ALBISTEEN KALITATEA

Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*

(Research on Basque Media's News Quality)

Doktorego Tesi Europarra (2011)

Doktoregaia: Maria GONZÁLEZ GOROSARRI

Zuzendaria: Txema RAMIREZ DE LA PISCINA

Urte hauetan joandakoei,
maitasunez:
amama Miren,
izeko Lourdes,
osaba Jose
eta tia-amatxo.

"Encore une fois, l'objectif du colonisé qui se bat
est de provoquer la fin de la domination.
Mais il doit également veiller
à la liquidation de toutes les non-vérités fichées
dans son corps par l'oppresseur"

Frantz Fanon (1961), *Les Damnés de la Terre*

ESKER ONEZ

Doktorego tesiaren prozesu luzea ez dago banakako proiektutzat hartzerik: alde batetik, aurreko ikerketek honen oinarria osatzen dutelako eta, bestetik, zenbaiten laguntzak bultzatutako lana delako. Horregatik, tesia abiatu aurretik lan honetara hurbildu nindutenen borondatea ere gogora ekarri gurako nuke. Azken batean, ilusionatzen ninduan proiektuari hel niezaion hasierako egitasmoari ekarpenak egin zizkioten: Xabier Amuriza, Nerea Arexola-Leiba, Karmele Artetxe, Marijo Deogracias, Jurgi Kintana Goiriena, Topagunea Euskara Elkarteen Federazioa, Jexuxmari Zalakain eta Aitor Zuberogoitia.

Hortik abiatuta, tesiaren prozesu nekezari ekiteko, eusteko eta, batez ere, amorerik ez emateko Txema Ramirez de la Piscina zuzendariaren ardura kargua gainditzen duen eremuan kokatzen da. Era berean, Tesi Europarra aurkezteko aukera Klaus Eder (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) eta Pedro Ibarra (EHU) katedradunei zor diet, baita David Lyonen zein Eztizen Mirandaren laguntzari ere ingelesezko zatiarekin.

Ildo beretik, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren ikertzaileak prestatzeko bekari esker lanari jarduera osoz ekin ahal izan diot. Hortaz, Patxi Esparzari bitartekotasuna eta gertuko aldartea eskertu nahi dizkiot, baita EHUko Kazetaritza Saileko kideei haien prestutasuna ere.

Bibliografia osatzeko EHUko liburutegietako langileen eraginkortasuna nabarmentzekoa da: ikertzaileentzako liburutegia, campusen arteko mailegu zerbitzua, Erreferentzia eta Dokumentazio saila zein liburutegien arteko mailegu zerbitzua. Are gehiago, hainbat lagunek zenbait liburu proposatu ez ezik, eskuan ere ipini didate: Jose Inazio Basterretxea, Arantza Gutierrez Paz, Petxo Idoiaga eta Jotxo Larrañaga. Hainbat unibertsitatek ere liburu-funtsak kontsultatzeko baimena eman didate: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum zein Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) eta Renoko University of Nevada (Basque Studies). Era berean, liburutegietarako sarrera ahalbidetzen duten unibertsitate publikoek ikerlarion lana ikaragarri errazten dute: Freie Universität Berlin eta San Francisco State University.

Lagina osatzeko zailtasunak izan arren, zenbaiten laguntzarekin gainditu dira. Horrenbestez, prestutasuna eskertu nahi diet: Mikel Bujanda, Allande Boutin, Ianire Cubero, Pablo Suberbiola (Soziolinguistika Klusterra) eta UEU.

Tesiak dakartzan tramiteak eta eragiten dituen zalantzak argitzeko nire aurretik prozesu berari ekin diotenek haien eskarmentua eskuzabaltasun osoz eta umore onez nirekin partekatu dute: Alazne Aiestaran, Miguel Ángel Casado, Leire Darretxe Urrutxi, Estefanía Jiménez Iglesias eta Iker Merodio Urbaneja.

Ezin izango nituzke prozesuan lagundu didaten guztien izenak ekarri eta, beharbada, ezustean norbaitena ez dut aipatu. Azken batean, zerrenda luze horrek herri honek bere burua antolatzeko dituen gaitasunaren eta dinamismoaren erakuslea da. Ekarpen horretan, besteak beste, honakoen ardura estimatzen dut: Pepe Aizpuru, Baionako Gau Eskola, Itziar Benede, Juanmi Bravo, Maitane Burusko, Mikel Errazkin, Arantza Garcia Primo, Iruñeko Hizkuntza Eskola, Imanol Magro, Iker Martinez de Lagos...

Trukean, behin tesia aurkeztutakoan, herri honetan ikerkuntzan abiatu nahi dutenei laguntzea nire eginbeharra izango dela ulertzen dut.

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ERANSKINAK (CDan)

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0. SARRERA

"Txikia izatetik datozkion mugak, gutxiespenak,
etsipenak eta zailtasunak jasaten ditu euskal kazetariak."
Mikel Atxaga (1991), *Euskal kazetariaren arazoak*

0.1. SARRERA

Euskaldunok Euskal Herrian hizkuntza-komunitate gutxitua osatzen dugu. Horrenbestez, gure nortasunaren ezaugarriak euskalduntasunetik eta txikitasunetik eratortzen dira. Euskalduntasunak hizkuntza ardatz duen komunikazio-esparrua osatu du; txikitasunak, ordea, ez digu inguruko erdaren pareko komunikazio-proiektuak amesteko ilusiorik eta gauzatzeko kemenik ukatu.

Nazio-Estatuetan oinarritutako erdara erraldoiek, ostera, gurean eleaniztasuna bultzatzen dute. Ondorioz, hemen euskalduntasuna ulertzeko haien estereotipoak nagusitu dira. Komunikazioari dagokionez, bertako ereduarekiko gutxiespenak edozein informazio-proiekturi dario. Euskarazko hedabideen ikerketek ezin izan dute zabaldutako uste ustel hori gainditu, komunitate zientifiko euskaldunak Euskal Herriko erdarazko komunikazioan lekurik ez duelako. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren lorpenek ere ez dute erdarazko hedabideetan islarik. Horrenbestez, gutxiespenak ikusezintasuna dakar eta, beraz, izate bera ezeztatzen du. Esaterako, *Argia* astekaria Boliviako presidente Evo Morales elkarrizketatu zuen Estatuko lehen hedabidea izan zen (2006/09/17). Espainiako eta Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideek, ordea, ez zuten horren berririk eman erdarazkoek elkarrizketatu arte.

Euskarazko kazetaritza XVII. mendean hasi zen. Ordutik hona, euskaldunok gure errealitatearen berri emateko hainbat eta hainbat komunikazio-proiektu martxan ipini dugu: hemen eta mundu zabalean, tokian tokikoak eta Euskal Herri osokoak, ikus-entzunezkoak eta idatzizkoak.

1. irudia – *Argia*ren atzerriko harpideak 1928an

Iturria: *Argia*, 368. zenb. (1928/05/06)[1].

Hala ere, komunikazio-proiektu bakoitzaren aurreprozesuan gure txikitasunaren berri emateko gaitasuna gainditu beharreko lehen mamua izan da, dela XVII. mendean, dela 1936an, dela III. milurtekoan:

> "*Etb* 1983an hasi zenean, ez genuen uste egunero albistegi bat euskaraz egiteko gauza izango ginenik […]." (*Amatiño* in Zuberogoitia, 2003: 273)

Guzti-guztietan, euskalduntasuna islatzeko kazetaritza amets batetik abiatu ohi da, zer galdurik ez dugulakoan, mundu euskalduna irabaztear daukagula sinistuta. Horregatik, euskarazko kazetaritza errealitate bihurtu dugunean, nazio-Estatuetako eta bertako erdalduntasunak horren oinarriak zalantzan ipini ditu.

Halldor Kiljan Laxness idazle islandiarrak (1955eko Literaturako Nobel saridunak) hizkuntza gutxituen etorkizunerako giltza azaldu zuen: "Norberaren hizkuntza gordetzeko modurik onena beste hizkuntza batzuk ikastea da". Kanpoko

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[1] Euskal Prentsaren Lanak: <www.hemeroketa.com> [Azken bisita: 2011/01/27].

ekarpenek bertakotasunaren berezitasunak balioetsi egiten dituzten neurrian, euskalduntasuna ez da akulturaziorik eragiten ez duen eleaniztasunaren beldur. Horrenbestez, munduari zuzentzeko ez du nazio-Estatuen bitartekaritzarik behar. Euskalduntasuna oinarri duen herri txikiak ez ditu inguruko erdarek finkatutako mugak bere egiten: ez bere nortasuna setiatzen dutenak, ezta bere ikusmira hesitzen dutenak ere. Horregatik, bertako eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteak bere nortasunari uko egin gabe zabal ditzake. Horretarako gakoa bertako ikuspegia delakoan dago Topaguneko lehendakari Karmen Irizar:

> "Euskarazko hedabideek kontsumitzaileei zer eskaini diezaieketen galdetu beharko genioke geure buruari eragileok. Gure iritziz, hurbiltasuna izan behar da gure balio erantsia. Euskaraz egindako hedabideen ezaugarria izan daiteke hau, lantzen den gaia edozein dela ere, eta horrek emango dizkie kontsumitzaileei euskarazko hedabideetara jotzeko arrazoiak.
>
> Tokiko hedabideen esperientziatik egin den ekarpen nagusia (ez da bakarra) horixe da: hurbiltasunarena. Horrek euskarazko bestelako hedabideentzat ere balio behar luke." (Irizar, 2008: 227)

Euskarazko komunikazio-esparrua mendeetako euskal komunitatearen ekimenak abiatu zuen. Euskarazko hedabideen inguruan aurrera eraman den ikerketak euskarazko komunikazio-esparruari izatasuna aintzatetsi dio. Doktorego tesi honek euskalduntasunaren inguruko aurreko ikerketak ditu oinarri. Euskarazko hedabideen eginkizun informatiboa zalantzan ipintzen duten estereotipo erdaldun oinarribakoak gainditzeko, nazioarteko kazetaritzari begiratu nahi izan diogu. Euskarazko hedabideen jarduna nazioarteko parametroen arabera neurtzea dugu xede. Horretarako, euskalduntasuna islatzea helburu duten euskarazko hedabideen hobetzeko ezinegona abiapuntu nagusi izan dugu. Era berean, euskarazko hedabideek txikitasunetik kazetaritza-jardunari ekarpen handiak egin dizkiotelakoan gaudenez, horiexek zabaltzeko irrika partekatu nahi dugu.

1. HELBURUAK, HIPOTESIAK, IKER-GALDERAK ETA METODOLOGIAREN AURRERAPENA

"Euskarazko kazetaritzak aurrera egingo badu,
kalitatezko gutxieneko estandar batzuk bermatzen direlako izango da."
Euskarazko Kazetaritzaren 1. Kongresuaren 4. ondorioa (2005)

1.1. HELBURUAK

Kalitatearen eztabaidak oraindik gainditu ez duen arlotzat hartu ohi da kazetaritza. Horregatik, albisteen kalitatearen inguruko eztabaidak tokian tokikoak izaten dira eta, sarritan, ez dute iritzi bateraturik sortu. Albisteen kalitatearen auzia komunitate zientifiko euskaldunak abiatu ez duen gogoeta da. Are gehiago, inguruko erdarek –gaztelerak eta frantsesak– ez dute horren inguruko ekarpenik egin. Horregatik, kazetaritzaren aitzindari diren eredu anglosaxoiak eta alemaniarrak gidatutako kalitate-diskurtsoa ekarriko dugu hona.

Gainera, euskarak bi hizkuntza handien artean bizirauten asmatu izan du. Hala ere, inguruko erdarek ez dute eremu fisikoa bakarrik hartzen, Euskal Herrian bizi diren hizkuntza komunitateetako kideak ere bai. Hortaz, euskaldunek hizkuntzaren egoera diglosikoari ez ezik, bi estatu nagusi horiek gailendutako irudi estereotipatuari ere aurre egin behar izaten diote. Ildo horretatik, hizkuntzak dakarren komunitate atxikimendua beste modu batera interpretatu izan da: euskarazko hedabideak bigarren mailakoak ote diren susmoa oinarri zientifiko barik zabaldutako ustea da.

Informazioak albistearen ezaugarriak eduki arren, hartzaileen asebetetasunari egoki erantzuten ez dionean piztu ohi da albisteen kalitatearekiko grina. Munduan berrien *taylorization* prozesuaz hitz egin da, hau da, albisteak torlojuen antzera ekoitzi egiten dira. Horrenbestez, albiste itxura dute, berriari dagozkion ezaugarriak agertzen dituzte, baina hartzaileen jakin-min bizia asetzeko gai ere izan behar dute. Albisteek haien eginkizuna taxuz betetzen ote duten ebaztea du helburu kalitateak. Beraz, euskarazko albisteen kalitateari erreparatzen diogunean gure hedabideen errealitate sendoa datuekin hornitzeko ahalegina egiten ari gara. Izan ere, haien izate hutsak

euskalduntasunaren berri ematea gurari egingarria zela erakutsi du. Gaurdanik sortzen ari garen etorkizuna dugu amets.

Doktorego tesi honek euskarazko hedabideetako albisteen kalitateari nazioarteko kazetaritza-jardunaren jarraibideen arabera neurria hartzea du xede. Hortaz, honakoak dira lan honen helburuak:

a.) Nazioartean *News Quality*ren inguruan landu diren teoriak eta ereduak biltzea.

b.) Nazioarteko eztabaida akademikoa euskaratzea ez ezik, euskalduntzea ere. Hau da, komunitate zientifiko euskaldunak nazioarteko kalitatearen inguruko diskurtsoari ekarpenak egiteko aukera zabaltzea.

c.) Ekarpenak kontuan izanda, albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko gai den metodoa proposatzea.

d.) Nazioartean erabilitako adierazleek osatutako kalitate-metodo horren arabera euskarazko albisteen kalitatea neurtzea.

e.) Hizkuntzaren egoera diglosikoak areagotuta, euskarazko hedabideek neurriz kanpoko babesa dutela dioen ustea ezeztatzeko, hedabideok gauzatzen duten kazetaritza-jarduraren arabera aztertzea.

f.) Euskarazko hedabideen indarguneak eta ahuleziak identifikatzea. Euskaratik sortutako informazioaren gakoak nazioarteko albisteen kalitatearen eztabaidaren argitan interpretatuko ditugu.

1.2 HIPOTESIAK ETA IKER-GALDERAK

Tesi honek hiru hedabidetako albisteak aztertuko ditu: *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*. Hirurak euskara normalizatzeko hedabide eraginkorrak eta estandarrak dira. Hirurek nazioarteko kazetaritzak exijitzen dituen gutxieneko informazio-betekizunak gauzatzen dituzte. Horregatik, nazioarteko hedabideek albisteen kalitatean erakutsi duten informazio-defizita euskarazko hedabideetara ere hedatu ote den ebaztea lan honen aztergai nagusia izango da. Hortaz, hizkuntzak dakarren loturagatik, euskal komunitatearekiko gertutasunak informazio-defizit hori trabatzen lagundu ote duen edo defentsa-mekanismo autozentratuak garatzeko gai ahal izan garen aztertuko dugu.

Hitz gutxitan, lan honek kalitatearen hainbat alderi erreparatuko dio. Horrenbestez, honakoak dira doktorego tesi honen hipotesiak eta horiek ebazteko iker-galderak:

1. HIPOTESIA: Euskarazko hedabideek, nazioarteko hedabideen antzera, gizartean parte hartzeko gakoak azaltzea dute eginkizun nagusi.

1.1. Iker-galdera: Nolakoa da euskarazko hedabideen aniztasuna?

1.2. Iker-galdera: Nazioarteko hedabideen *tabloidization* joerak ba al du islarik euskarazko hedabideetan?

1.3. Iker-galdera: Zein da *Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k plazaratzen dituzten albiste sendoen (*hard news*) eta arinen (*soft news*) arteko proportzioa?

2. HIPOTESIA: Euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen duten errealitateak euskalduntasuna egituratzen du.

2.1. Iker-galdera: Zein da euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen duten agenda geografikoa?

2.2. Iker-galdera: Albisteen kalitateari erreparatuz, gertuko berrien eta atzerrian sortutakoen arteko alderik al dago?

2.3. Iker-galdera: Zenbateraino dira euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen dituzten berriak komunitatearen adierazle?

3. HIPOTESIA: *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* hedabideetako albisteen kalitatea, oro har, erdarazko hedabideetako berrien parekoa da.

3.1. Iker-galdera: Zeintzuk dira euskarazko hedabideek erabiltzen dituzten albiste-iturri nagusiak?

3.2. Iker-galdera: Euskarazko hedabideetako albisteak landuak dira?

3.3. Iker-galdera: Hedabideen urteetako esperientziak akats kopurua gutxitzera lagundu du?

4. HIPOTESIA: Euskarazko hedabideen arteko aniztasunak berezko kazetaritza-eredua sortzea ekarri du.

4.1. Iker-galdera: Zertzuk ezaugarri dituzte euskarazko hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteek?

4.2. Iker-galdera: Izaera publikoak ala pribatuak berrien kalitatean eraginik badu?

1.3 METODOLOGIAREN AURRERAPENA

Lan honetan erabilitako metodologia 2.1.5 eta 3. ataletan luze eta zabal azalduko badugu ere, balia dezagun lehendabiziko kapitulu hau metodo hori zertan datzan aurreratzeko. Hortaz, albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko, nazioartean aurrera eraman diren

ikerketen ondorioetan oinarritutako metodologia sortu behar izan dugu. Alde batetik, nazioarteko Kalitate-Mugimenduaren printzipioak errespetatu ditugu. Sortutako produktuak ikuskatzea kalitate-prozesuaren oinarrizko urratsa da eta Kalitate-Kontrola esaten zaio. Tesi honen ekarpenak euskarazko hedabideen Kalitatearen Kudeaketaren lehen fase hori garatzea du helburu. Horrela, geroagoko lanek kalitatea ziurtatzeko estrategiak garatu ahal izango dituzte. Orduan, Erabateko Kalitaterako bidea egingo dugu, hots, etengabeko hobekuntzaren printzipioan oinarritutako kazetaritza-jarduera diseinatu ahal izango dugu. Erabateko Kalitateak hiru subjekturen ekarpenak kontuan hartzen ditu: hedabideetako langile guzti-guztien parte-hartzea, hartzaileen asebetetasuna eta gizartearentzako onurak.

Beste aldetik, Denis McQuail-en kazetaritza-jarduna (*media performance*) kontzeptutik abiatuta, zenbait euskarritan argitaratutako albisteak aztertzeko zeharkako irizpideak (*cross-media*) barneratzen dituen metodoa garatuko dugu. Horrela, hainbat azterlanetan erabilitako adierazleek osatutako Albisteen Kalitate-Eredua eratuko dugu. Ondoren, metodoaren beraren barne fidagarritasuna egiaztatuko dugu. Orduan, *Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko/*Berria*ko albisteak aztertuko ditugu.

Lagina osatzen duten berriak bi epetan bananduta daude. Lehenengo eta behin, ikerketa diakronikoak *Etb1*eko eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*/*Berria*ko sorrera-unetik 2007ra bitarteko 766 albiste aztertuko ditu. Horrela, bi hedabideon ibilbideari arreta jarriko diogu. Bigarrenik, ikerketa sinkronikoak *Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko 2008ko 582 berriren kalitateari erreparatuko dio. Gainera, euskarazko hedabideok Euskal Herriko hamabost hedabiderik zabalduenekin partekatu dituzten beste 581 albisterekin alderatuko ditugu. Guztira, tesi honen azterlana 1.929 albistek osatutako lagina izan da.

1.4. *OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS*

The concern for quality in the field of Journalism is not concluded yet. In fact, the debate on News Quality has been conducted at a local level. As a result, diverging opinions were launched. However, no discussion on News Quality has emerged within the Basque scientific community, not even in the framework of the surrounding linguistic communities (French and Spanish ones). Therefore, the contributions made by German and Anglo-Saxon scholars constitute the basis for this work.

In addition, the Basque language has succeeded in surviving, in spite of the threat of cohabiting with two major languages. In effect, the concept of Basque community is not linked to the any area of the country; it implies sharing its members

with other linguistic communities in the Basque Country. Therefore, Basque speakers have not only fought the diglosic status of their language, but they have also faced the prevailing stereotypical images constructed according to both nation-States. To that extent, the inherent linguistic support to the Basque language has been interpreted in a different way: non-scientific conventions induce to suspect that Basque media are lower category media.

The concern for quality emerged when the manufactured product did not respond in an appropriate way to the customers' expectations. The shift towards *taylorization* of news denoted its production had disposed of its social commitment. Consequently, information may show news features, but it has become inappropriate to satisfy customers' changing curiosity. Hence, quality aims to assure that news complies with its social commitment.

1.4.1. OBJECTIVES

The present Doctoral Thesis aims to measure Basque media's News Quality according to the journalistic practical guidance as understood by international media. Therefore, the objectives of this work are as follows:

a.) Compiling the discourse and theoretical models employed by several scientific communities on *News Quality*.

b.) Incorporating all that academic debate to the Basque scientific community. Consequently, Basque research will also contribute to the quality discourse.

c.) To this end, generally employed indicators will form our methodological proposal (News Quality Scheme).

d.) Assessing Basque media's News Quality, according to such a methodological proposal.

c.) Analyzing Basque media according to their performance, in order to relieve them of the groundless belief extended by state centralism, which considers them of lower quality but overprotected under the excuse of a diglosic status of the language. Accordingly, our methodological proposal for the assessment of the News Quality is based on indicators employed in previous research.

e.) Identifying Basque media's strengths and weaknesses. Those strategic keys will be interpreted according to worldwide journalistic principles, paying especial attention to the European tradition.

1.4.2. HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The present Thesis will examine three news media: *Euskadi Irratia* (Radio station broadcasting in Basque, run by the Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation), *Etb1* (television channel broadcasting in Basque, administered by the Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation), and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* (the only daily newspaper covering the entire Basque Country published in Basque). Once their efficient contribution to the normalization of the Basque language has been corroborated, we pretend to evidence that the three of them also comply with the minimum journalistic requirements. Therefore, the principal objective of this work will focus on elucidating whether the shift in quality standards shown by international journalism has also reached the Basque media or not. At that stage, the engagement attributed to the language may have led to the development of self-centred defence mechanisms. All in all, this work will analyse several aspects of quality. Consequently, it aims to validate the following hypothesis, according to their corresponding research questions:

1ˢᵗ HYPOTHESIS: Basque media's main goal consists in supplying their audience with the means to participate in society, similar objective to that of international media.

1.1. Research Question (RQ): How diverse are the news reports broadcast or published by the Basque media?

1.2. RQ: In relation to the trend towards *tabloidization* adopted by worldwide media, has it also reached the Basque media?

1.3. RQ: What is the proportion between hard news and soft news in *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1*, and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*?

2ⁿᵈ HYPOTHESIS: Basqueness is shaped in accordance with the reality reproduced by Basque media.

2.1. RQ: What kind of geographic agenda do Basque media reflect?

2.2. RQ: Referring to News Quality assessment, is there any distinction between home news reporting and informing on abroad issues?

2.3. RQ: To what extent does Basque media's news represent Basque speakers' community?

3rd HYPOTHESIS: The level of News Quality of *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* is similar to that of the French and Spanish media in the Basque Country.

3.1. RQ: Which are the main news sources employed by Basque media?

3.2. RQ: To what extent are news reports relevant?

3.3. RQ: Has long-time experience contributed to reduce the number of errors?

4th HYPOTHESIS: The heterogeneity of Basque media has challenged their own journalistic model.

4.1. RQ: Which characteristics have the news reports broadcast or published by Basque media?

4.2. RQ: Does it affect to News Quality whether the media outlet is a public or private corporation?

1.4.3. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

News Quality is to be assessed in line with a method out of the results of previously conducted research, as it will be explained in the following chapters. On the one hand, the principles of the International Quality Movement must be considered. The basic step of the quality process consists in the inspection of the manufactured products and it is called Quality Control. Accordingly, the main contribution of this work to Basque media consists in analysing the first phase of Quality Management. Thus, subsequent works will be able to develop strategies to ensure News Quality (Quality Assurance). Then, the goal will be Total Quality, which is based on the principle of continuous improvement of media performance. Total Quality takes into account the contributions of three subjects: the participation of every employee in media corporations, customers' satisfaction and the benefits to society.

On the other hand, Denis McQuail's concept of *media performance* enables *cross-media* analysis of news reports. Accordingly, the News Quality Scheme is grounded on the quality indicators employed in previous research. At that point, the reliability of the method has also been tested. Then, news in *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1*, and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* has been assessed.

The sample is divided in two periods of time. First of all, the diachronic study will analyse 766 news reports by *Etb1 and Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* since their creation (1983 and 1990, respectively) until 2007. Thus, such a study will focus on the evolution of

reporting and news features. Secondly, the synchronic study will include the three media outlets (*Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* and *Berria*). It will pay attention to News Quality of 582 reports broadcast or published in 2008. In addition, they will be compared to 581 news items in the most followed fifteen media in the Basque Country (French and Spanish ones) coincident with those news reports in the three Basque media. In sum, the sample will consist in 1,929 news reports.

2. IKERGAIAREN EGOERA (*LITERATURE REVIEW*)

"Once let the public come to regard the press
as exclusively a commercial business,
and there is an end of its moral power."
Joseph Pulitzer
[in Ruß-Mohl (1992b), *Zeitungs-Umbruch: Wie sich Amerikas Presse revolutioniert*]

2.1. QUALITY

Notwithstanding several scholars consider quality to be a vague concept, it must be assumed it constitutes a disperse concept. In fact, it is referred to diverse research fields and its implementation for every new assessment branch was not considered as in others. As a consequence, quality has been understood on the basis of every research field. However, the stronger quality's link to the manufacturing process is alleged, the more scientific evaluation can be submitted. Paradoxically, it is the key to establish a clear distinction between media performance and economical logics. It has also been proved to drive the assertion of News Quality.

Therefore, we will first analyse the grounds of the initial discussion on quality. As a matter of fact, the concern for quality emerged when manufactured products could not respond in an appropriate way to the customers' expectations, as a consequence of *taylorization*. However, every economical system has been aware of quality. In effect, their contributions constitute the principles of the International Quality Movement.

Secondly, the question of quality in relation to journalism has been studied from several perspectives, but they did not integrate a unique model. Those divergent concepts and misleading terms will be compiled and classified. Whereas Computer Science developed the concept of *Information Source Quality*; Economics dealt with *Media Conduct Quality* and Media Studies assessed *Media Structure Quality*. The conclusions the three of them share will be the basis of any further quality appraisal.

Finally, the assessment News Quality will ground on those previous research fields, as well as earlier conducted investigation in five linguistic communities (Basque, English, French, German, and Spanish). Moreover, McQuail's concept of *media*

performance will enable to assess cross-media news reports. Equally, his work will provide the assessment of News Quality with a proper theoretical basis stem from the core values of Western democratic societies.

For methodological purposes, in an attempt to differentiate those assessing areas, a chapter-by-chapter bibliography will be provided, as a result of literature review categorisation. Despite the fact that some references might be considered out-dated, we have preferred to include them as a primary source. Furthermore, some research fields have remained stuck to older works, as their evaluation basis.

2.1.1. INTERNATIONAL QUALITY MOVEMENT

The Quality Movement has become a progressive build-up of excellence scholarly given by academics. As a consequence, the Quality Movement highlights all doubts and difficulties, which need to be overcome in the search for excellence. Moreover, a three axised system has emerged, according to the origin of quality conception: Europe, America and Japan. This diversification in criteria will also arise when coping with the question of Media Quality and News Quality. That is the reason why we find it helpful to summarize the Quality Movement, noting the special features that will influence our topic, such as quality assessment methods. For such a purpose, this first approach could be said to be an introduction to quality understanding.

a. History

Sales imply a need for improvement in order to distinguish from competence. Only when manufactured products proved not to be good enough, although they met all conditions, did a challenge for the concept of quality emerge. However, there are scholars who refer back to the Egyptians as the Quality Movement pioneers. Nevertheless, hand-made production did not require any quality standard; instead, quality requirements were set up for industrial products (Banks, 1989: 4-6, 20; Bendell et al., 1994: 9-11; Colomer Cugat, 1997: 13; Juran, 1990: 10-11).

Quality in Europe was strongly connected with industrialization consequences in the late 1800s. It was at that time when several groups of workers performed similar tasks; accordingly, the need for a supervisor appeared. As Banks states, such a new work category implies that "standards were set and key decisions on Quality Control were made by the owner". Industrialization, finally, carried out a huge revolution in

working conditions, as the skills of the craftsman had been ignored and "poorly educated workers" were to operate with industrial machines. Industrialization unleashed several new "strategies", such as: firstly, written specifications for materials, processes, finished manufactured articles; secondly, assessment methods and their instruments; and, thirdly, several ways of standardization (Banks, 1989: 6; Bendell et al., 1994: 12; Juran, 1990: 3).

Productivity objectives led to a new working system for manufacture organizations, based on "scientific management". Taylorism was set up in the United States at the early beginning of 19th century. Such a working system favoured the gap between planning and implementation. However, this "dehumanisation of workforce" stressed the increasing lack of quality. Workers were regarded as "«robots» who blindly followed the laid-down instructions" and, therefore, supervisors became overburden with more workers to report. As a result, inspectors got involved in quality matters and Inspection Central Department was created (Bendell et al., 1994: 13; Juran, 1990: 3-4).

The First World War spread the need for mass production and quality. The first author dealing with quality based on the concept of reliability was W.A. Shewhart who in 1924 designed *control charts* to measure excellence (Banks, 1989: 7-8). His system was named "Statistical Process Control, or SPC for short":

> "With SPC, instead of inspecting work at the end of the line, critical steps in a process are sampled regularly and the measurements taken are recorded chronologically on control charts." (Bendell et al., 1994: 14)

Later, J. Scanlon engaged Quality Control to "employee motivation and involvement". It was called the *Scanlon Plan*. By 1935, E. Pearson developed the British Standards Institution from the United States. But it was the Allies' war economy from 1939 to 1945 which drove Quality Control. However, anomalies were detected once the product had already been manufactured and, thus, such a control only succeeded in "removing faulty products" (Colomer Cugat, 1997: 3; Ishikawa, 1985: 14).

The Second World War outlined future quality trends. Whereas defeated Japan got concentrated in applying and developing Deming's theory, the European Allies set down the bases for the European Organization for Quality Control. Thus, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) was founded in 1946, welcoming

state-planned economies. The Organization, however, was not fully recognised until 2000 (Euskalit, 2004: 29; Meister, 1959: 287).

Several scholars recognised Japan as the leader in quality, after their defeat in the World War II, "due to the efforts of W. Edwards Deming". Deming moved his attention to top management as being responsible for continuous quality improvement (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 15; Cole & Scott, 2000: 303-304; Rosander, 1991: 2). He first worked out *fourteen points* to achieve such a goal, based on Shewhart's theories:

> "1.- Create constancy of purpose for improvement of product and service.
> 2.- Bring about a new age.
> 3.- Avoid massive inspection.
> 4.- Buy for quality, not for the price tag.
> 5.- Continuously hunt for areas to be improved.
> 6.- Train workers for quality performance.
> 7.- Institute modern methods of supervision.
> 8.- Drive out fear.
> 9.- Break down barriers between departments.
> 10.- Eliminate numerical goals, posters, and slogans.
> 11.- Eliminate work standards that prescribe numerical quotas.
> 12.- Eliminate barriers to pride in workmanship.
> 13.- Institute a vigorous program of education and retraining.
> 14.- Put everyone to work bringing about this transformation." (Rosander, 1991: 7-43)

As a consequence, Japanese scholars employed several "pointers in expressing quality". Among others, determining the assurance unit, and finding out the acceptable connection between defects and flaws, are reported to be essential for quality assessment. It particularly highlighted the fact that a "vague" method will enable every measurement. As a result, accuracy in measuring characteristics becomes crucial (Ishikawa, 1985: 49-54).

The Quality Movement in the United States continued to be used by the military during the beginnings of the Cold War. Their major new enemy, the Soviet Block, established two main objectives: the industrialisation of East Europe (in an attempt to reach Socialism according to Lenin's theory), and emerging as an alternative to market based economy, by demonstrating their goals. To that extent, quality was identified as a factor, among others, for a higher efficiency of production. Other factors were productivity, basic funds, material characteristics of the products, prime costs, production volume, and profit. As a result, product quality in the Soviet block involved two main features. On the one hand, parallel to the free-market economies, it was equalized to an error-free product. On the other hand, as a result of the after-war

resource scarcity, quality highlighted the longevity of the product (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 5-12; Banks, 1989: 11; Dobry, 1987: 6; Friedl, 1979: 31).

