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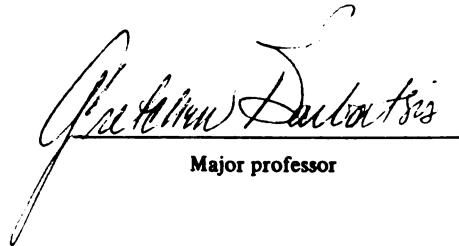
TELEVISION NETWORK EVENING NEWS AND ADVERTISING IN
WAR TIME: A STUDY OF TELEVISION STRUCTURAL CHANGE
DURING THE GULF WAR

presented by

DORY TRUPIN

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in TELECOMMUNICATION


Major professor

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**TELEVISION NETWORK EVENING NEWS AND ADVERTISING IN WAR TIME:
A STUDY OF TELEVISION STRUCTURAL CHANGE DURING THE GULF WAR**

**By
Dory Trupin**

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

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ABSTRACT

TELEVISION NETWORK EVENING NEWS AND ADVERTISING IN WAR TIME:

A STUDY OF TELEVISION STRUCTURAL CHANGE DURING THE GULF WAR

By

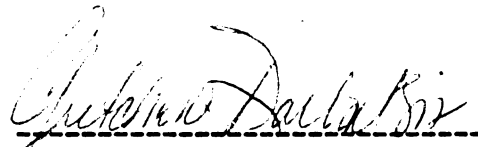
Dory Trupin

The Gulf war presented the American television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) with various expected professional challenges. An un-expected challenge, however, was many of the advertisers reluctance to run their ads during war coverage programs out of fear of viewer backlash. This reluctance presented the television networks with a serious revenue problem that added up to the additional costs of the Gulf war coverage.

This study researched structural and content changes the television networks made in their evening news programs during the Gulf war in order to gain back advertisers support. It compares evening news programs from the Gulf war period to evening news programs from two other periods, and defines what changes were made by each network between the three periods and among the three networks for each period.

The findings of this study show that structural changes were typical for each network, and that content differences between the networks were of structural nature - they occurred in specific placements in the news text.

Accepted by the faculty of the
Department of Telecommunication,
College of Communication Arts and Sciences,
Michigan State University,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree.



Director of Thesis

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my mother that without her support I would never have made it.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This chapter covers problems three American television networks faced during the Gulf war when many advertisers refused to place their ads in programs dealing with war coverage. The three networks in this study are the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

Problem

The possibility of a war in the Persian Gulf became real gradually, through a series of events that took place in the second half of 1990. The United States and her allies sent military troops to the Saudi desert when diplomatic actions brought no results. In early August of 1990 Iraqi military forces invaded Kuwait. On November 29, 1990,⁽¹⁾ the United Nations set a deadline of January 15, 1991 for Iraq to withdraw its military forces from Kuwait. Diplomatic efforts continued. The world waited. Diplomatic talks between Baker and Aziz failed January 9, 1991.⁽²⁾

No responsible media organization would have been caught unprepared when the war finally broke. Indeed, the three American broadcast networks prepared for months for war coverage abroad. Nevertheless, on January 16, 1991 and in the following days and weeks, the broadcast networks found themselves unprepared to face a severe advertising shortage, that occurred when advertisers refused to run their ads with war coverage.

The actuality of the Gulf War created three main programming problems:

First, many advertisers withdrew their commercials from any war-related programs. Advertisers feared viewer/consumer backlash if their advertisements were associated with the Gulf war. This created a huge loss of advertising revenue. Second, extended news editions, special reports, and breaking news, especially in the first three days of the war, pre-empted regular programs. Because viewers were not able to follow the altered schedule, ratings for re-scheduled programs dropped, and so did associated advertising revenues. Finally, the war coverage itself was costly to the networks. NBC estimated an expense of \$1.5 million a week.(3)

Advertisers

Various reports published during the Gulf War period indicated that a substantial number of advertisers decided not to run their commercials in and around programs addressing the war. At the same time, other advertisers did not perceive war related programs as incompatible with their advertising.

Newspapers and magazine reports detailed the unfolding problem for advertising decision makers:

A New York Times January 18, 1991 report cites an advertising agency executive as saying, "We have to look carefully at our clients, the appropriateness of their commercials and the progress of the conflict." (4) This report also cites two corporate advertising department managers: one reported withholding commercials and the other reported considering withholding commercials.

An Advertising Age January 21, 1991 report describes a more defined situation by listing leading national advertisers who would not air

their commercials during news coverage of the war: Proctor & Gamble Co., Sears Roebuck & CO.' Pepsi-Cola Co., McDonald's Corp., Pizza Hut, Toyota Motor Sales USA, American Isuzu Motors, Miller Brewing Co., Eastman Kodak Co., Ford Motor Co., Hershey Foods Corp., AT&T Co. and American Express Co.⁽⁵⁾ It quotes an advertising agency executive as saying: "I don't think [ads are] proper [during war coverage]; there's a backlash potential, and you have to ask what would you gain from it."⁽⁵⁾ However the report also says, "Most of the marketers will continue to run advertising during regularly scheduled programing."⁽⁵⁾

A New York Times February 7, 1991 report indicates increased advertisers' reluctance to run commercials during war coverage programs: "...all 3 network executives said in interviews that many advertiser's skittishness about war coverage was costing them millions of dollars."⁽⁶⁾ The report says advertisers feared juxtaposing commercials with images of death and violence, and juxtaposing up-beat commercials in war programming in general

Networks

According to a New York Times January 21, 1991 report only five days into the war, "Howard Stringer, the president of CBS broadcast group, said that as the war continued [and special reports were aired preempting regular programming], the networks were trying to be more selective about interrupting regular programming"⁽³⁾ The report continues to say that this approach was influenced by the need to reduce the extra costs of covering the war. The report mentions that another factor influencing this approach was the drop in ratings of prime-time regular programming which was created by viewers inability to "keep up

with the chaos in program schedules...."(3) The report also quotes an NBC executive who said that the gross lost of advertising revenue for Wednesday's [1/16] prime-time hours was \$3.5-\$4.0 million.(3) Neither NBC or CBS ran advertising in the first evening of the war.

According to a New York Times February 7, 1991 report, only two percent of commercial time available during war programming specials was sold.(6) Even the offer by CBS of better "lead-ins" to commercials failed to convince advertisers to run their commercials during war programs.(6)

This researcher assumed a general difficulty in running commercials in and around any war-related program and was concerned with the relationship between commercials and editorial content in the text of broadcast network evening news during the war. This researcher was also interested in identifying the characteristics of the whole news program as a text, defining that text as composed of editorial and commercial content. He addressed the issue: What if anything, did news editors do to accommodate commercials and war coverage in the text of evening news programs?

Summary

This chapter introduced the networks' advertising problem during the Gulf war and presented an issue that concerns possible changes in the networks evening news text, during the Gulf war.

CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter covers research of public attitudes towards advertising in war time, a theory of viewer positioning vis-a-vis news programs, and theories of influences on mass media content.

Issues Involved

Before answering the question, "What did television news editors do to accommodate commercials in television war coverage news programs?", one has to carefully observe the context in which this question is asked.

This author's opinion is that this context consists of questions involving three inter-related issues: public opinion, news content and structure, and media organization behavior.

Public Opinion

What were public attitudes toward advertising in television news coverage of the Gulf War? Were the public's attitudes different than the advertisers in this matter?

News Content And Structure

Were content placement and content frequency an issue for the television news editors? Did these editors make any structural changes in the evening news text?

Media organization Behavior

What organizational factors affected news content produced by media organizations during the gulf war?

This chapter covers surveys, theories, essays, and direct evidence concerning the three issues.

Public Opinion

As mentioned in chapter one of this study, many advertisers withheld their commercials from Gulf war coverage programs because of two reasons: (1) The appropriateness of advertising during war programs in general; advertisers were afraid of being perceived by the public as profiting from the war; and (2) The adjacency of commercials to "sensitive" editorial war content, which may have resulted in an undesired effect of the editorial content on the commercials.

This thesis study presents two other independent studies (the first published in 1991, the second published in 1992), that surveyed the public's attitudes toward advertising during the Gulf war.

On February 21, 1991, the National Television Association (NTA), presented a telephone survey conducted on February 11 and 12, 1991. "This survey was based on responses from 1,020 adults and is nationally projectable within a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percent."⁽²⁾

Results for early evening news programs were:

[85 percent] of the public who expressed an opinion feels advertising in war coverage segments of regularly scheduled evening news is "equally acceptable" or "more acceptable" than advertising in other segments of these programs.

Similar results were found toward advertising in un-scheduled Gulf war coverage news programs (specials).

Furthermore, if advertising is "sensitive to the war", ninety one percent ... agree it is equally or more acceptable to advertise in war coverage segments....

Seventy-nine percent ... believe advertisers on network television news programming covering the Gulf war are making a sound business decision by advertising in these programs. Eighty two percent of early evening network news viewers felt advertising on these programs containing coverage of the war was conventional business practice.⁽²⁾

Eugenia Zerbinos and Alice Kendrick of the University of Maryland, conducted a series of two surveys in the Dallas area. The first survey was conducted on January 17, 1991, the second survey was conducted on January 24, 1991. Researchers interviewed 370 viewers in the first survey and about two-thirds of the 370 again in the second survey⁽³⁾. The following is a part of the results:

... respondents in the first wave [1/17] generally did not view commercials during war information programs as appropriate. On a scale of 1 to 5, very appropriate to inappropriate, the mean for the appropriateness of television commercials was 3.72....⁽³⁾

Respondents in the follow-up survey were asked if they held the same views about the appropriateness of television ... commercials during war news ... A much greater proportion of people moved from the inappropriate to the appropriate category than in the other direction. [In the second survey results categories were collapsed from five to three: appropriate, neutral and inappropriate.] For example, of those who originally regarded television commercials as inappropriate, 42% regarded them as appropriate or very appropriate a week later. Only 6% of those who said television commercials were appropriate viewed them as inappropriate or very inappropriate a week later.

