. In addition to using Inverted Pyramid style, *Today* also used other news structures, which were classified as 'Non-traditional' in the quantitative research. These structures will be discussed in the section on the non-traditional elements of breakfast television news narratives, while this section will focus solely on traditional news structures. Two typical examples of the use of the Inverted Pyramid in *Sunrise* and *Today* are represented in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Today*)	Voice (*Sunrise*)
Summary Lead	Presenter on Camera	A common piece of office equipment could be making you sick.	John Howard has posted another video on the *You Tube* website to defend two key government policies.
Clarification of Lead/ Paraphrase	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over	The Queensland University of Technology says 30% of laser printers produce dangerous particles that do the same sort of damage as smoking.	He said federal intervention in the Northern Territory was not a power grab and the Murray Darling water plan was conceived because of a lack of cooperation between the states and the Commonwealth.
Quote	Cuts to Vision with Sound on Tape	They are of the same size range. As small as cigarette smoke in the ultra fine type range, so for this, they do the same, they penetrate into the lungs.	The Australian people are not especially concerned about theories of governance when it comes to the delivery of basic services of health and education.
Next steps/Extra Detail/ Opposing Point of View	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over.	Researchers say printers are not used often enough to cause a real problem and good ventilation will help.	Later Mr Howard will announce government funding to keep open a public hospital in Tasmania.

Figure 2

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Today*)	Voice (*Sunrise*)
Summary Lead	Presenter on Camera	Meantime the Federal Government is making it tougher for people to become permanent residents.	The housing industry is calling on the Howard Government to match Labor's promise to cut the cost of new homes.
Clarification of Lead/ Paraphrase	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over	From February next year migrants who fail to show a willingness to assimilate into Australian society won't be given a permanent visa and may even be sent back to their home country.	Kevin Rudd says establishing a 500 million dollar housing affordability fund would slash 20 thousand dollars off the price of new homes.
Next steps/Extra Detail/Opposing Point of View	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over.	The tough new measures will include quizzing potential residents and their attitudes towards learning English.	But Treasurer Peter Costello has rubbished the plan, saying the actual saving would be just $645 dollars per house.

The news items in Figure 1 and Figure 2 possess three key features of the traditional Inverted Pyramid structure, as defined by Conley (1997:156). First, they employ summary leads that indicate what the story will be about. Second, they quote or paraphrase a source in the story, in order to give supporting evidence. Third, they display an 'objective' approach to the information as only 'facts' are included. Despite being identified as Inverted Pyramid, the items that typically featured in *Sunrise* and *Today* also differ from the traditional structure in several ways. The most notable difference, and one that impacts on its other elements, is the item's length. Inverted Pyramid structured articles have been described as "repetitive", due to the fact that the information in the lead is elaborated with quotes and further details in the following paragraphs (Conley 1997:156). However, the *Sunrise* and *Today* structures generally only comprise four or five sentences, leaving little room

for extended summary leads, quotes and detailed discussion. A substantial portion of the news items were found to be brief updates of recent news items rather than new stories in their own right. In the analysis conducted, 43% of *Sunrise* news items were presented as an update on a previous story and 37% of *Today* items were presented in this way. For instance, one of the *Sunrise* news items begins:

> **Natalie Barr (newsreader):** Good morning everyone. Dr Mohamed Haneef has met his newborn daughter for the first time after returning to India a few hours ago.

The only other detail given about who Haneef is or why he is newsworthy is provided at the end of the item where it is said that the terrorism charges against him have been dropped. A person viewing this item would have to know other details about the case, for example why Haneef had returned to India and why he was accused of terrorism, in order to understand the story. By assuming that the audience have prior knowledge about the news item, the producer is able to provide a short update as opposed to an overview of the news event.

This short nature of news items leads to three key differences between the traditional Inverted Pyramid structure and the kind used in *Today* and *Sunrise*. First, the summary lead is vague and brief in comparison to traditional leads that cram a lot of information into the top of the story. Viewers are only given a general idea of what the item is about and there is no footage to provide extra information as the presenter is typically depicted on camera as a 'talking head'. For example, the lead in the *Today* item in Figure 2 announces that the Australian Federal Government will make it "tougher for people to become permanent residents" but no details of how it will be tougher are provided until the second sentence, which, structurally, already

represents the middle of the news item. This lead is very different from styles found in 6pm news bulletins aired on the same television networks as *Sunrise* (Channel Seven) and *Today* (Channel Nine). These evening news bulletins are often referred to as the "flagship" program of the television network and are typically more highly organised and longer than other news bulletins, exemplifying "high journalistic standards" (Harrison 2006:158). Evening news items may be written in a way that suggests the audience are not pressed for time and are paying the television their full attention. For example, in the Channel Seven 6pm bulletin on August 31 2007, an item on a political policy announcement leads with the following:

> **Presenter [On Camera]:** President Bush has urged Labor Leader Kevin Rudd to consider conditions on the ground before he makes any decision to withdraw Australian troops from Iraq, if he wins the election.

Unlike the *Today* news lead outlined earlier, this 6pm example provides specific details of the story including stipulating what Rudd should consider ("conditions on the ground"), the exact decision that Bush referred to (withdrawing "Australian troops from Iraq") and the particular circumstances in which this will occur ("if he wins the election"). Thus, the audience is provided with a complete summary of what are held to be the most significant details of the item in the first sentence. The analysis in this thesis rarely detected leads of this kind. The majority of news items in *Sunrise* and *Today* employed vague summary leads, that require further detail in order for the story to be understood properly, rather than specific and detailed summary leads, that summarise the point of the item and give specific details. Quantitative analysis of the news items revealed that 77% of *Sunrise* Inverted

Pyramid news items and 72% of *Today* Inverted Pyramid items used vague summary leads instead of the more detailed leads evident in the 6pm news.

The second difference between the traditional Inverted Pyramid structure and the majority of the structures from the *Sunrise* and *Today* sample is that the latter are not characterised by balance – defined as the inclusion of opinions from both sides of the argument. Balance is one of the most important elements of the Inverted Pyramid structure (Conley 1997:165) and according to Turner (1996:141), in order for balance to be achieved; all interested parties must be given the opportunity to put their view. However, many of the *Sunrise* and *Today* news items only include the perspective of one interested party. In Figures 1 and 2, only one of the four news items includes an opposing view, the other items merely state the view of a particular individual or institution, leaving it unchallenged. Again, this likely reflects limited time available for the items, rather than a conscious decision to omit opposing views.

The third way that *Sunrise* and *Today* news items differ from the traditional Inverted Pyramid is that they often lack "accessed voices" (Hartley 1982:111; Bignell 2000:120) and input from other reporters. The practice of the news-anchor reading the introduction and "throwing" to a specialised reporter for more in-depth coverage of an event or issue is very common in television news (Baym 2004:282). Yet in the bulletins analysed, not one of the news items included input from another reporter. Moreover, only one news item out of the 86 studied featured more than one quote. Even in this case, both quotes were from the same individual. Thus, the news-anchor dominates the narrative of the news bulletin, allowing them considerable influence over the interpretation of the news items and associated footage. Furthermore, even when quotes were used, their interpretation was often guided by the news reader. As

evident in the following example from *Sunrise*, quotes were often paraphrased before being broadcast and usually ran for less than 10 seconds.

> **Natalie Barr (Newsreader) [Footage of Gordon Brown and George Bush on Whitehouse lawn]:** In his first official meeting with the President since becoming Prime Minister, Mr Brown said it was in Britain's national interest for the two countries to work together.
>
> **CUTS TO VISION OF BROWN AND SOUND ON TAPE**
>
> **Gordon Brown:** We know we're in a common struggle and we know we have to work together and we know we've got to use all means to deal with it.