During the 1950s, a step forward was made, which involved the concern for detecting errors as soon as possible in the manufacturing process. As a consequence, faulty causes were found to be related to raw material and, then, independent from the fabrication process. A new use had already emerged. In the next decade, two main approaches were established in the USA. First of all, *Total Quality Control* (TQC) was set and "advocated the idea that all departments, not only the Quality Control department, had Quality Control responsibilities" (Banks, 1989: 14; Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 16). Total Quality Control is defined by the author as:

> "The agreed company-wide and plant-wide operating work structure, documented in effective, integrated technical and managerial procedures, for guiding the co-ordinated actions of the people, the machines, and the information of the company and plant in the best and most practical ways to assure customer quality satisfaction and economical costs of quality." (Feigenbaum, 1983: 78)

Secondly, the zero defects concept was born. Similarly to quality circles used in Japan, the Zero Defects programs' aims were employee motivation and involvement. In the mid-1960s, Phillip B. Crosby set down the Quality Movement Process's Steps, collecting all the literature review at that time:

> "1.- Management commitment.
> 2.- Quality Improvement Team.
> 3.- Quality Measurement.
> 4.- Cost of Quality Evaluation.
> 5.- Quality Awareness.
> 6.- Corrective Action.
> 7.- Establish an Ad Hoc Committee for Zero Defects Planning.
> 8.- Supervisor Training.
> 9.- Zero Defects Day.
> 10.- Goal Setting.
> 11.- Error Cause Removal.
> 12.- Recognition.
> 13.- Quality Councils.
> 14.- Do It Over Again." (Crosby, 1996: 185)

Most socialist countries, however, based their quality assessment on manufacturing standards. Whereas their participation in the ISO Organization was regarded as an international platform to gain reputation, several countries established manufacturing standards during the 1950s to increase their production, such as the

People's Republic of Poland, Czechoslovak, Hungary and Germany (AAAA, 1959: 3; Kittel, 1973: 514-516; Meister, 1959: 287)[2].

The Soviet Union developed an error-free product manufacturing quality system named Saratov (*Capatob*, in Russian[3]). According to that, each employee is thought to be responsible for the quality of his own job, as long as instructions and resources are provided by the TKO (*Technischen Kontrollorganisation*). The Saratov system established a "Quality Day" once every week, where faulty products were removed by workers and, finally, compared to the number of faulty products which had been previously complained (by the TKO, by user's departments -on a monthly basis-, and others). Eventually, daily production was also assessed related to the fulfilment of the planned technical-organizational measures, in order to find out if it fitted previously outlined objectives. As a consequence, self-control over working task received special attention. However, such a system was not considered an exportable system in other economical fields and it exclusively remained for the manufacturing sector (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 119-122; Juran, 1993, 2. Bol.: 35H.10).

Therefore, quality concerns were set over employees, regardless of the economical system, because they were thought to be the major involved in that task. Consequently, several models of work self-assessment were implemented: the Deming PDCA Cycle, 5S Method and Quality-Efficiency System (SKE[4]). First of all, the Deming PDCA Cycle (author's name and acronym for *Plan, Do, Check and Act*) stated the way employees must check their work, as an application of Continuous Improvement Cycle (Euskalit, 2004: 22). The Deming PDCA Cycle is still applicable to "all the activities of the organisation" and the results are believed to "improve substantially in a short time"[5].

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[2] Further bibliography resources in Schubert and Elze (1976).

[3] Saratov was one of the most industrialised cities in Russia and the region where the Soviet Government set the major military aircraft manufacturing industry at the time.

[4] Russian acronym.

[5] Euskadi Kalitatea: <www.kalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/aprendizaje.asp> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2008].

Chart No. 2 – PDCA Cycle
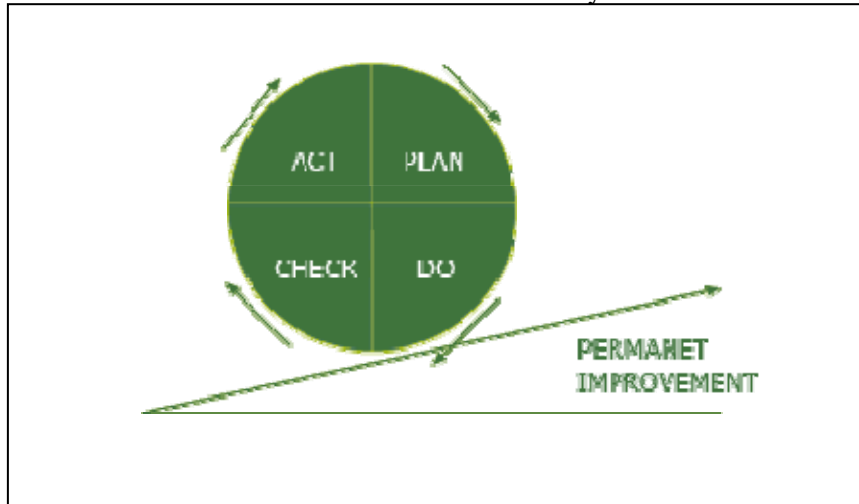
Source: Euskadi Kalitatea[6].

Secondly, the Japanese model used was conceived to asses work groups. This 5S Method includes five phases (whose Japanese name's initials give designation to the Method): sort (*Seiri*), set in order (*Seiton*), shine (*Seisu*), standardise (*Seiketzu*) and sustain (*Shitsuke*). This model of work self-assessment is still used in firms like Toyota (Euskalit, 2004: 51-52).

Lastly, the Quality-Efficiency System (SKE) was the applicable model in soviet corporations. Planning was believed to hold the quality system. Workers' individual plans affected every worker's labour conditions, whereas quality departmental plans influenced the efficiency of the working group. Both plans interact between them. On the one hand, workers' individual plans were thought to increase professional skills, productivity, savings in material resources, mutual Quality Controls by workers, and quantity incentives in work. On the other hand, quality departmental plans determined those same areas from a team perspective (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 68-73).

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[6] Euskadi Kalitatea: <www.euskadikalitatea.net> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2008].

Chart No. 3 – Quality-Efficiency System (SKE)

Qualität der Arbeit jedes Arbeiters	Effektivität der Arbeit eines Kollektivs
Persönliche Pläne zur Steigerung der Arbeitsqualität	Komplexpläne zur Steigerung der Arbeitsqualität von Bereichen und Abteilungen
Erhöhung des beruflichen Könnens und der Qualität der Arbeitsauführung	Erhöhung des technischen Niveaus der Produktion und der Erzeugnisse
Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität	Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität in Absteilung und Bereich
Einsparung an materiellen Ressourcen	Senkung der Abteilungsselbkosten der Produktion
Gegenseitige Qualitätskontrolle durch die Arbeiter	Durchgehende Arbeiterkontrolle der Qualität
Materieller und moralischer Anreiz zu hohen Kennziffern in der Arbeit	System des materiellen und moralischen Anreizes

SKE

Source: Autorenkollektiv (1979: 69).

Hence, product quality relied on the application of workers in their quality of work. In the capitalist countries, working conditions were considered a limit for profit. In the state-planned societies, the quality of work was regarded as a fundamental socialist principle. However, both economical systems defined them in terms of productivity. The former searched "the humanization of work", whereas the latter was to combat "the monotony of work". However, none of them refused to plan shift work,

on the basis of "expensive machinery requirements for continuous process, provision of vital public services, and seasonal requirements in agriculture" (Dennis, 1989: 98-110; Friedl, 1979: 35; Grosse and Puschmann, 1974: 87-91; Steigerwald, 1977: 33-34; Zeteva, 1972: 344). In fact, scholars point out the converging working conditions in the capitalist countries and state-planned societies, considering the latter "*state* capitalism":

> "[…] In which the relationship between the state and worker was akin to that between the private business owner and worker in the West" (Lavelle, 2008: 20).

> "While other options were available, the adoption of Taylorism and military-style bureaucratic control [by the Soviet Union during the 1920s and Stalin's consolidation of power over the Party bureaucracy in the 1930s] is not surprising because it appeared to be the most advanced form of capitalism at the time." (Boswell, 2000: 106).

Therefore, both free-market and state-planned economies set up societies in which material wealth is the form of social wealth. Thus, productivity results either in a greater amount of wealth or in the possibility of a corresponding reduction in labour time. Accordingly, Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto (1848) had foreseen an overcoming of alienation in socialism "by shortening the workday and by continued deskilling that would enable switching jobs according to individual interest". However, ultimately, the abstract domination and the exploitation of labour characteristic of capitalism have been proved not to be grounded in the appropriation of the surplus by the non-labouring classes (in capitalist societies) or collective appropriation (in state-planned ones), "but in the form of labour in capitalism", which was not changed after the Bolshevik Revolution. In state-planned economies under the Soviet rule, product quality was identified as a synonym for "use value" and, accordingly, "economic effectiveness" took over the social perspective about quality which deals with "working conditions" or "social needs", and the Soviet block remained stuck to "military competitions and economic influence from the West" (Boswell, 2000: 4, 79; Conrad, 1987: 8; Dobry, 1987: 8, 31-32, 47; Fiß, 1976: 174; Postone, 1993: 160-161; Postone and Brick, 2004: 300).

Japanese scholars got over that limitation of quality perception, set over employees and the quality departments, and in the 1970s drew attention to a new understanding: customer satisfaction (Cole & Scott, 2000: 303). Consequently, the concept of Quality Assurance emerged. It is defined as follows:

> "[…] **Quality Assurance** means to assure quality in a product so that a customer can buy it with confidence and use it for a long period of time with confidence and satisfaction." (Ishikawa, 1985: 75)

This decade is widely known as the company wide Quality Control phase (as said in Japan), or the Total Quality Control organizationwide (used in the USA), or the integrated Quality Control system (as named in the Soviet Union). It entailed the implication and active involvement of the highest level of management (Banks, 1989: 15; Juran, 1993, Vol. II: 35F.3-35H.7).

However, the definitions for quality had spread and it was not until 1978 that a conclusive definition was established. According to the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and the American Society for Quality Control (ASQC), quality is "the characteristics of a product or service that bear on its ability to satisfy stated or implied needs"[7]. That is the most used definition still applied to quality, that is to say, the customer point of view.

In the 1980s, both main conceptions emerged: the oriental idea of designing for Quality Control and the occidental idea of inspection and control for manufacturing processes. As a result, two types of faults were identified: those within the sphere of control of the management and those under workers' supervision. Surprisingly, "80% of all faults" was attributed to management, as Juran had noted earlier (Banks, 1989: 17; Bendell et al., 1994: 30; Colomer Cugat, 1997: 14; Juran, 1990: 78). Actually, he pointed his attention to "company wide strategic quality planning", which compiles the following tasks:

> "[…] Identifying customers and their needs, establishing optimal quality goals; creating measurements of quality; planning processes capable of meeting quality goals under operating conditions and producing continuing results in improved market share, premium prices, and a reduction of error rates in the office and factory." (Bendell et al., 1994: 20)

The People's Republics akin to the Soviet Union undertook the quality task from a state perspective and launched a standardisation project (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Germany, among others). As noted before, these standard assessment measures were established during the 1950s, basically, to increase their manufacturing production. For instance, the "Perspective Plan" of Germany aimed to increase resistance welding machines production by 1965 "on about 300% of

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[7] ASQC <www.asqc.org/glossary/q.html> [Last retrieved: 08/01/2007].

the production of 1958". Customers' needs were interpreted by the State in terms of societal requirements. The standardization process' targets were published in the most read newspapers at the time: *Berliner Zeitung* and, especially, *Neues Deutschland*. According to that perspective, customers must be confident in their acquaintance with necessary information about the product they are to use, and the implications of social and economical costs. Socialists estimate that brands in capitalist societies do not fulfil that informational purpose, despite all Quality Assurance processes involved. In fact, quality is used to distinguish brands among them and regard customers in a "passive role", because they are only "addressees of the brand" (AAAA, 1959: 9, 17; DeBardeleben, 1989: 149; Hierse et al., 1986: 17-18, 44, 158; Westphal, 1959: 325-326).

For the rest, central-planned economies share two essential characteristics with Quality Assurance systems in the capitalist countries. First of all, the consideration of all manufacturing phases as influential on product quality. That way, quality requirements broke the glass ceiling which had constrained Quality Movement for the past decades. Secondly, the assumption that quality standards become out-dated in a little while. Therefore, that the continuous need for renewing standards became a basic principle for quality (Hierse et al., 1986: 25-34, Meister, 1959: 285-286).

For the new conception, new Quality Assurance systems were set up under those principles. They worked on the idea of different standards assessing specific areas influencing the manufacturing process. Therefore, not only overall quality, but particular quality aspects also became identifiable and, thus, assessable. For example, the Lwow[8] "Elektron" Quality Assurance Plan in the Soviet Block regards the quality assessment of manufacturing process as a complex where the following aspects interact among them: quality improvement planning, information requirements, working quality, and Quality Assurance in all phases, including production and utilization (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 122-129).

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[8] Lwow is the Russian name for the Ukrainian city of L'viv, whose English name is Lviv.

Chart No. 4 – Lwow "Elektron" Quality Assurance Plan
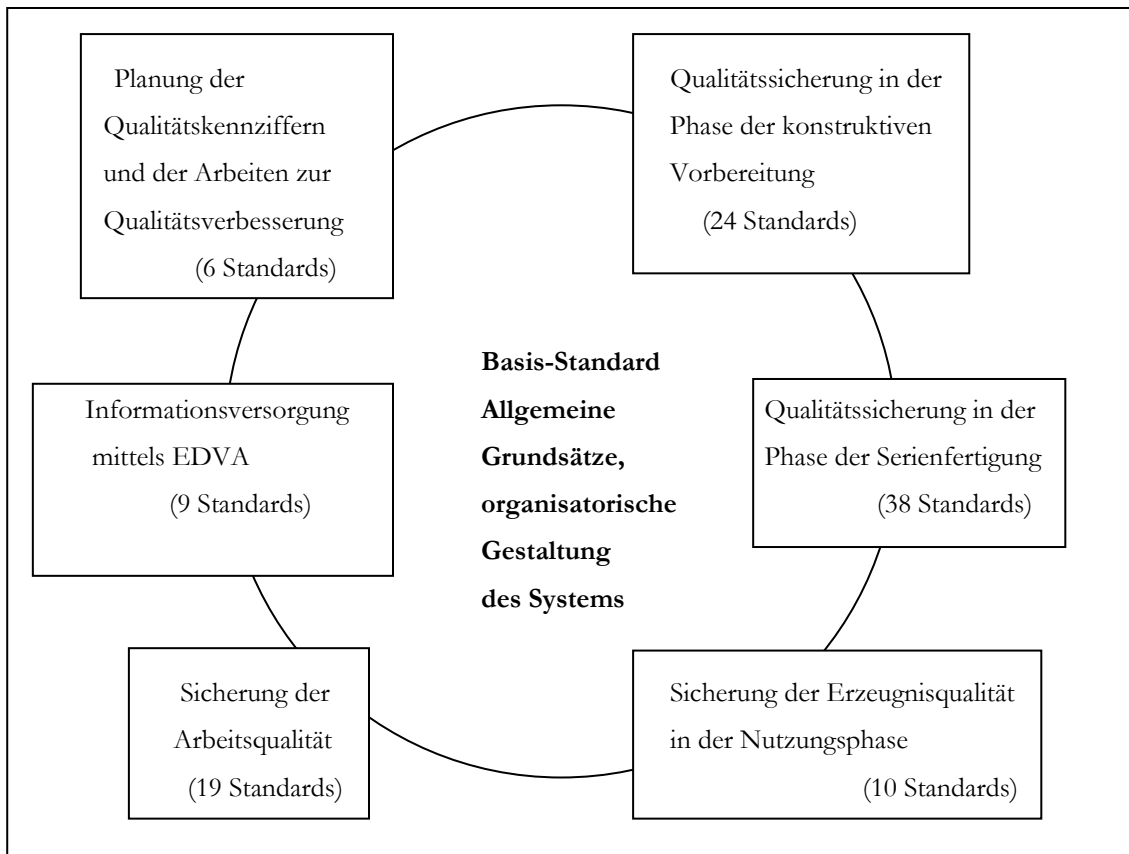
Source: Autorenkollektiv (1979: 125).

Nevertheless, quality assessment based on State's standards did not meet customers' satisfaction. In fact, goods were considered of quality regarding their economical and social costs and not the function they were to fulfil. Some scholars point out that it actually was one of the reasons why state-capitalist systems in Europe failed, since working conditions did not result in meeting their expectations in goods. During the long postwar period, the state-planned economies concentrated on low-skill mass production. The development plans of mass-production industry and expansion of social welfare are believed to have brought popular support to the system, "despite the lack of democracy" or "bureaucratic socialism". However, state-communist countries were not able to deal with new economical trends after 1983-1984, when high-skilled flexible production (such as biotechnical, electronic, and information processing) was required. Negative economical consequences, then, generated the popular revolts, because the State could no longer fulfil people's lowest expectations in terms of basic economical and social needs (Boswell, 2000: 97-107; Dobry, 1987: 31-32;

Meyer, 1977: 38; Steinitz, 2007: 16). At that point, the authority of the State system was also questioned:

> "Totalitarian state capitalism is confronted with additional problems. That order represents the worst form of antagonistic society «in which the power interests of the ruling class prevents the people from fully using the productive forces for their own welfare and from having control of the organization and activities of society». Because of the intensity of this antagonism, totalitarian state capitalism cannot allow an appreciable rise in the general standard of living for, as [Friederich] Pollock argued, such a rise would free people to reflect their situation and thereby to develop critical thought, out of which a revolutionary spirit, with its demands for freedom and justice, could emerge. Totalitarian state capitalism is therefore faced with the problem of how to maintain full employment, promote further technical progress, and yet not allow the standard of living to rise appreciably. According to Pollock, only a permanent war economy could achieve theses tasks simultaneously. The greatest threat to the totalitarian form is peace. In a peace economy, the system could not maintain itself, despite mass psychological manipulation and terror. It could not tolerate a high standard of living and could not survive mass unemployment. A high standard of living could be maintained by democratic state capitalism, which Pollock seemed to view as an unstable, transitory form […]." (Postone and Brick, 2004: 289-290)

Among citizens, popular jokes defining socialism stated that "capitalism is the exploitation of humans by humans; socialism is exactly the opposite"; whereas theoreticians as Trotsky had already criticised it a long time before: "There is not a hint of socialism in the Soviet Union" (Boswell, 2000: 2, 77). The state-planned economies were not able to create an alternative to capitalist working system and, thus, quality process:

> "We have seen that, for Marx, the basic relations of production of capitalism are not equivalent to the market and private property; hence, the suppression of the market and private property by the state would not signify the overcoming of value and capital. Indeed, the term «state capitalism», which Pollock used but could not ground, can be justified to describe a society in which capitalist relations of production continue to exist while bourgeois relations of distribution have been replaced by a state-bureaucratic mode of administration that remains subject to the compulsions and constraints rooted in capital." (Postone, 1993: 393)

Uprisings started in Poland, spread out up to China and all of Eastern Europe and led to system changes. After those revolts, the remaining state-planned countries become "market-driven export promoters", such as China and Vietnam. Cuba is not considered an international trade agent and North Korea is usually described as a "Stalinist-inherited communist monarchy" (Boswell, 2000: 2, 97).

China, however, started an opening process towards free market in 1979. That progression has renamed China's regime as post-socialist. After all, by 2003, China's political system only matched three out of five emblematic characteristics of state-planned economies. Quality conception has shown a parallel progression. First of all,

during the 1950s, manufactures' supervision and control was the predominant quality system. After the 1979 economic reform, goods produced in China grew rapidly, but quality made no distinction among them. The gap between working conditions and living standards led to serious social problems. As a solution, following the Soviet Union's model, China embarked on a manufacturing standardization process. Later, after the fall of the state-planned regimes in Eastern Europe, China turned the free-market opening process to exports. Accordingly, quality implied worldwide reliable manufacturing requirements. International trade happened to be a more effective quality agent than national workers and customers' needs. The "Product Quality Law" (1993, revised in 2000) set up a two-step Quality Assurance system. On the one hand, traditional quality supervision was to be undertaken by the Government. For such a purpose, the Chinese government created up to three central agencies in charge of product quality supervision. Moreover, other administrative authorities can also formulate and issue departmental rules. On the other, capitalist economies' representative tort liability was promulgated. It implied that (international) customers could sue manufacturers if their products do not fulfil basic requirements (product damages not involving breach of contract). As a result, China is claimed to have become an "arbitrary bureaucracy", where manufacturers face two Quality Controls: administrative penalties and product-related civil law liability (Heilmann, 2009: 15-16, 192; Li, 2006: 13-30).

European free-market countries made a huge difference and established a new conception to measure quality. In 1988, fourteen enterprises set up the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM). Nowadays, over one thousand enterprises take part in it. The EFQM model is based on the Deming Model and the Malcolm Baldrige one. The Deming Model was set up forty years before in Japan and the Malcolm Baldrige Model had been applied in the USA since 1987 (Euskalit, 2004: 15-27). These are their assessment criteria:

Table No. 1 – Assessment Criteria for Deming, Malcolm Baldrige and EFQM Excellence Models

Deming Eredua (1951)	Malcolm Baldrige Eredua (1987)	EFQM Bikaintasun Eredua (1992)

1.- Politikak eta helburuak.
2.- Antolaketa eta jarduteko era.
3.- Hezkuntza eta hezkuntzaren sakabanatzea.
4.- Informazio-fluxua eta informazioaren erabilera.
5.- Produktuen eta prozesuen kalitatea.
6.- Estandarizazioa.
7.- Kudeaketa eta kontrola.
8.- Funtzioen, sistemen eta metodoen kalitate-bermea.
9.- Emaitzak.
10.- Etorkizunerako planak.
	1.- Lidergoa.
	2.- Plangintza estrategikoa.
	3.- Bezeroa eta merkaturako ikuspegia.
	4.- Informazioa eta analisia.
	5.- Giza baliabideen kudeaketa eta garapena.
	6.- Prozesuen kudeaketa.
	7.- Negozio-emaitzak.
		1.- Eragileak (%50):
		  1.1.- Lidergoa (%10).
		  1.2.- Politika eta estrategia (%8).
		  1.3.- Pertsonak (%9).
		  1.4.- Aliantzak eta baliabideak (%9).
		  1.5.- Prozesuak (%14).
		2.- Emaitzak (%50):
		  2.1.- Emaitzak bezeroetan (%20).
		  2.2.- Emaitzak pertsonetan (%9).
		  2.3.- Emaitzak gizartean (%6).
		  2.4.- Emaitza giltzarriak (%15).

Source: Euskalit (2004: 16-17).

Finally, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) had been created in 1946, and welcomed state-planned countries. However, based on British quality tradition, ISO 9000 Standard was established in 1994. After a revision in 2000, new ISO 9001:2000 – Quality Management Systems were fixed. Each of those steps enabled a new phase for the Quality Movement. Whereas Quality Control mainly focuses on production and zero-defects, ISO 9000:94 set up Quality Assurance, stating that excellence can also be manufactured. Finally, Total Quality Management, after ISO 9001:2000, tries to optimize both quality and economical costs (Euskalit, 2004: 29-37). The following chart links these phases and the ISO rule that set them up:

Table No. 2 – Quality Evolution Phases and their related ISO rules

Kalitatearen bilakaera, ISO 9000 Arauen aldean		
KALITATEA KONTROLATZEA	Bezeroari banatutako produktuak ezarririko eskakizunak bete ditzala lortzea, amaierako edo fabrikazio-prozesuko produktuari aplikaturiko kontrol-eragiketen bitartez.	
KALITATEA ZIURTATZEA	KALITATEA EZ DA KONTROLATZEN, KALITATEA FABRIKATU EGITEN DA; antolakundeak fabrikazio-prozesuko eragiketak zehaztu behar ditu; horrela, bezeroaren eskakizunak betetzen direla ziurtatuko da.	**ISO 9000:94 Arauak**
KALITATEA KUDEATZEA	KALITATEA ETA KOSTUA EZ DIRA AURKAKOAK; antolakundea etengabe ahalegindu behar da bezeroaren beharrei eta igurikapenei erantzuna ematen, baliabideen erabilera etengabeko hobekuntzaren bitartez optimizatuz.	**ISO 9000:2000 Arauak**

Source: Euskalit (2004: 30).

At this point, we must highlight that Management Quality is assumed to require all three steps. First, *Quality Control* as "the combination of operational techniques and activities" is used to "verify the requirements regarding the quality of the product or service". Once control has been successfully reached, *Quality Assurance* aims to ensure those excellence requirements foreseen for such a product. Finally, *Total Quality* is defined as "a management strategy to be implemented by organizations, whose objective is a balanced satisfaction of customer, staff, and shareholders' requirements and expectations and those of society in general"[9]. De Domingo summarises that historical process and its effects on industry in the following chart:

Table No. 3 – Quality Management Historical Phases

KALITATEAREN ADIERAZGARRIAK ⇩	KALITATEAREN KUDEAKETAREN FASEAK		
	1. fasea: Kalitatea kontrolatzea	2. fasea: Kalitatea ziurtatzea	3. fasea: Kalitate osoa kudeatzea
Helburu nagusia	Oharrekiko adostasuna lortzea.	Bezeroen beharrak asetzea lortzea.	Erakundeko eta gizarteko pertsonen interesak modu orekatuan asetzen lortzea.
Kalitatearen ikuskera	Irtenbidea eskatzen duen arazoa.	Gogotsu ekinez irtenbidea emango zaion arazoa.	Lehiakortasunerako gaitasun handiagoak lortzeko aukera.
Metodoak	Bukatutako produktuak ikuskatzea eta neurtzea.	Kalitate-sistemak. Prozesuen kontrola.	Helburuak definitzea eta erakunde guztia mugiaraztea.
Kalitatearen arduradunak	Kalitatea kontrolatzeko saila.	Sail guztiak.	Erakundeko kide guztiak, zuzendaritza arlokoak batez ere.
Kalitatearen enfasia	Produktuan eta ekoizketan.	Arlo guztietan.	Barruko eta kanpoko bezeroarengan, gizarte osoarengan.
Orientabidea	Kalitatea egiaztatu egin behar da.	Kalitatea lortu egin behar da.	Kalitatea kudeatu egin behar da.
Garaia	1920 aldera.	1950. urtetik aurrera.	1970. urtetik aurrera.

Source: De Domingo (2000: 8).

In a more graphical way, this illustration presents Quality Movement, based on two axes: history and the way quality were understood at that time. Accordingly, Quality Control is concerned with the product, whereas quality assurance focuses on customer's satisfaction. Such a qualitative gap took around thirty years. Total Quality Management (TQM), finally, implies company wide perspective and social

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[9] Euskadi Kalitatea: <www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/calidad_evolucion.asp> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2008].

responsibility. Although TQM was conceived in the 1970s, a social approach is still spreading to new areas, such as environmental concern.

Chart No. 5 – Historical development of quality conception
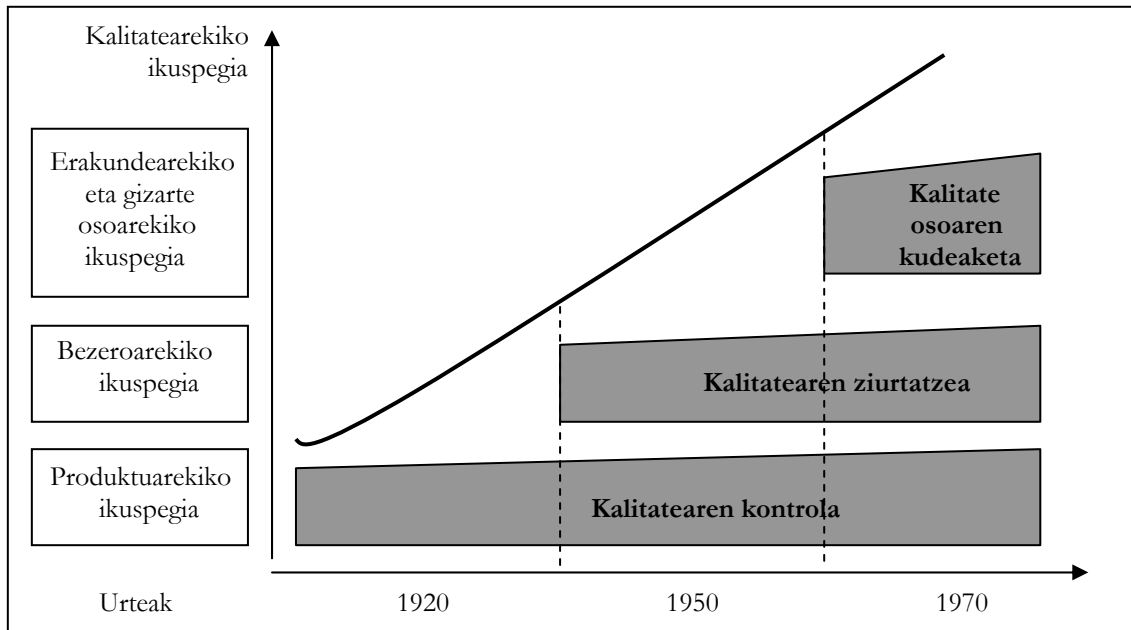
Source: De Domingo (2000: 8).

All in all, every quality model nowadays deals with *Total Quality Management*, whatever the model they apply: EFQM (Europe), Deming (Japan) and Malcolm Baldrige (USA). In short, it means, firstly, that the whole enterprise is involved in quality (not only the Quality Department); secondly, customer satisfaction is to be obtained (based on continuous improvement); and, finally, quality is measured as the customer notices it, as well as the organizational quality as a whole. State-planned economies also knew these capitalist countries' quality assessment (Kayser, 1989: 48-51; Schnorr, 1989: 59).

From a European point of view, *Total Quality* searches excellence in organization practices, based on the following eight principles[10]:

> "1.- Result orientation.
> 2.- Customer orientation.
> 3.- Leadership and constancy in the objectives.
> 4.- Management by processes and facts.
> 5.- People development and involvement.
> 6.- Continuous learning, innovation and improvement.
> 7.- Development alliances.
> 8.- Social responsibility."

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[10] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/principios_calidad.asp> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2008].

First of all, *result orientation* takes into account all those groups of interest who "somehow" take part in the fulfilment of the expectations of a given product, that is, "customers, suppliers, employees, economical groups and society at large". Secondly, *customer orientation* "implies the involvement of the entire organisation in seeking customer satisfaction". Thirdly, *leadership and constancy in the objectives* refer to the strategy to be carried out in order to achieve "business competitiveness or the improvement of the organisational efficiency". Fourthly, *management by process and facts* requires a "cross-departmental or cross-functional" view of the whole company. Fifthly, *people development and involvement* aims to improve communication among workers and continuous training. Sixthly, *continuous learning, innovation and improvement* aim to act "on the whole system (supplier-company-customer)". Shewhart, for instance, defined continuous improvement as a four staged cycle, the so-called PDCA (Plan, Do, Check, Act), also known as Deming cycle (Ishikawa, 1985: 17). Seventhly, *alliances* are to be stabled with "suppliers and other collaborating companies […] in order to generate value added improvements for the customers". Finally, *social responsibility* concept makes a difference and encourages firms to take consciousness of being a part of a larger society[11].

As a consequence, Total Quality is a "management strategy to be implemented by organisations, whose objective is a balanced satisfaction of customer, staff, and shareholders' requirements and expectations and those of society in general"[12]. Total Quality is nowadays used "synonymously" with former *big Q quality* concept, "referring to quality as an overall, encompassing culture of the organization". *Big Q* approach was opposed to *little q* in old scholar discussions, as the latter alluded to "specific tools, techniques, activities, or product and service attributes within an organization". Organizational integrated quality concept prevailed (Cole, 2000: 272-273).

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[11] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/principios_calidad.asp> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2008].

[12] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/calidad_evolucion.asp> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2008].

b. Assumptions for Quality

Quality essentials were required long after the industrial revolution, leaving a gap between both movements. Quality was linked to military efficiency in those countries aiming to rule the rest of the world, no matter their economical regime. Quality systems were first implemented in Japan, as an attempt to get over his defeat in the World War II, although they had been created in the USA, where they had not been applied to increase civilians' living standards. Later, quality had to face two more problems before becoming an international movement: self-departmental conception of quality and the lack of self-entity. In fact, quality understanding proves that a product can meet all the requirements to be considered such a product, although it doesn't fit customer's expectations. Thus, quality highlighted the fact that a product is not only defined by producers, regardless the economical or political system (Dobry, 1987: 6; Rosander, 1991: 1-2; Zeteva, 1972: 344).