Those surveyed were asked to give the reason behind their original responses ... for those who regarded them as inappropriate, the reasons focused largely on the intrusive and trivial nature of commercials when compared to the importance and seriousness of the war....

Many of those who had no problem with the airing of the commercials, saw them as an opportunity to take a break without missing any development in the war. Some of those who said commercials were appropriate seemed to recognize the economic realities of broadcasting.

This author's opinion is that the varying attitudes reported in the different survey results suggest that public opinion grew more favorable toward advertising during Gulf war coverage programs as the war progressed. These surveys give evidence that the further away from the beginning of the Gulf war the survey was conducted, the more favorable public opinion became toward advertising during war coverage. In relation to public opinion polls, advertisers' attitudes toward

commercials during war coverage news programs was, therefore, justified only during the early stages (first week) of the Gulf war.

News Content And Structure

In addition to providing information about public opinion, one must look at theories discussing the effects of war coverage on viewer perception, in the context of television news text content and structure. Like content, structure carries a message to the viewer. For instance, placing a news story longer than usual at the beginning of the news text labels the story as important by being irregular, and the delay of other news stories in the same news text labels them as relatively unimportant to the first news story. The message here is denoted not in the news story content, but rather in its length and placement. An additional message relates to the hierarchy between different stories in the news text.

Affects On Viewers

One way to understand the issue of relationship between different items in the news text is to theoretically address the emotional and perceptual affects each item has on the viewer as well as to understand how these effects interfere with other effects of adjacent items in the news text.

Hudson⁽⁶⁾ addresses this issue by defining levels of "diegesis," using Nichols'⁽⁷⁾ definition of diegesis as the "depicted real world." Hudson categorizes content in television evening news on a loosely defined scale from "non-diegetic" to "diegetic."^(8,11) Hudson agrees that elements of the news program that are less diegetic distance the viewers emotionally from the described action of the story through various

production means of mediation (talking-head reporter, electronic graphics, talking-head anchor, program theme music). The most diegetic elements in the news program ("real" images of characters & their world, natural sound and dialogue) on the other hand, position the viewer emotionally "closer" to the described action where more direct access to real action is given.

Hudson claims that the editorial parts of the news program can be described as the less diegetic elements of the news text, and that commercials tend to be more diegetic. Accordingly, with a commercial break

...we often receive all sorts of non-diegetic cues, just before the ad cluster ... Nichols and Koskinen tell us that this process cues the spectator that it is okay to participate more emotionally [be emotionally positioned closer] with the message in the ads.(6)

Nichols(7) cites Christian Metz in discussing the process of text items affecting each other:

Christian Metz in developing his "grand syntagmatique", offers a definition of the sequence as a syntagm, or a unit of narrative autonomy: a sequence is "a coherent syntagm within which the 'shots' react (semantically) to each other (P.:97)(7).

In other words, the content of one item affects the perception other item's content by being adjacent to the other item.

[Metz:]The distinctive element in such a code (that of the grand syntagmatique) is not the sequence itself ... but only the logical principle of ordering which animates it and which assures its cohesion, permitting the images to form a sequence instead of remaining isolated views. (P.97)

Memorized information of formerly perceived items constantly affects the perception of following information in the text.

This author's conclusion of the above is that certain editorial elements such as war scenes, may act too "diegetically," and position viewers emotionally closer to the described action. This positioning

will trigger an undesired emotional perception by the viewer, before or just after a commercial break. Therefore, it will influence the viewer's emotional participation in commercials, which are defined as diegetic elements of the news text. Such a conclusion may support advertisers' attitudes toward placing ads in programs dealing with war coverage.

Placement and Frequency

Network officials were indeed listening to advertisers. As Joseph Peyronnin, Vice President and Associate to the President of CBS News stated:⁽⁴⁾

Invariably we don't go directly from those kinds of content (e.g. war scenes) into a commercial break. There is often a pad section or explanation section, and again it is an appropriate moment, when we put a commercial in a program. There is a distance from the very sensitive material to where a commercial would go.

A Gannett Foundation Report, "The Media At War,"⁽¹⁾ citing the Tyndall Report, presented a table of the "Top [25] News Stories - December 1990 - February 1991" (P.47). The story category ranked first, "Iraq-Kuwait Crisis": U.S. Desert Storm" received 2,658 broadcast minutes. The story category ranked second, "Soviet Politics: Shevardnadze Resigns," received only 56 broadcast minutes. Obviously the increase in frequency of war-related stories made it harder on news editors to distance commercials from these stories.

Structural Changes

This author has not been able to find any previous structural research related to news programs.

Media Organization Behavior

Both Hudson⁽⁸⁾ and Nichols⁽⁹⁾ described news editing routines. Routine however, is only one of several factors that affect the media organization behavior.

Shoemaker and Reese⁽⁶⁾ discuss various organizational factors influencing media content. These include influence of media routines and influence on content from both within and from without the media organization.

Influence of media routines on content:

Shoemaker and Reese:⁽⁶⁾

... routines are important because they affect the social reality portrayed by the media (P.88).

... routines are practical responses to the needs of media organizations and workers (P.88).

These routines help the media organization address the following questions: (1) What is acceptable to the consumer? (2) What is the organization capable of processing? (3) What raw product is available from suppliers (sources)? In a newsroom, for example, an editor must consider all three questions in deciding which stories to publish; What stories are available, which ones would appeal to the audience, and which satisfy the needs of the organization...? (P.88)

When looking into the television evening news, one can easily identify some editing routines: length (26-29 minutes), a fixed number of (3 or 4) commercial breaks in each news program, and buffering content items adjacent to commercial breaks.

This author's opinion is that keeping those routines helps preserve the viewer's consumption (viewing) habits which make commercial and editorial effective and acceptable to the viewer. Berkowitz⁽⁵⁾ carries this view further:

Even when dealing with highly unusual, highly unexpected stories, news workers try to find routine ways of dealing with the non-routine,... Non-routine newswork ... depends on adapting strategies from everyday work routines.

Shoemaker and Reese⁽⁶⁾ speak about "defensive routines," such as "journalistic objectivity," which help prevent offending the audience.

Organizational influence on content:

As mentioned by Shoemaker and Reese,⁽⁶⁾ editors must consider "which content would ... satisfy the needs of the organization."

[Segal:] So long as revenues are sufficient to ensure organizational survival, professional and social objectives take precedence over profits....⁽⁶⁾ (P.122).

For several reasons television displays the influence of economic objectives on content most clearly. Most broadcast organizations make all their revenue from advertising ... The inflexible time within which to program commercials, translates every programming decision into an economic trade-off⁽⁶⁾ (P.124).

The video "Advertising In Time of Crisis",⁽⁴⁾ produced by the NTA and featuring several networks officials, provides direct evidence of the economic trade-off:

Joseph Peyronnin, Vice President and Associate to the President, CBS

News:

We do not want to put a sponsor in a difficult position. We consult with our sales department, our marketing people, what the issues are that sponsors have, and we are mindful of those situations, and we respond to those kind of situations....⁽⁴⁾

Don Brown, Executive Vice President, NBC News:

The executive producer works very closely with the advertising parts to make sure they're placed in areas of the news where they're appropriate.⁽⁴⁾

Jeff Gralnick, Executive Producer, ABC News:

We took great care to buffer commercials from content that might be questionable. That was always on our mind, when we did have a commercial that we could advertise....⁽⁴⁾

Influences on content from outside the media organization:

Shoemaker and Reese⁽⁶⁾ cite Jamieson and Campbell:

[Advertisers] use their financial muscle to protest what they perceive unfair treatment by the news segment of the mass media (P.164).

They continue:

Modern multinational manufacturers and advertising agencies therefore have considerable power to suppress public messages they do not like (P.164).

In this literature review, three issues have been presented. Public opinion surveys suggest that over time people tended to accept advertising with war-related news. Content theories suggest that advertisers have some basis for their reluctance to advertise during war programs. Theories of influence on mass media content suggest that media organizations respond to economical pressures and tend to maintain work routines.

Research Question

Overall, how did general factors affecting television network behavior overall, influence television evening news programs' structure and content during the Gulf war?

CHAPTER TWO

NOTES

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CHAPTER THREE - METHODS

Introduction

This chapter includes research models that describe (1) data analysis and comparison, (2) the universe, (3) the instrument and the procedures of analysis, and (4) a formula for evaluating structural changes in the news text. The television networks studied were ABC, CBS, AND NBC.

Research Models

The researcher used three models to identify changes that occurred in television network evening news texts during the first two weeks of the Gulf War, January 16, 1991 - January 31, 1991 (identified in this work as the "war period"). He identified changes by using a comparison of three periods of television network evening news: the war-period, an adjacent "pre-war period," January 1, 1991 - January 15, 1991 (with similar issues and similar economic recession effects to the war period), and a previous "non-war" period, January 17, 1990 - January 31, 1990 (a period with similar advertising cycle conditions to the war-period that establishes a relevant non-war evening news criteria of regularity). For purposes of analysis, weekend programs were considered no different than weekday programs.