By summarising the quote before it is heard, the news producer is able to present the audience with their own interpretation of what is being said or what is significant, and thus may direct interpretation by the audience. In the example above, by saying working with the US is in Britain's "national interest", the paraphrase directs the meaning of the quote by locating it within a discourse of nationalism. Furthermore, because the quotes are so short, the audience are not presented with much context and therefore the news producer retains more control over the interpretation.

List

In addition to the use of Inverted Pyramid structure, a 'List' structure is employed in the *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins. However in the analysis sample it was only used in Finance News segments. The lead describes the topic of the list, for example "In Finance news today...", and follows with a series of sentences that have no causal links between them – the sentences could be re-ordered and the meaning would stay

the same. This structure is also associated with traditional news narratives, prioritising the communication of information in an objective manner.

Headline

Another structure identified in *Sunrise* news items but not in *Today* news items was the 'Headline' structure. 'Headline' news items were only one sentence long and therefore could not be classified as Inverted Pyramid structure as they did not contain a lead and a body. Examples of this structure are provided in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

Figure 3

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Sunrise*)
Headline	Overlay of Footage	Premier Morris Iemma is expected to reveal plans for the state's next power stations to be fuelled with gas instead of coal today.

Figure 4

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Sunrise*)
Headline	Overlay of Footage	And APEC organisers are at a loss to explain why delegate numbers are a third lower than expected for the September event.

These news items form part of a section of the bulletin called 'Local News'; a one minute long summary of news in each Australian state, broadcast simultaneously and situated between the national news items and the Finance news. According to *Sunrise* Executive Producer Adam Boland, the 'Local News' bulletins are broadcast to inform viewers about what is going on "in their own backyards" ('Local News on Sunrise' 2007). Most news items in this section were structured in the Inverted Pyramid style, however, some items towards the end of the bulletin only consisted of one summary sentence and were thus classified as 'Headline'. These items did not

provide evidence of narrative structures of the kind used in films and novels as there is simply not enough space for the development of characters, the disruption of equilibrium or the delay of a solution. They are similar to the news items in the opener of an evening television news program or bulletins that announce news headlines on radio. By virtue of this similarity, the 'Headline' structure retains the authoritative connotations that the Inverted Pyramid and List structures possess.

Despite traditional news structures being adapted to suit the specific requirements of breakfast television, they retain important connotations associated with traditional news. They position the television news bulletin as an authoritative and impartial relayer of 'real' events, providing a comprehensive and accurate account of reality.

Visual Construction

The *Sunrise* and *Today* bulletins also retain many traditional visual conventions of news. Visual codes that reference traditional news features and codes used in wider society construct mythic meanings of immediacy, authority and impartiality. For example, a continuous news and weather ticker on both programs implies that they have access to the latest information, connoting authority and immediacy. *Sunrise* and *Today* also use framing and editing techniques that are conventional to traditional news. By using unobtrusive, natural transitions such as cuts to move between shots (Zettl 1999:293), the program avoids drawing the viewer's attention to the constructed nature of the sequence and allows them to engage directly with the subject matter of the footage as if they were a bystander (Allan 1999:98). The mode of the impartial observer is also established through use of particular camera shots and movement. Most footage employs static or panning wide shots. The distance between the camera and the subject and lack of zooming or tracking again position the audience as a bystander, implying the impartial observer mode traditionally

associated with news. These camera techniques contrast with those that featured in US television news coverage of the Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky affair analysed by Baym (2004:286), which involve far more camera movement, placing the viewer in the story instead of being a passive observer.

Another visual feature of the *Sunrise* and *Today* news narratives is that the content of their footage is for the large part very general. For example, a *Sunrise* news item on the affordability of homes in Australia uses wide shots of houses and builders working on new houses but does not show the faces of the builders, the location of the houses or number plates on cars that are included in the shots. As these details would indicate that the footage was shot in one particular location in Australia. Thus, the footage is meant to be representative of all houses and areas in Australia and not the specific ones in the footage. In this way, the footage supports the oral narrative, as it is quite general in nature and could imply hundreds of different meanings. Some news items use footage that is more specific. A news item on the new Victorian Premier was accompanied by footage of him taking his place as premier in parliament. Footage of this kind that focuses on the indexical connotes credibility and impartiality due to the notion that "seeing is believing" and the camera never lies (Baym 2004:286). Analysis found no evidence of symbolic footage in which camera techniques are used to create relationships between subjects in the footage and separate visual narratives. Only one of the 86 news items analysed was reliant on the visual footage in order to communicate the narrative. In addition to the fact that this use of words to direct interpretations of spectator-like footage is a key feature of traditional news (Baym, 2004:284), the dominance of the oral narrative may also relate to a narrative feature specific to breakfast television: that sound is more important because of the tendency of morning viewers to use the

television in the same manner as they would use a radio and leave it on in the background (Wieten 2000:176).

From the analysis conducted, it is evident that news narratives of *Sunrise* and *Today* retain major traditional news conventions. Combinations of visual, aural and structural techniques are employed to connote mythic meanings of immediacy, authority and impartiality. However, these techniques are not employed in isolation. Other codes identified in the *Sunrise* and *Today* news narratives analysed connote very different mythic meanings, that potentially undermine those established by traditional news conventions. The next section explores these codes and the meanings they create.

Non-traditional News Features

The narratives of *Today* and *Sunrise* news bulletins also feature structures and visual and aural codes not traditionally associated with news. The intended effect of these features is to entertain viewers through connoting entertainment as well as constructing a friendly and accessible narrative (Harrison, 2006:181). This section will demonstrate how these meanings are constructed via the aural and visual presentation of the news bulletins as well as the use of non-traditional news structures in *Today*.

Announcing the News

Pantti and Wieten note that a casual and friendly style is a feature of breakfast television in general, arguing that presenters are chosen based on their ability to emulate "normality and respectful friendliness" (Pantti and Wieten 2005:30). In the news bulletins, while some central news conventions are retained, others are abandoned in an effort to maintain the friendly and casual appeal of the rest of the

program. One of the most significant differences of breakfast television news to traditional news is the way that the bulletin is introduced. The introduction is one of the key ways that traditional news bulletins connote authority and immediacy. Silverstone (1988:26) argues that in Britain at least, all major news bulletins begin with 'transcendent' title sequences. Important elements of the introduction include the use of fast-moving, three-dimensional graphics to connote sophistication and brass music featuring loud chords to call viewers to attention and signify interruption to the normal broadcast schedule (Bignell 1997:116). Introductions to the news bulletins in *Today* and *Sunrise* are a lot less complex. In *Today,* one of the two hosts says "It's Seven O'clock; National Nine News in 30 seconds". This is followed by a piece of music featuring brass played softly in the background as the two hosts announce interviews and segments that are "coming up" in the next hour, finishing with a segue along the lines of "But right now it's time for the very latest news. It's good morning to Alison Langdon." The introduction retains the brass music of traditional news, but does not feature loud music or sophisticated graphics. It is characterised by a lack of the "interruption" that has been labelled a key characteristic connoting authority in television news (Allan 1997:101). The hosts merely look to their left where the newsreader, Langdon, is seated and a medium close-up shot of Langdon follows. While the brass music and the use of a full name adhere to the traditional conventions of news, the fact that the music is played softly compared to the attention-grabbing levels it is played at in evening news, coupled with the lack of a formal visual segmentation between the rest of the program and the news makes the introduction seem much more casual.