The International Quality Movement did not emerge until quantity had been satisfied. Moreover, statistics were not developed yet as a science. That is why, after World War II, organizations focused their attention on manufacturing and coping with the huge demand they had to satisfy. Only after that period, the question of quality came out, since "quality is always reduced under high cost living periods". However, the first problem arose when a high level of management involvement raised questions on assurance. It implied an inexcusable delay on Quality Control. Quality had to be seen as profit in order to be taken into consideration (Juran, 1990: 6; Rosander, 1991: 1-2; Westphal, 1959: 325-326).

Japanese electronics importation in the United States became a paradigmatic case for quality. Before the World War II, Japanese products were considered of "low quality" all around the world. As a result, after their defeat in the war, Japanese companies moved all their energy to quality. However, American organizations attributed Japanese exportation high rate to low prices and, as American companies did not make a similar effort in quality, Japanese electronics importation caused several American companies close-downs during the 1960s and 1970s. A reduction in importations did not result as successful as improving product quality (Juran, 1990: 7; Juran, 1993, Vol. II: 35G.6).

Finally, as quality was not regarded as a way for improvement, there arose many misunderstandings, common to all economical systems. Crosby listed the most important five erroneous assumptions. First of all, "the belief that quality means goodness, or luxury, or shininess, or weight" was widely spread, Great difficulties have been appealed to be responsible for the lack of an agreed definition for quality. However, instead of giving any other approach to the term, it concluded helping to emerge several concepts (i.e. "delight the customer", "satisfaction") that placed quality in a non-measurable status. Soviet countries also identified product excellence as an "aspiration level". That is the main reason why a second erroneous assumption was alleged (Crosby, 1996: 24-29; Paranyi, 1989: 45).

Secondly, the belief that quality was "intangible and, therefore, not measurable" was an earlier misconception. It took ages before a standard-based system was commonly accepted as a way to measure quality. But accomplishing such a task has faced another bigger problem: the fact that actual measurement is not keen in searching how much doing things wrong does cost.

Thirdly, as Quality Control was set up at the same time statistics were developed, an "economics of quality" was thought to have been created. This belief pushed workers even further from quality processes. As a result, Crosby established the Zero Defects concept in 1961, in order to get over all the frustration in measuring quality.

Consequently, the problems of quality were believed to have been originated by the workers. This fourth erroneous assumption explained the null implication top management had shown in quality process.

Finally, the need to overcome all those obstacles in Quality Control leads us to the last reason delaying quality measurement: "the belief that quality originates in the Quality Department". When a specific section was to be in charge of quality, the rest of the organizational staff felt relieved of their commitment.

c. Quality approaches

The understanding of quality in the organizationwide is said to differ from "what it is commonly assumed". That is why every application of quality has its own concept about excellence. But even for the same working field, quality happened to have coined several definitions. For instance, private corporations have found for

business excellence so many meanings according to *territorial causes*. Here we are the most used conceptions and the institution supporting those:

> "La **Asociación Americana para el Control de la Calidad (ASQC)** define la calidad como el conjunto de características de un producto o servicio orientadas a su capacidad para satisfacer las necesidades del usuario.
> La **Fundación Europea para la Calidad (EFQM)** entiende la calidad como la totalidad de características de un producto o servicio que soportan su capacidad para satisfacer necesidades establecidas o implícitas.
> La **Asociación Española para la Calidad (AEC)** la define como el conjunto de propiedades y características de un producto, proceso o servicio que le confiere su aptitud para satisfacer necesidades establecidas o implícitas". (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 8)

In brief, all definitions underline the *function* of quality: satisfaction of needs. According to which mission the product is launched to accomplish, the standards to measure such a product involve all those characteristics it is thought to have. As a result, quality becomes "heterogeneous", because those attributes are "widely different" depending on what kind of product quality is to be evaluated. Although it can be believed that this definition variety makes quality not scientifically assessable, it can be argued that the essence for assessment remains essential: quality is measured according to what the customer expects. Nowadays, customer's expectations are the base for any quality assessment method. The closer the learning branch is to business, the sooner quality management has been arranged for such a field. For instance, the Universal Quality Model became easily applicable to the automotive sector only by knowing that market's requirements (Cela Trulock, 2002: 136; Lloréns Montes, 1996: 21; Rosander, 1991: 4-5).

Business supply does not only consist of manufactured products, but also services. In that case, one can be of the opinion that a new assessment model must be implemented. Yet, as already said, having understood that quality is heterogeneous, the same evaluation system can be perfectly applied to service assessment. In fact, *service quality* must fulfil the requirements of the customer in the same way a product must and, therefore, excellence in service can be assessed based on quality standards. That way, service excellence is understood as another face of quality (Bendell et al., 1994: 8; Lloréns Montes, 1996; 14-21; Rosander, 1991: 4). For such a purpose, quality concepts have been adapted to this new area:

> "Dr. Deming's 14 points, the focus of this book, are applied to quality service. This means that several of the points have to be interpreted in terms of the realities of quality service". (Rosander: 1991: vii-viii)

The Total Quality Management model also takes into account this new perspective. It is based on the following premise, which compiles its eight principles:

> "Customer and employee satisfaction and impact on society are achieved through leadership which drives the policy and strategy, the people in the organisation, the alliances and resources and the processes toward achieving excellence in the results of the organisation." (Euskadi Kalitatea)[13]

Business quality, then, has yet been understood as something wider than zero defects. Actually, it makes a statement according to customer's requirements. That implied the acquisition of new approaches for excellence, such as, service quality. This new step was essential to a new area of evaluation. If quality refers also to service, every duty is likely to be assessed in terms of continuous improvement.

When a new service is assessed under the light of quality, the definition of excellence requires an adaptation to the knowledge branch akin to that aiming to evaluate. Such an assumption creates a new characteristic, quality results "interdisciplinary":

> "La complejidad del concepto de calidad viene justificada por la interdisciplinariedad del término. Así encontramos diferentes aproximaciones al concepto de calidad –todas ellas válidas y tremendamente interesantes–, según el campo de aplicación para el que han sido diseñadas. La calidad parece ser un concepto multifactorial." (Tur Viñes, 2006: 172)

State-planned societies identified service quality with the need for brands' distinction in free-market countries, whereas under the state-capitalism rule those services were offered by the Government. Nevertheless, despite the anthological identification, the state-planned regimes based their economies on loud production, according to a war economy philosophy which could assure full employment (Boswell, 2000: 99-107; Hierse et al., 1986: 179-180; Postone and Brick, 2004: 289-290).

Zeithaml, Parasuraman and Berry identified five dimensions to measure service quality's proper essentials: *tangible elements* (facilities, equipment, personnel), *reliability* (on requested service), *response capacity* (fast service), *security* (employees' acknowledgment, lack of risk) and *empathy* (attentiveness). The tool to measure service quality is called "Servqual". Following its directions, customers are requested to answer some questionnaires: the first one measures their expectations, and the second one estimates customers' perceptions. Despite its large application, nowadays it is highly questionable,

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[13] Euskadi Kalitatea: <www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/modelos_calidad.asp> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2008].

since scholars consider it redundant, as it measures both expectations and perceptions, while the second ones are "clearly influenced" by the first ones (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 12-13; 43-45; Lloréns Montes, 1996: 14, 77-84).

When capitalist societies became aware of some organizational practices' effects, at the time new civil rights were expanding to more subjects, corporations were requested to cope with a minimum of environmental care measures and working conditions. If they adopt them, those firms will obtain a label underlining their commitment with environmental and labour questions in terms of quality. For instance, ISO 14000 rule deals with ecological organizational practices, whereas ISO (International Organization for Standardization) failed to publish a rule on labour risk prevention in 1997 and, later, in 2000 stated that the International Labour Organization was the organism in charge for such a duty (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 230-231, 248-252; Juran, 1990: 8).

Equally, the concept of living quality had already been used as a propaganda weapon between free-market and state-planned societies. State-capitalist countries accused Kennedy of using such an empty concept to drive attention away from economical crisis. However, state-planned societies developed the term "humanization of work" as another important aspect of living quality. A coefficient of work quality was set out different standards. Similarly, environment concerns were said to be key issues to socialism. However, those concepts were on the service of productivity. On the one hand, working conditions did not lead to an outbreak of alienation or even a reduction of working hours. On the other, state-planned countries were appointed as extremely pollutant. Since productivity requirements were in charge of full employment that could support the entire system, environmental and labour questions were put aside. Nevertheless, socialists in the 21st century pay attention, as central principles, to those key issues state-planned systems highlighted under the concept of living quality: environment, nature and health (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 126; DeBardeleben, 1986: 148-161; Fiß, 1976: 32; Friedl, 1979: 31-35; Grosse, 1974: 83-84; Seibert, 1973: 17-108; Steinitz, 2007: 41).

Nowadays, those issues are certified by quality labels. Excellence has happened to become a client request. Consequently, quality can make a difference in the market. Casadesús Fa, Heras Saizarbitoria and Merino Díaz de Cerio have ranged diverse

reasons why corporations have implemented quality systems and models: customer pressure is ranked as the first motivation for firms. Others, however, underline marketing causes. Scholars hesitate if it can come to an end where a *quality-fiction model* will be established. In those cases, corporations seek desperately a certification, taking advantage that "the quality system documentation so often is an adaptation of another". Therefore, not previous case investigation leads in a specific study for a selected firm. No focalization is given to practice and, hence, quality systems may turn banal. That is why new approaches ask for audits so that continuous quality improvement can be widely and constantly assessed. The conception of quality is under examination: all in all, would it be just a trend? Researchers, however, stick to the point that quality has gained a well-defined room in enterprise management, despite the numerous noticeable ups and downs the Quality Movement has shown since its beginnings, "so characteristic to trends". Hence, talking about quality is doubtlessly in fashion. The popularization of the term leads to a wrong use of the concept, which affects the Quality Movement (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 274-277; Kamiske, 2008: 84-102; Tur Viñes, 2006: 171).

d. Quality in the Basque Country

Quality must also be understood in the local and historical context it has been developed in. Several scholars regard to this extent as another variable for quality process which explains differences in quality assessment, "due in part to each nations' unique social and cultural background" (Ishikawa, 1985: 23). Quality, then, is defined in relation to parameters:

> "«Calidad es la reunión en un objeto, procedimiento o servicio de un conjunto de atributos que, dado un momento en el tiempo y un entorno concreto, le otorgan un determinado nivel de excelencia que le permiten apreciarlo como igual, mejor o peor que otro de su especie»" (Abad García, 2005: 80).

There are two main variables that make quality understanding different among nations: economical and cultural characteristics. First of all, *economical system* affects what quality means. For capitalist societies, i.e., quality entails "another form of competence", whereas for centrally planned economy countries quality carries "an increment in the production volume and that means capacity savings". As a result, at the time when the United States created the supervisor function, the Saratov system implemented in the Soviet Union brought about the chance for self-supervisors. Accordingly, non-industrialised countries find up to four factors that prevent them from reaching quality

improvement: "good shortage, restrictions for international exchange, incomplete infrastructure, and inadequate knowledge" (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 119-122; Juran, 1993: 2. Bol. 35A-35H).

Secondly, *cultural singularities* led to meaning distinctions for quality, derived from "language", local "customs and traditions", national "hostility history", and the like. Europe has a traditional concept for quality that has been considered synonym for "prestigious but expensive goods" in France, "excellently trained workers" in Germany, or "innovative statistical methods applications" in the United Kingdom. Similarly, the "adaptability to an abroad culture shown by the Japanese" has been widely regarded as a key factor for the permeability of quality tradition by the Japanese society during the 1950s. Such an assertion stems from the fact that historically Japan has managed to introduce abroad elements to its national culture, usually referred to "the adaptation of Buddhist and Chinese writing characters over a thousand years ago" (Juran, 1993: 2. Bol. 35A-35F).

Let us see some local examples to illustrate the widening process of quality conception in the Basque Country. It made a big difference when service in the Basque language learning system, for instance, could be assessed according to some objective standards. Quality has been remarked as a goal to achieve. That way, once those objective standards are set, quality in that product or service can be measured and, at the same time, the way to accomplish excellence is fixed. Several quality standards have been proposed as the direction Basque education should follow (*Hik Hasi*, 1999; Murua, 1997: 88). Later, this method allowed the quality of language itself to be assessed:

> "Kalitate nozioarekin esan nahi dena hausnarketa bidean sartu beharra daukagula da. Hausnarketa teorikoa eta metodologikoa egin beharra daukagula, «ideia eta gogoeta sistema» bat asmatu beharra, hain zuzen. Derrigorrezkoa zaigu nolabaiteko planteamendu teorikoa eta metodologikoa eskuratzea, batetik, kasuistika, partzialtasuna, mistizismoa, intuizioa, eta antzeko jokabideak gainditzeko; bestetik, zenbait (sasi)-dilema argitzeko eta haustura egiteko, plan sistematikoa eskuratzeko, xede-asmoak agerian jartzeko, balioztatze adostuagoak egiteko." (Larringan and Idiazabal, 2004: 3)

The Basque Government launched a business excellence programme to promote quality in the industrial sector in 1993, believing quality to be a "comparative

advantage" for local corporations[14]. In that context, the Basque Quality Award was created. Business excellence advertises another generation of corporations and it distinguishes them from others. Here we are an example of such advertising:

Chart No. 6 – Ranking of European Regions,
according to the Number of Achieved Quality Awards (2000-2010)
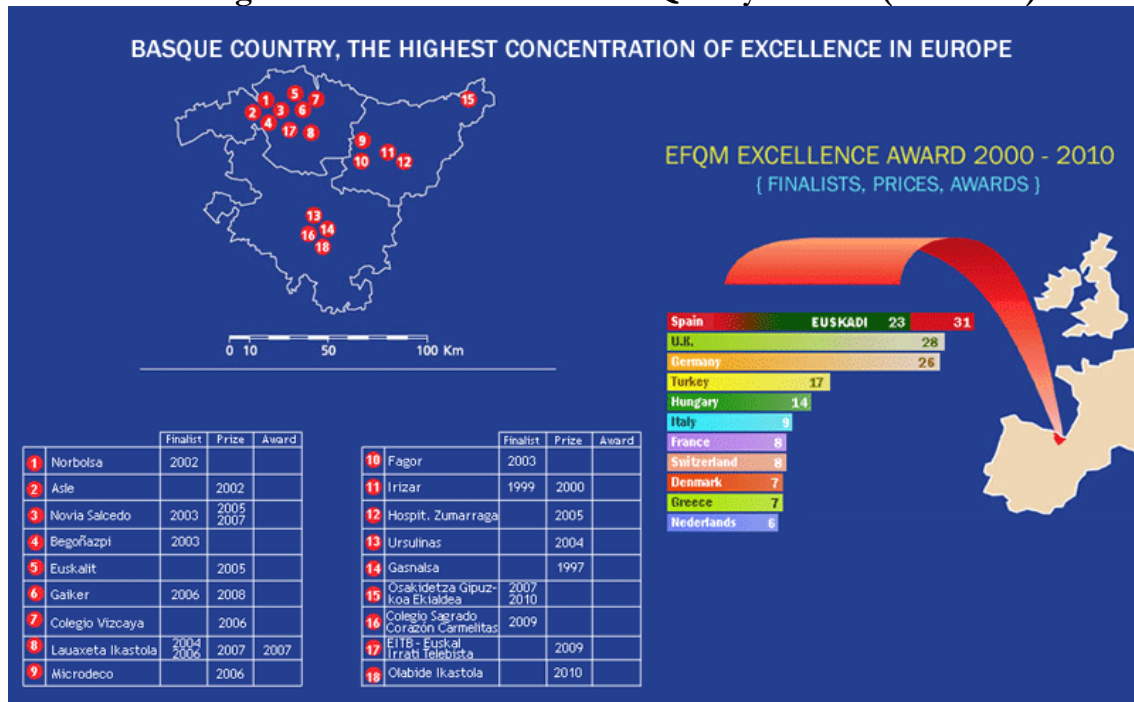
Source: Euskalit[15].

The promotion of quality in local industry required an organism to study business excellence in depth. Then, Euskalit (Basque Foundation for Quality) was founded in 1992. Euskalit works for Total Quality Management and considers the EFQM model "a measurement tool". Starting assessing quality in industry, soon Euskalit moved to education (since 1995), later to the building (1998) and health sectors (2003), and recently even to tourism. Euskalit has adapted the EFQM model for industry to those business sectors, as a proving of both, assessment tool and standard requirement based model. EiTB (Basque Public Broadcasting Service) achieved Silver Q in 2004 and Golden Q in 2007, as well as the European Quality Prize in 2009. Despite the fact that Euskalit applies the EFQM model to assess organizationwide quality only in the Basque Country, EiTB became the first media company in Spain awarding such a distinction (EiTB, 2004; Euskalit; Medina Laverón, 2006: 53).

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[14] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/promocion/index.asp> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2008].

[15] Euskalit: <www.euskalit.net> [Last retrieved: 08/01/2011].

e. Elements of Quality Assessment

Quality research was only implemented in organizations once non-quality had been proved to be much more high-costed. From this profitable and productive perspective, manufacturing quality implied, first of all, removing all the manufacturing defects[16] and, later, hidden defects[17] too. Actually, reworks happened to be more expensive than preventing errors. Accordingly, *error index* is solved out applying the following formula:

$$\text{Error index} \ = \ \frac{\text{Deficiency Frequency}}{\text{Deficiency Occasion}}$$

Deficiency frequency measures the number of errors committed during a given period and *deficiency occasion* expresses finished products for that period (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 119-122; Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 16; Colomer Cugat, 1997: 3; Crosby, 1996: 185; Juran, 1990: 17).

According to their function, Ishikawa distinguishes three types of defects dealing with quality characteristics. A *critical defect* is "the quality characteristic which relates to life and safety", in a manufacture organization context. A *major defect* is "the quality characteristic which seriously affects the proper functioning of a product". Finally, a *minor defect* is "the quality characteristic which does not affect the proper functioning of a product, but is not appreciated by customers" (Ishikawa, 1985: 50). Notwithstanding how identifiable those defects might be, error-free production and zero defects policy are considered a prior condition for quality:

> "Quality means meeting the requirements of the customer. It is based on prevention of non-quality characteristics –errors, defects in purchased products, wasted time, delays, failures, unsafe working conditions, unnecessary service, and unsafe products. All service should be aimed at meeting the customer's requirements by eliminating these non-quality traits." (Rosander, 1991: 4)

In effect, the lowest level of customers' requirements consists in acquiring non-defaulted product or service. Only then can other requisites apply. That is to say, *quality as conformity* can only be assessed after consumption. However, *quality as satisfaction of requirements* "must be an antecedent of quality as conformity". Customers' needs and requirements are to be beforehand identified, because "they also shape the base for a

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[16] Manufacturing defect: "Frailty or shortcoming in a product resulting from a departure from its design specification during production."

[17] Hidden defect: "A defect not discoverable by a reasonable inspection by the purchaser."

latter quality as conformity assessment". As a solution, the worker must be satisfied before the customer is (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 10; Cole, 2000: 297).

The standards every product or service must fulfil depend on which mission it is to accomplish. Consequently, the starting point is "finding out how customers evaluate quality, that is to say, which characteristics consider key to satisfy their needs". Those characteristics or standards are measured using *variables*, whereas *attributes* are set to count *deficiencies* (Banks, 1989: 20-23; Juran, 1990: 18; Lloréns Montes, 1996: 21). Moreover, customer satisfaction oriented quality assessment implies a continuous review of quality standards:

> "There are no standards –whether they be national, international or company-wide– that are perfect. Usually standards contain some inherent defects. Consumer requirements also change continuously, demanding higher quality year after year. Standards that were adequate when they were first established quickly become obsolete." (Ishikawa, 1985: 55)

Quality assessing standards are generally gathered, in order to form different evaluation areas. Quality measuring systems (such as: TQM, EFQM and Lwow "Elektron") succeeded in assessing diverse aspects of excellence. Finally, quality results were understood as the sum of all those subcategories. As an advantage, quality defaults can be solved applying specific policies to the problematic areas at the moment (Autorenkollektiv, 1979: 122-129; Conrad, 1987: 6-7; Euskalit, 2004: 15-27).

Private corporations, in an attempt to measure quality costs, have already implemented a new method to quantify those costs. *Value Engineering* (synonymous with the terms Value Management and Value Analysis) aims to maximize the existing relation between the satisfaction of the needs of internal and/or external clients, and the cost which the company incurs to satisfy the above mentioned needs. It was originally created by Lawrence D. Miles in 1949, when he was employed by General Electric. Once again, scarcity after World War II gave a chance to creativity. In fact, Value Engineering considers a firm to be competitive following two main strategies: as leaders in distinction –by offering a better product than market rival companies at same price– or as leaders in costs –by selling our the same product as competition does but at a better price– (ITG, 2007: 2-4, Save, 2007: 7-9).

Value Engineering does not only measure corporation competitiveness, but it also calculates, on the one hand, the costs that each product function carries out and,

on the other, it enhances every function (or product characteristic) a value, according to client satisfaction and its cost –measured in time or economical expenses– (ITG, 2007: 23; Leleu-Merviel, 1997: 31-32). In the end, Value Engineering works out the following mathematical formula[18]:

$$\text{Value Index} = \frac{\text{Function Cost}}{\text{Function Worth}}$$

Function cost is the determination of "the cost or price of a product or service, allocated to each function being performed" and *function worth* is "the worth of each function". When *value index* is 1.0, it is believed to be "good value". That is to say, the satisfaction of clients' needs is higher than its production cost. After all, Value Engineering calls for "the optimum cost to meet required functions" and "the lowest cost to achieve a function". This methodology has spread out all over the war and it is nowadays used in America, Asia, Australia and Europe. There is a national association on Value Engineering coping with demands for nearly each country (ITG, 2007: 25; Value Foundation)[19] .

Nowadays, such a methodology has also been implemented in those fields not related to the industrial sector. In fact, Value Engineers claim "not to limit Value Management and Six Sigma[20] to manufacturing and construction environments", since "understanding and utilizing Value Management and Six Sigma tools will assist in making the changes and improvements better, faster, and cheaper". After all, quality brings good, fast and cheap improvements. But not until the economical expenses question was questioned, did private corporations show any interest for quality. According to figures, "a third part of manufacturing goods in the United States consists in redoing whatever already been done". Hence, "bad quality's cost" is extremely high, huger than the cost for any quality system implementation (Juran, 1993: 35G.9; Save, 2006: 9). However, excellence enhances some assertions Crosby, as a classis scholar, made out as *The Absolutes* in quality, "concepts [being] truths that apply to all situations and serve as a basis for evaluation":

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[18] Value Foundation: <http://www.valuefoundation.org/worth.htm> [Last retrieved: 10/07/2007].

[19] More information at Save (International Value Society) [www.value-eng.org] and the Institute of Value Management (IVM) [www.ivm.org.uk].

[20] Business management strategy developed by Bill Smith in 1986 and implemented in Motorola and General Electric. The goal of Six Sigma is to "increase profits by eliminating variability, defects and waste that undermine customer loyalty" (www.isixsigma.com).

"Quality means conformance to requirements.
Quality is obtained through prevention.
Quality has a performance standard of zero defects.
Quality is measured by the price of non-conformance." (Crosby, 1996: 74)

Quality of conformance indicates "how far the actual products conform to quality of design[21]". Any discrepancy between both quality aspects exposes the existence of "defects or reworks". Hence, it is stated that "when quality of conformance goes up, cost comes down". From the customer's point of view, quality of conformance or targeted quality compiles all those features customers considerate such a product or service should offer. Zeithaml, Berry and Parasuraman elaborated the concept for *appropriate quality* and defined that as the features and characteristics "customers will accept". The gap between quality of conformance and appropriate quality is called *zone of tolerance*. It can get expanded and contracted, since it is different for each and every customer, based on determining factors, such as price. The zone of tolerance allows quality management not to be excellent, as long as the zone of tolerance requirements are fulfilled (Ishikawa, 1985: 54; Lloréns Montes, 1996: 38-40).

New considerations for quality and application fields emerge as companies include socially demanded concerns. As a result, the concept of *Social Quality* has been created and defined as the intersection of four qualities: "programmed or designed quality[22], achieved quality[23], the quality demanded by the client[24], and the quality socially demanded". Quality, as the sum of all the aspects or dimensions affecting the firm, is "directly related to the concept of social responsibility of companies, in summit in the last times". Quality has also got related to ecology, for instance, in Japan, where "environmental accounting and auditing" have become a new standard to assess quality. The state-planned societies had already assumed these issues as central to product quality, although in practice they happened to be put aside in favour of productivity. In effect, TQM pays special attention to this area, named *social responsibility*. ISO has also issued some rules certificating environmental and labour concerns. After all, quality is assuming new social concerns that measure both product quality understood as zero defaults, and customer satisfaction oriented quality conception (Casadesús Fa et al.,

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[21] Often called *targeted quality* (ib.).
[22] It refers to the quality the corporation aims to achieve (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 11).
[23] It is the quality that corporation actually obtains (ib.).
[24] Taking the customer-focused perspective, it is the quality the current client demands (ib.).

2005: 230-266; Cole, 2000: 302-304; DeBardeleben, 1986: 148-161; Euskadi Kalitatea; Fiß, 1976: 32; Friedl, 1979: 31-35; Grosse, 1974: 83-84; Juran, 1990: 8; Seibert, 1973: 17-108; Steinitz, 2007: 41).

In summary, every assessment methodology takes for granted that quality is appreciated in a subjective way, because it aims to "distinguish products designated to satisfy same needs or wishes and sold at a similar price range". However, it is argued that "the harder one tries to define «quality», the further away one seems to be from its *essence*". Yet, unless those quality standards are outlined, there might be no agreement in what quality means. (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 7; Qi Xu, 2000: 429). Therefore, quality characteristics successfully valid for scientific assessment become the basis of any research field. They may be submitted in line with three conclusions. First of all, Quality Control detects errors. Redoing results more expensive and it gives no comparative advantage. Secondly, quality comes out of planning. Quality Assurance works best, since it has proved that excellence indicators are continuously taking into consideration. Finally, quality assessment focuses on customer's satisfaction, employees' expectations and social duty, in general. Customer's satisfaction implies constant improvement of standards. As a result, employees' expectations can be a key in Quality Assurance. Social duty, finally, emerges as a consequence of customer's social concerns.

f. *Nazioarteko Kalitate-Mugimendua* (LABURPENA)

Kalitatearen ardura industrializazioarekin bat sortu zen, produktuen ekoizpena estandarizatzearen ondorioz. Gainera, 2. Munduko Gerrak banatutako munduaren araberako hainbat eredu sortu zen: AEB, Soviet Batasuna eta Japonia. Hirurak, baina, kalitatearen kontzepzioaren oinarrizko elementuetan bat etorri ziren. Lehenengo eta behin, hiru ereduek kalitatea hutsegiterik gabeko produktuekin lotu zuten. Horrela, atzemandako akatsak zenbatzetik *Kalitate Kontrola*ren kontzeptua (*Quality Control*) garatu zuten. Ondoren, okerrak albait arinen atzemateko egitarauak prestatu zituzten. Horien arabera, produktuaren gaineko erantzukizuna langileari zegokion. Bigarrenik, kalitatearen eginkizuna bezeroaren asebetetasunari egoki erantzutean zetzala ulertu zuten. Horregatik, bezeroaren eskakizunak barneratzen zituen produktua ekoiztean, *Kalitatearen Ziurtatzea* (*Quality Assurance*) bermatzen hasi ziren. Hirugarrenik, kalitatea neurriko plangintzatik sortzen zela ebatzi zuten. Hortaz, kalitatea ekoitzi egiten zela

zioen pentsaera baztertu zuten. Ondorioz, *Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketak* (*Total Quality Management*) enpresa osoko langile guztien parte-hartzea ekarri zuen.

Ildo beretik, Kalitate-Mugimenduak bikaintasunaren adierari lotutako zenbait uste okerri aurre egin behar izan zion, kalitatearen kontzeptuaren beraren garapena trabatzen zuelako. Lehenengo eta behin, kalitatea luxuarekin parekatzen zuen presuntzioak bikaintasunaren ideia elitista zekarren. Kalitatea, ordea, produktuaren oinarrizko ezaugarriei zegokien. Bigarrenik, kalitatea neurtzeko ezintasuna urteetan dogmatzat hartu zen. Hala ere, bikaintasuna definitzen zuten zenbait adierazlek produktuaren ezaugarrietan, bezeroaren asebetetasunean eta gizarte onuretan izandako aldeak azter zitzakeela egiaztatu zen. Hirugarrenik, adierazleok garatzeko estatistika "kalitatearen ekonomiatzat" jotzen zuen iritzia baztertu zuten. Izan ere, Kalitate Kontrolaren fasean, hobekuntzak hutsegiterik gabeko produktuen kopuru-gehikuntzarekin proportzio berean agertzen zirela uste izaten zen. Beraz, Kalitatearen Ziurtatzearekin estatistikak adiera mugatzaile hori gailendu zuen. Azkenik, Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketak produktuak agertzen zituen akatsak langileari berari egozten zizkion presuntzioa alboratu zuen. Kalitatea ekoitzi baino, eratu egiten da eta, horregatik, neurriko plangintzaren ondorioa da.

Hortaz, kalitatearen kontzeptugintzak adiera bateratua zabaldu ahal izan zuen. Orduan, kalitatearen kontzeptua industria arloko produktuei aplikatu ez ezik, zerbitzuetara ere hedatu zen. Are gehiago, edozein jakintza-esparrutara zabaltzeko oinarriak finkatuta zituen, kalitatea konparaziozko abantaila moduan azaltzen zelako. Beraz, kalitatearen eztabaida piztu aurretik, hartuko duen esparruak kantitatea ase behar izan du. Azken batean, kalitaterik eza askoz ere garestiagoa dela egiaztatu da.

Amaitzeko, kalitatearen kontzeptuak ez dio produktuari edo zerbitzuari bakarrik eragiten. Dagoeneko, bikaintasunak produktuak gizarteari egingo dion ekarpenari ere erreparatzen dio. Horrela, *Gizarte Kalitatea*k (*Social Quality*) bezeroen ezinegon sozialei ere egoki erantzun behar diela ebatzi zuen. Horren erakusle dugu, besteak beste, industriak ingurugiroa zaintzeko agertu duen kezka, bezeroen asebetetasunak hala eskatuta, produktuen kalitateak garapen jasangarria eragin behar duela zehazten duelako.

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Internet Resources

American Society For Quality: <www.asq.org>
Erabili.com (Euskararen Aurrerabiderako Webgunea): <www.erabili.com>
EFQM (European Foundation For Quality Management): <www.efqm.org>
Euskadi Kalitatea: Lehiatzeko Kalitatea (The Advantage to Compete): <Www.Euskadikalitatea.Net>
Euskalit (Bikaintasunerako Euskal Fundazioa): <www.euskalit.net>
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Institute of Value Management (IVM): <www.ivm.org.uk>.
Instituto Tecnológico De Galicia: <www.itg.es/recursos>
Lawrence D. Miles Value Foundation: <www.valuefoundation.org>
SAVE (International Value Society): <www.value-eng.org>
Six Sigma: <www.isixsigma.com>

2.1.2. INFORMATION SOURCE QUALITY

The concept of Information Source Quality includes three different notions of information: Data, Information and Communication Quality. Therefore, *Information Source Quality* refers to "any information which has been recorded in some form for future use" (Cooke, 1999: 13).

Information Quality has become a misleading term in literature review. On the one hand, there is a huge variety of descriptive terms, such as: *information(al) added-value, information effectiveness, information impact, information utility, knowledge content quality, information service excellence, information systems service quality,* and so on. On the other, several scholars employ Information Quality as a synonym for data quality, whereas others refer to Media Quality (Eppler, 2006: 12).

Finally, stemming from the International Quality Movement tradition, the elements of Information Source Quality have adopted some principles applicable to quality assessment: zero-errors, indicator-based evaluation and customer focused system. In fact, any quality research, regardless how far from manufacturing the research field may be, "builds on the more than thirty years tradition of (Total) Quality Management". Moreover, first research on Media Quality was based on these pioneer studies (Eppler et al, 2004: 4; Leleu-Merviel, 1997: 19).

a. Data Quality

Data Quality is the first concern on information. In fact, data makes information possible. However, there is not accessible literature for media research on that topic. Actually, data has been related to Computer Science and it took long to distinguish data for communication purposes. For the Organizational Theory coping with the communication task, data is "raw material", that is to say, non-elaborated facts (Abad García, 2005: 82; Eppler, 2006: 21; Eppler, 2003: 19).