The first model describing a comparison similar to the comparison done in this study, appears in Holsti(1) (figure2-3, P.29). The researcher stretched Holsti's model from two to three situations to match the three periods of time discussed in this work. This Model includes a comparison of three network evening news "program groups." A "program group" is an "n" number of programs for a specific network in a defined period. This

model compares three program groups of a specific television network, for three different periods.

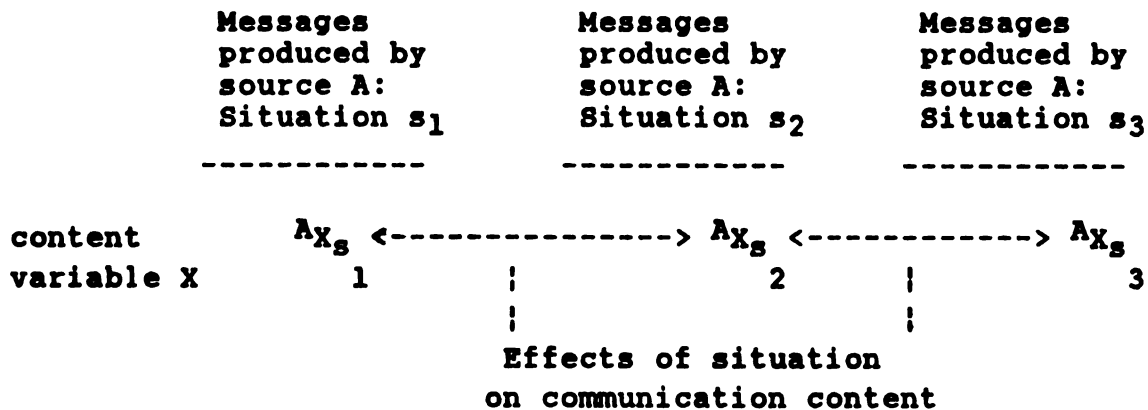


Figure 3.1: Research Model 1

Model 1 shows a change in the message (e.g. content variable X) of a television network (e.g. source A or B or C) over three periods (e.g. three situations). A message is the structure of television evening news produced by a television network in a given period. The researcher structural variables measured such as commercial-break length and starting time. Each period affected the message differently.

This research also compared messages of the three different network evening news programs (e.g., sources A, B and C) in the same period, or in a similar situation. Each network produced a different structure (e.g. message) in the same period. Structural variables measured were commercial break length and starting time.

A research model describing a similar comparison appears in Holsti(1) (figure 2.6, P.30). The following model stretches Holsti's model from two to three sources to compare the three network news programs. As mentioned previously, a program group represents "n" number of programs

for a specific network, in a defined period. In this model all groups originated during the same period.

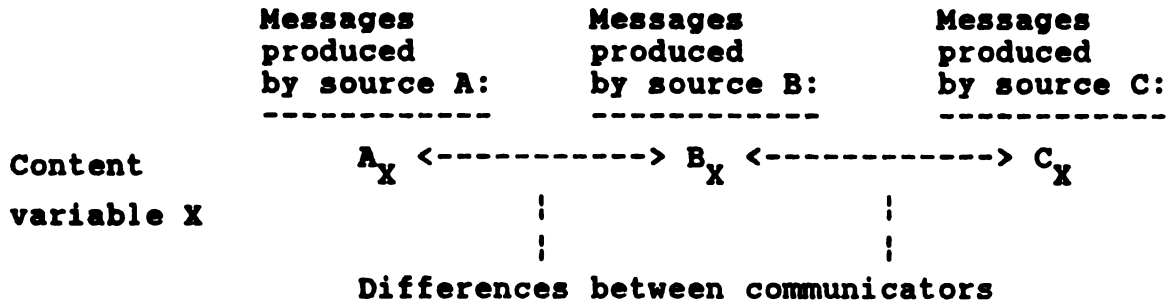


Figure 3.2: Research Model 2

These two research models represent the structure of network evening news programs. As content changes in the texts are described and compared for the pre-war and the war periods only, a content comparison between three networks at the same period is adequately described by research model 2. A third model describes content comparison of program groups of the same network, but during two different periods. (see figure 3.3)

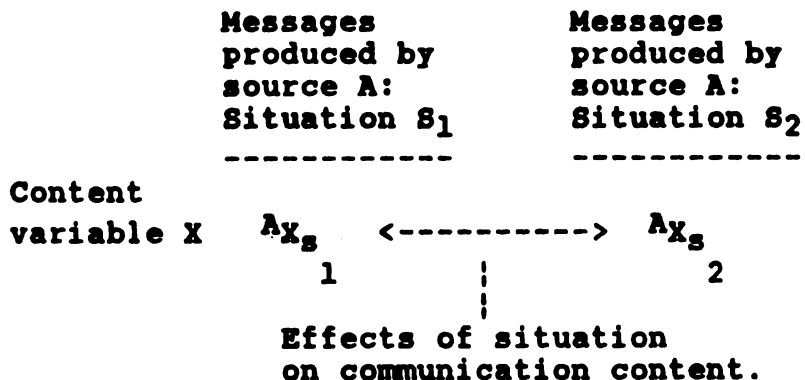


Figure 3.3: Research Model 3

Universe

The universe includes evening news programs from three periods that are described below:

The non-war period included all evening news programs broadcast between January 17, 1990 and January 31, 1990. ABC did not broadcast evening news on January 21, CBS did not broadcast its evening news on January 20 and January 28. ABC broadcast fourteen evening news programs, CBS broadcast thirteen, and NBC broadcast fifteen.

The pre-war period includes all evening news programs broadcast between January 1, 1991, and 15, 1991. ABC did not broadcast evening news on January 1 and 5. CBS did not broadcast evening news on January 6 and 12. NBC did not broadcast evening news on January 1 and 13. All networks broadcast thirteen evening news programs.

The war period included all evening news programs broadcast between January 16, 1991 and January 31, 1991. ABC did not broadcast evening news January 27. CBS did not broadcast evening news January 20, and NBC did not broadcast evening news January 19, 1991.

All irregular news texts (longer or shorter than half hour texts, and/or texts with varying number of commercial breaks) were excluded from a network's program group. This rule applies to ABC on January 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, and 30; to CBS on January 16, 19, 25, and 26; and to NBC on January 16. ABC broadcast nine evening news programs, CBS broadcast eleven, and NBC broadcast fourteen.

Each network broadcast one hour-long evening news program of which the second half-hour was pre-empted by some local affiliates. However, the first half-hour text structure was normal and was included in each network's program group.

Obtaining Data

Since video tapes of the programs were not available, the researcher used the Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstract logs⁽²⁾ as a substitute. Items of the universe's dates were copied from corresponding pages of the Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstracts log book of January - March 1990, P.P.: 96-192, and the log book of January - March 1991, P.P.: 1-175.

Initial Analysis

Study of the Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstract logs, revealed several news routines:

First, all evening news texts were constructed from Editorial (news items) and Commercial Breaks. The author noted a repetitive frequency of commercial breaks: four breaks for all networks in the non-war period; four breaks for ABC and NBC, and three for CBS, in the pre-war and war periods. The fourth CBS break shifted from inside the evening-news text and placed just after it ended.⁽³⁾ All program breaks were counted first. Buffer items adjacent to commercial breaks were noted.

Second, evening news program lengths were similar; approximately 20 to 29 minutes per program.

Third, the Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstracts logs represented already coded information. They provide a written description of audio-visual news programs in which describes news items. Items were separated from each other through the use of space. The logs gave starting times of commercial breaks and of the items following the breaks, as well as the starting and ending times of the entire news

text. The researcher used this data assuming that the logs' original coding were reliable and consistent, as a basis for comparison.

Instrument and Procedures

This study includes measurements and comparison of commercial break starting-time frequencies and length frequencies among the three networks news texts in each of the periods, and between the three periods for each network.

Structure Coding

The researcher identified commercial breaks according to their order of occurrence in the text #1, #2, #3, #4, and coded the starting time of each commercial break and starting time of each following item (serving as an ending time for the commercial break) as number of seconds into the program. Data was placed in separate tables corresponding to the separate program groups. (see figure 3.4)

ABC	BREAK #1		BREAK #2		BREAK #3		BREAK #4	
PRE-WAR	START	END	START	END	START	END	START	END
DATE #1	350"	470"	640"	730"	910"	1080"	1400"	1490"
DATE #2								
DATE #3								

Figure 3.4: Commercial Breaks Placement In The News Text.

For coding commercial break lengths, five columns were used in the following manner:

ABC

PRE-WAR	BREAK #1	BREAK #2	BREAK #3	BREAK #4
DATE #1	60"	90"	120"	110"
DATE #2	70"			
DATE #n	70"			

Figure 3.5: Commercial Breaks Length

Content Items Coding

Content items of news texts of the pre-war and war periods were coded according to three categories: war related, non-war related, and buffers.

1. War Related:

The war related category includes five sub-categories:

P - Politics and diplomacy: domestic and international efforts to resolve the Gulf War issues.

R - Reaction and opinion of the public to the war; protest and support.

L - Logistics, economics, and general information regarding military operations.

H - Human interest: personal stories of the war.

W - War violence and terror: actual fighting, destruction, terrorist actions.

2. Non-War Related:

The non-war related category includes two sub categories:

U - U.S. economy and other: general U.S. domestic issues.

I - International: stories from around the world

3. Buffers:

B - Buffers: news text items such as: upcoming stories, report introduction, and stock report.

Frequency of appearances, for each content category in each news program was tabulated for each program group: (see figure 3.6). A total of 1637 news items were coded.