Lacking both the musical backing and the formal address, the introduction to the *Sunrise* news bulletin is even more casual. The hosts merely say "Here's Nat with

the news" and the newsreader, Natalie Barr, says "Good morning" and begins to read the first news item. Thus, the *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins lack many of the formal boundaries that are central to distinguishing one part of the continual flow of television material from the rest of it (Bignell 1997:114). Furthermore, the analysis also reveals evidence of efforts to tie the first news item into the preceding segment.

> **David Koch (Host):** And shortly the Indian police file that alleges
> Dr Haneef had links to Al Qaeda, we're going to ask whether the
> federal government knew about it. But right now, Nat is here with
> the latest news...

> **Natalie Barr (Newsreader):** Thanks Kochie, good morning, and
> police in India are investigating those possible links between former
> terror suspect Dr Mohamed Haneef and Al Qaeda.

By using the demonstrative 'those', Barr references Koch's preceding statement about the links to Al Qaeda, and thus links the news item directly to the previous conversation. In this case, it seems as if, instead of being an entirely different segment, the first line of the news is an attempt to answer the question put forward by Koch. The implication of these segues and lack of conventional boundaries is that the news bulletin is tied into the overall narrative of the program rather than being perceived by the audience as a completely separate narrative.

The Partial Presenter

The newsreaders also contribute to the causal and friendly style of the news narrative by stating their own preferences and opinions. On *Sunrise* and *Today* the audience is privy to discussions between the hosts and newsreaders on a range of current affairs and human interest topics. The audience are also encouraged to contact the program

with their own opinions, some of which are read out as contributions to the discussion. By providing information that would usually be exchanged in discussions with family and friends and allowing viewers to join in this discussion, the newsreaders are constructed as having a friendly relationship with the viewers and thus no longer possess the superiority of knowledge that characterises traditional newsreaders (Sperry 1976:133, Allan 1999:101).

> **Lisa Wilkinson (Host):** And we're asking... what are the worst movies of all time?

> **Alison Langdon (Newsreader):** What about *Runaway Bride,* the sequel to *Pretty Woman*? I thought that was pretty terrible too...

Even though this information is presented outside of the news bulletin, seeing the newsreader in a casual and personal light may impact on the way the audience interpret them during the news bulletins. The audience may continue to perceive the newsreader as a friend even when they are trying to construct themselves as professional and authoritative during the news bulletins. Furthermore, the newsreaders often give their own personal opinions on news items *during* the news segments. These opinions most often occur at the junction between general news and sports news, the point of transition between 'serious news' and news in which the audience has considerably more expertise.

> **Alison Langdon (Newsreader):** [Overlay of prisoners dancing to 'Sister Act' music] Maybe they can take it on the road, once they've kicked their bad habits... [On Camera] That was a bit lame wasn't it?

> **Lisa Wilkinson (Host)**: Not as good as the Michael Jackson one...

> **Langdon:** No it wasn't you're right, anyway I thought the joke at
>
> the end was lame too...

Including these personal and conversational exchanges creates a casual and friendly atmosphere evident especially towards the end of each news bulletin. The provision of such personal information flouts the news convention that a presenter must be constructed as impartial. In 1982, Hartley (1982:109) claimed he had never seen a newsreader involved in a studio discussion because of the news producer's "commitment to a separation of 'fact' from 'opinion'". Allowing newsreaders to voice opinions risks undermining the credibility of news as it no longer comes from a neutral source, but one that is opinionated and has personal preferences.

The use of opinion contributes to another communicative feature of breakfast television news, the multiplicity of the narrative voice. Traditional news programs construct a single narrative voice - the omniscient news institution - by positioning the newsreader and reporters as direct representations of the institution (Allan 1997:100). The *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins both subvert this television news norm. Presenters give their own opinions and draw attention to others involved in narrative construction (such as pointing to the presence of a producer, cameraman or floor manager), thus distinguishing their narrative voice, and that of others involved in production, from the voice of the news institution. One clear way that this is evident is in the acknowledgement of production mistakes or problems. For example, when the *Today* sports newsreader Cameron Williams was describing the action in a football game, the overlay of footage cut out and the camera returned to him staring to the left at an out-of-shot television screen. Williams acknowledged the production mishap in a casual manner. Then when the footage was returned to screen he made a joke by telling the director he was "too late".

The demystification of news is also evident in the way that newsreaders acknowledge the sources of news items. During *Sunrise*'s Wednesday 7am bulletin Natalie Barr admits news on Loudspeakers in Sydney came from "Fairfax papers" and says that a news item on the building of a fence for APEC was sourced from "News Limited papers". The attribution of news to other sources undermines the construction of the newsreader as an all-knowledgeable source of news and the convention that news is new. This demystification of the news production process and presence of personal opinions gives the impression that the program is more accessible to the audience. According to Pantti and Wieten (2005:32), breakfast television programs make their production processes visible in order to reduce the distance between the audience and the program. By exposing the behind-the-scenes work that other news and current affairs programs hide, the program has a more familiar and casual relationship with the audience, as the audience feel privy to the "back-stage" workings of the program. This in turn makes the news more engaging and interesting for the audience.

Non-traditional News Structures

The news item structures used by *Sunrise* were all associated with traditional news structures aimed at communicating the mythic meanings of impartiality and authority. However, some of the news structures that featured in the analysed *Today* bulletins made use of new structures akin to those employed in novels and films. In abandoning some of the formal constraints of traditional news structures and employing those commonly associated with entertainment, *Today* created a narrative structure that connotes entertainment rather than information – that is intended to be enjoyed rather than be instructive. The fact news writing is such a heavily

conventionalised and routinised process (Manoff 1986:228, Koch 1991:170) means that even slight diversions from these traditional structures are often obvious.

In the quantitative analysis, news items were classified as 'Non-traditional' if their structure did not correspond with a traditional news structure. The *Today* 'Non-traditional' items could not be classified as Inverted Pyramid as there was no evidence of a summary lead or an attempt to order content from most to least important. They could not be classified as having a List structure because causal connections were present between sentences and they could not be classified as Headline because they consisted of more than one sentence. The 'Non-traditional' structure featured regularly in the *Today* news bulletins analysed, accounting for 34% of the *Today* items. This represents a substantial divergence from the use of traditional news structures. One typical style of news item that were classified as 'Non-traditional' were those that used a 'tease lead'. The 'tease lead' describes items in which important information is left out of the lead so that viewers have to keep watching in order to understand the story. Figures 5 and 6 provide two typical examples of items that use the 'tease lead'.

Figure 5

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Today*)
Tease Lead	Presenter on Camera	Finally the term a home with a view could've been made for this breakable house.
Extra Detail	Presenter on Camera	It became an instant classic when it was built in 1949.
Point of News Item/News Value	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over	For the first time ever the public has been allowed to look out from the inside of the famous glass house in Connecticut. Architect Philip Johnson lived in the house until he passed away two years ago.
Quote	Vision Overlay and Sound on Tape	The whole thing about a glass house is that you... it's like a great camping trip... it's like... you're here, but you don't have to carry your camping gear with you.
Next steps/Extra Detail/Opposing point of view	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over	The iconic structure is expected to attract huge crowds.

Figure 6

Item Structure	Production Cues	Voice (*Today*)
Tease Lead	Presenter on Camera	Finally, couch potatoes are being put to shame by a 37 year old athlete from Edinburgh who calls himself titanium man.
Extra Detail	Vision Overlay	Father of three, Jamie Andrew, lost his limbs in a climbing expedition in the French Alps 8 years ago.
Quote	Vision Overlay and Sound on Tape	When I first lay there in my hospital bed having, having, you know, just lost my hands and my feet... I never thought I would do anything again.
Point of News Item/News Value	Vision Overlay with Live Voice Over	Now with the strength of steel he's about to compete in a triathlon across Scotland to raise money for amputees in underdeveloped countries.