Hence, data has been defined as the following:

> "In the context of classical computer science the term data has come to mean numeric or other information represented in ways that computers can process. However, we define data from a business perspective and independent of information technology. […] Simply stated, data is the representation of facts about things.
> [...] Data is the raw material from which information is derived and is the basis for intelligent actions and decisions. […] While it represents something real in the world, this data without a descriptive definition or a context is meaningless. Data is only the raw material from which information may be produced." (English, 1999: 18-19)

Then, Data Quality has a dual significance. On the one hand, *data content quality* "is the degree to which data values accurately represent the characteristics of the real-world entity or fact, and meet the needs of the information customers to perform their jobs effectively". Therefore, data content quality works for the sake of business and it is according to the implementation of such a purpose that data are "created and updated". On the other hand, *data presentation quality* "applies to information-bearing documents and media, such as a report or window presenting the results of a query of data from a database". The format data is presented in depends on the purpose it was created for. Accordingly, it must be "intuitive for the use to be made of the information". Both, data content quality and data presentation quality are essential requirements for Information Quality (English, 1999: 29-30).

Data Quality consists of two variables: data definition and information architecture. Both are to data "what a product specification is to a manufactured product". On the one hand, *data definition* works as a synonymous for "the technical term metadata, which means «data that describes and characterizes other data»". On the other, *information architecture* deals with several "levels of abstraction", such as: "planning for data development (conceptual business modelling), designing databases (physical database design), and creating and using information products (business operations)" (English, 1999: 84-85, 102-103).

Data definition can be measured, as customer focused, "in terms of the percent of data objects reused in database design and in the percent of redundancy in database design". Information architecture can be assessed reporting whether it is "complete", "correct" or there is any "data redundancy" (English, 1999: 91, 126-136).

As a result of applying quality management principles to Data Quality, it is therefore to be assessed in concordance with the accomplishment of several standards. Data Quality indicators' objectives come to be "twofold": first, increase communication, and, secondly, increase productivity across business value chains. However, English highlights the fact that the function of data standards has often been "misunderstood and misused". Consequently, quality indicators did not work to assure any "real benefit". In fact, even in those countries where Data Quality is regulated by law, it cannot be successfully assured, unless it is assured in advance. A new approach states that "data standards are not an end in and of themselves", furthermore, "they are

a means to achieve consistency in the definition and specification of the information resources of the enterprise". Hence, as customer satisfaction focused on indicators, they are to be worked out on the basis of every company. For such a purpose, it is highly important to fit those standards in the company's strategy (Adams, 2003: 16-20; English, 1999: 46, 90; Pipino et al., 2002: 212-213). As a basic step, Pipino, Lee and Wang identify up to sixteen dimensions of Data Quality:

Table No. 4 – Dimensions of Data Quality

Dimensions	Definitions
Accessibility	The extent to which data is available, or easily and quickly retrievable.
Appropriate	The extent to which the volume of data is appropriate for the task at hand.
Believability	The extent to which data is regarded as true and credible.
Completeness	The extent to which data is not missing and is of sufficient breadth and depth for the task at hand.
Concise representation	The extent to which data is compactly represented.
Consistent	The extent to which data is presented in the same format.
Ease of manipulation	The extent to which data is easy to manipulate and apply to different tasks.
Free-of-error	The extent to which data is correct and reliable.
Interpretability	The extent to which data is in appropriate languages, symbols and units, and the definitions are clear.
Objectivity	The extent to which data is unbiased, unprejudiced, and impartial.
Relevancy	The extent to which data is applicable and helpful for the task at hand.
Reputation	The extent to which data is highly regarded in terms of its source or content.
Security	The extent to which access to data is restricted appropriately to maintain its security.
Timeliness	The extent to which the data is sufficiently up-to-date for the task at hand.
Understandability	The extent to which data is easily comprehended.
Value-Added	The extent to which data is beneficial and provides advantages from its use

Source: Pipino et al. (2002: 212).

That is why they propose three pervasive functional forms to be assessed, as an initiation process to work out objective indicators for Data Quality assessment: simple ratio, minimum or maximum operation, and weighted average. To start with, *simple ratio* "measures the ratio of desired outcomes to total outcomes"[25]. According to scholars, simple ratio is convenient to measure the following Data Quality dimensions: free-of-error, completeness, consistency, concise representation, relevancy, and ease of manipulation. Secondly, organizations can make use of *minimum or maximum operation* "to handle dimensions that require the aggregation of multiple Data Quality indicators". The minimum operation consists in assigning to the quality standard "an aggregate value no higher than the value of its weakest Data Quality indicator (evaluated and normalized to between 0 and 1)", whereas the maximum operator finds the maximum

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[25] The term **outcome** means 'result' in this context (Abad García, 2005: 82).

of a sequence of numeric values. Credibility and appropriate amount of data are pertinent to be measured by using the minimum operator, and the maximum operation proves to be opportune to assess timeliness and accessibility. Finally, *weighted average* works as a substitute for the minimum operator, due to the fact that the former turns to be suitable for those companies where the importance of each variable or indicator "to the overall evaluation" is already well established (Pipino et al., 2002: 213-215).

Regardless of the objective quality standards, Data Quality must also be assessed on the basis of subjective methods, such as surveys to point out customer satisfaction variables and ratio. Then, both assessments, objective and subjective, will lead to further acquaintance:

Chart No. 7 – Data Quality assessments in practice
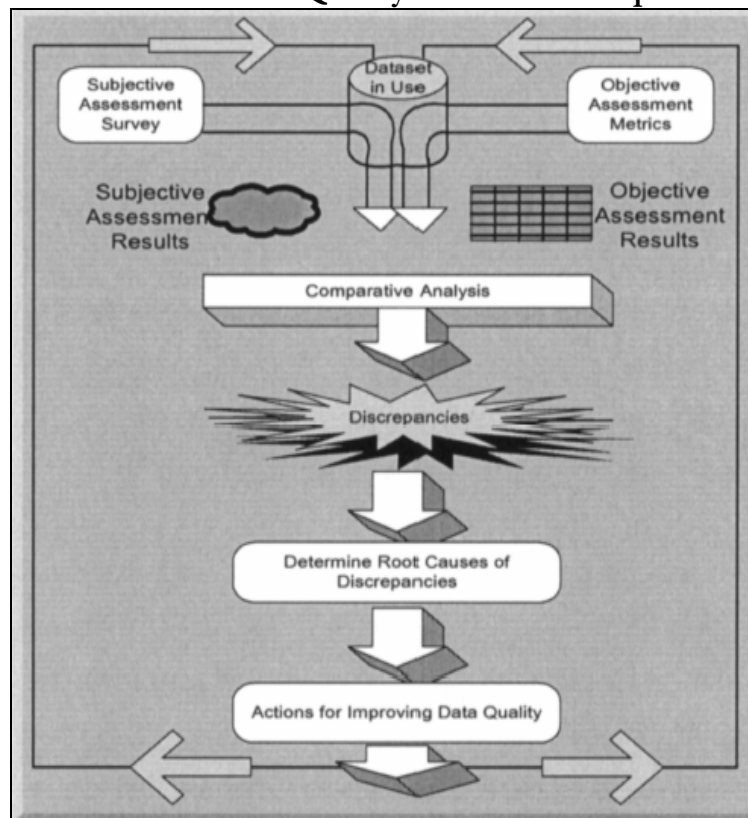
Source: Pipino et al. (2002: 216).

b. Information Quality

Information Quality is concerned with excellence in interpreting data. That is why, whereas data is considered the "raw material", information is thought to be "a finished product": that is to say, "data in context". Information makes use of data (English, 1999: 19; Eppler, 2006: 21-22). Therefore, Data Quality becomes a *sine qua non* condition for Information Quality:

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"Whereas *Data Quality* designates the characteristics of mostly un-interpreted, often numeric or tabular database entries, Information Quality describes the fitness for use of analysed, commented or otherwise interpreted data. […] That is why *information technology researchers* examine the management of Data Quality as a prerequisite for the quality of information products […]." (Eppler et al., 2004: 3)

In regard the components which constitute the nature of Information Quality, English states that the following elements are *essential* to Information Quality: clear definition or meaning of data, correct value(s), and understandable presentation (the format represented to a knowledge worker). Among *correct values*, the following features are included: biased or non-objective, incomplete, and out-of-date. Therefore, non-quality of any of those components is enough to "cause a business process to fail or a wrong decision to be made" (Adams, 2003: 16-18; English, 1999: 19).

Eppler, Helfert and Gasser identify three "nearly ubiquitous" principles in Information Quality literature. First, this quality approach is "based on a *product perspective* of information". That way, usefulness requirements set out the assessment of information. Secondly, Information Quality is assumed to be a "multi*dimensional* construct", based on quality assessing criteria or indicators. Those standards can be both "subjective (such as relevance) and objective (such as currency)". Finally, "the call for a *balanced approach*" in managing Information Quality is a common principle in literature review. It claims for a "comprehensive approach that considers product and process aspects, as well as technical and social issues" (Eppler et al., 2004: 4).

As noticed earlier, relatively often both terms, data and information, can be regarded as synonymous. Some scholars employ them indistinctly. Eppler notes this (he also refers to Huang, Lee and Wang's work) and establishes quality problems as the key to perfectly distinguish between data and information (Eppler, 2003: 19; Huang et al., 2000: 30; Pipino et al., 2002: 212).

Table No. 5 – Distinguishing Data Quality and Information Quality, regarding the non-quality problems their elements may cause

Data Quality Problems	Information Quality Problems
Duplicates, multiple data sources.	Conflict in recommendations in a study or analysis.
Missing data relationships.	Unclear causal effects in a diagnosis.
Garbling (meaningless entries).	Wordy reports that have no logical flow.
Spelling Errors.	Untidy language that contains grammatical errors.
Obsolete or outdated entries.	An analysis is not updated according to recent discoveries or changes in the organizational context.
Inconsistent data formats or naming conventions.	Inconsistent layout or navigation structures.
Misplaced data that is saved in the wrong database.	Lost or 'buried' documents.
Complicated query procedures.	Difficult information navigation and retrieval.
Wrong data coding or tagging (adding wrong meta-data).	Inadequate or insufficient categorization (in-sufficient meta-information or contextual attributes).
Incorrect data entries because of lack of source validation.	Unsubstantiated conclusions with inadequate evidence.
Manipulation of stored data (deletion, modification).	Manipulation of decision processes (overloading, confusing, diverting).

Source: Eppler (2006: 28; 2003: 25).

Therefore, characteristics of Information Quality must be outlined. English maintains that Information Quality has a twofold component. First, inherent Information Quality is defined as "the degree to which data accurately reflects the real-world object that the data represents". Therefore, data accuracy becomes the focus point. Secondly, pragmatic information quality is described as "the degree of usefulness and value data which supports the enterprise processes that enable accomplishing enterprise objectives". The more helpful data is to accomplish a goal, the higher pragmatic information quality is. In essence, it is assessed according to the usefulness data offers:

> "Data in a database or data warehouse has no actual value; it only has potential value. Data has realized value only when someone uses it to do something useful […]. Pragmatic information quality is the degree to which data enables knowledge workers to meet enterprise objectives efficiently and effectively." (English, 1999: 22)

Customer satisfaction focused measurement, therefore, is again the key factor that allows assessment turn to a standard-based evaluation. According to English, a group of indicators will assess each characteristics of Information Quality. On the one hand, ten standards measure inherent Information Quality, such as: definition conformance, completeness, validity, accuracy to surrogate source, accuracy to reality, precision, non-duplication, equivalence of redundant or distributed data and concurrency of redundant or distributed data. On the other hand, pragmatic

information quality assessing indicators will be the following ones: accessibility, timeliness, contextual clarity, derivation integrity, usability, rightness or fact completeness (Cooke, 1999: 15; English, 1999: 142-153).

English directly applies Total Quality Management principles to Information Quality for the case of data warehousing. Eppler, however, considers such an approach "may not work well for these intangible [content, format, cost and time] characteristics [of information]" (English, 1999: 33-65; Eppler, 2006: 19; Eppler, 2003: 8-14).

Lee, Strong, Kahn and Wang propose a new methodology to assess Information Quality: AIMQ Methodology. It consists of three components: the PSP/IQ Model, the IQA Instrument and the IQ Gap Analysis Techniques. First, according to the "relevant" Information Quality aspects, the PSP/IQ Model categorises indicators or sound and useful information (when assessing Information Quality for a product) or dependable and usable information (if the assessment object is Information Quality as a service). Secondly, the IQA Instrument "measures quality for each of the information quality dimensions". Finally, the IG Gap Analysis Techniques "assess the quality of an organization's information" for both assessment objects, product and service. However, such a complex system seems of little application to the research aim of this work (Lee et al., 2002: 7-16).

Yet, Eppler claims Information Quality not to be "just a subtopic of traditional quality management". Therefore, Information Quality would have its own characteristics, according to the use of information we make. Such a use will "determine which notion of Information Quality is adequate". All approaches arise owing to concern about providing "the right information, in the right format and quantity, at the right time, to the right person, at reasonable costs". As a result, common dimensions relate Information Quality to "time, format, and content aspects of information", and the "often cited criteria are accurate, timely, reliable, relevant, current, objective". Information Quality application fields turn out heterogeneous "e-commerce websites, management information systems […], corporate communication […], accounting statements, financial data warehouses". Getting closer to our research goal, the main concern of publishers is to "ensure quality and relevance are in the different ends of the cycle, going from author, editor or publisher, information manager

or librarian and «back»" (Eppler, 2003: 8-10; Eppler et al., 2004: 2-3; Lindberg-Hansen, 2002: 36). Here we are some examples of the development of Information Quality approaches related to media perspective. First of all, Information Quality criteria have been applied to newspapers in the following terms:

Table No. 6 – Information Quality criteria applied to newspapers

Criteria	Examples
Objectivity	Interests of author are revealed.
Comprehensibility	Abbreviations are explained.
Relevance	Geographic and social proximity to readers' interests.
Currency	Fast, but validated information.
Reduction of Complexity	Background reports.
Transparency / Reflexivity	Clear editorial guidelines (mission) and a corrections corner. Reports about the media industry and about the editor's work.
Interactivity	A neutral newspaper "referee", participation possibilities for readers (forum, phone numbers, clubs), a comprehensive website.

Source: Ruß-Mohl, 1994 and 2000 in Eppler (2006: 47; 2003: 288).

Secondly, Websites have also been assessed according to Information Quality criteria, as explained in the following table:

Table No. 7 – Information Quality criteria applied to Web pages

Criteria	Examples
Authority	Validated information, the institution behind the information is visible.
Accuracy	Reliable, free of errors.
Objectivity	Information is presented without personal biases.
Currency	Updated content.
Target group orientation	Clearly signalled target audience.
Interaction & navigation design	Intuitive understanding of elements and their functions.

Source: Alexander & Tate, 1999 in Eppler (2006: 47; 2003: 288).

However, accessibility happens not to be mentioned as an assessment standard. Eppler considers it should be included:

> "Neither Ruß-Mohl in the newspaper context, nor Alexander and Tate in the Web context give this important criterion any weight, which seems surprising, since both, newspapers and websites, depend on a rapid and stable distribution channel in order to be of value to users." (Eppler, 2003: 45)

Eppler also considers English's work and the contributions of Lee, Strong, Kahn and Wang to be, to an extent, basically technical, since they "provide elaborate tools to go with their framework[26], but do not include them in their framework". Therefore, he states that any method to evaluate Information Quality must include

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[26] **Information quality frameworks** define information quality by categorizing core criteria that make information useful (Eppler et al., 2004: 2).

both objective and subjective assessments, and he establishes a dependant relationship for every quality indicator.

Customer satisfaction focused quality, as openly described in the Quality Management tradition, has a twofold dimension, based on its objective and subjective requirements:

> "[…] Quality has a subjective (e.g., meeting expectations) and an objective component (e.g., meeting requirements), or in other words an absolute ('error free', 'meeting specifications') and a relative dimension ('fitness for use', 'satisfy needs'). Any approach to quality, including Information Quality, has to take this twofold nature of quality into account. The duality of quality can have important consequences for the way that quality is measured. It cannot only be calculated with the help of automatically generated key indicators, but must also be evaluated according to the (subjective) judgments and opinions of the customers." (Eppler, 2006: 20; Eppler, 2003: 17-18)

Eppler works out up to sixteen criteria to assess quality. He also points out the need to balance those indicators among them. For such a purpose, he points out an interdependent relationship for nearly every criterion that works as "trade-offs":

> "The term trade-off in this context refers to possible goal conflicts between IQ [Information Quality]-criteria. The improvement in one quality criteria may lead to a decreasing value in another. To explore and acknowledge trade-offs is a research strategy, according to Weick, that can lead to fruitful insights into a domain." (Eppler, 2003: 46)

Table No. 8 – Information Quality criteria, their indicators and trade-offs they work with

Criterion Name	Description	Sample Indicators	Trade-off with
Comprehensiveness	Is the scope of information adequate? (not too much nor too little)	Percentage of pages with more than ten hits per day in an Intranet. Scale of a geographic map.	Clarity Conciseness Timeliness Maintainability
Accuracy	Is the information precise enough and close enough to reality?	Number of digits after the decimal point of figures in a statistic chart.	Clarity Conciseness Timeliness
Clarity	Is the information understandable or comprehensible to the target group?	User feedback, number of follow-up / help desk questions (product manual)	Accuracy Comprehensiveness
Applicability	Can the information be directly applied? Is it useful?	User ratings, number of downloads (Internet)	
Conciseness	Is the information to the point, void of unnecessary elements?	Number of pages in a report (e.g., a consulting report), percentage of reports with summaries	Comprehensiveness Accuracy
Consistency	Is the information free of contradictions or convention breaks?	Number of convention breaks during an intranet navigation	Timeliness
Correctness (or Reliability)	Is the information free of distortion, bias, or error?	Number of errors in a document	Timeliness
Currency	Is the information up-to-date and not obsolete?	Number of outdated items in a database	
Convenience	Does the information provision correspond to the user's needs and habits?	Number of necessary process steps to access information online	Security
Timeliness	Is the information processed and delivered rapidly without delays?	Time from creation to publication (e.g., in a journal)	Comprehensiveness Accuracy Consistency Correctness
Traceability	Is the background of the information visible (author, date etc…)?	Percentage of items without author and date indications on an intranet	
Interactivity	Can the information process be adapted by the information consumer?	Number of user options or data views	
Accessibility	Is there a continuous and unobstructed way to get to the information?	Downtime of an information system per year	Security
Security	Is the information protected against loss or unauthorized access?	Level of data encryption, number of required passwords	Convenience Accessibility
Maintainability	Can all of the information be organized an updated on an on-going basis?	Number of required administrator hours per time period	Comprehensiveness
Speed	Can the infrastructure match the user's working pace?	Response time of the server	Security

Source: Eppler (2006: 82-83; 2003: 74-75).

Trade-offs work as balanced standards. For instance, conciseness can prevent the right amount of information from being given. The trade-off between currency and

accuracy states that "the more current a piece of information has to be, the less time is available to check on its accuracy". The relationship between correctness or reliability and timeliness becomes interdependent due to the fact that "the faster information has to be delivered to the end-user, the less time is available to check its reliability or correctness" (Eppler, 2003: 46). As a result, sixteen criteria assess objective based quality, and the main goal for evaluation of quality would be to achieve balance among them, that is to say, an equidistant effect:

> "In the context of consulting and market research, we have used the trade-offs in the framework to show clients that is not possible to request a report that is delivered within two weeks (timeliness), contains no errors whatsoever (correctness and consistency), has a high level of accuracy and is very comprehensive and at the same time not more that fifteen pages (conciseness)". (Eppler, 2003: 74)

Eppler's Information Quality assessment criteria work for the purpose of knowledge-intensive processes in companies. Knowledge-intensive processes are considered to be:

> "[…] A productive series of activities that involve information transformation and require specialized professional knowledge.
> Knowledge-intensive processes can be characterized by their often non-routine nature (unclear problem space, many decision options), the high requirements in terms of continuous learning and innovation, and the crucial importance of interpersonal communication on the one side and of documentation (or codification) of information on the other." (Eppler, 2003: 54)

The number of activities described as knowledge-intensive processes do not include communication practices, as understood by Media Studies. Nevertheless, knowledge-intensive process based areas include "product design, product development, market research, consulting, auditing, planning, training, patent filing, legal processes, professional training, managerial decision-making, on-line communication, medical diagnosis, and software development." (Eppler, 2003: 53).

Hence, Eppler's work is a reference on Information Quality[27], because he compiles all literature review on that topic and fixes several conceptual distinctions applicable for outer purposes. That is the case of not only Information Quality assessment methodology, as mentioned above, but also of distinguishing quality criteria according to each work stage or process phase. In the context of knowledge-intensive processes, Eppler distinguishes four Information Quality views that come along with

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[27] Regardless whether it is related to knowledge-intensive processes or not, such as: "media studies, date warehouse, corporate communication, on-line publishing or knowledge management", amongst others (Eppler, 2003: 41).

the process phases: "relevant information, sound information, optimized process and reliable infrastructure". Accordingly, he assigns some criteria to each of them, attending that those indicators "fall into separate areas of responsibility" (Eppler, 2006: 76; Eppler, 2003: 60-61).

Table No. 9 – Information Quality level, their criteria and opposite principles

Information Quality Level	Information Quality Criteria	Opposite
Community Level (Relevance)	Comprehensiveness	Incompleteness
	Accuracy	Inaccuracy
	Clarity	Obscurity
	Applicability	Uselessness
Product Level (Soundness)	Conciseness	Prolixity
	Consistency	Inconsistency
	Correctness	Falsity
	Currency	Obsolescence
Process Level	Convenience	Inconvenience
	Timeliness	Lateness
	Traceability	Indeterminacy
	Interactivity	Rigidity
Infrastructure Level	Accessibility	Inaccessibility
	Security	Exposure
	Maintainability	Neglect
	Speed	Slowness

Source: Eppler (2006: 76; 2003: 68).

Information Quality criteria are suitable to define quality. For a negative assumption, opposite indicators point out unwished results:

> "Low quality information is incomplete, inaccurate, obscure, useless, prolix (or wordy), inconsistent, false, obsolete, delivered in an inconvenient, late, undeterminable and rigid way, via an infrastructure that is inaccessible, exposed to manipulation and other security risks, cumbersome or costly to maintain, and slow." (Eppler, 2006: 76; Eppler, 2003: 68)

However, those sixteen Information Quality criteria Eppler refers to are not part of a cloze method; they shape the assessment variables, instead. In order to adapt Information Quality indicators to his measurement object (knowledge-intensive processes), he claims to import concepts which may be useful to achieve a further acquaintance for his research goal:

> "If one studies the Quality of Information in knowledge-intensive processes, the context of one managerial discipline may not be enough. While both, knowledge management and quality management have developed powerful concepts in their respective fields, only a combination of both approaches can lead to superior results. A combination must take into account the differing mind-sets and definitions and accommodate them to the new context of knowledge work." (Eppler, 2003: 24)

That is to say, after having worked out which quality standards assess Information Quality, Eppler completes his criteria framework for knowledge-intensive

processes attending to those especial factors other disciplines have successfully evaluated. To this extent, he adjusts his methodology with concepts and methods of Quality Management and Knowledge Management[28].

**Table No. 10 – Information Quality management,
as a result of TQM and Knowledge Management**

Descriptors	Quality Management	Information Quality Management	Knowledge Management
Goal	Reduce errors (before they occur) and meet specifications in the manufacturing process. Increase (internal and external) customer satisfaction.	Assure that information is of high value to knowledge workers who use it in knowledge-intensive processes. The goal is to improve the usefulness and validity of information.	Turn information into actionable knowledge, foster innovation, enable learning from mistakes and best practices and promote effective knowledge sharing. Value and exploit intellectual capital.
Object	Products (and processes) in the manufacturing context, at times also (scripted) services	Knowledge content (information that answers how and why questions)	Implicit and explicit knowledge (know-how, know-what, know-why, know-who) in all forms
Dominating mind-set	Positivistic, rational, Cartesian, quantitative	Systemic, qualitative and quantitative	Constructivist, systemic, qualitative
Implicit assumption	Quality affects the entire organization and every employee: it must be specified, measured, and continually improved through training, team work, and process adaptations.	To describe the quality of information, one can rely on a finite number of criteria which can be grouped into several meaningful dimensions.	Knowledge is often tacit (difficult to articulate) and thus depends on the individual. KM must connect knowledge workers, elicit their knowledge, map their skills, and use their experience.
Time of initial development	Early 1950s	Late 1990s	Early 1990s
Tools and methods	Ishikawa diagram, Pareto chart, House of Quality, Quality Function Deployment (QFD), Six Sigma and statistical analysis tools, Failure Mode and Effects Analysis (FMEA), Quality circles, audits, process manuals	Information Quality frameworks, surveys, policies and guidelines, training seminars, portals, abstracts, review workflows, monitoring software, indicators and standards, rating and ranking schemes	Knowledge maps, expert directories, groupware applications, document management systems, retrieval and mining software, debriefing worshops, intellectual capital reports, collaboration forms such as communities of practice
Management cycle	Plan – do – check – act (Deming)	Define – measure – analyse – improve (Wang)	Set goals – identify – store – develop – share – use – measure knowledge (Probst)
Advocates / thought leaders	Deming, Ishikawa, Juran, Crosby, Imai, Feigenbaum	Wang, English, Redman, Lesca, Königer, Reithmeyer	Nonaka, Davenport, von Krogh, Probst, Sveiby

Source: Eppler (2006: 26; 2003: 23).

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[28] "Whereas data designates 'raw', unconnected, quantitative or qualitative items, the term information relates to answers to questions, statements about situations or facts. Information in this sense is a difference that makes a difference. A piece of data is just a distinction or a registered item without context. Data in this sense becomes information when it is related to other data. In other words, when we link various sets of data to form one coherent statement, the resulting entity can be called a piece of *information*: a coherent set of statements that forms a message. In the context of this book we look at information as potential knowledge that has to be internalized by the receiver. We see information as a *production factor* and as the *input* and *output* of certain knowledge-intensive business processes. This information becomes knowledge when it is correctly interpreted and connected with prior knowledge. Knowledge, in the traditional epistemological analysis of the term, only qualifies as such if it is a justified (e.g., it can be argued convincingly), true (i.e., corresponds to facts) belief (i.e., is held by an individual). This 'platonic' notion of knowledge, however, has been extensively criticized." (Eppler, 2003: 19)

As a conclusion, we can conclude by highlighting those aspects from Information Quality literature review applicable to Media Studies. First of all, quality assessment methodology becomes twofold: objective and subjective requirements are to be studied. Indicator-based systems or quality standards stem from TQM as a proved methodology. Finally, every quality system requires an overall review of previous research on the topic and successful evaluations from other disciplines. Such a background will shape the basis of our methodological proposal for News Quality. Hence, let us compare those standards applicable to Data and Information Quality (we have made a distinction between newspaper information quality, web site information quality and information quality in knowledge-intensive processes). After in all, those standards will assess basic features of News Quality.

Table No. 11 – Matching of Data Quality and Information Quality criteria, based on knowledge-intensive processes approach

CRITERIA	DATA QUALITY	INFORMATION QUALITY		
		Newspaper	Web Site	Knowledge-Intensive Processes
Comprehen-siveness	Understandability	Comprehensivility		✓
Accuracy			✓	✓
Clarity				✓
Applicability	Value-Added			✓
Conciseness	Concise representation			✓
Consistency	✓			✓
Correctness or Reliability	Free of error			Free of error
	Believability			Free of distortion
	Objectivity	Objectivity	Objectivity	Free of bias
Currency	Completeness	✓	✓	✓
Convenience	Appropriate, Relevancy	Reduction of complexability, Relevance	Target group orientation	✓
Timeliness	✓			✓
Traceability	Reputation	Transparency or Reflexivity	Authority	✓
Interactivity	Ease of manipulation, Interpretability	✓	Interaction & navigation design	✓
Accessibility	✓			✓
Security	✓			✓
Maintainability				✓
Speed				✓
	Consistent		Interaction & navigation design	

Source: Author, based on Pipino et al. (2002: 212), Eppler (2006: 47, 76, 82-83), and Eppler (2003: 68, 74-75, 288).

c. Communication Quality

Communication Quality is a vague concept usually employed to organizational theory. However, it happens not to have built a clear consideration border of what it is referred to. Accordingly, in the organizational context, Information Quality will take a new perspective: that of communication. Therefore, Communication Quality emerges as a conception different to Information Quality, although some scholars again use both terms as synonyms. Communication Quality, in this context, is in charge of that management area which leads to better work (Cooke, 1999: 13; Eppler, 2006: 356; Huang et al., 2000: 17; Pühringer, 2007: 83; Schmolz, 2000: 144).

On the one hand, Communication Quality is understood as the information exchange between two individuals. From a management point of view, communication among companies has been proved relevant in sales. Interorganizational communication characteristics have been commonly assumed as the following: *timeliness, usefulness, clearness,* and *thoroughness.* This perspective has been mostly exposed in medical research, in order to find out the key factors influencing communication between doctors and their patients. Some criteria frequently employed to measure Communication Quality are *timeliness, accuracy, usefulness* and *quantity* (Ledlow et al., 2003: 437-438; Maltz, 2000: 110-127; Mohr and Sohi, 1995: 393-402).

On the other hand, Communication Quality refers to the information flow in the company. Then, knowledge is produced in accordance with what is considered relevant information for the organization, coming out from planning and stored it in data banks. Moreover, knowledge is defined as information in context with national culture, research, values and competence. Knowledge gives information a new meaning. Despite its economical application, media companies are believed to gain credibility if involved in these processes, since it is thought to create a more reliable atmosphere on products, that is to say, on news (Eppler et al., 2004: 1-2; Kohring, 2006: 129-132; Pühringer, 2006: 10-12).

Knowledge creates continuous new knowledge. Spreading knowledge among workers has been proved to be more efficient than the sum of every worker's own isolated knowledge:

> "Die Organisation bildet im bestmöglichen Fall Strukturen aus, die es ermöglichen, dass die Zusammenfügung einzelner subjektiver Wissensbestandteile mehr ergibt als die eigentliche Summe dieser Partikel." (Pühringer, 2006: 11)

Pühringer applies Eppler's work on Information Quality Management to journalism and, therefore, analyses media organizations as *Knowlegde Intensive Firms* (2007: 75-118).

Table No. 12 – Matching Knowledge Intensive Firms' characteristics and media organizations

Characteristics of Knowledge Intensive Firms	Newsrooms as Knowledge Intensive Firms
1.- High qualified staff's work is based on knowledge, involving intellectual skills and formal-symbolic abilities.	1.- Journalists are high qualified or should be for the tasks transferred to them, since knowledge requires intellectual and symbolic abilities for the production of contributions, as well as the capability to contact informants and press offices and the talent to mediate knowledge in the contributions themselves.
2.- A relatively high amount of autonomy and a decrease in organisation hierarchy.	2.- Althought strong hierarchical structures have been developed according to economical models, journalists still belong to an occupational group which follows relatively autonomous and independently their activity.
3.- Application of adaptable, partly spontaneously appearing organization habits.	3.- More permeable local organisational structures are created and formation is promoted according to problem-specific organized teams ad hoc. That also increases social reputation.
4.- Requirements for communication strategies, in order to guarantee the coordination and problem solution.	4.- The care for a communication culture affects the staff composition, which changes according to editorial tasks. Communication strategies are used in media enterprises to deal with press spokesmen of politicians and groups, but also with other information sources (affected persons, eyewitnesses etc).
5.- Very specific and unique services for the customer.	5.- Media enterprise, in general, and newspaper publishers, in particular, create a one-way circuit for the customers and the subscribers.
6.- Knowledge distribution becomes irregular in the communication process: knowledge exchange is inherent at the moment and, later, the preference of customer.	6.- The problems of the irregular distribution of knowledge (not only among journalists, but also between the journalist and the reader) can be considered as the characteristic features inherent to the system itself.
7.- The subjective and insecure quality assessment.	7.- It applies to the limited possibility of the quality assessment by users.

Source: Author, based on Pühringer (2007: 100-104)[29].

Pühringer has elaborated a model to explain knowledge creation in media organizations: the PAW Model[30]. Accordingly, staff production for the improvement of knowledge management seeks to ensure motivation, among other competences. Motivated staff increases assistant's satisfaction in the company and, finally, it releases a backup of the advancement of competence and knowledge. This continuous flow

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[29] My translation from German.

[30] German acronym for "staff production–motivation–knowledge" ("Personalentwicklungs–Anreiz–Wissens–Modell").

creates a better output, since media elaboration deals with knowledge. As a result, practice becomes an orientation guideline. Planned knowledge management will consequently give rise to a constant improving service (Pühringer, 2007: 222).