CBS WAR	P	R	L	H	W	U	I	B
DATE #1	1	1	1	—	8	—	—	9
DATE #2	2							
DATE #3	2							

Figure 3.6: Aprogram Group Content Item Table

Reliability:

A second judge randomly sampled five evening news texts from the pre-war and war periods. One hundred one items were coded. Of the items coded by the second coder, only three were different from the original judge's coding.

Analysis

The analysis in this study has two parts: structure analysis of commercial and editorial placement, and content analysis of news-items frequency and appearance.

Structure analysis

The researcher assumed that news editing time routines (e.g. placement of a commercial break; length of a commercial break), would vary between the three periods. He also assumed different levels of variation between the three periods for each network as well as different levels of variation between the three networks for each period.

A mean and a standard deviation for each individual commercial break category of each program group was calculated for commercial break starting times and for commercial break lengths.

A time range of the earliest starting time of a given break category and the latest ending time of that break category (e.g. range of occurrences) for each programs group was noted in seconds.

Structural Disturbance Ratio formula

Each commercial break occurrence in television news text disturbs the flow of editorial messages to the viewers. Its placement in the news text is, as mentioned in chapter two of this study, a trade-off between the network's economical needs (e.g. advertising revenues) and its journalistic goals.

The Structural Disturbance Ration (SDR) formula defines a standard measurement of commercial breaks variation of placement within a commercial break category of a program group. It defines what factors affect variation within a break category. It also defines the ratio between variation within one standard deviation of a break category, and variation within the whole range of occurrences in a break category. The SDR served as a reliable tool of evaluating commercial break placement which is structural by nature. Comparing a network SDR among the three periods of this study determined the network's structural differences between those periods. Comparing SDR between different networks in the same period determines the structural differences between networks in that period. These differences show how factors from within and from without the television network influence the news text structure.

The SDR formula expresses the relationship between the length and time movement of any given commercial break category (which is a volume of

time) in any given program group, *within one standard deviation*, and of that commercial break category's *range of occurrence* in any given program group. (see figure 3.7)

Range of Occurrence Within a Commercial Break Category = S.D.R. *

Mean length + S D length + S D starting time

(* SD stands in this formula for Standard deviation)

Figure 3.7: Structural Disturbance Ratio Formula

The structural Disturbance Ratio (SDR) formula represents a relationship within a commercial break category of a given program group, between the total time range of commercial break occurrence as the numerator, and a sum of figures that represent commercial break occurrence within the realm of one standard deviation from the mean, as the denominator. In this sum of figures, figures of length mean and length standard deviation represent a "changing volume of time," and figure of standard deviation of starting time represents the movement of this "changing volume of time."

The sum of figures in the denominator will always be smaller than the figure in the numerator, and therefore, results should always be bigger than one. According to basic laws of arithmetic, SDR would be smaller when the sum of figures in the denominator is bigger, and bigger when the sum of figures in the denominator is smaller. This means that when the SDR figure is smaller, commercial breaks within the realm of one standard deviation are more spread relative to the range, and when SDR figure is bigger, commercial breaks within the realm of one standard deviation are more clustered relative to the range.

SDR is a figure relative to a specific range, which can change dramatically in different break categories. Therefore, it is important to use the range as an independent figure when discussing each individual commercial break category.

Operating Definitions

A range of 0" (seconds) to 180" is defined as very short, 181" to 270" as short, 271" to 360" as medium, 361" to 450" as long, and 451" and above as very long. An S.D.R. figure between 1.00 to 2.00 is defined as low, and between 2.00 and 3.00 as high. This author chose to use time categories of 90 seconds since 90 seconds commercial breaks were the most common.

When commercial breaks within one standard deviation are said to be clustered (e.g. dispersed over a shorter period of time), 68 percent of commercial break seconds are clustered within one standard deviation. In other words, *individual commercial breaks are not measured in this study as mutually exclusive categories.*

Tabulation

Standard deviation and mean of commercial break starting times, standard deviation and mean of commercial break length, range of appearances and SDR were computed and placed in tables. (see figures 3.8 and 3.9)

		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES			
ABC		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANGE	SDR
BREAK #n							
	NON-WAR						
	PRE-WAR						
	WAR						

Figure 3.8: A Network Inter Period Comparison

		LENGTH		STARTING TIME			
WAR		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANGE	S.D.R.
BREAK #n							
	ABC						
	CBS						
	NBC	62.85"	5.89"	537.86"	109.75"	450"	2.52

Figure 3.9: A period Inter Network Comparison

Content Items Analysis

Means and frequencies of total number of items per program and total item category (or categories) per program, were calculated for each program group (see figure 3-10)

ABC		CBS		NBC		
	PRE-WAR N=	WAR N=	PRE-WAR N=	WAR N=	PRE-WAR N=	WAR N=
TOTAL	25.85	15.77	21.54	20.79	22.69	25.43
W. RELATE	8.92					
N.W. RELATE	7.15					
ITEM W	—					
ITEM H	0.076					
ITEM L	1.77					
ITEM O	0.85					
ITEM P	6.23					
ITEM B	9.77					

Figure 3.10: Means And Frequencies Of Items Per Program Group

Appearance and frequency of item adjacent (before/after) to commercial breaks (e.g. appearance and frequencies of items placement) were coded for each program group of the pre-war and war periods. In determining item adjacency single buffers either before or after commercial break were ignored. (see figure 3.11)

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4	
ABC	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	12	7	6	9	3	8	—	5
W	—							
W	—							
R	2							
R	—							
N. WAR RELATED	1							

Figure 3.11: Category Items Before (or After) A Commercial Break

The left column represents an item category or a group of item categories. W represents a war item with actual scenes of violence scenes or results of violence. R represents reaction and public opinion including public protest.

Summary

This chapter presented methods of obtaining, processing, analyzing, and comparing the structure and content of television evening news programs over three periods. A Structural Disturbance Ratio (SDR) and figures showing how computations were organized were discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

NOTES

1. Holsti, Ole R. Content Analysis For The Social Sciences And Humanities, (Reading; Addison Wesley, 1969), 29, 30.
2. Television News Index and Abstracts, (Nashville; Vanderbilt University, Vanderbilt News Archive, 1990, 1991,), 96-192, 1-175.
3. Dees, Dona, CBS news editor, telephone call June 5, 1992, 5 p.m., conveyed to this author that Commercial Break 4 was placed just after the evening news program.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter includes two types of results:

1. Six structural analysis categories of "commercial break categories" lengths and starting times for each "program group"
2. Three content categories of items frequency and placement for each "program group", which include five sub categories

Structure Results

Inter Period Comparison

Results are presented in accordance with "Research Model 1" and described through addressing SDR levels and range of occurrence levels of each individual commercial break category.

ABC: Regular Programs

Table 4.1 presents structural data of ABC news programs from the three periods discussed in this study:

Table 4.1

ABC, INTER PERIOD COMPARISON

ABC		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES		RANGE	S.D.R.
		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.		
BREAK #1							
	NON-WAR	65.00"	6.26"	361.42"	62.80"	250"	1.86
	PRE-WAR	66.15"	4.86"	480.77"	91.78"	430"	2.55
	WAR	63.33"	4.70"	485.55"	128.95"	540"	2.74
BREAK #2							
	NON-WAR	97.86"	12.06"	720.71"	61.47"	280"	1.63
	PRE-WAR	98.46"	12.31"	826.92"	104.84"	460"	2.13
	WAR	100.00"	11.54"	838.88"	81.30"	360'	1.87
BREAK #3							
	NON-WAR	125.71"	4.95"	1069.28"	60.53"	360"	1.88
	PRE-WAR	123.84"	4.86"	1110.00"	105.14"	430"	1.84
	WAR	124.44'	4.97"	1162.22"	57.69"	310"	1.66
BREAK #4							
	NON-WAR	97.14"	16.22"	1420.00"	70.71"	310"	1.68
	PRE-WAR	100.00"	16.17"	1464.15"	91.46"	390"	1.88
	WAR	95.55"	12.57"	1476.66"	53.12"	280"	1.74

Break 1:

Even though the range of occurrence increased in the pre-war and increased dramatically again in the war period, SDR level increased in the pre-war period and in the war period as well. In other words, the longer the range became the more clustered commercial breaks within one standard deviation became, even though some commercial breaks in the war period were moved to the extreme, as indicated by the nine minutes range of occurrence in the war period.

Range of occurrence increased from a medium length 280" in the non-war period to a very high length of 460" in the pre-war period, and then increased to a very high length 540" in the war period. SDR increased from a low of 1.86 in the non-war period to a high of 2.55 in the pre-war period, and then to increased to a high of 2.74 in the war period.

Break 2:

SDR figures balanced the range of occurrence figures so that in all periods, breaks were evenly spread.

Range of occurrence increased from a medium level of 280" in the non-war period to a very long level of 460" in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a medium level of 360" in the war period. SDR increased from a low level of 1.63 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.13 in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a low of 1.87.

Break 3:

Commercial breaks in the non-war and pre-war periods were spread in similar proportions, but relative to a longer range in the pre-war period. However, the drop of SDR and of the range of occurrence in the war period, suggest that commercial breaks were proportionally more spread out, but relative to a shorter range of occurrence.

Range of occurrence increased from 360" medium level in the non-war period to a high level of 430" in the pre-war period, but dropped to a medium level of 310" in the war period. SDR levels in the non-war period and in the pre-war period were similar: 1.88 and 1.84 respectively, but S.D.R. dropped to a low level of 1.66 in the war period.