In the first sentence of Figure 5, the audience are instructed that the house is

"breakable" and has a good view but are not provided with any visual or verbal clues

as to why. The second sentence serves to build up suspense about the nature of the

house, as it provides more detail but still does not answer the question of why the

house is breakable or why it has a good view. It is left until the third and fourth sentences for the presenter to reveal the point or the news value of the story; that the house is made completely of glass and is now open for public inspection. While there is little evidence of the classic structuralist narrative theories of Propp (1968) and Todorov (1977), elements of Barthes' (1974) "Hermeneutic Code" are present. The initial question of why the house is "breakable" and called "a home with a view" functions as the 'enigma' – the problem to be solved by narrative development. The second sentence functions as the 'delay' that serves to heighten the suspense of the viewer, as they have to wait to discover the answer to the 'enigma'. The 'solution', the fact that the house's owner has died and it is open to the public, is not revealed until the middle of the news item. Thus the narrative attempts to engage the interest of the audience, assuming they will want to learn how the enigma is resolved. The employment of such a structure demonstrates the effort of the *Today* producers to create an entertaining narrative.

The news item in Figure 6 begins by providing the audience with information about 'Who' is involved in the news item and partially answers the question of 'What' the item is about. It is evident that a 37 year old man from Edinburgh is putting "couch potatoes to shame", yet it is not apparent why he is putting them to shame. This point is not understood until the last line of the item, where it is revealed Titanium Man is competing in a triathlon. Thus this item is structured in a completely opposite way to Inverted Pyramid items, as the most important information is presented last. Barthes' Hermeneutic Code is also evident in this item as the solution to the enigma of why couch potatoes are being put to shame is delayed until the last sentence. This item also features aspects of other narrative theories. Titanium Man is constructed as a hero similar to those discussed by Propp (1968:20), having

triumphed over adversity in order to compete in the triathlon. The news item also charts movement from equilibrium, a father of three climbing the French Alps, to disequilibrium, the father ends up in hospital after losing his legs and hands, to a new equilibrium the father competes in a triathlon using titanium legs (Todorov 1977:111). The presence of narrative features traditionally found in novels and films demonstrates the producer's effort to engage the audience.

Other leads that feature in the 'Non-traditional' category include the 'contextual lead', which places the news item in its societal or historical context. For example, in 'Thredbo Remembers', a news item about the measures taken to commemorate the Thredbo landslide, the first sentence serves to establish the context of the story; "It's been 10 years since Australia's worst landslide devastated the community of Thredbo". The presenter is depicted on camera during this introduction, the lack of accompanying footage encouraging viewers to cast back to their own memories of the landslide.

Many news items classified as 'Non-traditional' were combined with framing and editing techniques more commonly found in entertainment genres. This is evident in a *Today* item on the extradition of a man facing terrorism accusations, Dr Mohamed Haneef. The visual imagery that accompanies the final sentence is similar to that used in an emotional moment in a film.

> **Alison Langdon [Voice Over]:** The federal government has refused to reinstate [Haneef's] visa, a move his lawyer claims will damage Australia's reputation for decades to come.

In close-up vision of Haneef's face that has been altered to play in slow motion, the camera moves within 'kissing distance' of Haneef , producing some extreme close-up shots that communicate inner emotion visually (Zettl 1973:213) and are rarely used for a public figures on television (Hood and Tabary-Peterssen 1997:10). These techniques work to heighten the emotional quality of the sequence. Haneef is transformed from being a public figure to having an intimate relationship with viewers. Viewers are forced to concentrate on the sad yet hopeful expression on the subject's face and the significance of his fate, underscored by the sombre-sounding Voice Over. Furthermore, the use of slow motion footage that often features in emotional scenes in television and films contributes to the positioning of the news item as one of these emotional scenes.

Newsreader Presentation

Allan (1999:101) argues that factors such as a proper accent, solemn tone, brisk and measured body language and formal clothing construct newsreaders as honest by representing their commitment to upholding the truth of the news. By complying with strict codes concerned with clothing, movement and speech, the newsreaders earn respect as dedicated and reliable professionals. The *Sunrise* newsreader Natalie Barr and the *Today* newsreader Alison Langdon adhere to these presentation codes for the most part; their voices are solemn, they speak with proper broadcasting accents, they use controlled movements and have upright postures. However, several of these conventions were flouted during the analysed news bulletins. While Langdon mostly wore suit jackets, Barr appeared in striped t-shirts and loud-patterned blouses - clothing that is far more casual than the traditional work suit. Neutral vocal delivery has also been established as a key technique used by news readers to connote their impartiality (Bignell 1997:118). However, when expressing

47

their opinions during conversations with the hosts, Langdon and Barr both dropped their proper accents and used cheerful higher-pitched tones. They also reverted to relaxed and loose body language; both leant forward with their elbows on the desk on occasions and Barr was depicted burying her head in her hands while laughing during one segment. Even though Langdon and Barr regulate their dress, speech and behaviour most of the time, a commitment to upholding the truth value of the news implies consistency; that a newsreader will reliably present in the same way everyday. The fact that Langdon and Barr sometimes subvert traditional codes associated with the presentation of news anchors is thus potentially threatening to the authority and perceived impartiality of the news.

The use of codes that signify casualness and friendliness is also evident in the language of both programs. Despite retention of some traditional news phrases such as "Good Morning" and "In other news", the narrative is often more conversational than formal. This informality is achieved by combining a casual approach to language and grammar - beginning sentences with "And" and "But" - and the contraction of phrases - shortening "he has denied" to "he's denied" - with the use of nicknames such as "Nat" and "Ali" to address each other. By itself, informal grammar such as contractions would not necessarily connote casualness as conversational English is a standard of broadcast news writing (Marshall and Werndly 2002:61). However, combining conversational English with the use of nicknames, a mode of address less common in broadcast news, allows the programs to construct a more casual atmosphere. Barr and Langdon also use this conversational style to draw the audience through the news bulletin. While some of the news items are presented in traditional style as separate news events (Hartley 1982:118), others are linked together through casual segues commonly associated

with conversation. For example, in the Monday *Today* bulletin, the first line in the 'Plan In Trouble' news item refers to the last line of the previous news item:

> **Langdon: [Live Voice-Over Footage]** Attorney General Rob Hulls will be sworn in as Deputy Premier and the new team has vowed to continue Victoria's fight for the Murray Darling.
>
> **[On Camera – Medium Close Up]** And Victoria isn't the only obstacle the Prime Minister faces as he tries to push through his 10 million dollar Murray Darling rescue plan.

Thus, instead of being a new story in its own right, the item is tied into the narrative of the previous story; the fact that the Queensland National Party is withdrawing its support for the Murray Darling plan is no longer a separate issue but another "obstacle" the Prime Minister must tackle. Another example of the way this casual style allows the newsreaders to tie news items into larger narratives is through personalising the news items. On the *Sunrise* bulletins, this often happens during the Finance news item as one of the hosts of *Sunrise,* David Koch, is a former Finance journalist and has a particular interest in Finance news. The newsreader, Natalie Barr, makes reference to this when reading the bulletin with phrases such as "And the *all important* Finance news now" and "Finance news is *big* today", accompanied by audible approval noises from Koch in the background. By linking the Finance news to Koch's personal preferences, Barr attempts to engage and entertain the audience, as the potentially dull information about finance figures is connected to another narrative about his quirky love of Finance.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the communicative features of a selection of *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins. It has been argued that the narratives of these news segments retain particular traditional news conventions but also employ codes borrowed from the entertainment tradition and codes of friendliness and casualness in wider society. These conventions and codes have been shown to produce specific mythic meanings including authority, impartiality, immediacy, friendliness and casualness. However, due to the contradictory nature of some of these characteristics, they may undermine each other, so that the overall meaning produced is complex. This possibility is explored in the following and final chapter where it is argued that news narratives in *Sunrise* and *Today* largely retain their authority but may compromise their claims to impartiality.