Chart No. 8 – Framework of the PAW Model
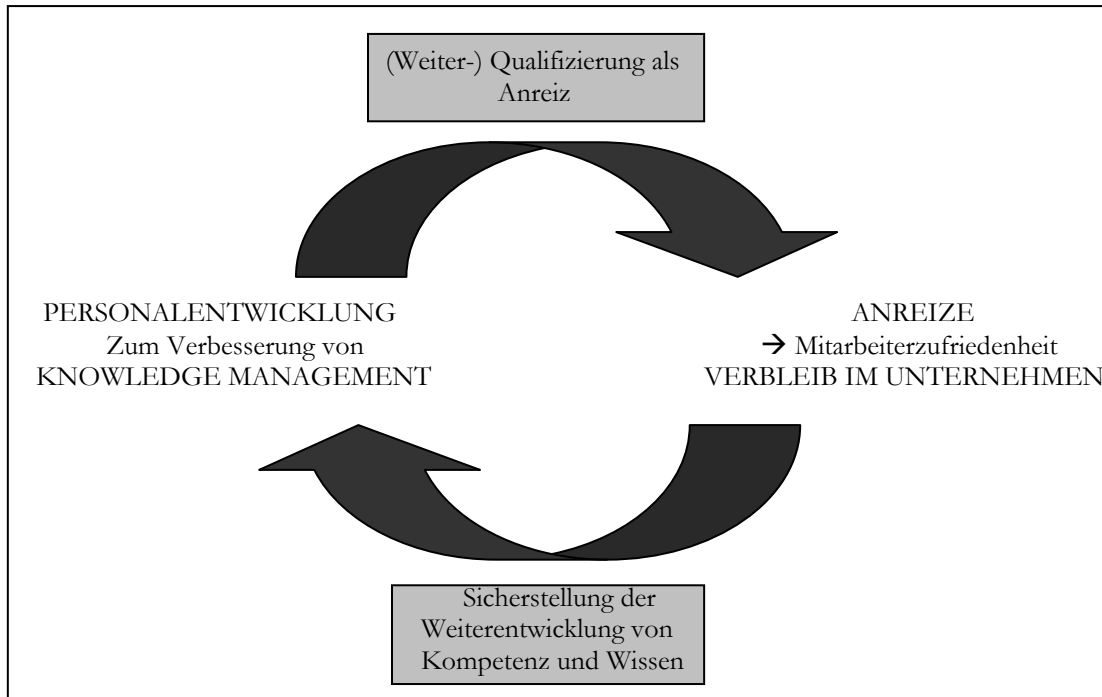
Source: Pühringer (2007: 157).

Media companies concerned with internal communication as a branch of quality management have opted for diverse systems to enhance it. The German Spiegel Group, for instance, recovered the German tradition of *manager magazine*[31] and even adapted it to Intranet services. Although media organizations are believed to achieve qualified input, newsroom planning beforehand becomes highly important. The quality criteria involving manager magazine's work includes: *timeliness, appropriateness, credibility,* and *relevancy-completeness*. First of all, timely information requires last minute updates. It takes four days from press time to delivery of the magazine at the Spiegel Group. Thus, significant updates can be introduced two days before delivery, that is to say, two days after press time. Secondly, appropriate information suits organizational objectives. At *Der Spiegel*, it is understood as a way to make news clearer and, for such a purpose, explanatory graphics and tables are highly encouraged. Thirdly, the main ground for believability consists in error-free reporting, paying especial attention to figures and

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[31] English name Germans give to "Mitarbeiterzeitschrift". Dealing with the internal communication of a company, he will be a source of information for the assistants, as well as a connection between staff and management (Schmolz, 2000: 144-145).

names. Finally, relevant and complete information requirements compel to gather the main facts and summarise them up (Schmolz, 2000: 146-148). However, Communication Quality criteria happen to remain similar, regardless which area they are to assess:

Table No. 13 – Communication Quality criteria for interorganizational communication, medical communication and manager magazine

Interorganizational communication	Medical communication	Manager Magazine
Timeliness	Timeliness	Aktuell
Usefulness	Usefulness	Adäquat
Clearness	Accuracy	Glaubwürdig
Thoroughness	Quantity	Relevant und umfassend

Source: Author, based on Ledlow et al. (2003: 437-438), Maltz (2000: 110-127), Mohr and Sohi (1995: 393-402) and Schmolz (2000: 146-148).

Communication Quality enhances input quality as a prerequisite to improve product quality. Such a strategy has pointed out the main motor for expansion and economical growth of publishing companies: content quality. However, as the content of media corporations is news, Media Quality will be assessed in the next chapter. Furthermore, excellence in their management has led to the adoption of quality models, such as EFQM. Nevertheless, Pühringer's work contributes to Quality Assurance of media corporations from an inside perspective (Grupo de Trabajo sobre la Calidad, 1998; Lindberg-Hansen, 2002: 36; Ruano López, 2006: 68).

d. *Informazio-Sorburuen Kalitatea* (LABURPENA)

Kalitatearen Mugimenduaren printzipioek bikaintasuna aztertzeko oinarriak finkatu zituzten. Horrenbestez, industriatik urrun koka daitezkeen esparruetako kalitatea neurtzeko irizpideak garatu zituzten: hutsegiterik gabeko produktuak, adierazleetan oinarritutako azterketa eta bezeroaren asebetetasunari erantzuteko eginkizuna. Gainera, Albisteen Kalitateari egindako ekarpenak zenbait arlotatik etorri dira, Informatikatik batez ere. Informazioa lantresna duen esparru horrek bikaintasunaren inguruko zenbait kontzeptu *Informazio-Sorburuen Kalitatea*n (*Information Source Quality*) bildu du. Informazio-Sorburuen Kalitateak, geroragoko erabilpena errazteko helburuarekin, gordetako informazioaren bikaintasuna adierazten du eta, horregatik, beste zenbait kontzeptu garatu du, hala nola Datuen Kalitatea, Informazioaren Kalitatea eta Komunikazioaren Kalitatea.

Lehenengo eta behin, *Datuen Kalitatea* (*Data Quality*) informazioaren lanketarako oinarrizko urratsa da. Hortaz, bikaintasunak datuak prozesatu ahal izateko egoera egokian eta erabilgarrian jasota daudela bermatzen du. Horixe ebazteko adierazleak erabiltzen dira.

Bigarrenik, *Informazioaren Kalitateak* (*Information Quality*) datuak interpretatzeko prozesuaren bikaintasuna azaltzen du. Horretarako, Datuen Kalitatea aurrebaldintza legez agertzen da. Ondoren, Informazioaren Kalitateak amaitutako produktuaren kalitate-ezaugarriak bermatu behar ditu. Kalitatearen azterketari dagokionez, informazio horrek adierazleen bitartez aztertzen diren hiru ezaugarri-mota ditu: alde teknikoa, produktuaren eta prozesuaren berezitasunak eta gizarte ardura. Informazioaren Kalitatea aztertzen duten egileek kazetaritza esparruko bikaintasuna egunkarietan (Ruß-Mohl) eta web-orrietan (Alexander eta Tate) paradigma horretan oinarrituta daudela uste dute.

Azkenik, *Komunikazioaren Kalitateak* (*Communication Quality*) enpresa-komunikazioaren eragina azaltzen du. Horrenbestez, bi adiera ditu: kanpora begira, bi enpresen arteko harremanei dagokie eta, enpresa barrura begira, informazio-trukaketaz ari da. Hedabideak komunikazio-enpresak diren neurrian, barne-komunikazioak proiektuan bertan eragina du. Horregatik, hedabideetako produktuaren edukiaren kalitatea aztertzeko adiera horrek jarduera ekonomikoaren ikuspegitik aztertutako *Hedabideen Kalitatea*rekin lotuta agertzen da. Beraz, auzi horri hurrengo kapituluan ekingo diogu.

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2.1.3. MEDIA QUALITY

Media Quality is a broad concept which scholars agree to be best defined according to defined goals. Every media performance is likely to be assessed, since each and every part of the media process constitutes a proper quality concept. Our main duty is to distinguish and categorize scholars' research.

The very early concerns for Media Quality emerged at the same time as the press. Publications regulated themselves at this primary stage, under governmental censorship menace. Remarkably, by the 17th century, Prussian weekly newspapers were perceptive for content aspects (such as pluralism, clear division between news reporting and feature writing, publicity of information sources and lack of misrepresented reports), as well as form and presentation characteristics. Only in a second phase, in the 18th century, did the media become aware of their duty to explain the event in its context (Barth, 2004: 203; Wilke, 2003: 35-51).

This initial stage applied to all media, as soon as they arose. The advent of television, however, made a difference and opened the door to broadcasting studies. It became the most assessed medium. Later, profit focused approach drew attention back to the production process, albeit the medium, in the USA. German scholars searched a path to assure media product quality in a practical way. At the same time, European academics, made an attempt to assess private broadcasting against public service principles. The notion of quality remained close to the research field assessed at the time (Barth, 2004: 203; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 151-160; Ishikawa, 1996b: 89-96; Wilke, 2003: 35-51).

German tradition assesses quality in a search for improvement. Therefore, quality concerns aim to outline some key issues for more excellent practice. As a result, German academics created the concept of Quality Assurance. For such a purpose, they use a global assessment model, operating in a network system, known as the Onion Model (*Zwiebel Modell*) or Circular Model (*Kreismodell*). The most superfluous layer – named Media System (*Mediensystem*)– is the result of legal regulation and market model. Secondly, the media institutions responsible for Quality Control would be educational and TQM systems. Thirdly, media messages are assessed within quality rules and compared to audience. Finally, the inner layer draws attention to journalists (media actors), giving some standards and working practices, attempting to assure Quality

Control (Bucher, 2003: 20-22; Fabris & Renger, 2003: 80-83; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374; Weischenberg, 2006a: 9-13; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-676).

Chart No. 9 – The Onion Model of German Quality Research
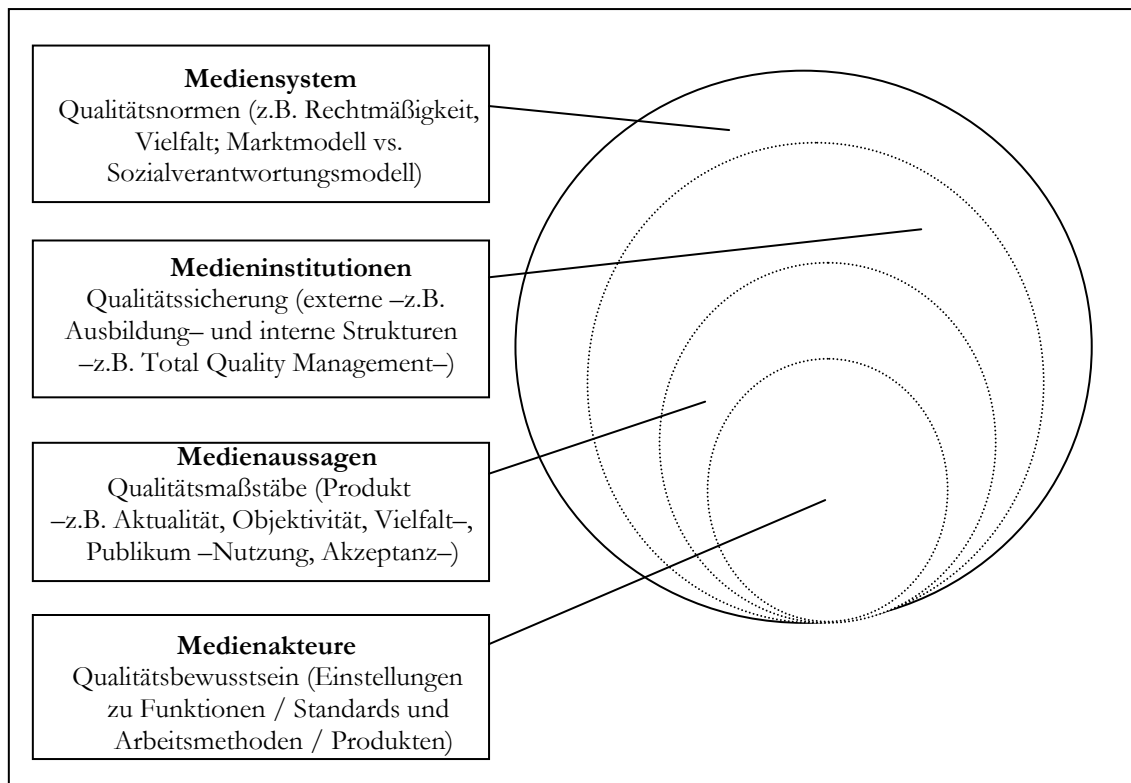
Source: Weischenberg (2006a: 13), and Weischenberg (2006b: 669).

On the contrary, following the Anglo-Saxon tradition, the first distinction was academically stated when differentiating economics and media performance. Accordingly, media corporation management and media output were kept separate. Quality research has mainly focused on assessment, rather on quality improvement. As a consequence, there is an extensive but disperse working field, without no academic categorization (Altmeppen, 2003: 113-114; Barth, 2004: 205; Beck, 2006: 236-237; Bucher, 2003: 20-22; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 375-377).

In an attempt to classify Media Quality related concepts, the present categorization will be based on the levels of *media operation*. McQuail distinguishes up to three levels. First of all, *structure* deals with "all matters in relation to the media systems, including its form of organization and finance, ownership, form of regulation, infrastructure, distribution facilities, and so on". Secondly, *conduct* refers to "the manner of operation at the organizational level, including the methods of selecting and producing content, editorial decision-making, market policy, relations established with other agencies, procedures for accountability, and so on". Finally, *performance* alludes to

"content: to what is actually transmitted to an audience" (McQuail, 1992: 87-98; McQuail, 2010: 192-199).

Hence, *Media Quality* refers to any conception of excellence applied to media. Accordingly, the most elemental distinction is related to structure, conduct and performance. Consequently, whereas *Media Structure Quality* is concerned with the media product in terms of means or channel of publication, *Media Conduct Quality* refers to resources management every firm deals with and, in relation to media firms, it examines its own peculiarities. As a matter of fact, research on Media Structure Quality has been conducted with an approach towards Media Studies. Media Conduct Quality, however, gathers all the contributions made in the economical field of communication. Lastly, we will refer to media performance in terms of News Quality.

a. Media Conduct Quality

To start with, *Media Conduct Quality* focuses on resources management. Accordingly, such aspect of Media Quality constitutes the interconnection between the Quality Movement and Media Structure Quality.

Media Conduct Quality has traditionally believed to be grounded on two levels: first, those inside structures of media corporations and, secondly, outside structures. Inside structures allude to media marketing questions, such as customer satisfaction and advisers' behaviour in terms of profitability, employees' efficiency, etc… Outside structures cope with market position and commercial regulation (McQuail, 1992: 87-98; McQuail, 2010: 192-199).

German quality research has traditionally separated both levels. On the one hand, *quality as a normative concept* states that "product properties and features must correspond with specific requirements". Accordingly, TQM models have been applied to academic research, from a cost reducing perspective and they have been integrated in the system as institutional structures. On the other hand, *quality as a relational concept* highlights the social function of media corporations. Recently, Russ-Mohl's research has led to a new level of Media Conduct Quality. Therefore, *quality as a functional concept* has included a multiple perspective towards media outlet and their resources, in line with their performance (Altmeppen, 2003: 113-114; Barth, 2004: 205; Bucher, 2003: 14; Rau, 2007: 117-135; Ruß-Mohl, 1994a, 22-25; Vehlow, 2006: 21-23; Weischenberg, 2006a: 9-12; Wyss, 2007: 4-7).

The Anglo-Saxon tradition, however, has focused on the analysis of publication means. As a result, quality research configures a disperse area, under no categorization system (Bucher, 2003: 20-22; Fabris & Renger, 2003: 80-83; Weischenberg, 2006a: 12-29; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-676).

Table No. 14 – Levels of Media Conduct Quality

	German tradition	**Anglo-Saxon tradition**
Quality Management	Qualität als normativer Begriff	TQM
Media Marketing	Qualität als relationaler Begriff	Economics
Quality Assurance	Qualität als funktionaler Begriff	

Source: Author, based on Weischenberg (2006a: 12-29) and Weischenberg (2006b: 668-676).

a.1. Total Quality Management

Several quality systems have also developed standards to measure those services where excellence must be understood to be related to the quality movement but different from measures to establish excellence in manufacturing processes. The European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) presented its own model to assess quality. Equally, it looked for implementation in diverse sectors, communication corporations among others, aiming to gain a comparative advantage in the market, especially to customers' eyes. Among others, the EFQM method has been applied to mass media companies. The EFQM Excellence Model relies on eight fundamental concepts, a set of principles and ideals which gather quality research background:

Table No. 15 – Fundamental Concepts of the EFQM Excellence Model

Fundamental Concepts	Definition
Results Orientation	Excellence is achieving results that delight all the organisation's stakeholders.
Customer Focus	Excellence is creating sustainable customer value.
Leadership and Constancy of Purpose	Excellence is visionary and inspirational leadership, coupled with constancy of purpose.
Management by Processes and Facts	Excellence is managing the organisation through a set of interdependent and interrelated systems, processes and facts.
People Development and Involvement	Excellence is maximising the contribution of employees through their development and involvement.
Continuous Learning, Innovation and Improvement	Excellence is challenging the status quo and effecting change by utilising learning to create innovation and improvement opportunities.
Partnership Development	Excellence is developing and maintaining value-adding partnerships.
Corporate Social Responsibility	Excellence is exceeding the minimum regulatory framework in which the organisation operates and to strive to understand and respond to the expectations of stakeholders in society.

Source: British Quality Foundation[32], EFQM[33], and Euskadi Kalitatea[34].

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[32] British Quality Foundation: < http://www.bqf.org.uk> [Last retrieved: 10/06/2009].

[33] EFQM (European Foundation for Quality Management): <http://ww1.efqm.org/en/Home/about-EFQM/Ourmodels/TheEFQMExcellenceModel/tabid/170/Default.aspx> [Last retrieved: 10/06/2009].

[34] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/Herramientas/principios_calidad.asp> [Last retrieved: 10/06/2009].

The interaction among those eight fundamental concepts gives rise to continuous improvement, since quality is not an aim in itself, but a search for excellence (Jornet, 2006: 177).

Chart No. 10 – Interaction of EFQM's Fundamental Concepts
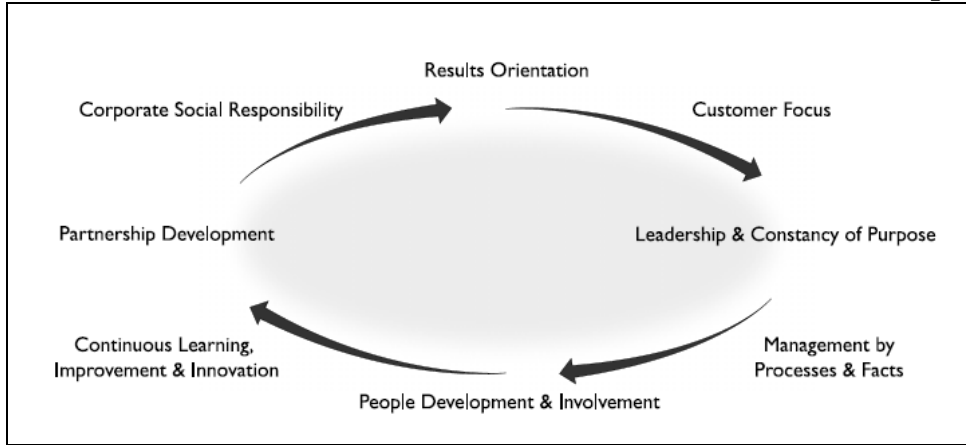
Source: British Quality Foundation[35], EFQM[36], and Euskadi Kalitatea[37].

Consequently, the EFQM Model is based on the following premise: "Excellent results with respect to Performance, Customers, People and Society are achieved through Leadership driving Policy and Strategy, that is delivered through People, Partnerships and Resources, and Processes". That ground principle is graphically defined in the following chart[38]:

Chart No. 11 – Framework of the EFQM Model
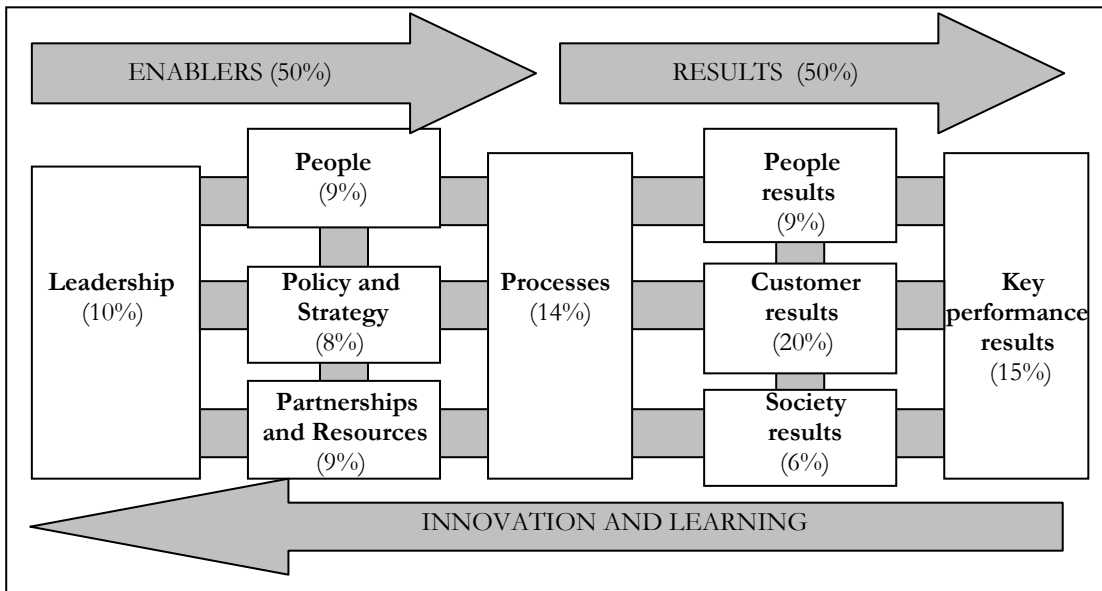
Source: Euskadi Kalitatea[39] and EFQM[40].

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[35] British Quality Foundation (op. cit.).

[36] EFQM (op. cit.).

[37] Euskadi Kalitatea (op. cit.).

[38] Percentages are updated on a year basis, as a part of their continuous improvement processes.

[39] Euskadi Kalitatea (op. cit.).

EiTB (Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation) achieved in 2004 the Silver Q Award by Euskalit (Basque Foundation for Quality), in 2007 it obtained the Golden Q Award, and in 2009 it gained the European Quality Prize[41]. EiTB became the first Broadcasting Corporation acquiring that recognition in Spain. That measurement tool is an application of the EFQM model (EiTB, 2004; Euskalit; Medina Laverón, 2006: 53).

Therefore, the assessment methodology analyses coporations from a nine criteria viewpoint, called "the nine elements of the EFQM Model". They have been identified as the key components of business excellence and validated by several hundred companies throughout Europe. Five of them are *enablers* and the other four, *results*. On the one hand, the enabler criteria cover what an organisation does. On the other, the results criteria assess what an organisation achieves. Consequently, results are caused by enablers and enablers will improve using feedback from results.

Table No. 16 – The nine elements of the EFQM Excellence Model

Nine elements	Definition
Leadership	Excellent Leaders develop and facilitate the achievement of the mission and vision. They develop organisational values and systems required for sustainable success and implement these via their actions and behaviours. During periods of change they retain a constancy of purpose. Where required, such leaders are able to change the direction of the organisation and inspire others to follow.
People	Excellent organisations manage, develop and release the full potential of their people at an individual, team-based and organisational level. They promote fairness and equality and involve and empower their people. They care for, communicate, reward and recognise, in a way that motivates staff and builds commitment to using their skills and knowledge for the benefit of the organisation.
Policy and strategy	Excellent Organisations implement their mission and vision by developing a stakeholder focused strategy that takes account of the market and sector in which it operates. Policies, plans, objectives, and processes are developed and deployed to deliver the strategy.
Processes	Excellent organisations plan and manage external partnerships, suppliers and internal resources in order to support policy and strategy and the effective operation of processes. During planning and whilst managing partnerships and resources they balance the current and future needs of the organisation, the community and the environment.
Processes	Excellent organisation's design, manage and improve processes in order to fully satisfy, and generate increasing value for, customers and other stakeholders.
People results	Excellent organisations comprehensively measure and achieve outstanding results with respect to their people.
Customer results	Excellent organisations comprehensively measure and achieve outstanding results with respect to their customers.
Society results	Excellent organisations comprehensively measure and achieve outstanding results with respect to society.
Key performance results	Excellent organisations comprehensively measure and achieve outstanding results with respect to the key elements of their policy and strategy.

Source: British Quality Foundation[42].

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[40] EFQM (op. cit.).

[41] Euskadi Kalitatea: <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/logros/q_plata.asp> and <http://www.euskadikalitatea.net/en/logros/q_oro.asp> [Last retrieved: 23/06/2009].

[42] British Quality Foundation: < http://www.bqf.org.uk> [Last retrieved: 10/06/2009].

Each criterion is measured according to four or five standards. In each of them a similar praxis is carried out: *gure asmoak* (our objectives), *gure esperientziak* (our experiences), and *gure emaitzak* (our goals). Objectives settle down strategies to be taken for that section. They are explained regarding their context, in order to focus attention on simple objectives in that section as a part of a whole strategy. This regulated model also states a planning to be scheduled. Accordingly, personnel and method are examined regarding experiences in the organization. Lastly, goals are compared with the objectives previously proposed and the achievements of other corporations in the same working field have accomplished for the same period (EiTB, 2004: 43-75).

Table No. 17 – Criteria and assessing standards of the EFQM Excellence Model

ENABLERS 500 points (50%)	**Leadership** 100 points (10%)	a) Leaders develop the mission, vision, values and ethics and are role models of a culture of Excellence. b) Leaders are personally involved in ensuring the organisation's management system is developed, implemented and continuously improved. c) Leaders interact with customers, partners and representatives of society. d) Leaders reinforce a culture of excellence with the organisation's people. e) Leaders identify and champion organisational change.
	People 90 points (9%)	a) People resources are planned, managed and improved. b) People's knowledge and competencies are identified, developed and sustained. c) People are involved and empowered. d) People and the organisation have a dialogue. e) People are rewarded, recognised and cared for.
	Policy and Strategy 80 points (8%)	a) Policy and Strategy are based on the present and future needs and expectations of stakeholders. b) Policy and Strategy are based on information from performance measurement, research, learning and external related activities. c) Policy and Strategy are developed, reviewed and updated. d) Policy and Strategy are communicated and deployed through a framework of key processes.
	Partnerships and Resources 90 points (9%)	a) External partnerships are managed. b) Finances are managed. c) Buildings, equipment and materials are managed. d) Technology is managed. e) Information and knowledge are managed.
	Processes 140 points (14%)	a) Processes are systematically designed and managed. b) Processes are improved, as needed, using innovation in order to fully satisfy and generate increasing value for customers and other stakeholders. c) Products and Services are designed and developed based on customer needs and expectations. d) Products and Services are produced, delivered and serviced. e) Customer relationships are managed and enhanced.
RESULTS 500 pts. (50%)	**People results** 90 points (9%)	a) Perception Measures. b) Performance Indicators.
	Customer results 200 points (20%)	a) Perception Measures. b) Performance Indicators.
	Society results 60 points (6%)	a) Perception Measures. b) Performance Indicators.
	Key performance results 150 points (15%)	a) Key Performance Outcomes. b) Key Performance Indicators.

Source: British Quality Foundation[43].

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[43] British Quality Foundation: < http://www.bqf.org.uk> [Last retrieved: 10/06/2009].

All those data will enable the organization under examination to determine which direction the assessed areas (Leadership, Policy and Strategy, Personnel, Alliances and Resources, and Processes) must follow. Nevertheless, we would like to emphasize that results are measured by clear methods, attending to the group whose results are to be determined. That way, main targets are Personnel, Customers, and Society.

For the assessment of EiTB, the EFQM Excellence Model measures Personnel Results, among other variables, according to their employment situation, specified by organization and labour contract. Journalists, there, happen to be part of a wider workers' body. Long-term contracts, employees' continuous productivity, and the like are taken into consideration as indicators of excellence.

Graph No. 1 – Number of temporary employees in EiTB (Television and Radio) related to corporation goals
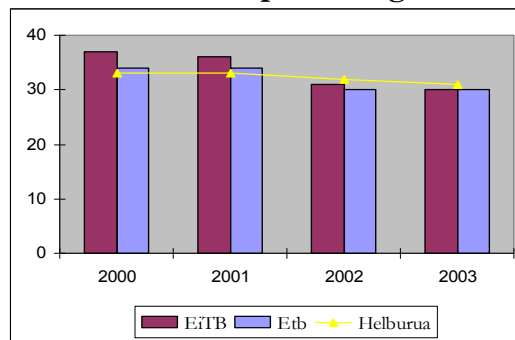
Source*:* EiTB (2004: 58).

Secondly, this Excellence Model considers two types of customers for the Basque Broadcasting Corporation: TV viewers and radio listeners, as well as advertisers. The first group is assessed on the base of television share rates.

Graph No. 2 – Share of the Night News Magazine ('Gaur Egun 2') related to Corporation Goals
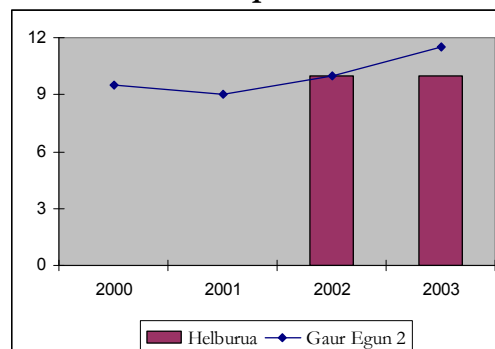
Source*:* EiTB (2004: 44).

However, advertisers' point of view differs from that of viewers, and goes closer to economical terms. Thus, the concept of customer satisfaction is only applied to this second consumer group.

Graph No. 3 – Advertisers' Satisfaction related to Corporation Goals
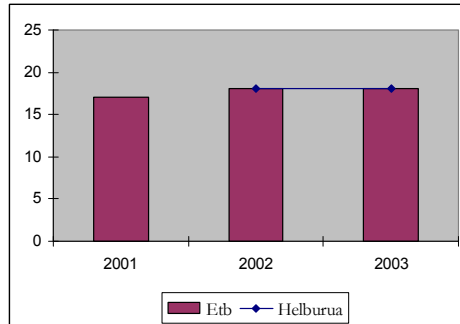
Source*:* EiTB (2004: 49).

Thirdly, Society Results are rated according to television's social goals. That way, programme diversity and societal commitments (such as especial requirements for disabled groups, environmental concerns…) are highly considered. In the case of the Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation, language quality and skills are also considered.

**Graph No. 4 – Share of Programmes using Basque Dialects
related to corporation goals, in the framework of Basque Speakers**
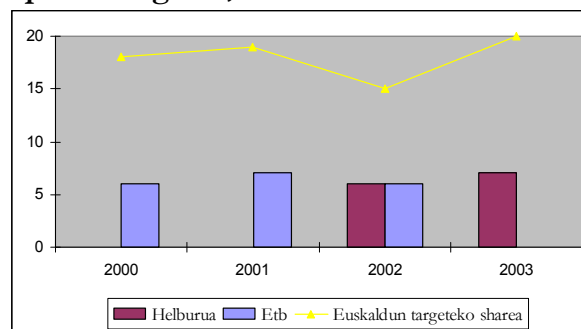
Source*:* EiTB (2004: 63).

Finally, the achievement of those goals for those target groups (People, Customers and Society) is reflected on a chart where previous objectives are already marked. Furthermore, the EFQM Excellence Model finds out the economical cost of every of those goals. Lastly, key results refer mainly to self-financing rate and production expenses. This Zero Error approach as a quality measure is not automatically internalized; it takes some time to make employees receptive instead. It becomes somehow relevant the fact that, when measuring Zero Technological Error Days, from the moment employees are aware of them, are likely to overreach the objective set by the organization.

Graph No. 5 – Number of Zero Technological Error Days
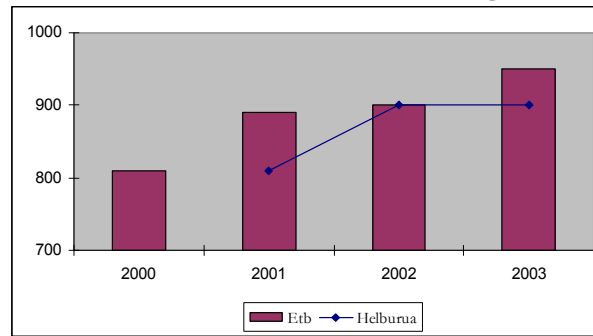
Source*:* EiTB (2004: 75).

As a result, the EFQM Excellence Model has been proved as a structure for the firm's management system which can be used as part of a self-assessment (since it helps identifying areas for improvement), at the same time it is socially openly recognised. Consequently, it provides a framework for comparison with other companies[44].