Break 4:

SDR figures were similar in all periods, therefore in all periods, breaks were spread out in similar proportions, but relative to a long rather than medium range of occurrence in the pre-war period.

Range increased from a medium level of 310" in non-war period to a high level of 390" in the pre-war period and then dropped to a medium level of 280" in the war period. SDR increased slightly from a low of

1.68 in the non-war period to a low of 1.88 in the pre-war period, and then dropped slightly to a low of 1.75 in the war period.

ABC: Irregular Programs

ABC's war period program group a had smaller n (n=9) than CBS and NBC, since it broadcasted five structurally irregular programs, for which comparison was not possible:

Table 4.2

ABC, IRREGULAR PROGRAMS

DATE	PROGRAM LENGTH	FIRST HALF	SECOND HALF
January 17, 1991	48'	3 Com. Breaks	1 Com Break (Over 18')
January 18, 1991	60'	2 com. Breaks	3 Com. Breaks
January 21, 1991	60'	1 Com. Breaks	4 Com. Breaks
January 22, 1991	60'	3 com. Breaks	4 Com. Breaks
January 30, 1991	60'	5 Com Breaks	2 Com Breaks

In all irregular programs, routines of program length and number of commercial breaks per program were broken, leaving no basis for comparison. Most irregular programs were aired during the first week of the war. For all irregular programs the average number of commercial breaks per half hour was lower than four.

CBS: Regular Programs

Table 4-3 presents the structural data of CBS news programs of the three periods discussed in this study:

Table 4.3

CBS, INTER-PERIOD COMPARISON

CBS		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES		RANGE	S.D.R.
		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.		
BREAK #1							
	NON-WAR	86.15"	13.32"	481.53"	170.10"	420"	1.56
	PRE-WAR	91.53"	3.60"	637.69"	114.50"	440"	2.10
	WAR	89.27"	6.16"	660"	70.45"	330'	1.99
BREAK #2							
	NON-WAR	91.53"	3.60"	828.46"	105.69"	370"	1.84
	PRE-WAR	100.76"	2.66"	984.61"	83.36"	390"	2.09
	WAR	102.73"	4.45"	1041.82"	41.30"	230"	1.55
BREAK #3							
	NON-WAR	91.53"	3.60"	1129.23"	60.72"	290"	1.86
	PRE-WAR	93.07"	4.61"	1306.92"	54.83"	300"	1.97
	WAR	91.81"	3.86"	1340.00"	37.17"	220"	1.66
BREAK #4							
	NON-WAR	96.92"	15.87"	1433.84"	26.47"	170"	1.22
	PRE-WAR	—	—	—	—	—	—
	WAR	—	—	—	—	—	—

Results may have been affected by the fact that in the pre-war and war periods CBS placed break four outside the evening news program.

Therefore, only three CBS breaks are discussed.

Break 1:

Since range of occurrence levels of the non-war period and the pre-war period were similar, and SDR in the pre-war increased, it is fair to say that commercial breaks were more clustered relative to a similar range in the pre-war period. In the war period, range of occurrence decreased and SDR increased, in other words, breaks were proportionally more spread out, but relative to a shorter range of occurrence than in the pre-war period:

Range of occurrence increased slightly from a long level of 420" in the non-war period to 440" in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a medium level of 330" in the war period. S.D.R. increased from a low

level of 1.56 in the non-war period to a high of 2.10 in the pre-war period, and then dropped slightly to a low of 1.99.

Break 2:

Range of occurrence levels of the non-war period and pre-war period were similar and so were their SDR levels. Therefore it is fair to say that the slight increase in range was balanced by the slight increase in SDR that clustered the commercial breaks relative to a longer range. A similar situation occurred in the war period in an opposite way: both range and SDR dropped significantly, balancing each other. Commercial breaks were, therefore, proportionally more spread out, but relative to a much smaller range.

Range of occurrence increased slightly from a high level of 370" in the non-war period, to a long level of 390" in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a short level of 230" in the war period. SDR increased slightly from a low level of 1.84 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.09 in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a low level of 1.55 in the war period.

Break 3:

Range of occurrence in the pre-war period indicates a similarity of proportion in commercial breaks dispersion between the non-war and the pre-war periods, but relative to a longer range of occurrence in the pre-war period. In the war period, range of occurrence was similar to the non-war period, but commercial breaks were more spread out relative to the range of occurrence since SDR was lower.

Range of occurrence increased slightly from a short level of 220" in the non-war period to a medium level of 300" in the pre-war period, and then dropped again to a short level of 220" in the war period. SDR

increased slightly from a low level of 1.86 in the non-war period to a low level of 1.97 in the pre-war period, and then dropped to a low level of 1.66 in the war period.

CBS: Irregular Programs

Three times, January 19, 25, and 26, 1991, CBS evening news contained four commercial breaks. Those dates were ignored, since they did not provide an adequate base for comparison.

NBC: Regular Programs

Table 4.4 presents structural data of NBC news programs from the three periods discussed in this study:

Table 4.4

NBC, INTER-PERIOD COMPARISON

		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES		RANGE	S.D.R.
NBC		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.		
BREAK #1							
	NON-WAR	61.40"	3.38"	406.60"	77.80"	320"	2.24
	PRE-WAR	63.07"	4.61"	526.15"	68.34"	280"	2.06
	WAR	62.85"	5.89"	537.86"	109.75"	450"	2.52
BREAK #2							
	NON-WAR	92.00"	4.00"	730.66"	79.12"	380"	2.17
	PRE-WAR	91.53"	3.60"	820.77"	78.90"	320"	2.08
	WAR	92.14"	4.10"	847.14"	83.53"	370"	2.06
BREAK #3							
	NON-WAR	120.66"	2.49"	1081.33"	62.70"	360"	1.94
	PRE-WAR	119.23"	9.17"	1131.54"	73.37"	410"	2.03
	WAR	112.14"	4.52"	1108.57"	57.55"	310"	1.69
BREAK #4							
	NON-WAR	91.33"	3.39"	1376.66"	97.88"	270"	1.40
	PRE-WAR	106.15"	6.24"	1450.77"	44.64"	320"	2.04
	WAR	197.14"	4.52"	1427.86"	86.04"	220"	1.11

Break 1:

A smaller range of occurrence in the pre-war period was balanced by a higher spread of commercial breaks due to a lower SDR in the pre-war period, making it look similar to the non-war period. A similar balance

occurred in the war period in a reversed way: both range of occurrence and SDR grew, making commercial breaks proportionally more clustered, but relative to a bigger range of occurrence.

Range of occurrence dropped from a medium level of 320" in the non-war period to a medium level of 280" in the pre-war period, and then increased dramatically to a long level of 450" in the war period. SDR decreased slightly from a high level of 2.24 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.06 in the pre-war period, and then increased to a high level of 2.52.

Break 2:

Overall, differences were insignificant except for the fact that in the pre-war period, commercial breaks were spread in the same proportions, but relative to a longer range of occurrence than the other two periods.

Range dropped from a high level of 380" in the non-war period to a medium level of 320" in the pre-war period, and then increased back to a high level of 370". SDR dropped slightly from a high level of 2.17 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.08 in the pre-war period, and stayed in a similar high level of 2.06 in the war period.

Break 3:

Changes in break 3 are similar in nature to the changes in break 2. Only proportions vary.

Range of occurrence increased from a medium level of 360" in the non-war period to a high level of 410" in the pre-war period, and then dropped dramatically to a medium level of 310" in the war period. SDR increased slightly from a low level of 1.94 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.03 in the pre-war period, and then dropped dramatically to a low level of 1.69 in the war period.

Break 4:

Changes in break 4 are similar in nature to changes in breaks 2 and 3. only proportions vary.

Range increased from a short level of 270" in the non-war period to a medium level of 320" in the pre-war period, and then dropped dramatically to a short level of 220" in the war period. SDR increased from a low level of 1.40 in the non-war period to a high level of 2.04 in the pre-war period, and then dropped dramatically to a low level of 1.11.

Inter Network Comparison

Results of comparison between networks in each period are presented in accordance with "Research Model 2," and will be described through addressing S.D.R. levels and range levels of each individual commercial break category.

Non-War Period

Table 4.5 presents structural data of network news programs from the non-war period:

Table 4-5**NON-WAR PERIOD, INTER-NETWORK COMPARISON**

NON-WAR		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES		RANGE	S.D.R.
		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.		
BREAK # 1							
	ABC	65.00"	6.26"	361.42"	62.80"	250"	1.86
	CBS	86.15"	13.32"	481.53"	170.10"	420"	1.56
	NBC	61.40"	3.38"	406.60"	77.80"	320"	2.24
BREAK # 2							
	ABC	97.86"	12.06"	720.71"	61.47"	280"	1.63
	CBS	91.53"	3.60"	828.46"	105.67"	370"	1.84
	NBC	92.00"	4.00"	730.66"	79.12"	380"	2.17
BREAK # 3							
	ABC	125.71"	4.95"	1069.28"	60.53"	360"	1.88
	CBS	91.53"	3.60"	1129.23"	60.72"	290"	1.86
	NBC	120.66"	2.49"	1081.33"	62.70"	360"	1.94
BREAK # 4							
	ABC	97.14"	16.22"	1420.00"	70.71"	310"	1.68
	CBS	96.92"	15.87"	1433.84"	26.47"	170"	1.22
	NBC	91.33"	3.39"	1376.66"	97.66"	270"	1.40

Break 1:

Different editorial policies are shown here. ABC had the shortest range of occurrence and SDR at the high end of the low level. ABC's commercial breaks were more clustered than those of CBS but relative to a shorter range of occurrence. CBS had a long level of range of occurrence with a low level of S.D.R. CBS's commercial breaks were more spread out relative to the longest range of occurrence. NBC had a medium level range of occurrence with a high level of SDR. NBC's commercial breaks were highly clustered relative to its medium range of occurrence.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a short level of 250" and its S.D.R. was at a low level of 1.86. CBS's range of occurrence was at a long level of 420" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.56. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 320" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.24.