Chapter Three: Discussion and Conclusion

The previous chapter established that the breakfast television news bulletins analysed from *Sunrise* and *Today* employed very similar narrative styles that exhibited a mix of traditional news conventions and entertainment conventions. Some parts of the narrative positioned the programs as impartial and authoritative relayers of news, connoting mythic meanings of authority and impartiality while others were found to construct a more friendly, personal and entertaining narrative. However a key question remains: does the overall mythic meaning created by the breakfast news undermine the authority and impartiality of the news? To explore this question, it is necessary to consider the bulletin as a whole and in the context of viewing. The construction of meaning is dependent on how all communicative codes work together, and is influenced by the personal context of the audience (Hall 1980, Bignell 1997:113, Marshall and Werndly 2002:56). While this thesis does not have the capacity to examine audience reception, the overall meanings produced by the codes will be discussed in this final chapter. This chapter raises two issues concerning the nature of the narrative in these news bulletins. First, construction of the narrative to connote comprehensive and objective coverage may impinge on the connotation of impartiality. Fitting a large number of news items into a short bulletin while making a concerted effort only to report "objective facts" inevitably compromises notions of balance and nonalignment that are central to the construction of the mythic meaning of impartiality. Second, the narrative techniques used to engage audiences were not found to undermine the authority of the news programs – although *potential* threats posed by the use of these techniques are acknowledged. Finally, three possible explanations for the complex nature of breakfast television narratives will be put forward.

The Comprehensive and 'Objective' Narrative

The attempt of *Sunrise* and *Today* news producers to provide 'objective'[2] coverage as well as use brief items to maintain the attention of viewers limits their ability to connote impartiality. This thesis argues that *Sunrise* and *Today* are more focused on providing 'objective' news that appeals to a distracted and diverse audience than on reporting news in a contextualised and even-handed manner. The previous chapter demonstrated ways in which the style and structure of narrative used produced brief news items that were in some cases vague and in others directed toward a particular interpretation. It was established that the analysed news items rarely used quotes, and even when quotes were used the narrator retained most of the control over their interpretation by restricting their length and paraphrasing them beforehand. Furthermore, the news items ran for 20 to 30 seconds and did not include extended coverage by specialist reporters or interviews with the individuals involved and, in many items, the views of opposing parties were not aired or were given little time or explanation. As a consequence, nearly all of the narratives were involved exclusively in reporting actions or announcements rather than discussing why the actions or announcements occurred or how they occurred.

Koch (1990) argues that the narrative form of modern journalism prevents journalists from reporting 'why' and 'how' events occur. The narrative form obliges reporters to communicate news as specific, unique events and to exclude individual narrative voice or opinions. According to Koch (174), this form has dire consequences for creating a well-informed public, as objective reporting "typically becomes the reiteration of what officials insist to the press". He argues that this narrative pattern of journalism promotes the opinions of politicians and institutional representatives:

---

[2] See Chapter One for an explanation of the notion of 'Objectivity' in journalism.

since journalists cannot define events within a context of theory and other occurrences, they resort to quoting officials and reporting their descriptions of events. This phenomenon is evident in some of the news items analysed in *Sunrise* and *Today*. For example, a *Sunrise* news item on a bridge collapse in the US provides only the opinions of city engineers on the cause of the collapse. The news item did not include the responses of witnesses to the collapse, independent engineering experts or provide any other analysis of why the bridge may have collapsed and how it was not prevented. As a result, explanations given by officials are implied to be the only explanation for the collapse and are not subject to scrutiny. Another result of this narrative form is that it limits journalists to convey only the information they can account for as fact. Thus, news items often focus on actions rather than issues.

> **Natalie Barr (newsreader):** Sydney Water will inspect at least four unfenced shafts along the coast at Mallabar after a young man fell to his death. The 21-year-old Daceyville man was searching for geckos with a friend early yesterday when he plunged 45m down a sewage ventilation shaft. The door has now been sealed shut.

In the *Sunrise* example above, the item is solely communicated in terms of the actions of Sydney Water and the 21-year-old Daceyville man. No information is provided concerning why the shafts were unfenced, whether an incident like this had happened before and whether Sydney Water should have been held accountable for the man's death. Thus the news is narrated only in terms of verifiable actions.

It is however important to note that both breakfast programs discuss news items in more depth during interviews throughout the show, particularly in the time between

7am and 7:30am. These interviews are often conducted with the officials involved in the news item or with news reporters 'on the scene'. They routinely feature questions about why the news event is taking place and how it came about in addition to the usual 'who, what, where, when' questions. However, the interviews only cover three or four news topics per day and only occur if the official representative is available and willing to speak. Thus many items in the news bulletin do not subsequently get analysed in more detail. Furthermore, these interviews may not be seen by viewers of the news bulletin and are still in the realm of interviewing officials. By separating the 'who', 'what', 'where', 'when' of the news from the 'how' and 'why', the breakfast programs may often end up providing viewers with only the official line in their communication of news.

News narratives in *Today* and *Sunrise* do not however allow officials to communicate their opinions unmediated. Journalists and news producers direct the interpretation of the official's words through the use of paraphrasing, short sound-bites and editing techniques. As established in the previous chapter, these methods featured consistently in *Sunrise* and *Today* news items. Hallin (1992:19) contends that this synthesis and interpretation of the words of officials jeopardises the audience's right to judge public figures for themselves, as short sound-bites and paraphrases are too brief and impersonal to convey the character of the public figure or the logic of their argument. Although Hallin applied this argument to evening news bulletins on the US channels CBS and ABC, it is especially relevant to the news narratives of breakfast television, where the ability of journalists to direct interpretation is manifest, as not only are officials limited to short sound-bites, but often their words are paraphrased by the reporter.

Thus news items feature a narrative form that communicates events via a journalist's interpretation of public officials' opinions and defies notions of balance by excluding opinions of opposing parties. Aside from the threat of such a form to the truth value of news (Koch 1990:182), this narrative form damages the perceived impartiality of news. The frequent lack of 'actuality' evidence in the form of direct quotes from a range of sources and evidence of opinions all interested parties, means the *Sunrise* and *Today* news bulletins regularly omit the hallmarks of 'impartiality', sacrificing some of it in favour of the comprehensiveness and brevity that they expect will appeal to breakfast audiences.

Entertaining the Audience

In Chapter Two it was established that the use of hallmarks of entertainment programs prompts concerns they may undermine the authority of news. In this view, if news programs use too many techniques associated with entertainment formats, they lose their distinctiveness from these formats and thus the authority associated with traditional news (Baym 2004; Dunn 2005). While efforts were made to engage audiences in both *Sunrise* and *Today*, overall, based on the bulletin analysis, these techniques were not considered to undermine the authority of the news programs. The narratives exhibited two different approaches to engaging audiences. The first approach involved the use of traditional hallmarks of entertainment programs and was mainly found in *Today* news bulletins. Established story-telling structures, segues and filmic editing techniques were combined with traditional news conventions in order to strike a balance between connoting authority and impartiality and entertaining the audience. While *Today* news narratives exhibited features associated with entertainment formats, these features were not dominant enough to undermine the authority of the traditional news conventions. For instance, while the

news item 'Titanium Man' (analysed on page 45) may flout the Inverted Pyramid convention that the most important information should be reported first and the news convention of avoiding idioms such as "couch potatoes", the authoritative tone of the newsreader, observational style footage and use of other formal language ensure that the narrative is still situated within the frame of traditional news. By juxtaposing limited use of entertainment hallmarks with traditional news techniques, *Today* creates a sense that some of the traditional conventions of news are being deliberately broken, connoting playfulness and light-heartedness. The *Today* news bulletin manages to maintain its authority by only subverting some of the many conventions of traditional news, and interestingly has branded itself this year as more serious about news than *Sunrise* (Meade 2007:1).