Yet, the EFQM Model assesses media quality from an organizational point of view, regardless the especial feature they work with. Therefore, employees are not simply journalists dealing with processes, which have no societal connotations of information. Equally, customer satisfaction does not only imply audience's approval, but also increased advertisement figures. Nevertheless, audience data are not likely to show customers' satisfaction, since "the bald audience figures that interest advertisers can disguise very different intensities of pleasure or satisfaction" (Mulgan, 1990a: 13).

In order to find consumers' satisfaction rate, Sweden developed the *Customer Satisfaction Barometer* (CSB) in 1989. The CSB is "an index based on annual survey data from customers of about 100 leading companies in some 30 industries". The CSB targeted several Swedish companies; among others, newspaper and television broadcasting corporations had been part of the Barometer. That way, apart from readers' and television viewers' ratings, customer satisfaction results "in the importance of determining how sensitive the present customer base is to satisfaction", as well as acting as "a future-oriented complement to traditional measures", since it is considered "the best indicator of a company's future profits" (Fornell, 1992: 6-16).

After Sweden, other countries like Norway and Japan have shown their interest in similar indicators. Later, the United States also established the *American Customer*

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[44] EFQM: <www.efqm.org> [Last retrieved: 23/06/2009].

Satisfaction Index[45]. Starting from customer interviews, indexes consisted of "multivariable components measured by several questions that are weighted within the model" explain customer expectations[46], perceived quality[47], and perceived value[48]. Those data are the basis of customer satisfaction and, therefore, customer complaints[49] and customer loyalty[50], as the areas aimed to make effect on.

Chart No. 12 – ACSI Methodology
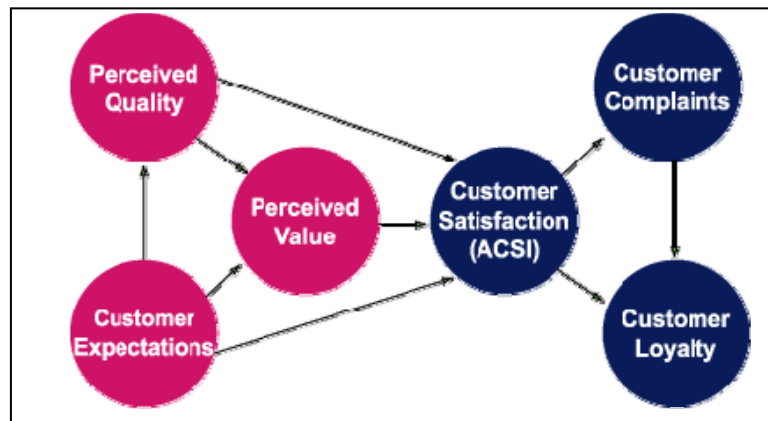
Source: American Customer Satisfaction Index[51].

a.2. Media Marketing

The direct application of manufacturing and services' quality concept to media restrained the significance of excellence to corporation meanings. Ahead of the EFQM model, Media Conduct Quality is also concerned with audiences and their direct impact on incomes. Costera Meijer identified this aspect as the *marketing vocabulary to express*

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[45] ACSI (American Customer Satisfaction Index): <www.theacsi.org> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2008].

[46] "**Customer expectations** is a measure of the customer's anticipation of the quality of a company's products or services. Expectations represent both prior consumption experience, which includes some nonexperiential information like advertising and word-of-mouth, and a forecast of the company's ability to deliver quality in the future".

[47] "**Perceived quality** is a measure of the customer's evaluation via recent consumption experience of the quality of a company's products or services. Quality is measured in terms of both customization, which is the degree to which a product or service meets the customer's individual needs, and reliability, which is the frequency with which things go wrong with the product or service".

[48] "**Perceived value** is a measure of quality relative to price paid. Although price (value for money) is often very important to the customer's first purchase, it usually has a somewhat smaller impact on satisfaction for repeat purchases".

[49] "**Customer complaints** are measured as a percentage of respondents who indicate they have complained to a company directly about a product or service within a specified time frame. Satisfaction has a negative relationship with customer complaints, as the more satisfied the customers, the less likely they are to complain".

[50] "**Customer loyalty** is a combination of the customer's professed likelihood to repurchase from the same supplier in the future, and the likelihood to purchase a company's products or services at various price points (price tolerance). Customer loyalty is the critical component of the model as it stands as a proxy for profitability".

[51] ACSI (American Customer Satisfaction Index): <www.theacsi.org> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2008].

quality: not totally "irrelevant" to the concept of quality, whereas the consumer happens to be "of little relevance". Mulgan claimed to name this perspective *consumer quality*, although he immediately after recognised that such a denomination is "usually propounded not by consumers themselves, but by other producers seeking entry to the marketplace" (Costera Meijer, 2005: 40; Mulgan, 1990a: 10-11).

Media Marketing establishes two levels of evaluation. To start with, the macroeconomic analysis refers to the structures and economical processes of the media business. Accordingly, degree of concentration and market considerations are examined. Secondly, a microeconomic perspective deals with specific corporation questions assigned to commercial aspects of the media, such as production, financing and employees management (Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 375-376; Sjurts, 2005: 246-247; Weischenberg, 2006b: 678).

First discussions on Media Quality found two main influential groups: liberal economists and television academics. The former showed "far less interest" for the quality question than "market structure and efficiency", whereas the latter, "influenced by semiotics, postmodernism and the new schools of cultural studies", tended to consider quality as "another legitimation of the old hierarchies of judgment, a concept drained of meaning by years of (ab)use by those in power". Therefore, the discussion moved to terms of "commercial success", on the one hand, and "specialist, minority, avant-gardist, or otherwise mentally demanding varieties", on the other. Those positions remained immovable to political identifications and evolved to neoliberal positions and the Critical Theory. However, another new perspective coming from organizational quality systems turned out to unblock this situation: *customer satisfaction*. In fact, the audience approach is considered "the key to the ways in which the debates have been resolved" (McQuail, 1992: 12-13; Medina Laverón: 2006: 15; Mulgan, 1990a: 5; Pöttker, 2006: 18-23; Smith, 1990: 2).

Satisfaction is defined as "a customer's post-purchase evaluation of a product or service", that is to say, when post-purchase approval matches individual's pre-purchase expectations. Service quality tradition defined the area in which customers would meet their expectations as the *zone of tolerance*. There, customers' wishes and basic requirements come across. This approach has also been applied to media. On the one hand, the desired level meets what customers rate as an equitable relation between what should be offered and what can actually be submitted. On the other hand, the adequate

level is the border to acceptable basic requirements. Tolerance zones vary, depending on customers, service characteristics and experience (Del Valle, 2005: 1-7; Grönlund, 2002: 227-231; Lloréns, 1996: 17-40).

Chart No. 13 – The Zone of Tolerance

Source: Gröndlund, 2002: 230.

As a consequence, scholars were bewared of content, in order to define that zone of tolerance in terms of organizational profit. Picard relates quality to company conduct: media company strategies can lead to higher excellence. He distinguished four strategies, based on a two-axised system. First of all, high quality and average quality are graphically ranked. Poor quality is not even considered, "because it will ultimately lead to audience abandonment of the publication". The second axis refers to commercial objectives, such as profit and company value emphasis (Picard, 2004: 61-64).

Chart No. 14 – Strategic Choices Involving Quality and Performance
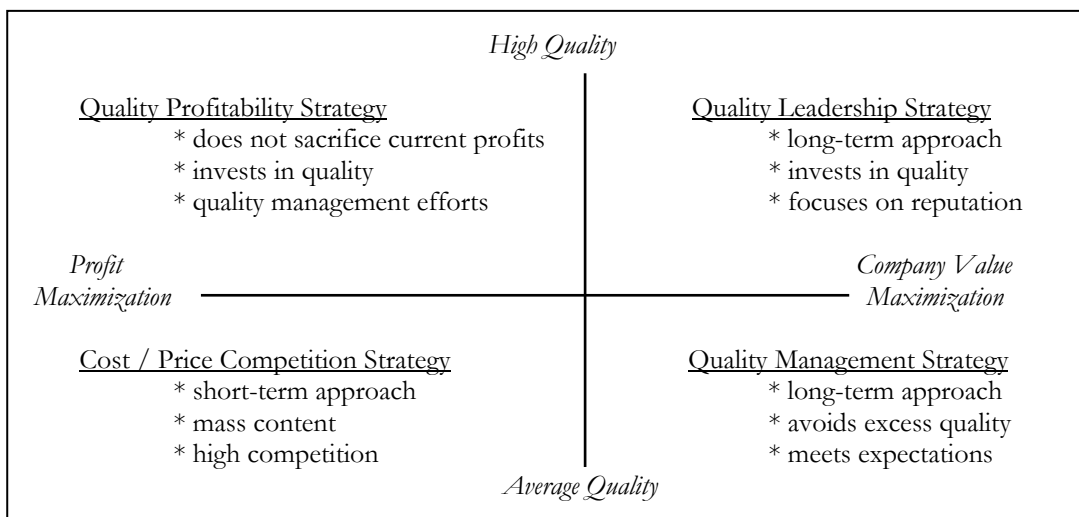
Source: Picard (2004: 62).

Accordingly, high quality media company performance can command a greater profit amount or socially favoured market position. Excellence in Media Marketing is commonly assumed to be the result of planning and content quality (Bogart, 2004: 50; Pertilla and Belt, 2002: 95; Ruano López, 2006: 68; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 46-47).

Philip Meyer draws attention to the conflict between media company benefits and their "social responsibility". Accordingly, Meyer highlights the fact that media corporations' product is not "news or information, but influence", based on Hal Jurgensmeyer's influence model:

> "A newspaper firm produces […] two kinds of influence: societal influence, which is not for sale, and commercial influence, which is for sale. But the two forms are closely linked because the latter cannot be strong without the former. In other words, quality matters." (Meyer and Hester, 2003: 2; Meyer, 2004a: 7; Meyer, 2004b: 67)

From this perspective, content quality is measured according to profit, because quality gives credibility, which enhances societal influence and achieves a greater circulation. As a result, quality returns in terms of profitability.

Chart No. 15 – Societal Influence Model
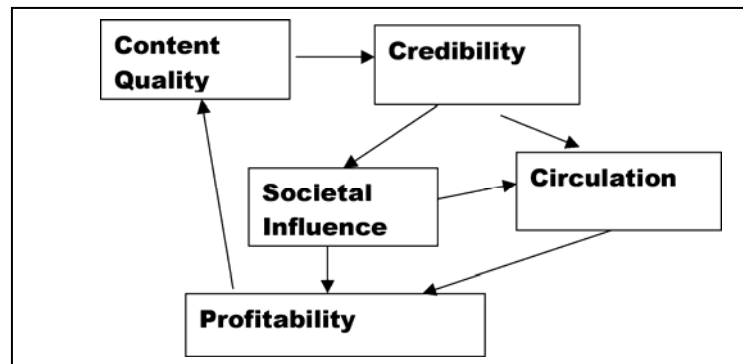
Source: The Quality Project[52] and Meyer (2004a: 7).

Societal influence is the basis for commercial influence. Meyer considers that the plusvalue societal influence constitutes the commercial foundation for journalistic quality (Kohlhaas, 2004: 126-128).

Consequently, Meyer grounds those key concepts on three economical target groups: audience, advertisers and employees. First of all, content quality is considered crucial to gain *audience*. Meyer proves several quality assertions in relation to circulation robustness, such as accuracy and readability[53]. Secondly, *advertisers* are thought to create influence. Meyer, however, pleads for a non over-advertised media, under risk of becoming an advertising platform, in order to remain socially influential. Finally, he binds *employees* to content quality (Meyer, 2004a: 47-173).

First of all, *audience* is believed to act receptively to content quality. However, assessing quality on basis of audience rates comes to the assessment of characteristics

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[52] The Quality Project: <www.unc.edu/~pmeyer/Quality_Project> [Last retrieved: 17/03/2008].
[53] This approach will be developed in the next chapter: (2.1.4 Media Structure Quality).

such as "efficiency, profitability or level of consumer or client satisfaction". The complexity of supply-demand media market is commonly assumed not to be the explanation key which compiles all that quality standards accomplish:

> "The more sophisticated versions of the argument to «give the people what they want» recognise that the links between supply and demand are less simple than those operating in the market for clothes or even books." (Mulgan, 1990a: 12)

In order to gain a comparative advantage beyond the competitors, responding to the public's demands has openly been criticised because it does not to ensure quality. In effect, they are claimed to be media consumers, which consider them clients. Nevertheless, audience data are not likely to show customers' satisfaction, regardless advertisers' interest in them, because they can disguise "very different intensities of pleasure or satisfaction" (Kohlhass, 2004: 68; McQuail, 1992: 12; Medina Laverón, 2006: 27; Meneses Fernández, 2006: 82; Mulgan, 1990a: 13; Ruß-Mohl, 1995: 104-105; Vehlow, 2006: 21-24).

Yet, audience is believed to need information about company's business. Transparency is thus considered an attribute of quality. De Pablos Coello and Mateos Martín outlined an "organizational index" which would rate owners' performing about information openness. It consisted of three actions to be published within the newspaper: stakeholders' interests, income statement (profit and loss account), and circulation-selling rates (De Pablos Coello & Mateos Martín, 2004: 359-361).

Secondly, *advertisers'* role has long been considered a factor of Conduct Quality, since it generates commercial profitability. Advertisement incomes have been taken into consideration to measure business excellence. Liberal authors link advertisement to the advent of professionalism in journalism. Other scholars, however, highlight the fact that advertisement incomes are a result of wide audiences (Arriagada, 1999: 28-29; Bastin, 2001: 190-191; Bogart, 2004: 41; Kohlhaas, 2004: 116-117; Picard, 2004: 60; Van Weezel, 2002: 193-195). Jean-François Fogel explained the relationship between audience and advertisers in terms of quality:

> "Para mí está muy claro que hay sólo un modelo económico de calidad periodística. Éste es: una empresa que tiene que poner sus ingresos por encima de sus gastos. No podemos decir que el hecho de tener un medio de comunicación de calidad cambie algo de este modelo único.
>
> Lo que sí se consiguen son cosas obvias. Se logra una marca muy fuerte, se consigue generalmente una gran fidelidad de la audiencia, se consigue vender publicidad. Es una publicidad con un buen precio, pero es una empresa como otra […].
>
> Se consigue a través de producir una audiencia en una primera fase. En la segunda fase esa audiencia se vende a los anunciantes. Por lo que cualquier intento

de hacer ambas cosas a la vez, de hacer una cosa antes de la otra, no nos lleva por el camino de la prensa de calidad." (CAF/FNPI, 2003: 26-27)

Finally, there is a strong body of evidence sustaining which argues *professional* matters affect economical aspects and media production quality. Nevertheless, only few scholars have pointed out how to measure the relationship between staff and business excellence, from a USA market-oriented perspective. Picard, for instance, proposed a quantitative tool to measure reporters' productivity based on the analysis of their output amount[54]. The author himself recognized such a measurement would promote quantity, but may have reduced "quality of journalism" (Picard, 1998: 72-76).

Meyer measured the ratio of staff size according to circulation. He took for granted the assumption that "according to newspaper folklore, a good newspaper employs about one news-editorial staff member for each thousand in circulation". However, local media are more likely to be in need of employing a higher amount of news-editorial staff members, since they must remain "involved with their communities". As a consequence, it cannot be clarified which came first: "the staff loss or the circulation decline" (Meyer, 2004a: 159-173).

Lastly, some German scholars advocate the adaptation of Total Quality Management models to media firms[55]. Media performance researchers, however, tend not endorse this adaptation of TQM models. Those supporting the application of the TQM models to media firms have pointed out the instruments for Quality Management in media corporations (Hermes, 2006: 318-341; Meier, 2007: 231-233; Mezger, 2005: 93-96; Rau, 2007: 137-204; Van Meezel: 200-201; Vehlow, 2006: 21-22; Wyss, 2007: 1-29).

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[54] Productivity was assessed on the basis of corporation's total turnover divided by full-time employee volume. Such a calculation provides "the total revenue (turnover) produced by the labour of the average employee". However, it cannot measure outsourcing, which is also considered a decline in quality. Accordingly, every journalist's efficiency can be directly measured by managers, focusing on the following indicators:

"1.- The number of original articles written, the number of words in those articles and the column inches produced.

2.- The number of articles resulting from rewriting material from news and feature services, press releases, etc., the number of words in those articles and the column inches produced.

3.- The number of articles edited, the number of words in those articles and the column inches produced.

4.- The number of photographs taken or printed.

5.- The number of pages designed or laid out." (Mezger, 2005: 61-73; Palmer, 2003: 459-462; Picard, 1998: 72-76)

[55] Some publications on the topic encouraged latter works. A more detailed bibliography can be found by Vinzenz Wyss (for Swiss literature) and Sandra Hermes (for German Journalism).

**Chart No. 16 – Adaptation of the TQM Assessment Model
(based on the EFQM Approach) to media corporations**
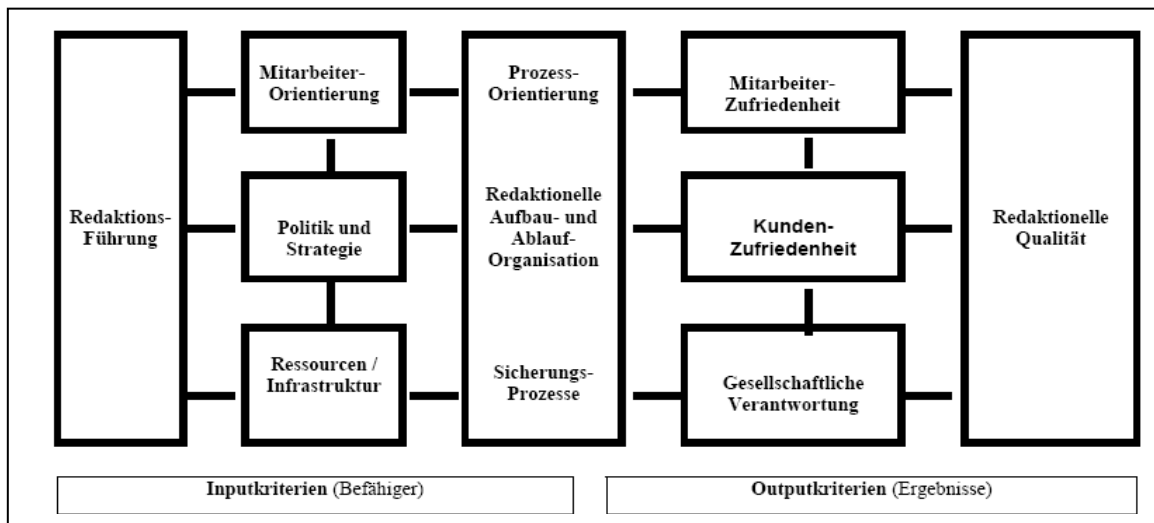
Source: Wyss (2003b: 6).

Table No. 18 – Instruments of Quality Management in Media Firms

Process intensiveness	Written definitions for desired quality objectives (e.g. quality catalogue, mission statement, editorial staff, style guide, public target); regular review of objectives.
Customer orientation	Definition of target: analysis of audience research and audience reactions, editorial marketing.
Employee orientation	Active promotion of employees' personal skills (training, coaching), financial recognition of good performance, and feedback from employee surveys.
Control	Systematic documentation, product and critique questionnaires (not arbitrary, but based on the quality goals), optimization of search resources, systematic planning issues, competition monitoring.
Optimization of workflows and hierarchies	Regular review of the editorial structures; working groups to improve the organization.
Holism[56]	Quality initiatives in all organizational departments (not only in the newsroom).
Social orientation	Editorial objectives; cooperation within the media, and with research institutions (e.g. universities) for self-control rules.

Source: Meier (2007: 232)[57].

Therefore, journalism's social consideration highlights customer satisfaction, which is more related to audience than to advertisers. Yet, as seen before, those models already explained do not assure media product quality on their current organizational approach. For instance, corporation excellence can not measure staff routines and their reflection in low quality output. Other scholars, however, try to diminish that relation and focus on values journalists have internalized. In fact, Kapuŝciński states journalists' own freedom is limited by the interests of the company they are working for. Equally, other characteristics not granted by current Total Quality Management models have been proved to influence the communication product, in terms of quality, which might lead to neglect media's social responsibility (Bourdieu, 2006: 13-14; CAF/FNPI, 2003:

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[56] Holism: "The theory that certain wholes are to be regarded as greater than the sum of their parts" (Thompson, 1998: 647).

[57] My translation from German.

10; Gladney, 1990: 65; Jones, 1999: 79; Kapuščiňski, 2002: 56; Kohlhaas, 2004: 110; Pühringer, 2007: 119-154, 203-213; Raussell Köster, 2002: 47; Weischenberg, 2006b: 678).

After all, European and American scholars agree that media production cannot be considered a common product, due to its social commitment:

> "Si se parte de la idea de que la empresa periodística funciona como una empresa más y está sometida a las mismas reglas del mercado, entonces consecuentemente podría surgir la idea de que un producto informativo debería ser tratado igual que cualquier otro producto. ¿Qué diferencia al producto prensa de otros productos de consumo? ¿Es la información una mercancía o un derecho fundamental de los ciudadanos? Sin duda, un producto informativo no es equiparable sin más a cualquier bien de consumo." (Kohlhaas, 2004: 102)

Accordingly, media product quality is the result, among other features, of Conduct Quality. That is to say, firm marketing has a clear social influence:

> "It is increasingly clear that the responses of some newspaper managers are affecting journalistic quality, producing practices that diminish the social value of newspaper content […]." (Picard, 2004: 54)

Wyss distinguishes three aspects of media Quality Management, according to the nature of the prevailing rules to apply. First of all, the model is based on effectiveness works on the framework of cognitive rules. Its characteristics match those of classical Quality Management tradition (TQM, for instance). Secondly, the administrative and economic viewpoint employs coercive resources in line with Media Marketing. Finally, the vindicating paradigm aims to legitimate media performance (Wyss, 2003: 133-143).

Chart No. 17 – Terms of Media Quality Management

Newsroom		
Editorial quality assurance system as…		
Rules of the cognitive scheme	Resources of the coercive scheme	Rules of the legitimation scheme
⇕	⇕	⇕
Relevant characteristics of the editorial Quality Management		
Patterns of interpretation, i.e. * Quality orientation ("quality, major goal"). * Audience orientation ("public satisfaction as a measure"). * Process orientation ("continuous improvement").	**Coercive means of authority and ressource allocation, i.e.** * Budget assignment. * Procedures of performance measurement. * Media Marketing. * Research processes. * Checks and Balances: proofreading, criticism on newspaper or broadcasting.	**Standards, i.e.** * Journalistic quality indicators. * Editorial mission or codes. * Independence / autonomy ("inner freedom of the press").
⇕	⇕	⇕
effective	administrative and economic	vindicating
… aspects of the media Quality Management		

Source: Wyss (2003a: 136)[58].

Yet, as long as the vindicating pattern measures media output in terms of social responsibility, it can be argued to somehow affect the result of the effective and/or administrative-economical models. Consequently, it should be differentiated from them. Accordingly, it will be analysed in the following section (2.1.3.b. *Media Structure Quality*).

Therefore, Media Conduct Quality acts as a prerequisite for production quality, although "there is no direct correlation between having more resources and producing higher quality media products". The application of TQM Assessment Models to journalistic uniqueness comes along with a wide broad between production excellence and product quality. Obviously, the first influences the latter, in the same way Media Conduct Quality affects production excellence. Traditionally, there have been two paths towards production quality: the EFQM Model and Media Marketing. Somehow, they are likely to converge soon. In fact, German scholars have made some attempts in that direction. As a result, the concept for media production quality has emerged, at the stage where product quality can be assured, that is to say, Media Quality Assurance

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[58] My translation from German.

(Gutting, 2004: 287; Huart, 2000: 62; Jones, 1999: 79; Mezger, 2005: 93-96; Vehlow, 2006: 21-23; Wyss, 2003b: 5-7).

a.3. Media Quality Assurance

Scholars have demanded a system which could include both Quality Management principles and Media Studies background. On the one hand, Total Quality Management direct application does not satisfactorily fulfil media's social performance. Moreover, quality assessment based on market oriented models (gaining shares of the audience) is not considered efficient, and network performance is encouraged. On the other, Media Studies self-control plead that it has not been proved to ensure quality, regardless of other collateral effects as censorship. German scholars unequivocally follow Ruß-Mohl's system, who drew attention to find those quality assurance mechanisms within the media network, based on USA journalism performance (Gutting, 2004: 287; Huber, 1998: 55; Mezger, 2005: 139-151, 223-288; Pöttker, 2005: 127; Quant, 2004: 60; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 92; Wallisch, 1995: 149-153).

Ruß-Mohl recapitulates the professionalism quality criteria most German scholars have agreed with. He creates a "magic polygon", pointing out the following *professionalism quality criteria*: objectivity, currency, originality, reduction of complexity and transparency/reflection. In recent works, Ruß-Mohl has added another criterion: interactivity (audience's perspective). Accordingly, network media structures use several mechanisms which could assure journalistic content quality (Huber, 1998: 56; Kohlhaas, 2004: 109; Meier, 2007: 224-228; Neuberger, 2004: 38; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 106-107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-337; Schatz and Schulz, 1992: 690-712; Schulz, 2000: 3; Vehlow, 2006: 105-128).

Chart No. 18 – Early Version of the Magic Polygon
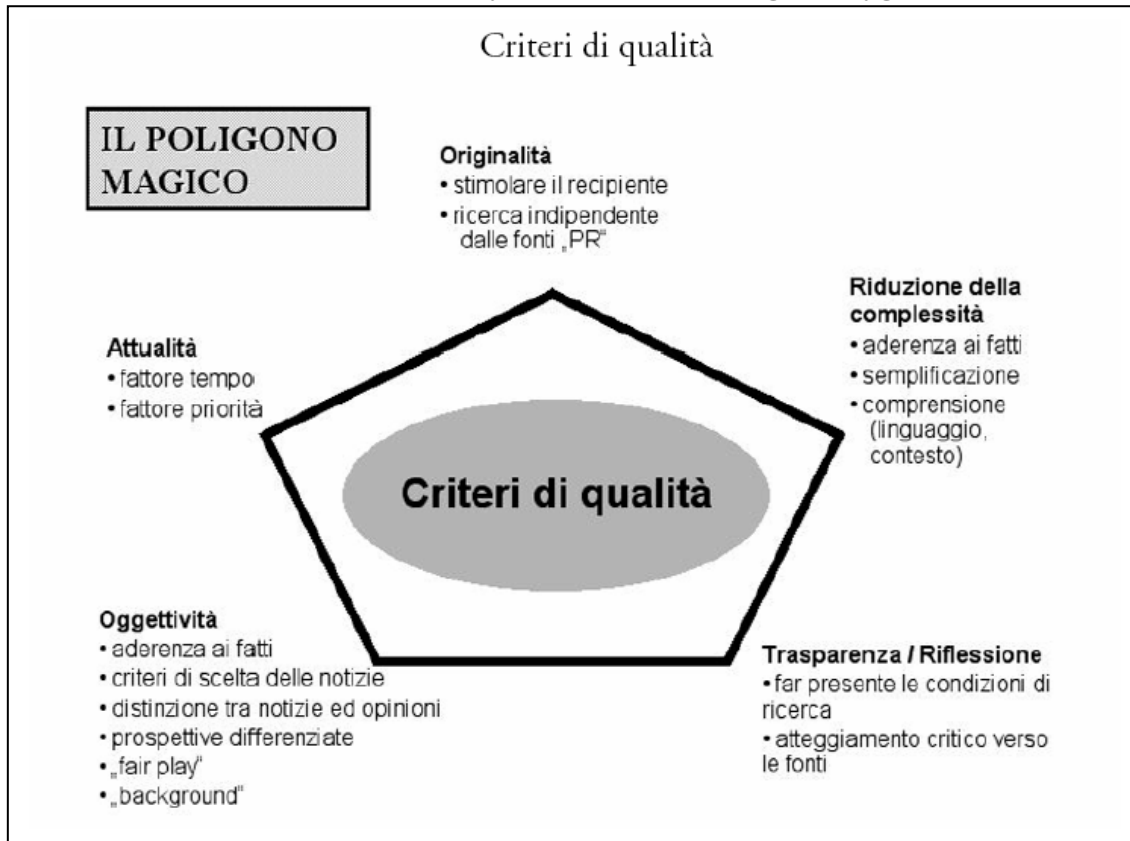
Source: Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107[59].

As a consequence, Ruß-Mohl states that the media system is in need of "its own complexity to process the growing complexity and turbulence of society". He is of the opinion that the Infrastructure Factor (I-Factor) performs, in network, the journalistic Quality Assurance task. Infrastructures, however, do not directly influence media product. In contrast, they act in an indirect way, through the control of professionalism, whose criteria have already been studied (Kohlhaas, 2004: 131-132; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 92-111; Vehlow, 2006: 22-23).

This Quality Assurance conception gathers the principles of the Quality Movement tradition and the groundings of marketing theory, from a revolutionary perspective: it takes for granted that customer satisfaction can only mean the fulfillment of viewers, listeners', and readers' expectations. To start with, the optimization of production processes aims to assure final product quality. Secondly, every organization area is in charge of Quality Control, involving the whole corporation. Indirect control states that not only managers are responsible for quality; journalists are also highly

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[59] The German original version is available in Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97.

encouraged to take part in media product's Quality Control. Accordingly, network performance fits better in media working environment. Equally, decentralized Quality Control corresponds with pluralistic societies. Finally, the Quality Assurance process is not static. Since it presents short, medium and long-term results, a dynamic concept suits this model (Jornet, 2006: 197-198; Kohlhaas, 2004: 131-139; Ruß-Mohl, 1995: 104-105).

Ruß-Mohl synthesizes Quality Control infrastructures in accordance with production stages. Broadly, there are three steps, before distribution: preparation, elaboration and, last, publication. Each production stage is provided with tools which could control and assure quality and, therefore, the final product. At the same time, those instruments would indicate which features are to be reconsidered, in order to achieve a higher product quality and improvement. The minimum quality level, however, is set by corporate decisions and, thus, marketing becomes crucial (Kohlhaas, 2004: 136; Jornet, 2006: 205-206; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 97).

Ruß-Mohl establishes a clear differentiation between Quality Control instruments present in the newsroom and those constraining elements out of corporate reach. Media Marketing would be responsible for increasing the inside measures, whereas other outside media controllers would be in charge of the latter. Equally, those tools materialize in every particular production level. Accordingly, Quality Assurance infrastructures differentiate as following: preventive, parallel to production, and corrective. *Preventive infrastructures* act previously to the production process and, therefore, work against potential non-quality features. Accordingly, they aim to erase any non-conformity cause or situation. *Corrective infrastructures* operate after publication. As a consequence, their principal aim is to improve next products' quality. They act as detectors of past non-conformity causes or situations. Finally, both preventive and corrective measures aim to influence on product elaboration. At the same time, *parallel infrastructures to production restrain* those non-conformity causes or situations. As a result, an overall complex works for quality (Fabris & Renger, 2003: 80-83; Kohlhaas, 2004: 136-139; Meier, 2007: 219-223; Neuberger, 2004: 43; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 100-248; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 119; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 339-346).

Chart No. 19 – Infrastructures of Quality Assurance

	innerredaktionell	außerredaktionell
präventiv	Qualitätsmanagement in einer Redaktion (TQM); Leitbilder, Statute, Guidelines — Volontariat	Journalisten-schulen; Ausbildungsleistungen der Journalistik; Lehrbücher; Qualitätskontrolle der Aus- und Weiterbildung; Weiterbildung Coaching
produktionsbegleitend	Orientierung an professionellen Qualitätskriterien, systematisches Gegenlesen, Themenplanung, Redaktionskonferenzen (Planungs-, Qualitäts-, Kritikkonferenzen) Produkt-/Blattkritik Korrekturspalte	Gegenlesen durch Experten
korrektiv	eigene Publikomsforschung, systematische Auswertung von Leserbeiträgen / Leserreaktionen redaktionelles Marketing; Forschungsleistungen der Journalistik; Medienjournalismus; Journalistenpreise; Ombudsleute	Medienselbskontrolle (z.B. Presserat, Rundfunkräte); Medienbeobachtung durch Watchdogs, Qualitätsinitiativen

Source: Meier, 2007: 230[60].

Ruß-Mohl's quality assurance schema has been proved to be the most complete system; this gave a guide to later research. Other attempts to measure Media Quality from a corporate perspective are clearly included in this system. For instance, De Pablos Coello and Mateos Martín figured out three indexes "invisible for customers" aiming to rate the following features: working index (which measures labour conditions and employees' task load), journalistic index (in charge of content quality) and

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[60] The original version was first published in 1994 (Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 97-103; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 341).

organizational index (transparency of economic data). A recent application of the Ruß-Mohl's Quality Assurance scheme evidences that such a model shapes the framework of a minority language, such as Galizian. Moreover, scholars concerned with content quality grounded their research on most corrective infrastructures to outline a source for quality indicators: journalistic prizes, readers' opinion, Ombudsman's advices, and Media Watchdogs' dossiers[61] (Kohlhaas, 2004: 174-265).