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Break 2:

NBC had the longest (a medium level) range, but since its SDR was the highest, its commercial breaks were proportionally more clustered relative to the range. CBS had a similar range, but since its SDR was lower than that of NBC, its commercial breaks were proportionally more spread out relative to a range similar to NBC's. ABC had a short level range with the lowest SDR. Its commercial breaks were proportionally more spread, but relative to a shorter range.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 280" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.63. CBS's range of occurrence was at a long level of 370" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.84. NBC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 380" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.17.

Break 3:

S.D.R. levels were similar. However, CBS's commercial breaks were spread out in similar proportions to the other networks, but relative to a shorter range of occurrence.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 360" and SDR was at a low level of 1.88. CBS's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 290" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.86. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 360" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.94.

Break 4:

All networks had similar balance mechanisms where range of occurrence and their SDRs balanced each other, but for different time lengths: ABC was the longest, NBC was in the middle, and CBS was the shortest.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 310" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.68. CBS's range of occurrence was at a very short level of 170" and its SDR was at a low level 1.22. NBC's range of occurrence was at a short level of 270" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.40.

Pre-war Period

Table 4.6 presents structural data of network news programs from the pre-war period:

Table 4.6

PRE-WAR PERIOD, INTER NETWORK COMPARISON

		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES		RANGE	S.D.R.
PRE-WAR		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.		
BREAK # 1							
	ABC	66.15"	4.86"	480.77"	91.78"	430"	2.55
	CBS	91.53"	3.60"	637.69"	114.50"	440"	2.10
	NBC	63.07"	4.61"	526.15"	68.34"	280"	2.06
BREAK # 2							
	ABC	98.46"	12.31"	826.92"	104.84"	460"	2.13
	CBS	100.76"	2.66"	984.61"	83.36"	390"	2.09
	NBC	91.53"	3.60"	820.77"	58.90"	320"	2.08
BREAK # 3							
	ABC	123.84"	4.86"	1110.00"	105.14"	430"	1.84
	CBS	93.07"	4.61"	1306.92"	54.83"	300"	1.97
	NBC	119.23"	9.17"	1131.54"	73.37"	410"	2.03
BREAK # 4							
	ABC	100.00"	16.17"	1464.15"	91.46"	390"	1.88
	CBS	—	—	—	—	—	—
	NBC	106.15"	6.24"	1450.77"	44.64"	320"	2.04

Break 1:

ABC's commercial breaks were highly clustered relative to the longest range of occurrence. CBS's commercial breaks with a similar range of occurrence and a lower SDR were proportionally less clustered relative to a similar range. NBC had the smallest range of occurrence. Its

commercial breaks were clustered in similar proportion to CBS's breaks, but relative to a lower range.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 430" and SDR was at a high level of 2.55. CBS's range of occurrence was similar at 440", but its SDR was at a lower high level of 2.10. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 280", and was the shortest for all networks. Its SDR was similar to CBS, at 2.06.

Break 2:

Since SDR ratios were similar for all networks, commercial break dispersion clearly had a positive direct correlation to the length of the individual ranges of occurrence:

ABC's range of occurrence was at a very long level of 460" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.13. CBS's range was at a high level of 390" and its SDR was at a high of 2.08. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 320" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.08.

Break 3:

ABC's commercial breaks were highly spread, relative to the longest range of occurrence. CBS's commercial breaks were more clustered relative to the shortest range of occurrence. NBC's range of occurrence was similar to ABC's, but since its SDR was higher, its commercial breaks were more clustered than ABC's:

ABC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 430" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.84. CBS's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 300" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.97. NBC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 410" and its SDR was at a high of 2.03.

Break 4:

Clearly ABC's commercial breaks were more dispersed than NBC's, and over a longer range of occurrence.

ABC and NBC are discussed here, according to Research Model 3. ABC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 390" and its SDR was at a low of 1.88. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 320" and its SDR was at a high of 2.04.

War Period

Table 4.7 presents structural data of network news program from the war period:

Table 4.7**WAR PERIOD, INTER-NETWORK COMPARISON**

		LENGTH		STARTING TIMES			
WAR		MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANGE	S.D.R.
BREAK #1							
	ABC	63.33"	4.70"	485.55"	128.95"	540"	2.74
	CBS	89.27"	6.16"	660.00"	70.45"	330"	1.99
	NBC	62.85"	5.89"	537.86"	109.75"	450"	2.52
BREAK #2							
	ABC	100.00"	11.54"	838.88"	81.30"	360"	1.87
	CBS	102.73"	4.45"	1041.82"	41.30"	230"	1.55
	NBC	92.14"	4.10"	847.14"	83.53"	370"	2.06
BREAK #3							
	ABC	124.44"	4.97"	1162.22"	57.69"	310"	1.66
	CBS	91.81"	3.86"	1340.00"	37.17"	220"	1.66
	NBC	112.14"	4.52"	1108.57"	57.55"	310"	1.69
BREAK #4							
	ABC	95.55"	12.57"	1476.66"	53.12"	280"	1.74
	CBS	—	—	—	—	—	—
	NBC	107.14"	4.52"	1427.86"	86.04"	220"	1.11

Break 1:

ABC's commercial breaks were highly clustered relative to the longest range of occurrence. CBS's commercial breaks were the most dispersed relative to shortest range of occurrence. NBC, in the middle had

commercial breaks that were relatively less clustered than ABC's, but its range of occurrence was shorter than ABC's.

ABC's range of occurrence was at a very long level of 450" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.74. CBS's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 330" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.99. NBC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 450" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.52.

Break 2:

NBC had the longest range of occurrence, but its commercial breaks were highly clustered. ABC's commercial breaks were proportionally less clustered relatively to a similar range. CBS had the shortest range of occurrence, but its commercial breaks were the most dispersed, since its SDR was the lowest

ABC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 360" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.87. CBS's range of occurrence was at a short level of 230" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.55. NBC's range of occurrence was at a long level of 370" and its SDR was at a high level of 2.06.

Break 3:

Since SDR levels for all networks were similar, commercial breaks dispersion levels were in direct positive correlation to the individual ranges of occurrence

ABC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 310" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.66. CBS's range of occurrence was at a short level of 220" and its SDR was at a low of 1.66. NBC's range of occurrence was at a medium level of 310" and its SDR was at a low level of 1.69.

Break 4:

ABC and NBC are discussed here according to Research Model 3. ABC's commercial breaks were more clustered than NBC's commercial breaks, but relative to a longer range of occurrence

ABC's range of occurrence was at a short level of 280", and its SDR was at a low level of 1.74. NBC's range of occurrence was at a short level of 220"; SDR was at a low level of 1.11.

Delay In Time Of Commercial Break Categories Placement In The**News Text:**

The means of commercial break starting times were bigger in the pre-war period than in the non-war period for all networks, and were bigger again in the war period than in the pre-war period for most commercial breaks except NBC. For breaks 3 and 4, starting time means were smaller in the war period than in the pre-war period.

Analysis of Content Items

The three content analysis categories, including the seven sub categories coded were:

1.War Related:

- P - politics, diplomacy
- R - reaction, opinion of public
- L - logistics, information of the military
- H - human interest
- W - war, violence

2.Non-War Related:

- U - U.S., economy, other
- I - international

3. Buffers:

B - buffers

Analysis of content includes first, a description and comparison of frequency of appearance of all items in the news text. Second is a description and comparison of appearance of items adjacent (before or after) to commercial breaks. Description and comparison include each program group in the pre-war and war periods.

Only two content item categories that had adjacent appearances to commercial breaks are described and compared: category W (war violence) appears in a separate row in a bold style when containing scenes of war violence; and category R (reaction, opinion of the public) appear in a separate row in a bold style when containing protest against the war. Data were analyzed in accordance with Research Model 3.

Frequency of appearance of all items in the news text

Table 4.8 presents means and frequency of appearance of content items, in the pre-war and war periods for the three television networks:

Table 4.8

MEAN AND FREQUENCY OF ITEMS AND GROUPS OF ITEMS PER PROGRAMS GROUP.

...	ABC		CBS		NBC	
	PRE-WAR N=13	WAR N=9	PRE-WAR N=13	WAR N=11	PRE-WAR N=13	WAR N=14
TOTAL	25.85	15.77 -	21.54	20.79 -	22.69	25.43 +
W. RELATE	8.92	8.30 +	8.08	10.42 +	8.38	11.79 +
N.W. RELATE	7.15	2.54 -	4.77	2.00 -	4.38	1.86 -
ITEM W	—	4.92 +	0.23	6.85 +	0.54	5.64 +
ITEM H	0.076	0.23 =	0.15	0.14 =	0.61	0.14 =
ITEM L	1.77	0.92 -	1.77	0.64 -	2.30	0.57 -
ITEM R	0.85	1.08 +	0.54	0.92 +	0.46	1.14 +
ITEM P	6.23	1.15 -	5.38	1.86 -	4.46	2.14 -
ITEM B	9.77	4.92 =	8.69	8.29 =	9.92	11.79 =

Content changes between the pre-war and the war periods were addressed according to Research Model 2, The same categories of items were compared between the pre-war period and the war period. Item frequency changes of each individual pre-war and war program groups were measured against the changing number of total items to of each individual program group, to enable evaluation of the relative changes between the pre-war and the war periods. The (+), (-) and (=) symbols represent an increase, decrease or no change in item category means between the pre-war and the war period relative to the means of the total number of items in those periods.