However, some of the entertainment-associated techniques used by *Today* are not necessarily effective. As the narratives of individual news items in breakfast news are typically very short relative to narratives of evening news and entertainment programs, they may not be long enough for the narrative development necessary for audience engagement. Time is required to build up suspense or create a relationship or emotional connection between the audience and the protagonist. As discussed in the previous chapter, a news item on suspected terrorist Mohamed Haneef attempts to evoke an emotional response in the audience by depicting the 'hero on a quest' narrative with slow motion footage and extreme close-up shots. However these techniques may not achieve their desired effect as they are not presented in the appropriate generic context. The slow motion footage used to connote an emotional sequence is not accompanied with the usual music in emotional scenes in films and television programs. The extreme close-ups seem out of place as they are juxtaposed with the usual observational-style footage typical of news. The short duration of the

item gives the audience little time to develop a connection or empathy with the protagonist. Moreover, if the enigma presented in a narrative is solved too quickly it loses its power, as the audience has no time to dwell on it (Casey 2002:140). The *Today* news items analysed typically ran for 20 seconds. It is unlikely that the audience would build up much suspense if they only have to wait 15 seconds for a solution. Perhaps the greatest risk that entertainment techniques in *Today* news items pose to the authority of the news is that the odd combination of techniques connotes an unsophisticated approach. Any sense of enjoying an entertainment program is undermined by the constraints of breakfast television and the presence of traditional news conventions.

The second approach to maintaining audience attention involves giving the newsreader two separate narrative voices: that of the news institution and that of the presenter reading the news. The voice of the news institution is established by retaining the majority of traditional techniques of television news: most of the *Today* news items and all of the *Sunrise* news items use traditional news structures such as the Inverted Pyramid, exhibit neutral vocal delivery and use observational style footage. The voice of the individual newsreader is constructed by allowing them to express personal opinions outside of the news bulletin, allowing them to ad lib during the news bulletin and drawing attention to the fact that news is constructed. The newsreader attempts to both retain the authority of the news and make it more engaging and entertaining by switching between the narrative voice of the omniscient news institution and the narrative voice of an interesting and friendly individual.

Yet allowing the newsreader to switch to the narrative voice of a friendly and interesting individual has the potential to reduce the authority of the news. This may occur in two ways. The first way is that the presenters may come across to the

audience as amateurs not professional journalists and thus the news is not presented in a manner that corresponds with its significance (Turner 2005:73). However, this thesis argues that *Sunrise* and *Today* are able to avoid undermining the serious news by constructing the newsreaders as journalists first and personalities second. They are portrayed as professionals that are devoted to their job but also friendly individuals with interesting personalities (Hallin 1994:92). While they give opinions on occasion, their dominant mode of presentation is in the authoritative voice and for the most part, they do not transfer the jocular attitudes they display during conversational segments into the news bulletins. Thus the authority of the news remains intact as the newsreaders present it with professionalism and sincerity.

The second way that the authority of the news institution may be undermined by the personal and friendly presentation of the news reader is if they comment on a contentious topic or present an opinion that could be controversial, in particular if it is associated with a news item. Despite the separation of the news reader from the news institution on *Sunrise* and *Today,* the news readers remain representatives of the news institution and even if they do not write the news, the way they present it still has an impact on its authority. To avoid reducing the authority of the news institution, the *Sunrise* and *Today* news readers refrain from controversial opinions that could undermine their perceived competence to present the news in a fair and professional manner. The opinions of newsreaders are limited to lighter and less serious topics or to mainstream views that are unlikely to polarise or offend the audience. For example, in the analysed news bulletins, Barr and Langdon both presented news items on the deportation of a visa holder from Australia on the grounds that he had alleged links to terrorists. In discussions with hosts during that day on the topic, neither gave their opinion on whether or not the suspect should

have been deported.   However, at the end of a news item on a woman being airlifted to safety after floods in the US, Barr added the opinion: "I hope she's OK".   In this case, it is likely that concern about the general safety of an ordinary citizen would be shared by all human beings. Thus Barr is able to show compassion without appearing biased. However, allowing reporters to provide opinions is potentially problematic. It is sometimes difficult to know where to draw the line between innocent personal opinion and one that may spark controversy. In many cases it may be clear when personal opinions are not appropriate, but in some cases the likelihood of offending the audience may be more ambiguous.

Conclusion

In concluding, this section explains and evaluates the findings of this thesis - that breakfast television news narratives are willing to sacrifice some of their authority and impartiality in order to create a more entertaining and engaging narrative. It proposes three key influences on the construction of these narratives.

First, the results can be understood in the context of the unique breakfast television genre. The tendency of morning viewers to tune in for short periods and not give the television their full attention (Wieten 2000:176) likely contributes to the brief and sometimes unbalanced nature of the news narratives. Television producers may assume that the attention of viewers will be easily distracted if the news items are too long and that viewers would prefer to get a comprehensive summary of all the news for that day, rather than a detailed look at two or three items. The characteristically diverse audience of breakfast television (Scannell 1996:149) may also be a contributing factor in prioritising comprehensiveness over detail. By using brief news items, breakfast programs are able to fit more items into the time allocated to the news and therefore have more chance of including at least one topic of interest to

59

everyone. The location of breakfast television in the daily program of the audience may also affect the nature of news narratives. The casual and homely location of the news and friendly and in some cases informal presentation of the newsreaders is likely to be an attempt at connecting with the audience in a period of the day characterised by domesticity and (albeit brief) leisure (Wieten 2000:175).

Second, as the television-audience relationship becomes more complex with the rise of technologies that allow for viewer feedback and more detailed ratings information, news producers can no longer assume one-way flows of content from them to the audience nor risk alienating viewers by not catering to their needs and wishes. Thus, the personalisation and perceived friendliness of the newsreaders can be explained as an effort to engage viewers in a more equal relationship with the television program and to acknowledge viewers' ability to contribute to news and current affairs. *Today*'s use of structures and visual techniques from the entertainment genre can be interpreted as an effort to make the bulletin more enjoyable and interesting for the audience in order to maintain viewer satisfaction and high ratings. This can also be said of the tendency of the *Sunrise* and *Today* newsreaders to ad lib and to link news items together, in an attempt to make the news more engaging and entertaining by weaving news items into larger narratives and personalising or 'people-ize'-ing (van Zoonen 1998:40) the news. The informal presentation of breakfast newsreaders and their readiness to acknowledge previously hidden production processes can also be interpreted as an effort to demystify the news process and reduce the distance between the audience and the program (Pantti and Wieten 2005:32).

Third, the rise of public understanding of television production methods – alluded to by Kermode at the beginning of this thesis - may mean that constructing the newsreader as the embodiment of the omnipotent news institution is no longer

accepted as credible. The credibility of the institution of 'the News' is largely dependent on the ability of the newsreaders to connote integrity and trustworthiness (Allan 1997:101), and if the audience interprets the newsreaders to be covering up production processes, this risks implying that the rest of the program is a charade. Thus, instead of merely trying to construct the newsreader as authoritative, the news programs emphasise their sincerity by allowing them to express opinions and acknowledge production processes.