Table No. 19 – Infrastructures of Quality Assurance, related to several quality indicators

RUß-MOHL
MEDIDAS O INFRAESTRUCTURAS PREVIAS O PREVENTIVAS
MEDIDAS INTERNAS
Formación (Masteres y otros cursos impartidos por las empresas informativas)
Libros de estilo
Códigos de prensa, códigos deontológicos
Defensa de los derechos de los trabajadores (estatutos de redacción)
Sistemas de gestión de la calidad
MEDIDAS EXTERNAS
Formación (formación en universidades)
Defensa de los derechos de los trabajadores (sindicatos de periodistas)
Sistemas de gestión de la calidad
MEDIDAS QUE ACOMPAÑAN AL PROCESO DE PRODUCCIÓN
MEDIDAS INTERNAS
Condiciones de trabajo en la redacción
Departamentos de control de calidad lingüística
Colexio Profesional de Xornalistas de Galicia
MEDIDAS EXTERNAS
Formación continuada o reciclaje
MEDIDAS DE CORRECCIÓN O DE RETORNO
MEDIDAS INTERNAS
Consejos de prensa vs. Asociaciones profesionales
Premios periodísticos
Observatorio Xornalístico e Novas Tecnoloxías de Galicia
Las universidades como laboratorios científicos
MEDIDAS EXTERNAS
Demanda del lector
Diálogo con el lector: a.- Periodismo sobre periodismo   b.- Cartas al director   c.- Ombusdman   d.- Media Watchdogs   e.- Visitas físicas de los lectores

Source: Author, based on Kohlhaas (2004: 174-265).

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[61] A more detailed study can be found in the following chapter (2.1.3.b Media Structure Quality).

Neuberger has completed this measure system with two more features. First of all, he classifies *Quality Management* and *Media Marketing* as infrastructures to be taken into consideration in the newsroom (preventive, the former; and corrective, the alter). Secondly, he puts *journalistic ethics* on a level with professionalism and, hence, both get aligned as Quality Assurance factors (Neuberger, 2004: 43-45).

As a consequence, Ruß-Mohl summarizes his contribution to Quality Assurance as follows (Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 296-297, 302-304):

1.) It is investing in Media Quality more than regulating journalists and media.

2.) Defining Media Quality is not only confined to journalists and editorials, but also extends to professional associations and scholars. The I-Factor should be emphasized.

3.) Journalism infrastructures form a network or system. The separate subsystems interact with each other, and, therefore, their analyses are not fully focused; this in turn creates a separate subsystem.

4.) Journalism's dual nature should be understood as a commercial activity and also as a public responsibility.

5.) The market perspective cannot detect problems or difficulties concerning every infrastructure. In spite of commercial controls, the media system has created its own institutions that work in a network for solutions to be found.

6.) The American market situation has developed those institutions deeper than in Europe. Accordingly, Ruß-Mohl does not plead for an exportation of the American model, but for the harmonization and standardization all over Europe of a local model, regarding specific shared characteristics[62].

In sum, *Media Conduct Quality* refers to the resources management every firm deals with and, in relation to media firms, examines its own peculiarities. The EFQM model would be the direct application of the International Quality Tradition to media companies. Accordingly, it has been named *Quality Management*. However, Media Marketing and Media Quality Assurance are the result of research orientation. The formula for business success (*Media Marketing*) has focused on profit goals. As a

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[62] Ruß-Mohl published a deeper study on this topic (2003b): "Towards a European Journalism? – Limits, opportunities, challenges", *Studies in Communication Sciences*, no. 3(2), pp. 203-216.

consequence, scholars have drawn attention to economical features. Finally, Ruß-Mohl has established an internal system where media performance is to be assured. Paradoxically, he based his system on American journalism practice, notwithstanding the fact that German authors seek credibility objectives for their *Media Quality Assurance* (Ruß-Mohl, 1995: 132-133).

Nonetheless, those three concepts do not highlight contrasting positions. The main difference among them has to do with their aims. Whereas Quality Management and Media Marketing deal with resources, Media Quality Assurance refers to aspirations. Accordingly, Quality Management and Media Marketing are nearby conceptions. As a matter of fact, both are considered Quality Assurance infrastructures: TQM works in the preventive field and Media Marketing, in the corrective one. As a result, Quality Assurance turns out the broadest term, because it also involves initiatives out of the newsroom, particularly the infrastructure of journalism. However, the three of them are inherently linked: Ruß-Mohl illustrates such an intrinsic connection by exposing three overlapping rings (Ruß-Mohl, 1994a, 22-25; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 106; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374-375).

Chart No. 20 – Interrelation among Quality Management, Media Marketing and Quality Assurance
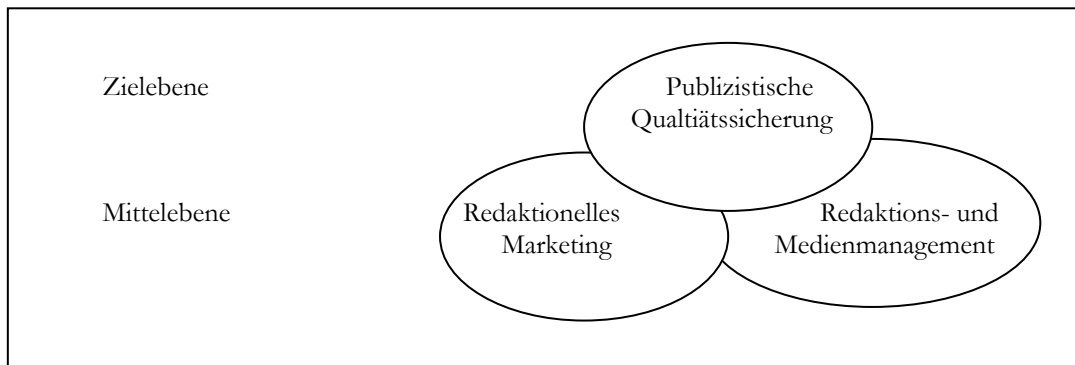
Source: Ruß-Mohl (1994a: 25).

b. Media Structure Quality

In line with Media Conduct Quality, dealing with management requirements drew attention to production processes and cost reducing policies, *Media Structure Quality* aims to measure Media Quality centered in finding excellence standards according to the assessed field (Meier, 2007: 228-233; Neuberger, 2004: 34).

The notion of *Media System* is described as "the totality of orders or structures regulated for the media". However, Media Quality research fields have been delimited according to the assessment body in charge of defining it (Bucher, 2003: 15-20; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 155; Kleinsteuber, 2005: 275; Mezger, 2005: 96-101).

Table No. 20 – Media Quality Research Topic,
according to the Assessment Body

Norminstanz	Qualitätsarten
1. gesetzliche Kontrollinstanz	inhaltliche Rahmenqualitäten von gesamtgesellschaftlicher Relevanz
2. Management	handwerkliche Qualitäten „Sendungsmache"
3. Interessenorganisationen	inhaltliche Qualitäten im Rahmen von Einzelinteressen
4. Experten	inhaltliche Qualitäten im Sinne des „Sachverstandes"
5. Publikum	erwartete Rezeptionsqualitäten
6. journalistische Kollegenguppe	Qualitäten der Berufskultur

Source: Saxer, Ulrich & Kull, Heinz (1981): *Publizisische Qualität und journalistische Ausbildung* (p.17) in Wallisch, 1995: 157.

Nowadays, scholars openly assume ISO definition for product quality and their main assignment consists in applying it to media structures; notwithstanding it took a transition time during the 1990s[63]. Customer orientation did not only outline audience rating and viewing share as measurement approaches, but also assessment against objective criteria. Accordingly, several definitions were adopted, such as Programme Quality. Hence, defining quality from customer's point of view (regardless the evaluating body in charge of describing excellence) made a difference and provided scholarly discussion with an opportunity to build up a theory on Media Quality (De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 37; Fabris & Renger, 2003: 81; Pertilla and Belt, 2002: 91; Prix Italia, 1998: 33-37; Vehlow, 2006: 23-24).

However, the more one can think of quality for the media, the less consistent the concept appears. In fact, most scholars have assumed quality as a lost war: "It is not accidental that the wish to define quality in journalism has been compared to an

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[63] Leleu-Merviel argues it as follows : "Toutes les entreprises, quelque soit le secteur d'activité concerné, généralisent le recours à une démarche qualité. Être certifié ISO ne constitue plus seulement una argument marketing, c'est de plus en plus une nécessité pour répondre à l'attente du client et gagner sa confiance lors de la négociation du contrat.

[...] Le domaine de la communication reste l'un des derniers bastions de résistance à la qualité. Le secteur revendique en effet des spécificités qui le rendraient incompatible avec une telle approche. Une liste des justifications principales témoigne des faiblesses de l'argumentation." (Leleu-Merviel, 1997: 15)

attempt to nail a pudding to the wall" (Huber, 1998: 56; Neuberger, 2004: 34; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 94; Spassov, 2007: 3)[64].

Some scholars have outlined two ways of analysing Media Quality: measuring objective standards and assessing groups' opinions. That is the reason why we would summarise literature review from a macrolevel perspective, such as Media System, coming down to concreteness (i.e. Programme Quality), which may fit in the consideration of performance quality. As a result, we will first gather Media Quality research in terms of means of publication –broadcasting, print press and Internet– and assessment bodies –audience, professionals, media supervisors, and market agents– (Neuberger, 2004: 34-35; Raboy, 1996a: 68).

b.1. Means of publication

Quality has been analysed according to this channel perspective. Consequently, Broadcasting Quality happens to be the most assessed aspect of Media Quality. There has been other work in this field, despite the fact that most may not take into consideration previous writings. It is mainly focused on the professional perspective and sexual or violent contents. Secondly, Newspaper Excellence is the key concept resulting form readership decline and tabloidization concerns. However, several disseminated articles explain it, but they share no interrelation. Finally, the Internet has emerged as a new revival for basic concepts about media credibility and it is such a prolific topic, in spite of its short existence.

b.1.1. Broadcasting Quality

Broadcasting Quality is by far the most assessed excellence feature in international literature. It implies the effect of television on audiences and on society, in the end. Scholars found it more interesting to appoint television quality and only sometimes radio quality has been researched[65]. Nevertheless, Broadcasting Quality has never become a systematic and homogeneous research object. Furthermore, there is a great confusion on doctrinal concepts and denominations. As a consequence, we will found our work on Pujadas Capdevila's doctoral dissertation, which gathers the

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[64] Original quotation by Ruß-Mohl states as follows: "Qualität im Journalismus definieren zu wollen gleicht dem Versuch, einen Pudding an die Wand zu nageln. Sicher ist nur so viel: Den einen Qualitätsmaßstab gibt es nicht –und damit auch keine kurze, knappe Antwort auf die Frage, was journalistische Qualität ausmacht." (Ruß-Mohl, 1992: 85)

[65] I.e. Germany (Bucher & Barth, 2003), Switzerland (Anker, 2003) and Sweden (Hillve et al., 1997).

literature review on television quality, and establishes a clear categorization among discourses and concepts.

The first international studies on audience research, constituting the basis for later quality assessment research, took place in 1971 making use of audience data as a strategy for their concerns. Small communities as Canada were worried about risks for identity, whereas Scandinavian countries[66] explored cooperation among them. At the time academic research was the central point of German and French scholars; the broadcasting purpose was pointed out as both professional accomplishment (UK) and market driven (USA). Finally, Japan was concerned on the appropriateness of broadcasting, especially about influence on voters' intentions and children television. Next decade, through the sponsorship of NHK (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation), several scholars began a research on the assessment of Broadcasting Quality. It was carried out from 1990 to 1993 and involved the cooperation of scholars from the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Sweden and Japan. Their works are still considered the basis for every quality research (Eguchi and Ichinohe, 1971: 7; Ishikawa, 1996a: vii).

As a result, Broadcasting Quality has derived in several concepts aiming to assess different features of excellence in broadcasting. In spite of the wide range of term misuse, we will follow Pujadas Capdevila's classification.

Table No. 21 – Hierarchical Concepts deriving from Broadcasting Quality

Broadcasting System Quality	It matches the overall broadcasting quality of a political and legislative system.	
Quality of Programming	Horizontal Quality	It refers to the goals all television channels as a whole must accomplish and the values they must transmit.
	Vertical Quality	It reflects the outcome of programmes' quality in every media outlet.
Channel Quality	It combines accomplishment of the objectives in the articles of association and management goals fulfilment.	
Programme Quality	Every programme is considered a complete assessment object.	

Source: Author, based on Pujadas Capdevila (2008: 190-191).

Notwithstanding that some concepts might work together in practical terms, academic research review becomes a hard task, when delimiting each term's meaning field. We will categorically avoid expressions like *quality television* and *television quality*,

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[66] "Scandinavia proper consists of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The Nordic countries include also Finland and Iceland. In international contexts, the Nordic countries are often called the Scandinavian countries." (Rosengren et al., 1996: 3)

since they are found to be certainly vague (despite the fact that some scholars use the term *quality television*, as opposed to popular television[67]) and make no specific reference to a defined Broadcasting Quality feature.

i. Broadcasting System Quality

Quality is broadly understood as a "relational concept", that is to say, there is no single feature or characteristic defining it, but a system of those. According to the set of values and norms regulating a defined Broadcasting System, Pujadas Capdevila distinguishes up to four conceptions operating under every normative theory: the economical and political system, national belonging feelings, localism, and democracy (as a synonym for public service). First of all, the economical and political system in charge of regulating the Broadcasting System will also derive its principles from the values media are to accomplish in terms of social goals (Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 197-208; Rosengren, 1996: 4-8).

Secondly, broadcasting becomes an instrument to gather a community, under the concept of nation. Broadcasting aims to configure an emotional space, aligning it to the media-friendly construction of a national community. This approach is openly pled for in those countries where the home language is downgraded. Canada turned out a paradigmatic case. However, this protectionist rules have been adopted in other countries like Sweden, United Kingdom, France and, recently, also the European Union. Accordingly, broadcasting is in charge of preserving identity (Hillve et al., 1997: 312-315; Medina Laverón, 2006: 19-21; Mulgan, 1990a: 19-21; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 197-208; Raboy, 1996a: 60; Tur Viñes, 2006: 175-177).

Thirdly, localism wishes to raise local production (geographically demarcated) and, for such a purpose, it focuses on self-agenda. Somehow, localism in a global world could constitute a defense to alignment. As a result, this characteristic has also been known as *quality threshold*, that is to say, the notion where excellence starts (ib).

Lastly, in those countries with a public service tradition, democracy requirements are compelled, in spite of their economical cost (Bardoel, 2003: 83; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 154; Medina Laverón, 2006: 15-19, Mulgan, 1990a: 21-24;

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[67] As in the following quotation, for instance: "The appreciation of the Programme Quality of a broadcasting station is related to *quality television*, but it does not definitely depend on that" (Klüber, 1996: 198) [My translation]. See also: Cox, 2000; Lealand, 2001.

Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 197-208). The following basic principles for Public Service Broadcaster are commonly shared in those countries:

> "1.- Universality.
> 2.- Independence of news and programmes from political and commercial pressure.
> 3.- Supply of basic information.
> 4.- High-quality programmes.
> 5.- Importance of services for minority viewers.
> 6.- Local or regional services.
> 7.- Mixed scheduling." (Nakamura et al., 2006: 9)

ii. Quality of Programming

Quality of Programming has been described as the result of a defined range. On the one hand, based on diversity criteria, Quality of Programming has been understood as *horizontal*, referred to schedule policies. On the other hand, *vertical Quality* of Programming is linked to the outcome of quality programmes[68] (Ishikawa, 1996b: 95-96; Lasagni & Richeri, 1996: 19; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 21; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 135-138; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 231-253).

In order to make Quality of Programming measurable, scholars have come to assess it on the basis of diversity. It has been generally agreed to compose an objective standard for quality. Accordingly, Quality of Programming would be the result of the balance in channel offer, audience access and programme variety. Although those aspects can be inter-related, they are also believed to act independently (Fabbro, 2006: 25; Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 237-238; McQuail, 1992: 144-145; Mulgan, 1990a: 26-28; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 135-138; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 239-253).

Table No. 22 –Diversity Elements for Quality of Programming

Pujadas Capdevila	McQuail
La qualitat de la programació vinculada a la diversitat des del punt de vista del mercat	Diversity as more channels and choice for the audience
La qualitat de la programació vinculada a la diversitat social	Diversity as reflection
La qualitat de la programació en funció de la diversitat dels programes	Diversity as access

Source: Author, based on data by McQuail (1992: 144-145), and Pujadas Capdevila (2008: 239-253).

First of all, diversity as more channels and choice for the audience refers to the market offer. Quality of Programming is assessed in terms of goods' consumption. It is believed that the wider the range might be, the more diverse Quality of Programming would be. However, technical reasons make it hardly impossible to broadcast as many

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[68] Scholars have mostly referred to horizontal Quality of Programming as "range", whereas they have commonly used the term "variety" to designate the vertical quality (Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 239-240).

channels as the optime quantity states. Moreover, audiences have been proved not to use all the channels they are offered. As a consequence, scholars assert that this diversity aspect is intrinsically linked to the offer and demand rule (McQuail, 1992: 144-145; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 239-253).

Secondly, diversity as reflection is "the result of the interrelation between the broadcasting act and the broadcast society, throughout programming". Such an interrelation would be performed in three non-exclusive fields: reflection of prevailing differences of the population as a whole, access to different points of view, and wide option range.

Lastly, diversity as access is considered an internal measure. It takes into consideration variety of genres, points of view, narrative styles, resource management, topics and treatment.

Finally, Quality of Programming has been described on the basis of the programming range. Accordingly, vertical Quality of Programming has been mistaken for Channel Quality (Ishikawa, 1996b: 89-97; Ojer Goñi, 2008: 9-36; Prix Italia, 1998: 53; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 253).

Table No. 23 – Matching of M. Wober's Television Quality and Channel Quality indicators

Television quality indicators	Channel Quality indicators
* Enjoyable, pleasing.	* Enjoyable programmes.
* Informative, educational.	* Information programmes. * Educational programmes.
* Good casting, professionalism.	
* Interesting, stimulating.	
* Value-presenting.	
* For all the family, for every taste.	* Programmes for children under five. * **Confidence** that programmes non-suitable for all audiences will be broadcast after 9 pm.
* Varied.	* Wide programme range to choose from.
* No quiz, neither prize.	
* **Balanced in diversity.**	
* Doesn't insult viewers' intelligence.	
* Others.	
	* Some religious programmes.
	* **High cost programmes.**

Source: Author, based on data by Lasagni & Richeri (2006: 47-50).

iii. Channel Quality[69]

Directly derived from the conception of Quality of Programming, *Channel Quality* has been traditionally assessed according to internal and external elements. On the one hand, *internal elements* for Channel Quality assessment are referred to professionals' engagement with quality provided by management, as well as their professional ethics. Whereas the former directly derives from the TQM assumption stating every employee must get involved in excellence, the latter is directly connected with deontological practice. German tradition has been proved to elaborate objective standards stem from deontology. Consequently, three principles are required for professional ethics: freedom, access to media and concerns for audience. For their control assignment, media must legally be free from political meddling. Ahead of freedom of speech, media performance also requires no state and proprietorial interference (i.e. advertisers). Secondly, access to media seems paradoxic at the most technologically advanced time in history. Hence, the problem of access to media has turn out into representation. Reflection of a diverse society is placed on the basis for media ethics. Lastly, concerns for audience demand a special undertaking to solve democracy's deficits. Consequently, German scholars plead for diversity, identity and conflict publication as derived standards to assess media performance from a deontological perspective. First of all, *diversity* (especially, that of sources) is considered both cultural and social richness. Media performance is supported to reflect population as a whole and, therefore, it must appear social shades. Secondly, *identity* has a double function: it is delimited to a geographical space (most of the time, the State) and it is also associated with the idea of a media-liked construction of national society. Last, *conflict publication* implies explaining conflict structures, seeking solutions and an overall information. That is why conflict publication is also considered a quality defense: not only diverse topics emerge, but they are also analysed in their context (Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280; McQuail, 1992: 101-102; Thomaß, 2003: 95-104; Wunden, 2003: 63-68).

On the other hand, a wider selection of *external elements* has been alleged to measure Channel Quality in the Anglo-American tradition. To start with, organization *ownership* shaped different treatment for public and private broadcasting. Whereas the

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[69] Do not confuse **Channel Quality** with "channel diversity" or "vertical diversity".

latter is bound to the articles of its association, public broadcasting is believed to be responsible for its own programming (not driven according to commercial success), for the audience (it must reflect social diversity and complexity), for the process of democracy, and for the good management of public resources it is provided with (Lasagni & Richeri, 206: 71-76; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Secondly, Channel Quality has been understood as *vertical diversity aiming to improve horizontal diversity of the broadcasting system.* That way, programming is evaluated according to genres. Prime time (18:00h-00:00h) is divided in time fractions. As a consequence, channel's assessment is based on the same genre programme range other channels are broadcasting at one time. A whole broadcasting system's offer is analysed and, thus, the contribution of a defined channel is measured. Some scholars have applied the vertical diversity assessment method to this horizontal diversity. As a result, relative entropy [70] has shown some limitations to assees a defined channel's contribution to the broadcasting system for international studies (Ishikawa et al., 1996:261-263; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Thirdly, when *vertical diversity* has been put on a level with Channel Quality, the relative entropy has worked as a diversity index. In this case, however, scholars do not plead for a genre balance average, since news programmes are assumpted to be of higher quality. Accordingly, the more news programmes a broadcasting channel offers, the superior it is believed to be in terms of quality (Litman, 1979: 402-404; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Fourthly, programming balance has happened to be interpreted in *equilibrium with home production and imported programmes.* Thie view ultimately works as a protectionist policy related to both economical and culture shaping reasons (Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Fifthly, Channel Quality has been regarded as *success in brand name.* In this case, a defined broadcasting channel is of higher quality, as long as it is hitting the target. Consequently, market rules do not apply, and broadcasters are required to be patient for programming policies for the sake of a non-lineal programming offer, high levels of home production, and audience's confidence. The British Broadcasting Corporation is

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[70] "*Entropy* is expressed by he following formula: $H = \Sigma - p_i \log_2 p_i$ where p indicates the probability of each category being selected. When there is no concentration of categories, H takes its maximum value ($H = \log_2 N$) where N is the number of categories. Relative entropy is calculated by dividing obtained H by H's maximum value, and it ranges between 0 and 1." (Ishikawa et al., 1996: 254)

openly agreed to follow those considerations (Lasagni & Richeri, 206: 71-74; Ojer Goñi, 2008: 9-36, Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Sixthly, broadcasting channels are expected to be *set apart from competitors* in terms of such a global image, in accordance with business logics. Efficiency is measured along with organizational image goals and good management assessed on the basis of investment budget and audience results (Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

Finally, audience is not only considered a target group or assessment body. Accordingly, acting *respectful for audience* is exceedingly asserted, that is to say, "not underestimating either its intelligence or its sensibility" (BRU, 1989: 6-7; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

As a result, Channel Quality gathers the notion of vertical diversity and management goals. Experts share the opinion that media is not only ruled by "the laws of the free market". Consequently, economical features of Channel Quality should be assessed in line with Media Conduct Quality, whereas management goals in this context are bound to public broadcasting channel's responsibilities and private organizations' or articles of association (BRU, 1989: 3; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 255-280).

iv. Programme Quality

Programme Quality aims to assess media product as a measurable object. That is the reason why this notion is the closest to the ISO definition of quality. However, broadcasters have claimed to be assessed according to internal evaluation criteria to differ broadcasting from both other media and other cultural expressions such as "literature, painting or cinema". Consequently, Albers' main contribution consisted in gathering those disperse standards in three main groups: form, content and the interrelation of both (Albers, 1996: 107-116; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 311-339).

Form criteria for the assessment of Programme Quality belong to script standards and technical features. Therefore, "quality is seen in terms of production values", such as no interference in transmission and reception, technical issues of lighting, camerawork, script and direction (Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 86-88; Medina Laverón, 2006: 26, 55; Mulgan, 1990a: 8-10; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 140-141; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 330-338).

Notwithstanding the fact that *content* is essential to every media product, it happens not to be the most important feature in assessing broadcasting programmes'

quality. Content is generally introduced in negative sense, aiming to avoid sex, violence and the like. Moreover, content treatment is much more appreciated than content itself. That way, non-trivialising, conflict publication (as understood in the German tradition), originally and professional ethics are appointed at as the principles where content criteria should be grounded on (BRU, 1989: 1-5, 20-24; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 97-99; Medina Laverón, 2006: 54-57; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 139-140; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 315-329).

Lastly, the *interaction of form and content* has been an attempt to describe "television magics". Accordingly, this feature would evaluate artistry, richness of expression, and innovation. Those assessment fields directly stem from public broadcasting duties, facing its programming to commercial channels. Therefore, those criteria derive from Broadcasting System Quality and the set of rules and values that defined normative theory states for broadcasting (Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 88-92; Medina Laverón, 2006: 58-59; Mulgan, 1990a: 15-17; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 338-339).

Nevertheless, those criteria can vary among programmes. As a result, genre assessment is in charge of setting down every standard for those notions. Traditionally, four programme genres have been distinguished: news, entertainment, fiction and *varieté*. Accordingly, reference news programmes requisites are, amongst others, "impartiality, promotion audience's understanding and ability to reach its own conclusions". Fiction is the most artistic media product expression and it is linked to "challenge, controversy, scope for experiment, response from the viewers, passion" and the like. Entertainment genre implies, above all, "respect for all those involved, humour, inventiveness, and wit". Excellent *varieté*, finally, is linked to "scenery, camera movements, popular characters, and lack of vulgarity". However, television is changing and new genres are arisen or some of the old ones tend to be closer. For those new cases concordant recent assessment is required as a solution to measure their quality. For instance, childrens' programmes have not been assessed in accordance with that genre classification. On the contrary, a target group focused perspective leads to adapt objective genre criteria to that audience sector [71] (Alexander et al., 1998: 73-74;

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[71] That is to say, regardless of the traditional assessment structure: form, content and the interrelation between them.

Alexander et al., 2002: 389; BRU, 1989: 10-20; Klüber, 1996: 197-198; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 101-117; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 339-346).

As a result, quality perspectives aim to be the clue of an enormous puzzle. Regarding quality from the position of every link of the chain shed light on early quality debates. Broadcasting Quality became a pioneer in assessment, because "historically, the notion of quality has been linked to the concept of public service in television". Hence, the debate was originated and led on those professional terms akin to television working trends (Fabbro, 2006: 20-21; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 152-153; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 11-21; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 125-185).

b.1.2. Newspaper Excellence

Print media did not reach attention until reading rates decreased in the United States in the 1970s. As a consequence, its quality aimed to achieve a success formula to gain a better position in the market. European scholars were concerned about quality related to tabloidization, especially after 1990s. Both processes resulted in a similar effect: readers' mistrust. Accordingly, current Newspaper Excellence studies focus on actions to preserving audience's confidence (Schönbach, 2004: 219-220; Spassov, 2007: 4-9).

A decline in reading rates in the 1970s led American scholars to study the relationship between Newspaper Excellence and press distribution. First of all, those standards which could make a defined newspaper "excellent" were outlined. Accordingly, primarily works by Leo Bogart in 1977 found out editors' most rated standards and the following attributes were ranked: *accuracy*, *impartiality of reporting*, *investigative enterprise*, *specialized staff skills*, *individuality of character*, *civic-mindedness*, and *literary style* (Bogart, 2004: 40-46; Meyer, 2004a: 127; Spassov, 2007: 5).

Newspapers were regarded as a global product, whose quality assessment consisted in solving "how well the media news product serves the wants and needs of the aggregate of users across time". Hence, *Newspaper Excellence* evaluated media content as well as other management goals understood as values (i.e. influence, integrity, editorial independence, editorial courage…). Furthermore, some studies aimed to find out the excellence differences in newspapers owned by public and private groups. Accordingly, Newspaper Excellence, considered as the quality of a media news product,

fits in the conception of Channel Quality, since vertical diversity would be the sum of the assessed news reports and management values are those stemmed from their public service duty, back to the goals which could have been stated in their articles of association (Bogart, 2004: 40-46; Lacy, 1989: 44; Lacy & Fico, 1990: 49):

> "So does journalistic excellence result in more successful newspapers? Yes, if success is defined, as it once may have been, by the pride of the journalists who write and edit their contents. Not always, if one considers profit as the truest token of achievement. […] Whatever the criteria they use, the conclusion is clear: a newspaper's investment in its news operation is likely to yield a solid return. What counts, however, may not be the dollar amount of that investment, but how it is spent in short, its quality." (Bogart, 2004: 52)

Due to the probable association of the term Channel Quality within the broadcasting context, the term of *Medium Quality* will be given preference. As a matter of fact, it highlights the importance of assessing every media outlet according to the especificities and goals of such a means of publication (Barth, 2004: 204-205; Klüber, 1996: 195).

Lacy and Fico established a quality index to assess Newspaper Excellence, in an attempt to "reduce the possible impact of individual bias on ranking the newspapers and the groups". It was based on Bogart's previous works and mixed content standards and management goals, such as the new *reporter workload* criterion. Nevertheless, it was believed to be in need of experts' verification (Bogart, 2004: 45-47; Lacy & Fico, 1990: 49-52).

Table No. 24 – Matching of Bogart's newspaper excellence criteria and Lacy & Fico's Quality Index

Bogart (1977)	Lacy & Fico (1990)
High ratio of staff-written copy to wire and feature service copy.	Commitment to locally produced copy.
	Number of wire services.
Total amount of non-advertising content.	Amount of non-advertising copy.
	Ratio of non-advertising to advertising space.
High ratio of news interpretation and backgrounders to spot news reports.	Number of interpretative and in-depth stories.
	Amount of graphics.
	Story length – more depth.
Number of letters to the editor per issue.	————
————	Reporter workload.

Source: Author, based on Bogart (2004: 45), and Lacy & Fico (1990: 47).

Most agreed excellence criteria were generally shared by several companys' editors, in spite of their sales rating. Studies proved that there was no enough evidence to assert that big groups produced better quality newspapers. Therefore, circulation size was no longer considered the "key predictor" for the presence or absence of excellence

standards (Beam, 2003: 380-384; Bogart, 2004: 48; Lacy & Fico, 1990: 49-51; Gladney, 1990: 64-67).

Equally, Bogart found out by 1977 that editors and readers shared similar criteria to assess quality. Later studies proved that readers are not so sensitive to writing style (although they ranked good writing as a quality content standard), and management features. Nevertheless, that election of excellence criteria has been recognized as "arbitrary". In fact, only some of them have been regarded as content related (*depth of coverage, fairness,* and *accuracy of information*), whereas a few deal with form (*visual appear,* for instance). Gladney separated those criteria in two groups: content related and organizational standards. No further categorisation has been carried out. However, among content criteria, *diversity* and *form* categories can be clearly differentiated, in concordance with other Media Quality assessment fields (Bogart, 2004: 40-48; Gladney, 1996: 320-327; Gladney, 1990: 65-66; Lacy, 1989: 48; Smith, 1997: 7-19).

Table No. 25 – Newspaper Excellence criteria,
in relation to Gladney's classification

Quality dimensions		Bogart (1977)	Burgoon et al. (1982)	Gladney (1990)
Content standards	Diversity	Variety of content	–	–
	News treatment	Accuracy	Accuracy	Accuracy
		Authority	–	Lack of sensationalism Strong editorial page
		Breadth of coverage	Depth Sophistication of treatment	News interpretation
		Reflection of the entire home community	–	Strong local coverage Common community values
		Comprehensiveness		Comprehensive coverage
		Vivid writing	Literary style	Good writing
		Fairness		–
	Form	Attractive makeup, packaging or appearance	–	Visual appeal
		Easy navigability		–
Organisational standards		Integrity		Integrity
		Balance	Impartiality	Editorial independence Impartiality
		Diligence in discovery	Investigative enterprise	Editorial courage
		–	–	Decency
				Influence
				Staff enterprise
				Staff professionalism
				Community leadership

Source: Author, based on Bogart (2004: 40), Burgoon et al. (1982, in Bogart, 2004: 47), and Gladney (1990: 65-66).

Aiming to shape the journalism of the 21st century, Mirón López outlined six parameters to measure Newspaper Excellence in the function of Medium Quality.