Except for the mean of the total number of items, which decreased for ABC and CBS and increased for NBC, changes from the pre-war period to the war period were similar for all networks in the following manner:

- The mean of all five war related items increased.
- The mean of the two non-war related items decreased.
- The mean of item W (war, violence) increased.
- The mean of item L (logistics, information of the military) decreased.
- The mean of item R (reaction, opinion of public) increased.
- The mean of item P (politics, diplomacy) decreased.
- There was no significant change in the mean of item B.

Appearances and frequency of items adjacent to commercial breaks

This study also measured appearance and frequency of appearance for items adjacent (before or after) to commercial breaks. These measures were taken because of existing evidence that during the Gulf war period, television network news producers constructed the news texts in accordance with their advertisers demands.(1)

Definitions: N is the number of programs in a program group. Frequency is presented in parentheses. Frequency was calculated by dividing the number of adjacent items, or the number of a group of items by N.

Table 4.9 presents the appearance and frequency of ABC's content items before commercial breaks.

Table 4-9

ABC, CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY BEFORE COMMERCIAL BREAKS *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4	
ABC	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	12 (.92)	7 (.77)	6 (.46)	9 (1.00)	3 (.23)	8 (.88)	—	5 (.55)
W	—	7 (.77)	—	3 (.33)	—	3 (.33)	—	1 (.11)
W	—	4 (.44)	—	1 (.11)	—	—	—	—
R	2 (.15)	—	—	1 (.11)	—	2 (.22)	—	2 (.22)
R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (.11)
N. WAR RELATED	1 (.08)	—	7 (.54)	—	10 (.77)	—	13 (1.00)	4 (.44)

* N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 in the pre-war period, and 9 in the war period.

Table 4.10 presents the appearance and frequency of ABC's content items after commercial breaks:

Table 4.10

ABC, CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY AFTER COMMERCIAL BREAKS *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4	
ABC	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	7 (.54)	9 (.77)	5 (.38)	7 (.77)	1 (.08)	6 (.66)	5 (.39)	4 (.44)
W	—	6 (.66)	—	3 (.33)	—	3 (.33)	—	—
W	—	—	—	1 (.11)	—	—	—	—
R	—	1 (.11)	2 (.15)	2 (.22)	1 (.08)	2 (.22)	1 (.08)	3 (.33)
R	—	1 (.11)	2 (.15)	—	1 (.08)	1 (.11)	1 (.08)	—
N. WAR RELATED	6 (.46)	—	8 (.61)	2 (.22)	12 (.92)	3 (.33)	4 (.30)	3 (.33)

* N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 in the pre-war period and 9 in the war period.

The frequency of war and violence content (item W) increased in the war period before and after commercial breaks. Content with actual violence (item W) was low in both periods, both before and after commercial breaks. The frequency of public reaction content (item R) was higher after commercial breaks in both periods, but this type of content was never placed after break 1 in the war period. The frequency of war protest content (item R) increase during the war period. The frequency of war related items increased in the war period before and after commercial breaks, and the frequency of non-war related items decreased in the war period.

Table 4.11 presents CBS's content items appearance and frequency before commercial breaks:

Table 4.11

CBS. CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY BEFORE COMMERCIAL BREAKS *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4 **	
CBS	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	11 (.85)	12 (1.10)	6 (.46)	9 (.81)	12 (.92)	5 (.45)	—	—
W	—	9 (.81)	—	3 (.27)	—	3 (.27)	—	—
<u>W</u>	—	4 (.36)	—	—	—	—	—	—
R	1 (.08)	—	—	1 (.09)	—	1 (.09)	—	—
<u>R</u>	1 (.08)	—	—	1 (.09)	—	1 (.09)	—	—
N. WAR RELATED	2 (.15)	—	7 (.54)	5 (.45)	17 (1.3)	8 (.81)	—	—

* N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 for the pre-war period and 11 for the war period.

** CBS moved its fourth commercial break outside the news program in the pre-war and war periods.

Table 4.12 presents the appearance and frequency of CBS's content items after commercial breaks.

Table 4.12

CBS, CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY AFTER COMMERCIAL BREAKS *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4 **	
CBS	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	8 (.61)	14 (1.27)	5 (.38)	10 (.91)	11 (.85)	13 (1.18)	—	—
W	1 (.08)	8 (.73)	—	5 (.45)	—	4 (.36)	—	—
W	—	4 (.36)	—	2 (.18)	—	3 (.27)	—	—
R	—	—	—	1 (.09)	4 (.31)	6 (.54)	—	—
R	—	—	—	1 (.09)	4 (.31)	1 (.09)	—	—
N. WAR RELATED	5 (.38)	—	8 (.61)	4 (.36)	2 (.15)	1 (.09)	—	—

* N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 in the pre-war period and 11 in the war period.

** CBS moved its fourth commercial break outside the news program in the pre-war and war periods.

The frequency of war and violence content (item W) increased before and after commercial breaks in the war period. The frequency of actual violence (item W) was higher after commercial breaks in the pre-war period and higher in the war period before and after commercial breaks. The frequency of public reaction content (item R) was higher in the war period before and after commercial breaks. This type of content was not placed after break 1 in the war period. The frequency of war protest content (item R) was higher after commercial breaks in both periods. Frequency of war related items increased before and after commercial breaks in the war period and frequency of non-war related items decreased before and after commercial breaks in the war period.

Table 4.13 presents the appearance and frequency of NBC's content before commercial breaks:

Table 4.13

NBC, CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY BEFORE COMMERCIAL BREAKS *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4	
NBC	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	13 (.00)	13 (.92)	7 (.78)	11 (.78)	6 (.46)	13 (.92)	4 (.30)	6 (.43)
W	1 (.08)	12 (.86)	—	5 (.63)	—	4 (.28)	1 (.08)	2 (.14)
W	—	8 (.57)	—	1 (.07)	—	2 (.14)	—	1 (.07)
R	—	—	1 (.63)	—	1 (.08)	1 (.07)	—	2 (.14)
R	—	—	1 (.07)	—	—	—	—	—
N. WAR RELATED	—	—	6 (.14)	2 (.14)	7 (.54)	—	9 (.69)	8 (.57)

N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 in the pre-war period and 14 in the war period.

Table 4.14 presents the appearance and frequency of NBC's content items after commercial breaks:

Table 4.14

NBC, CATEGORY ITEMS APPEARANCE AND FREQUENCY AFTER COMMERCIAL BREAK *

	BREAK 1		BREAK 2		BREAK 3		BREAK 4	
NBC	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR	PRE-WAR	WAR
WAR RELATED	7 (.54)	12 (.86)	5 (.38)	13 (.92)	9 (.69)	7 (.50)	6 (.46)	11 (.79)
W	—	4 (.28)	1 (.08)	3 (.21)	—	1 (.07)	—	4 (.28)
W	—	2 (.14)	—	2 (.14)	—	—	—	2 (.14)
R	1 (.08)	1 (.07)	1 (.08)	1 (.07)	1 (.08)	3 (.21)	—	4 (.28)
R	1 (.08)	—	—	—	1 (.08)	1 (.07)	—	2 (.14)
N. WAR RELATED	6 (.46)	—	8 (.61)	1 (.07)	4 (.30)	7 (.50)	7 (.54)	3 (.21)

* N; (number of programs in a program group) was 13 in the pre-war period and 14 in the war period.

War violence items (item W) appearance increased in the war period before and after commercial breaks. A significant increase in war

violence frequency occurred before break 1 in the war period. Actual war violence content (item W) frequency was higher before commercial breaks in both periods. A significant increase of actual war violence content (item W) occurred before break 1 in the war period. Public reaction content (item R) frequency was higher after commercial breaks in both periods. War protest content (item R) frequency increased in the war period, and after commercial breaks, in both the pre-war and the war periods. Frequency of war related items increased before and after commercial breaks in the war period, and frequency of non-war related items decreased before and after commercial breaks in the war period.

Inter Network Adjacent Items Comparison

Analysis of items adjacent to commercial breaks shows changes in frequency of appearance between the non-war period and the war period. Since N (number of programs) for all program groups was very small, only trends of frequency of appearance are discussed.

For all networks, frequency of war related items increased before and after commercial breaks 1 and 2. No particular trend of war related items for break 3 was found. NBC increased its frequency of war related items before and after break 4. ABC increased its war related items before the break and decreased it after the break.

War violence content (item W) increased in frequency before and after commercial breaks for all networks. War violence content was placed mostly near breaks 1 and 2.

Public reaction content (item R) increased in frequency after commercial breaks for all networks. Before commercial breaks trends of public reaction content placement were mixed.

Non-war related items frequency decreased in the war period for all networks. In both the pre-war and war periods, non-war related items were mostly placed near breaks 3 and 4.

ABC had the highest frequency of public reaction content (item R) including war protest content (item R) after commercial breaks in both the pre-war and war periods. It had only one war protest content item (R item) placed before commercial break 4 in the war period. ABC was also the only network that decreased its war related item frequency before break 1 in the war period. Most of ABC's non-war related items appeared after commercial breaks.