Thus, the television programs are demonstrating an effort to be more responsive to audiences, as they structure narratives in a way that attempts to be engaging and suited to the morning routines of viewers. This change could be interpreted as a step towards the democratisation of the media, as television newsreaders step down from their pedestals and negotiate with audiences on a more equal level. However, despite the fact that the newsreader has become more personal and engaging, the news institution is still constructed as authoritative and virtually omniscient. For the most part, changes to narratives of breakfast television news are largely cosmetic; the infrastructure of traditional news remains intact.

While it has been noted that the brief nature of news narratives in *Sunrise* and *Today* could pose a threat to the connoted impartiality of the news, it appears that the benefits gained from using brief news narratives outweigh this threat. The short length and traditional structures of the news items are suited to the context of breakfast television viewing in which the audience do not have much time and are not paying full attention. In such a context, narratives that are lengthy or that attempt to develop suspense or to build the viewer's relationship with a character are not suitable, as most of the audience will not watch for long enough or pay it their full attention, which is required in order to engage with more complex narratives.

61

Whether the narrative seeks to inform or entertain, neither is possible if it does not engage with the viewer in an appropriate way. If the brief and sometimes unbalanced breakfast news items were the only method of informing people, perhaps there would be a larger problem. However, as Hartley (2003: xxi) notes, television is no longer the sole communicator or 'bard' in society. People are now able to get news from a variety of forms, including free-to-air television, pay television, the internet, radio, newspapers and mobile phones. Therefore, the short nature of breakfast television news items does not pose a significant threat to informing audiences because they operate alongside other media sources that offer more detailed coverage.

In conclusion, departures from traditional news narrative structure and delivery are evident in Australian breakfast television, and may partly decrease its news authority and impartiality. Yet such entertainment-based techniques are important to maintain the interest of audiences during the breakfast timeslot and are carefully constructed to avoid jeopardising the construction of the news institution as an impartial relayer of reality.

Appendices:

Quantitative analysis of 7am news bulletins in *Sunrise* and *Today*

Appendix A

Quantitative analysis of news item structure and function in *Sunrise* 7am news bulletins
30 July 2007 – 3 August 2007

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Monday						
1	Haneef	1				
2	Toowoomba		1			
3	Telstra		1			
4	Sydney Water	1				
5	Public Schools		1			
6	Mallabar			1		
7	Cobam Juvenile	1				
8	APEC			1		
9	Finance				1	
Total		3	3	2	1	0

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Tuesday						
1	Haneef		1			
2	Haneef Suspended		1			
3	Housing Afford		1			
4	US Visit		1			
5	Missing boat	1				
6	Racing Crash		1			
7	Stabbing death		1			
8	Cremorne Wharf			1		
9	Finance				1	
Total		1	6	1	1	0

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Wednesday						
1	Andrews denies		1			
2	Plane Tragedy		1			
3	Home report		1			
4	Online Message		1			
5	Street race	1				
6	CBD Speakers			1		
7	Moore drinking		1			
8	Iemma Power			1		
9	Local councils			1		
10	Finance				1	
Total		1	5	3	1	0

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Thursday						
1	Haneef Indian		1			
2	Haneef demands		1			
3	Hospital Funding		1			
4	Fire		1			
5	Street racing		1			
6	APEC Fence	1				
7	Rock throwing		1			
8	Toddler		1			
9	Finance				1	
Total		1	7	0	1	0

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Friday						
1	Minneapolis	1				
2	Minne Footage		1			
3	Haneef		1			
4	Influenza A	1				
5	Police Racers		1			
6	Doctors Staff		1			
7	Karicare		1			
8	Expansion			1		
9	Finance				1	
Total		2	5	1	1	0

RESULTS

Total	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	Headline	List	Non-traditional
Total	8	26	7	5	0
Daily average*	1.6 (0.89)	5 (1.58)	1.4 (1.14)	1 (0)	0 (0)
Percentage of total	17%	57%	15%	11%	0%

* Standard deviations are reported in parentheses.

Incidence of new versus updated news items for the sample period

Bulletin	No. of New Items	No. of Updated Items
Monday	6	3
Tuesday	5	4
Wednesday	7	3
Thursday	4	5
Friday	4	5
Total	26 (57%)	20 (43%)

Appendix B

Quantitative analysis of news item structure and function in _Today_ 7am news bulletins
30 July 2007 – 3 August 2007

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Monday					
1	Haneef				1
2	Toowomba		1		
3	VIC Premier	1			
4	Murray Darling				1
5	Thredbo				1
6	Finance				
7	Titanium Man			1	1
Total		1	1	1	4

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Tuesday					
1	Haneef				1
2	Haneef colleague		1		
3	Missing Man		1		
4	Pay Push	1			
5	Gastro Outbreak	1			
6	Candlelit vigil	1			
7	Finance			1	
8	Polar		1		
9	Glass House				1
Total		3	3	1	2

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Wednesday					
1	Haneef Andrews		1		
2	Tough Questions		1		
3	Fatal Crash		1		
4	Racing Charges				1
5	Political Points		1		
6	Office Dangers				1
7	Finance			1	
8	Wondrous Weave				1
Total		0	4	1	3

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Thursday					
1	Hospital				1
2	Connection denied				1
3	Stabbing		1		
4	Landmark ruling		1		
5	Pacific Earthquake	1			
6	Work offer		1		
7	Angry Boxer		1		
8	Finance			1	
9	Friday 13				1
Total		1	4	1	3

Item No.	Item Name	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Friday					
1	Minneapolis		1		
2	Haneef		1		
3	Hospital latest	1			
4	Drag racing		1		
5	Howard		1		
6	Flu warning				1
7	Finance			1	
8	Sister Act				1
Total		1	4	1	2

RESULTS

	Inverted Pyramid + Summary Lead	Inverted Pyramid + Vague Summary lead	List	Non-traditional
Total	6	16	5	14
Daily Average*	1.2 (1.09)	3.2 (1.30)	1 (0)	2.8 (0.83)
Percentage of total	15%	39%	12%	34%

* Standard deviations are reported in parentheses.

Incidence of new versus updated news items for the sample period

	New Item	Update
Monday	5	2
Tuesday	6	3
Wednesday	5	3
Thursday	6	3
Friday	4	4
Total	26 (63%)	15 (37%)

References

'About Sunrise' (2007), *Sunrise* (online). Available:
www.seven.com.au/sunrise/about [Accessed 15 August 2007].

Adorno, T. W. (1991), *Culture industry: selected essays on mass culture*, London:
Routledge.

Allan, S. (1999), *News culture*, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Barber, M. S. (1998), *News as narrative: The construction of the hero tale in
television news and documentary*, Unpublished Dissertation, University of Toronto
(Canada), Toronto.

Barthes, R. (1974), *S/Z*, New York: Hill and Wang.

Baym, G. (2004), 'Packaging reality: Structures of form in US network news
coverage of Watergate and the Clinton impeachment' in *Journalism*, 5(3), pp. 279-
299.

Bell, P., Boehringer, K. and Crofts, S. (1982), *Programmed Politics: A Study of
Australian Television,* Sydney: Sable Publishing.

Bignell, J. (2002), *Media semiotics: an introduction,* Manchester: Manchester
University Press.

Bordwell, D. (1986), *Narration in the fiction film***,** London: Routledge.

Branigan, E. (1992), *Narrative comprehension and film*, London: Routledge.