CBS had the lowest frequency of public reaction content((item R) including war protest content (item R)). In the pre-war period CBS placed its public reaction content (item R) before break 1 and around break 3. In the war period CBS placed its public reaction content (item R) after break 2 and around break 3. During the war period CBS was the only network that placed a war violence content item (item W) after break 1. CBS also had the highest frequency of war-related items around break 3 during the pre-war period.

NBC had a high frequency of public reaction content (item R) including war protest content (item R), although lower than ABC, after commercial breaks. NBC's war violence content (item W) frequency was higher before commercial breaks than after commercial breaks in the war period. This trend was reversed in commercial break 4.

Summary

Results presented in this chapter indicate differences in behavior for each television network along the three periods. Inter-network comparison within one period was not as conclusive.

Frequency of change for content items between the pre-war period and the war period had a positive correlation (increase, decrease or no change) for all networks, although each network frequency varied.

In spite of increasing frequency of war related items in news programs of the war period, war violence content (item W) and public reaction content (item R) that was placed adjacent to commercial breaks had a low frequency per program, and only part of it carried either scenes of violence (marked as W) or of war protest (marked as R). Analysis of content items placed adjacent to commercial breaks shows that for all networks, the frequency of war violence content (item W) increased in the war period mostly around break 1 and 2. The frequency of (public reaction content (item R) increased in the war period after commercial breaks. The frequency of non-war related items decreased in the war period for all networks in both the pre-war and war periods. Networks placed war-related items early in their news programs and non-war related items later in their news programs. This trend intensified during the war period.

CHAPTER FOUR

NOTES

1. Advertising In Times of Crisis, (New York City: National Television Association, ABC, CBS, NBC), 1991,(Video movie).

CHAPTER FIVE - DISCUSSION

Introduction

Discussion of this study is derived from the research question presented in chapter two: "In what way did general factors affecting television network behavior overall influence the structure and content of television evening news programs during the Gulf war?"

In this chapter the researcher summarize trends found in the results presented in chapter four and suggests possible explanations.

Summary of Trends

Structure

Looking back at the war period, one can easily see that television networks kept their news work routines. News programs were 26 to 29 minutes long, and commercial break frequency was generally constant however unusual war-period editorial demands became.

Several exceptions are listed below:

On the first day of the war, January 16, 1991, none of the television networks aired a normal (in terms of length and commercial break routines) news text. News texts were 11 to 16 minutes long and only NBC aired a commercial break.

CBS disrupted its routine of three commercial breaks per 30 minute news text program by airing four commercial breaks January 19, 25, and 26, 1991.

ABC disrupted its news work routines the most. On five different dates, on 17, 18, 21, 22, and 30, 1991. ABC aired irregular news

programs that varied from regular length news programs with the average number of commercial breaks per half-hour.

On various dates, each television network aired 60 minute news programs, with allowance for local affiliate to pre-empt the second half of the program. In the first half of those programs all news routines were kept however.

Aside from the above, major news routines were usually kept or adapted to the needs of the war editorial content. For instance, means of commercial break starting times (expressed in number of seconds into the program) were bigger for all commercial breaks of all networks in the pre-war period than in the war period. The breaks were bigger for most commercial break categories in the war period than in the pre-war period. Commercial break placements were delayed in the pre-war period and delayed again (for the most part) in the war period. This might suggest that the networks gave editorial material was priority over commercial breaks.

In most cases, when range of occurrence of a commercial break category increased for a given program group, it was balanced by an increase of Structural Disturbance Ratio (SDR). In other words, when range of occurrence increased, the associated time period, which included breaks dispersed within one standard deviation from the mean of that range of occurrence, decreased.

Range of occurrence tended to vary in each period for each commercial break category. The range of occurrence associated with commercial break category 1 tended to vary the most, which allows a better appreciation of different network behavior. ABC increased its break 1 range from 250' in the non-war period to 430' in the pre-war period and than to 540' in

the war period. CBS increased its range slightly in the pre-war period to 440', from 420' in the non-war period, and then decreased its range to 330' in the war period. NBC decreased its range of occurrence in the pre-war period to 280', from 320 in the non-war period, and then increased it to 450' in the war period. This might suggest that each of the networks emphasized its editorial content in a different period.

However, a complete understanding of routine changes requires a consideration of Structural Disturbance Ratio (SDR) as well. CBS, for instance, had similar long level ranges for break 1 in the non-war and pre-war periods, but increased its SDR dramatically in the pre-war period. This might suggest a mean of re-prioritizing commercial breaks in programs that are within the commercial break 1 category realm of one standard deviation. CBS continued re-prioritizing commercial break 1 in the war period, by decreasing its range and creating a stricter placement routine. Both ABC and NBC had their highest break 1 ranges in the war period. However, those ranges were balanced by high levels of S.D.R..

Judging network behavior by degree of irregularities shows that ABC disrupted its news program structural routines the most, CBS followed with fewer disruptions, and NBC had none. However, comparison of regular programming shows a different degree of variance between networks for each commercial break category for any given period. Comparing the three periods showed that the greatest degree of structural irregularity in each network generally occurred in the pre-war period for breaks 2, 3, and 4. Structural irregularity for break 1 was greater in the war period for NBC and ABC.

Differences in network behavior may be a result of different pressures put on each network by different advertisers. Evidence for working closely with advertisers during the Gulf war can be found in an interview with Don Brown, Executive Vice President at NBC news division:

The executive producer works very closely with the advertising parts to make sure they're placed in areas of the news where they're appropriate.(1)

Additional evidence can be found in an interview with Joseph Peyronnin, Vice President and Associate to the President at CBS news division:

We do not want to put a sponsor in a difficult position. We consult with the sales department, our marketing people, what the issues that sponsors have, and we are mindful of those situations, and we respond to those kind of situations.(1)

Since each network works with a different group of advertisers than other networks at any given period, one could reasonably assume that different advertiser demands had different effects on different network evening news texts during the Gulf war. The evidence brought here(1) demonstrates how influences from within and without the media organization affected the news text. It also suggests that networks had several ways of adapting news text structural routines during the Gulf war. This may explain the fact that it is hard to find an overall clear and repetitive pattern of behavior for each network, and for each period in the data.

Content

Except for the mean of total number of items, content item frequency changes between the pre-war and war period were similar for all networks (see table 4.8). However, frequency changes of items adjacent to commercial break were different for each network, with a general tendency of non-war related items frequency to decrease and war related

items frequency to increase. However, each network varied: frequency of ABC's war related items decreased in the war period before break 1, frequency of CBS's war-related items decreased before break 3, and frequency of NBC's war-related items decreased after break 3. NBC changed frequency of items before commercial breaks 3 and 4 only.

Since content differences occurred in specific placements in the text before or after commercial breaks, one can fairly say that frequency of content placement varied more than frequency of total content. This points out structural changes between networks, since content changes of each network's routine varied in specific placements (before or after commercial break) in the news text.

A different mean of total content items for each network shows that each network had a different news editing routine. Also important to note is that the lower the mean of total number of content items became in the war period, the higher became structural variability. ABC had the highest level of structural variability in the war period and the lowest mean of total number of content items; from 25.85 in the pre-war period, to 15.77 in the war period. CBS had a middle level of structural variability in the war period, and a middle mean of total number of content items, from 21.54 in the pre-war period to 20.79 in the war period. NBC had the lowest level of structural variability in the war period, and the highest mean of total number of content items, from 22.68 in the pre-war period to 25.43 in the war period. This may suggest that a higher number of items in the news text allows for more structural flexibility - more placement options of shorter content items - that moderates routine changes.

Further Research

This study analyzed news program changes in different periods. However, the researcher did not address for possible correlations between routine changes in news programs and specific product ads or specific advertisers. Since evidence of news producers working closely with advertisers exists, a sufficient factual basis exist a for further investigate this issue.

Conclusion

Trend similarities were greater for content changes than for structural changes. However, in spite of cross-period dissimilar routines in structure, all networks changed their structural routines significantly. Berkowitz(2) claims that

...even when dealing with highly unusual, highly unexpected stories, news workers try to find routine ways of dealing with the non-routine.... Non-routine... depends on adapting strategies from everyday work routines. Negotiation and improvisation are present in non-routine news work, but these aspects are used mainly to guide the application of various routine practices.

This author's opinion is that the results of this study support Berkowitz's hypothesis. Indeed news routines such as program length, number of commercial breaks, and important content item placement were kept most of the time. However, adaptation of routines to the needs of the Gulf war are seen in such text changes as delaying commercial breaks, changes in SDR and range of occurrence and placement of specific content adjacent to commercial breaks.

Berkowitz's research(2) is also supported by direct evidence of television networks' news producers admitting giving great consideration to the relationship between commercials and editorial.(1)

The findings in this study also support Shoemaker and Reese's (3) description of influences on media content from within and without the media organization. Specific evidence shows advertisers affected network news text during the Gulf war(1) This study's findings of structure and content changes in the news text can be attributed to those effects. Effects include demands of advertisers (which are outside the media organization) from the network news producers (which are within the media organization) that result in network news text routine changes.

CHAPTER FIVE

NOTES

1. Advertising In Times Of Crisis, (New York City: produced by the National Television Association, ABC, CBS, NBC), 1991, (Video movie).
2. Berkowitz, Dan, "Non Routine News And Newswork: Exploring What-A-Story," Journal of Communication, 42 (Winter 1992), 82-94.
3. Shoemaker Pamela J., Reese Stephen D., Mediating The message (New York City: Longman, 1991), 88, 122, 124, 164.

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