Branston, G. and Stafford, R. (2003), *The Media Student's Book,* London: Routledge.

Cottle, S. (1995), 'The Production of News Formats: Determinants of Mediated Public Contestation' in *Media, Culture & Society,* 17(2), pp. 275–91.

Cottle, S. and Rai, M. (2006), 'Between display and deliberation: analyzing TV news as communicative architecture' in *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), pp.163-189.

Cottle, S. and Rai, M. (2007), 'Australian TV News Revisited: News Ecology and Communicative Frames' in *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture & Policy*, 122, pp. 43-58.

Croteau, D. and Hoynes, W. (2003), *Media Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*, Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Dunn, A. (2005), 'Television News as Narrative' in A. Dunn, H. Fulton, R. Huisman and J. Morphet (eds.) *Narrative and Media*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 140-152.

Ellis, J. (1992), *Visible Fictions*, London: Routledge.

Feuer, J. (1983), 'The Concept of Live Television: Ontology as Ideology', in Ann Kaplan (ed.), *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches – An Anthology,* Los Angeles: University Publications of America, pp.12–22.

Fiske, J. (1987). *Television Culture*, London; New York: Routledge.

Fiske, J. and Hartley J. (2003), *Reading television,* New York: Routledge.

Fulton, H. (2005), 'Introduction: the power of narrative' in A. Dunn, H. Fulton, R. Huisman and J. Morphet (eds.) *Narrative and Media*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-7.

Hall, S. (1980), 'Encoding/Decoding' in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Culture, media, language: working papers in cultural studies, 1972-79*, London: Hutchinson, pp. 128-138.

Hall, S. (1996), 'Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates', in D. Morley, V. Walerdine and J. Curran (eds.), *Cultural Studies and Communications*, London: Arnold.

Hallin, D. C. (1994), *We keep America on top of the world: television journalism and the public sphere,* London: Routledge.

Harrison, J. (2000), *Terrestrial TV News in Britain: The Culture of Production*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Harrison, J. (2006), *News,* London: Routledge.

Hartley, J. (1982), *Understanding news*, London: Routledge.

Hartley, J. (1999), 'What is journalism? the view from under a stubbie cap' in *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and policy* [Nathan, QLD]: Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 99, pp. 7-15

Hartley, J. (2003), 'Reading Television after 25 Years: A New Forward by John Hartley' in *Reading Television,* New York: Routledge, pp. ix-xxii.

Hastall, M., Knobloch, S., Mende, A. and Patzig, G. (2004), 'Affective News Effects of Discourse Structure in Narratives on Suspense, Curiosity, and Enjoyment While Reading News and Novels' in *Communication Research*, 31(3), pp. 259-287.

Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988), *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media,* New York: Pantheon Books.

Holland, P. (1997), *The Television Handbook*, London: Routledge.

Hood, S. and Tabary-Peterssen, T. (1997), *On Television*, London: Pluto Press.

Jaramillo, D. (2006), *Ugly War, Pretty Package: How the Cable News Network and the Fox News Channel Made the 2003 Invasion of Iraq High Concept*, Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin.

Knobloch, S. (2003), 'Affective News Effects of Narrative Structure on Suspense, Curiosity, and Enjoyment While Reading News and Novels' in *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association; 2003 Annual Meeting*, San Diego, CA, pp. 1-32.

Koch, T. (1990), *The News as Myth: Fact and Context in Journalism*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Langer, J. (1998), *Tabloid Television: Popular Journalism and the 'Other News'*, London: Routledge.

'Local News on Sunrise' (2007), *Sunrise* (online). Available: www.seven.com.au/sunrise/about [Accessed 15 August 2007].

Lumby, C. (1999), *Gotcha: Life in a tabloid world,* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Machill, M., Kohler, S. and Waldhauser, M. (2007), 'The Use of Narrative Structures in Television News' in *European Journal of Communication*, 22(2), pp. 185-205.

Macintyre, J. (2007), 'Five leads the fight to restore viewers' trust' in *The Independent* (Online). Available: www.news.independent.co.uk/media/article2914394.ece [Accessed 10 September 2007].

Manoff, R. (1986), 'Writing the News (By Telling the "Story")' in R. Manoff and M. Schudson (eds.) *Reading the news: a Pantheon guide to popular culture,* New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 208-228.

Marshall, J. and Werndly, A. (2002), *The Language of Television*, London: Routledge.

McNair, B. (1998), *The Sociology of Journalism*, London: Arnold.

Meade, A. (2007), 'Genius wants to walk' in *The Australian* (online). Available: http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,22173639-22822,00.html [Accessed August 30 2007].

Mindich, D. (1998), *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism*, New York: New York University Press.

'Nielsen Media Research Survey No. 6 2007' (2007), *Nielsen Media* (online). Available: http://www.nielsenmedia.com.au/en/pdf/mri/11/SydneySurvey6-2007.pdf [Accessed September 15 2007].

O'Regan, T. (2004), 'Australia's Television Culture' in R. Allen and A. Hill (eds.) *The Television Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 71-91.

O'Shaughnessy, M. and Stadler, J. (2005), *Media and Society: An Introduction*, third edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pantti, M. and Wieten, J. (2005), 'Obsessed with the audience: breakfast television revisited' in *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(1), pp. 21–39.

Postman, N. (1985), *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business,* London: Methuen.

Postman N. and Powers S. (1992), *How to Watch TV News,* New York: Penguin Books.

Propp, V. (1968), *Morphology of the Folktale*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Scannell, P. (1996), *Radio, Television and Modern Life: A Phenomenological Approach*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Schiller, D. (1981), *Objectivity and the news: the public and the rise of commercial journalism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Schudson, M. (1995), *The Power of News,* London: Harvard University Press.

Silverstone, R. (1988), 'Television Myth and Culture' in J. Carey (ed.), *Media, Myths and Narratives: television and the press,* Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Sperry, S. (1992), 'Television News as Narrative' in D. Cater and R. Adler (ed.), *Television as a Cultural Force,* New York: Free Press.

Todorov, T., (1977), *The Poetics of Prose*, New York: Cornell University Press.

'Top 100 Magazine Circulation' (2006), *Audit Bureau of Circulations (Australia Only)* (online). Available: http://www.magazines.org.au/files/Top100CircJanJune06.pdf [Accessed 13 August 2007].

Tuchman, G. (1978), *Making news: a study in the construction of reality*, New York: Free Press.

Tuchman, G. (1999), 'Objectivity as strategic ritual' in H. Tumber (ed.), *News: A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 297-307.

Turner, G. (2005), *Ending the affair: the decline of television current affairs in Australia*, Sydney: University of NSW Press.

'Weekly Ratings Report' (2007), *Free TV Australia* (online). Available: http://www.thinktv.com.au/media/Media_Releases/2007_Week_31_Ratings_Report.pdf [Accessed 13 August 2007].

Wieten, J. (2000), 'Breakfast Television: Infotainers at Daybreak', in J. Wieten, G. Murdock and P. Dahlgren (eds.), *Television across Europe: A Comparative Introduction*, London: Sage, pp. 175–97.

Wieten, J and Pantti, M (2005), 'Obsessed with the audience: breakfast television revisited' in *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(1), pp. 21-39.

Yaros, R. (2006), 'Is It the Medium or the Message?' in *Communication Research*, 33(4), pp. 285-309.

Ytreberg, E. (2001), 'Moving out of the Inverted Pyramid: narratives and descriptions in television news' in *Journalism Studies*, 2(3), pp. 357-371.

Zettl, H. (1973), *Sight, Sound, Motion; Applied Media Aesthetics*, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.