Those criteria might match with broadcasting assessment criteria based on *form, content* and the *interrelation* between them. As a matter of fact, focusing on presentation, *form* pleads for a balance on first pages: not only appealing, but also content related. Secondly, according to *content*, three features are highlighted: feature writing, accuracy and language. Along with Mirón López, due to broadcasting impact, newspapers must offer comparative advantages to that in the form of contextualizing news, preventing factual inaccuracies and avoiding orthographical errors. Thirdly, he resorts to deontology in order to assure *good practice*, since that is considered a control action by itself for "source contrasting, accuracy, and conveniently signed reports by their author". Lastly, organisational management (in terms of workload and distribution) is regarded as a key factor for journalistic specialization (Mirón López, 2006: 94-96).

Table No. 26 – Mirón López's proposal
for the assessment of Newspaper Excellence

Quality dimensions		Mirón López (2006)
Content features	Form	Presentación
	Content	Análisis
		Veracidad
		Escritura
	Interrelation of form and content	Deontología
Management features	Employees	Profesionales

Source: Author, based on Mirón López (2006: 94-96).

On the contrary, German tradition has conventionally focused on content. Accordingly, media products are considered to be "based on content". As a consequence, layout or design is regarded as means to give relevance to content, whose main duties consist in the following (Haller, 2003: 184-185):

* Offering an optimal use of the newspaper, which implies: clearing the text space, helping in selection, improving readability, and making topics attractive.

* Reducing complexity (graphic and text elements organised in a modular way).

* Introducing news in concordance with the principle of relevance.

Yet, there are some features most addressed to in both American and German research related to newspaper product quality. Despite they are gathered under *layout* and *content* considerations, *diversity* has claimed to be essential and, thus, it will also be taken into account:

**Table No. 27 – Most addressed newspaper product quality features
in both America and Germany**

	Indicator	Measurement
Diversity	Diversity.	The number of different reports on the front page.
Layout	The internal structuring of stories that should make them more readable.	Subheads, bullets, pullout quotes, special lettering for leads.
	Visual means for presenting information.	Photographs, graphs, and symbols.
Content	Community orientation.	The emphasis on local information on the front page.
	The efforts to make newspaper content better retrievable.	Tables of contents, leasers.

Source: Author, based on Schönbach (2004: 222).

Equally, the concern about *tabloidization* has been analysed in Europe as well as in the USA, notwithstanding the fact that it is thought not to be an internationally uniform process[72]. Tabloidization is described as a process of decresing journalistic standards and embracing the "tabloid agenda", as the result of broadening media's social duty. The distinction between *quality press* and *tabloids* was first adopted in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the 20th century[73]. Two factors have been considered to accelerate the progression and intensity of tabloidization: the lack of newspaper competition and the tradition of home delivery. That way, Germany has been assumed not to have reached yet the same degree of tabloidization as the United Kingdom, for instance, where "front pages, headlines and exclusives are much more important for both quality and popular newspapapers". Nowadays, recent circulation growth of the majority of reference newspapers is believed to have been "achieved at the expense of tabloidization of quality press". It is considered a phenomenon that has also reached broadcasting. As a result, trivialisation of topics and sexual and violence television contents (Bromley, 1998: 28-29; Esser, 1999: 289-312; Gripsrud, 289-292; Lassagni & Richeri, 2006: 64-69; Spassov, 2007: 7-10)[74].

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[72] Since local peculiarities are the result of the "specific historical development of the press in each country". Even some "irrevocable characteristics" are due to historical processes, such as neutrality and objectivity (Spassov, 2007: 10).

[73] *Daily Mirror*, the first tabloid newspaper, was founded in 1903 in Great Britain and adopted that name because of its format (half a broadsheet). Accordingly, the term *tabloid* was used to name that kind of journalism laying "emphasis on certain kinds of brief stories, large pictures, and sensationalist headings" (Gripsrud, 2000: 289).

[74] However, German academics have analysed the compact editions of broadsheet-formated newspapers, on the basis that paper extension might make a distinction in contents. They found both designs give readers and journalists several choices to develop properly their work. Accordingly, readers' fulfilment happened to be related to their beforehand requirements. As a consequence, if quality is defined in terms of customer's satisfaction, design may not be considered a constraint for Newspaper Excellence in the function of Medium Quality (Bucher & Schumacher, 2007: 514-528).

Tabloid contents applied to information have resulted in a new categorisation for reporting: *soft news* opposed to *hard news* (related to quality press). Distinction between them has been established according to four parameters:

> "1.- **Subject matter or content**: The inclusion or exclusion of certain types of stories (crime, accidents, human interest stories, stories about celebrities, and so on versus international news and stories about politics, social movements, the economy, and the like).
> 2.- **Proportions and priorities of various kinds of content**: The amount of space and the priority awarded to the above kinds of contents.
> 3.- **Forms of presentation**: The length of stories, the use of visual elements such as photographs, graphics and colors, layout.
> 4.- **Journalistic techniques and ethics**: The use of single or multiple sources, investigative techniques, «checkbook journalism», respect for privacy, and so on."
> (Gripsrud, 2000: 293)

From a methodological perspective, Kepplinger has measured the shifting from hard to soft news in German newspapers. Paying especial attention to the political section, politicians can be judged on their credibility, character or personality (the former will match hard news values and the latter, soft ones). Accordingly, Kepplingler distinguishes five story formulas: 1) whether they convey factuality or speculation; 2) optimism or pessimism; 3) bias or balance; 4) rationality or emotion; and 5) scandal or no scandal. Similar studies in the United Kingdom asserted that, effectively, not only had decreased the amount of international news in favour of increasing entertainment and human-interest stories, but the number and average length of political news stories was also analogous in quality and tabloid newspapers (Esser, 1999: 307-309).

Tabloidization has abrouptly expanded around former Communist countries in Europe, where media had fulfilled "propaganda and educational functions". Market success and profit-making new media spread at the expense of quality press readers' decline, as a consequence of decreasing leaving standards, shifts in cultural values, cultural changes implying internationalization of popular culture, and so on. Moreover, post-communist politicians did not assume media's critical role and felt overcriticised by quality press during economical system transition (Gulyas, 2003: 82-100).

Hence, print media have not accomplished its early goals of gaining readers and, thus, prevent future rates decrease. Newspapers have not stopped losing readers:

> "Over the past five years [since 2000], newspaper sales have fallen by 7,7% in Germany, 9,5% in Denmark, 9,9% in Austria and 6,9% in Belgium. Even in Japan, with the highest purchase of newspapers in the world per head of population, sales have fallen by 2,2%. Over the past decade in the European Union the number of papers sold overall has fallen by a million a day. Worldwide, the distribution of purchased (rather than free) papers has been falling at an average of 2% a year."
> (Ramonet, 2005: 26)

Recent studies have focused on such a decline of trust. The American Society of Newspaper Editors published a report in 1998, after three years investigation, where the audience's perceptions on media performance were found to be the basis for media's credibility crisis:

> "1.- The public sees too many factual errors and spelling or grammar mistakes in newspapers.
> 2.- The public perceives that newspapers don't consistently demonstrate respect for, and knowledge of, their readers and their communities.
> 3.- The public suspects that the points of view and biases of journalists influence what stories are covered and how they are covered.
> 4.- The public believes that newspapers chase and over-cover sensational stories because they're exciting and they sell papers. They don't believe these stories deserve the attention and play they get.
> 5.- The public feels that newsroom values and practices are sometimes in conflict with their own priorities for their newspapers.
> 6.- Members of the public that have had actual experience with the news process are the most critical of media credibility." (ASNE, 1999: 1; Jornet, 2006: 184-185; MMC, 2000: 26-27; Puente et al., 2001: 113)

As a consequence, newspapers have renewed "their commitment to accuracy", as a feature of quality. The goal should be preventing errors beyond correcting them. Information sources assessing factual inaccuracy found up to 61% feature errors in local newspapers' reports in the USA. Ruß-Mohl highlights that "several researches conducted from the mid-1960s onwards have found error rates of between 40 and 60 per cent". Notwithstanding the fact that primary sources evaluate the reports based on their information with intense rigour, scholars agree that corrections pages are not accordingly long enough to report such high error rates. Furthermore, a vast majority of American journalists believed that "a correction follows a discovered coverage mistake", which may lead to damage the paper's reputation. As a result, Ruß-Mohl's fear remains that in the USA, "the majority of errors will remain undetected, uncriticised and therefore uncorrected", in spite of the American daily error reporting tradition. He regrets that in Europe no similar research has ever been conducted. Consequently, the main question continues unanswered: "How many errors are tolerable without journalism running the risk of losing even more of its credibility?" (Altmeppen, 2003: 119-121; Maier, 2005: 533-551; Ruß-Mohl, 2006; Ruß-Mohl, 2009).

Furthermore, Quality Control techniques have been applied to newsrooms. Therefore, as well as other departments[75], editors are also in charge of assessing

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[75] Resource Management, Relations Management and Commercial Management are also involved, as Newspaper Excellence is understood related to Medium Quality and not only media product.

Newspaper Quality in terms of content. Jornet proposes four principles to take into consideration: *accuracy, readers' assessment, influence* and *pluralism.* Accordingly, some indicators are measured to evaluate those key goals in newsroom. Accuracy is assessed against the number of detected errors (orthographical and factual mistakes) and received claims. Secondly, readers' assessment implies the configuration of a readers panel, aiming to rate their overall satisfaction on a weekly basis. Thirdly, influence on public opinion is evaluated according to the ratio of home-production over the total published stories. Finally, pluralism is believed to be encouraged by contributors' regional dispersion rates. Therefore, they are given a reference value (as wished goal in short or long-term). By measuring those indicators and updating them on the established regular basis, the chef editor will be able to judge the current situation in newsroom. Current values related to reference ones (wished goals) explain which policies are to be undertaken in order to improve the media product (Guyot, 2007: 73-79; Jornet, 2006: 173-203).

Table No. 28 – Policy and Procedures Board for Newspaper Quality Control (Content Assessment)

Área crítica	Aspecto clave	Indicadores	Unidad de medida	Valor de referencia ([76])		Periodo actual	Evolu-ción	Frecuencia de actualiza-ción
Gestión de la calidad	Precisión	Errores detectados	Unidades	58	M	33	-43%	Semanal
		Reclamos recibidos	Unidades	12	M	16	33%	Mensual
	Evaluación de lectores	Grado medio de satisfacción	%	3,8	S	3,9	3%	Semanal
	Influencia	Agenda propia / total de notas[77]	%	18	O	15	-17%	Diaria
	Pluralismo	Dispersión regional de colaboradores	Unidades	4,7	O	3,8	-19%	Mensual

Source: Jornet (2006: 260).

Nevertheless, newspapers are not likely to apply economical concepts to their routines, since the idea of "control" has negative connotations in the journalistic working culture based on freedom. On the contrary, some few newspapers have openly undertaken some actions to increase readers' trust, in an attempt to avoid future

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[76] "Reference value" is in concordance with budget figures: (**P**) for annual budget, (**S**) for weekly data, (**M**) for monthly data, (**A**) for previous year's data, and finally (**O**) for optimal values (Jornet, 2006: 194).
[77] Argentinian word for "story".

inaccuracies and recover international prestige[78]. The *New York Times*, for instance, announced some actions aiming to get in touch with readers, deal with unidentified sources, reduce factual errors, and establish a clear distinction between news and opinion (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 19-23; Jornet, 2006: 173-174; MMC, 2000: 3; NYT, 2005: 1-15).

**Table No. 29 – Main actions undertaken by the *New York Times*
in order to preserve readers' trust**

Aims	Actions
A dialogue with our publics	* Opening participation forums for the website.
Reaching out to readers, improving our use of sources	* Publishing reporters' e-mail address. * Checking facts with sources while elaborating news. * Checking facts with sources after publication, aiming to build long-term relationships with sources.
Unidentified sources	* Pressing more to put quotations on the record. * For unavoidable anonymity cases: describing sources more fully (how they know what they know, why they provide the information and why they are entitled to anonymity).
Reducing factual errors	* Reading the copy before publishing. * Developing plagiarism detection software.
The news / opinion divide	* Standardizing typographical format for news analysis. * Being more alert to nuances of language when writing about contentious issues. * Enlarging news definition[79].

Source: NYT (2005: 1-15).

Notwithstanding those actions might seem elementary, they were not undertaken at that time and, moreover, they are currently considered a key element for transparency. Accordingly, *Berria* has also implemented that publicity strategy for some sections, such as opinion:

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[78] Jayson Blair, *New York Times* reporter, was charged in 2003 with having committed "widespread fabrication and plagiarism". For instance, he had reported from New York about weapons of mass destruction as a war correspondent in Iraq (NYT, 2003: 1-10; Ramonet, 2005: 26; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 32). See also his confession book (Blair, 2004) and its literary review at the *New York Times* (Shafer, 2004: 1-2). Blair's all fraudulent articles are available on "Jayson Blair, the Full Story" website: <www.jaysonblair.com>.
   Only one month later, the *USA Today* received an anonymous letter, accusing one of their most respected reporters of similar behaviour. After an internal investigation, Jack Kelley resigned in January 2004 (Ramonet, 2005: 26; Rubin, 2004). His editors had nominated him five times for the Pulitzer Prize and even the reports that led him as a Pulitzer Prize finalist in 2002 were proved to be fake (Pulitzer Prize <http://www.pulitzer.org/finalists/2002> [Last retrieved: 19/08/2009]).
[79] American news tradition has considered the distinction between news and opinion as a basic quality indicator. However, European scholars share another considerations and do not emphasize that assertion as much. The *New York Times* seems to share this European view, in spite of partisan consideration (Haiman, 1999: 64-66, Plasser, 2005: 55; Wilke, 2003: 51):
   "[Enlarge our working definition of what constitute news] Our news coverage needs to embrace unorthodox views and contrarian opinions and to portray lives both more radial and more conservative than those most of us experience. We need to listen carefully to colleagues who are at home in realms that are not familiar to most of us." (NYT, 2005: 12-13)

Picture No. 1 – Publication of Reporter's E-Mail Address

Source: Berria[80] (28/08/2009).

In fact, Ruß-Mohl is of the opinion that little steps can avoid accuracy errors. He considers media practicioners' lack of attention as the "most important problems in journalistic quality management". Accordingly, he proposes two "simple initiatives", tempted to call them "magic recipes": correcting reporting errors from the previous day on a daily basis, as American newspapers have been doing for years, and checking a short questionnaire with sources after story publication. Both actions were announced by the *New York Times* in 2005, but earlier Ruß-Mohl had reported editors' reluctance to post-publication source checkings:

> "The second suggestion comes from Jim Chisholm [senior strategy advisor to the *World Association of Newspapers*] […]. He wonders why his seemingly wellgrounded suggestion encounters so little approval from chief editors. The usefulness of such an action would be enormous: «It would be a clear signal that the newspaper is seriously concerned about the accuracy of its reporting». Each reader would feel that he has the right to speak freely. In a very short time one would get a picture of whose professional skills should be further trained up within the newsroom. «Moreover, one out of every three pieces of feedback contains an opportunity for a follow-up story», says Chisholm." (Ruß-Mohl: 2004: 1)

b.1.3. Internet Quality

Despite the fact that the Internet is the most recent medium, its quality has been thoroughly assessed. In effect, it has been more meaningfully researched than even

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[80] *Berria*: <www.berria.info>.

Newspaper Quality and, indeed, Internet Quality has retaken the question of media credibility. Such a concept has been updated and defined in terms of content analysis, as product quality, not only to be over according to newsroom policies or infrastructures. In fact, the concern for Internet Quality arose when websites spread around, as a consequence of Internet open access. Then, users faced old problems in new media, understood as "non-quality features": information overload, availability of vast quantities of useless information, the potential for inaccurate materials, the ephemeral nature of materials disseminated, and so on (Cooke, 1999: 6; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 233-245; Ornelas Ley et al., 2007: 1-3).

At a first stage, the assessment of Internet Quality was believed to follow that of print materials and, accordingly, newspaper content quality. However, due to Internet's specific technological features, attention was drawn to technical questions. Furthermore, the Internet was considered a new medium and, as a consequence, distinctive evaluation criteria were applied. As a result, four specific Medium Quality assessing concepts arose: hypertextuality, interactivity, multimediality and crossmediality (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 2; Barth, 2004: 205-211; Fritch & Cromwell, 2001: 499-502; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 252-253; Tena Parera, 1999: 199-200).

First of all, *hypertextuality* refers to the specific characteristics of the Internet text. The hypertext enables a non-sequential information reading, whose main attribute would be the capacity to emulate human memory's associative organising.

> "Básicamente, un hipertexto se puede definir como un documento digital que se organiza en forma de red gracias a las relaciones que se establecen entre nodos, enlaces y anclajes […].
> Esta estructura hipertextual es la que favorece el acceso asociativo entre ideas y conceptos de manera no lineal, donde los nodos son los diferentes puntos de interconexión de la información, que se asocian gracias a los enlaces –verdaderos puentes bidireccionales entre nodos– que son activados por determinados puntos de conexión (anclajes), de manera múltiple si se quiere, dentro de cada nodo." (Campàs, 2007: 47)

As a result, former footnotes or explanatory notes are part of the main text and, thus, complete it. Consequently, hypertextuality has affected functional design (which consists of factors such as conformity of layout and use of hypertext links to aid in page navigation: text and links' appearance, links' organization…), as well as content characteristics, such as new text internal coherence problems, information architecture, sequencing from other websites, etc (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 4; Barth, 2004: 206-207; Brandl, 2004: 238-239; Campàs, 2007: 41-54).

Secondly, the notion of *interactivity* entitles the audience to take part in the information process. The Internet has opened new ways to know the audience's opinion (discussion forums, short questionnaires, commentaries on the news), and it has created an innovative approach to explore specific information throughout search function buttons, access to archives and interactive graphs. As a result, the audience has become more active by taking over the strategies for information research, fact contrast, and the interdependence among features (Brandl, 2004: 239; Brüggemann, 2004: 228; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 252-253).

Thirdly, *multimediality* is the result of hypertextuality and interactivity. On the one hand, the hypertext grounds on the applications of new technological development (text, image, audio, video files) and, on the other, interactivity promotes their use (Brandl, 2004: 238-239; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 252-253):

> "Le multimédia constitue l'association d'un ensemble de médias naturellement indépendants les uns des autres; le texte, le son, la vidéo, les animations ainsi que graphismes et banques de données fusionnent sur un support informatique qui permet l'interactivité." (Huart, 2000: 72)

Finally, *crossmediality* establishes a new model for newsroom working. The slogan "One brand - all media" implies that journalistic products are to be published in different media under complementary functions. The term crossmediality has erroneously been used as a synonym for mutimediality, but nowadays the concept of cross-media journalism applies instead of bi-media or tri-media journalism:

> "Wolfgang Schweiger versteht unter Crossmedia für Medienangebote allgemein die Verknüpfung unterschiedlicher Mediengattungen mit ihren spezifischen Selektionsmöglichkeiten und Darstellungsformen auf unterschiedlichen Angebots- und Produktionsebenen mit unterschiedlichen Funktionen für Anbieter und Publikum." [81] (Gleich, 2003: 510)

Accordingly, media convergence is to be organised internally around "topics and stories, around geography or consumer personality, but not around individual media units" (Brüggemann, 2004: 222-228; Meier, 2003: 257-258; Neuberger, 2003: 1-3; Rajewsky, 2005: 44).

Crossmediality also deals with the advertising of other media in terms of journalistic connections. Therefore, Neuberger distinguishes cross-media connections

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[81] "By cross-media of media product, Wolfgang Schweiger understands the linkage of different media with their specific selection possibilities and representation forms at different media products and production levels with diverse functions for journalists and audience" [My translation from German].

related to the media product and those related to a specific medium. He shows a wide range of attitudes the cross-media group may adopt.

Table No. 30 – Types of Journalistic Cross-Media Connections related to Media Product and Medium

Related to media product	Cooperation	**Repeated utilization** of contents by 1:1 transmission or adaptation.
		Crossmediality: Supplementary media product content, mostly within a brand family and supported by cross-references.
		Advertising for media products in another medium.
	Selective reference	**Journalistic topic selection** for media products in another medium.
		Assumption of topics, opinions and main characters (protagonista) from media products of another medium.
Related to medium	**Complementary distinction or imitation** of another medium.	
	Journalistic topic selection of a whole medium.	
	Extensive orientation about another medium in Metamedia (such as TV magazines).	

Source: Neuberger (2003: 3)[82].

As a consequence, attention is drawn back to media content, regardless the medium it has been published in. Therefore, crossmediality is understood as content flux among several media and the methodology to evaluate its quality turns out to be traditional content analysis (Buss, 2003:269-277; Stark & Kraus, 2008: 308-311).

Nevertheless, media are thought not to have reconsidered those innovative advantages and, as a result, journalists are alleged not to take advantage of them yet (Huart, 2000: 187):

> "La conectividad del hipertexto rompe necesariamente las relaciones sintagmáticas de los textos, pero los periodistas siguen escribiendo en Internet como si se tratara de un diario impreso, sin saber cómo funciona el sistema ni qué códigos debe estructurar para ofrecer una suerte de carta de navegación que permita al internauta conectar los textos leídos de manera dispersa y fragmentada, y que han perdido gran parte de su sentido." (Román Álvarez, 2004: 54)

Meanwhile, as long as Internet Quality is to assess websites in the function of Medium Quality, excellence dimensions can be gathered according to content and organisational features. On the one hand, content elements congregate three classical aspects of television programmes' assessment (form, content and the interrelation between them). For the evaluation of websites, they are named *technical quality*, *content quality* and *communicative quality*. Moreover, another new characteristic is highlighted: interactivity. On the other, organisational features cope mainly with management

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[82] My translation from German.

elements, either customer satisfaction perspective or financial costs (Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 323-328; Barth, 2004: 214-217; Welker, 2004: 276-277).

Table No. 31 – Matching of Quality Dimensions
for Television Programmes Assessment and Internet Quality Evaluation

Quality Dimensions for Television Programmes' Assessment		Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004)	Welker (2004)
Content features	**Form**	*Technische Qualität*	*Design* (Navigation, Ästhetik, internetspezifische Formen)
	(Internet specific features)	*Personelle Interaktivität*	*Interaktivität*
	Content	*Content quality*: * Relevanz * Richtigkeit / Quellentransparenz * Richtigkeit / Quellentransparenz / Vermittlungsleistung * Vermittlungsleistung / Vertändlichkeit * Qualität der Links * Vielfalt * Aktualität	*Aktualität, Glaubwürdigkeit* (Aktualität, Originalität, Seriosität, Glaubwürdigkeit)
	Interaction of form and content	*Kommunikative Qualität*: * Selektions- und Orientierungshilfen ~ Originalität *Rechtmäßigkeit / Normen der Medienselbstkontrolle*	*Sonstiges* (Innovation, Kreativität)
Organisational features	**Customer perspective**	*Kommunikative Qualität*: * Transparenz der Informationsstruktur / Usability--Kriterien (Modularisierung, multimediale bzw. -modale Gestaltung, Selektivität)	*Service* (Usability, Benutzerfreunlichkeit)

Source: Author, based on Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004: 325-328) and Welker (2004: 276-277).

Owing to German scholars' division of quality dimensions, assessment measures can be gathered and conform evaluators for quality elements, following a logical order. In fact, international literature review has not yet considered such an aspect of the importance which influenced German authors. However, since there is no connection between research publication date and assessment depth, respecting those quality dimensions German writers adopted might be the key to clarify and, therefore, unify research topics. Accordingly, regarding the work of most relevant scholars in assessing Internet Quality, it results that the implementation of the German categorization

system offers a better solution to study literature review. The following table synthesizes international literature based on Anglo-American tradition. Ten scholars' works are presented and combined, on a chronological order, in order to perceive any englobing movement. Some studies have become fundamental assessing primary sources (such as the books by Alexander & Tate, and Cooke) and others are complete methodological reviews (i.e. Merlo Vega, Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas, and Salvador Oliván et al.).

Table No. 32 – Chronological matching of Internet Quality assessment criteria of the most relevant scholars, according to German categorization

Di-mens-sions	Smith (1997)	Kapoun (1998)	Wilkinson, Bennet & Oliver (1998)	Dalhousie University Libraries (1999)	Salvador Oliván et al. (1999)	Alexander & Tate (1999)	Auer (1999)	Cooke (1999)	Codina (2000)	Burns (2002)
Org.	Cost									
Technical Quality	Graphic and multimedia design		Diseño		Diseño			Presentation		
			Aspectos estéticos		Aspectos estéticos					
					Estabilidad					
	Workability (Required computing environment)				Software					
Internet specific features	Content (Authority)	Autoridad	* Identifica-ción y docu-mentación * Autor * Autoridad	Authority	Autor (Identificación, autoridad, tipo y contacto)	Authority	Autoría	Authority and reputation	Autoría	Authority
	Purpose and audience			Purpose	Audiencia	Coverage and intended audience		Purpose		
	Workability (Interactivity)					Interaction and transac-tion features				
	Reviews								Visibilidad (Enlaces de otros)	

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Content Quality	Scope (Breadth, depth, time, format)	Cobertura	Validez de contenido	Coverage	* Cobertura * Validez de fuentes * Información primaria y secundaria * Documentación * Ilustraciones y gráficos		Cobertura	Coverage (Diversity)		Coverage
		Objetividad		Objectivity	Objetividad	Objectivity	Objetividad			Objectivity
	Content (Accuracy)	Exactitud	Exactitud de contenido	Accuracy	Exactitud	Accuracy	Exactitud	Accuracy		Accuracy
	Content (Currency)	Actualidad		Currency	Creación/actuali-zación	Currency	Actualidad	Currency		Currency
			Relevancia de contenido		Relevancia					
	Content (Quality of writing)				Calidad de la escritura					
Communicative Quality	Usabilidad		Usabilidad							
	Content (Uniqueness) Workability (User friendliness)				Facilidad de uso			Easy to use	Ergonomía (Easy to use)	
	Workability (Connectivity)		Accesibili-dad		Acceso al sitio			Accessibility	Acceso a la información (Navegación y recuperación)	
	Workability (Browsability and organization)		Navegación		Navegación					
	Workability (Searching)									
	Content (Links made to other resources)		Calidad de los enlaces		Enlaces				Luminosidad (Enlaces externos)	
Oth.								Overall quality		
								Comparison with other websites		

Source: Author, based on Alexander & Tate (1999: 55-57), Cooke (1999: 52-84), Merlo Vega (2003: 88-92), Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas (2006: 10-13), Salvador Oliván et al. (1999: 104-111), and Smith (1997: 3-7).

Scholars aimed to systematize evaluators in an attempt to stop research dispersion, and the number of times an evaluator had been used were counted. Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas, for instance, have recently analysed nineteen scholars' articles and reviewed their measure instruments, "as long as they have been supported by an institution, organism or educational association"[83]. As a result, a total amount of 56 indicators were found to have been employed as Internet Quality criteria. Here they are gathered according to German categorisation for Internet Quality indicators:

Table No. 33 – Amount of evaluators applied as Internet quality criteria: number of times and percentage of use

Quality dimensions	Criteria	No.	%	Quality dimensions	Criteria	No.	%
Mana-gement	Costs			Content Quality	Accuracy	12	63%
		1	5%		Content	4	21%
	Resources		5%		Content and evaluation	1	5%
		1			Coverage	9	47%
Technical Quality					Currency	15	79%
	Action	1	5%		Depth	2	11%
	Attractiveness	1	5%		Objectivity	9	47%
	Audiovisual environment	1	5%		Quality of writing	1	5%
	Balance	1	5%		Readability	1	5%
	Design	4	21%		Reading	1	5%
	Format	1	5%		Relevance	1	5%
	Graphic and multimedia design				Scope	2	11%
		1	5%		Style	1	5%
	Multimedia elements	1	5%		Time	2	11%
	Presentation	1	5%		Title	1	5%
	Required computing environment				Width	1	5%
		1	5%	Communicative Quality	Accesibility	2	11%
	Workability	1	5%		Advanced technology	1	5%
Internet specific features					Browsability	2	11%
	Affiliation	1	5%		Connectivity	1	5%
	Audience	2	11%		Easy to use	3	16%
	Authority	15	79%		Efficiency	1	5%
	Bidirectionality	1	5%		Innovation	1	5%
	Credibility	1	5%		Links	1	5%
	Identity	1	5%		Multiple links	1	5%
	Intended audience	1	5%		Originality	1	5%
	Interaction	2	11%		Searching	1	5%
	Purpose	9	47%		Searching engines	1	5%
	Reliability	2	11%		Structure	2	11%
	Source and date	1	5%		Uniqueness	1	5%
	Reviews	1	5%		Usability	1	5%

Source: Author, based on Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004: 325-328), and Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas (2009: 4-6)[84].

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[83] Some of the assessment methods are employed by relevant scholars as already explained in Table No. 32 [Alexander, J. & Tate, M (1999); Burns, S. (2002); Dalhousie University Libraries (2000); Kapoun, J. (1998); Smith, A. (1997)]. The rest authors are USA academics [Beck, S. (1997); Grassian, E. (1995); Iowa State University Library (1999); Leen and Dixie Hannon Library (2005); Libraries and Media Services (2004); North Harris College Library (2003); Owens Library, Northwest Missouri State University (2003); Tong, J. (2004); University of British Columbia Library (2005); Western Kentucky University Libraries (2005)] or Spanish speaker writers [Biblioteca del a Universidad de Sevilla (2000); Gómez, G. (2004); Marqués, P. (2000-2001); Ramírez, P. (-)].

[84] My translation from German.

A vast amount of the mentioned evaluators (38 out of 56) was found to have been barely employed once (67.86%). However, those indicators most scholars apply turn out not to be used for every assessment. Accordingly, indicators were gathered in the function of their content meaning and not only based on their designation. Therefore, Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas propose an assessment catalogue to measure Internet Quality, conformed of thirteen criteria. Some indicators are distinctly applied, such as widely agreed authority and purpose. However, some other standars like multimedia elements may ambiguously be part of either technical or communicative quality. Nevertheless, their directory of thirteen criteria is the most detailed evaluation method. Accordingly, every criterion is to be measured against an amount of inquiries varying from three to six questions. In an attempt to reduce to ten the amount of criterion categories, Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas left out three concepts (*costs, originality*, and *reviews*), since they consider them not related to quality and, accordingly, not suitable for its assessment. Equally, Jiménez Piano and Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez had worked out another catalogue following the same process: highlighting those more employed evaluators. Their directory consists of twenty one categories, gathered in five criteria (*búsqueda y recuperación, autoridad, contenido, administración,* and *diseño*), and assessed against 136 indicators in the form of questions. Yet, those enquiries are not of similar value. On the contrary, the Bracad questionnaire offers a suggested weight to each and every question (Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas, 2009: 2-10; Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 206-244).

Table No. 34 – Matching of Internet Quality indicators after scholars' criteria association, according to German categorisation

Quality dimensions	Ornelas Ley (2009)	Ind.	Jiménez Piano (2007)		Ind.	Pond.
Technical Quality	Multimedia	5	Diseño	Estilo o aspectos estéticos	7	12.4
Content Quality			Contenido	Validez	8	26.6
	Actualidad	5		Actualidad	5	33.9
	Cobertura	5		Cobertura y exhaustividad	11	40.8
	Exactitud	6		Exactitud y objetividad	4	24.8
	Objetividad	5				
Communicative Quality	*Originalidad*			Originalidad	–	14.4
				Redacción y organización intelectual	5	20.0
			Búsqueda y recuperación de la información	Motores de búsqueda	13	18.4
				Metadatos	5	11.6
				Visualización de resultados	8	2.6
	Navegación	5	Diseño	Navegación	11	25.0
	Enlaces	5		Accesibilidad	10	14.8
				Uso de normas aceptadas	3	–
	Retroalimentación	3		Asistencia al usuario	4	9.2
Internet specific features	Autoridad	5	Autoridad	Identificación y reputación	9	82.3
	Revisores			Control de calidad	3	40.2
	Propósito	5	Administración	Audiencia	4	14.0
				Normas de uso	3	10.7
				Política de actualización	7	18.8
Management features	*Costo*			Administración del sistema	9	31.2
				Evaluación	7	10.0

Source: Author, based on Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004: 325-328), Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas (2009: 6), and Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez (2007: 206-244).

Consequently, the catalogue proposed by Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas grants half its value to content attributes. Jiménez Piano and Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, however, focus on the Internet specific features, giving them doble the importance of the first catalogue. As a result, content criteria are of half significance in the catalogue of Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas. Notwithstanding communicative quality consideration is similar in both directories; it is placed in the second position by Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas, while it is relegated up to the third place by Jiménez Piano and Ortiz-

Repiso Jiménez. Finally, management features and technical quality happen to be regarded almost residual in both systems (the first assessment method does not even take management attributes into consideration).

Moving attention back to the literature review, merely six evaluators happened to be applied at least nearly by half scholars, as stated by Ornelas Ley and López Ornelas: *currency, authority, accuracy, coverage, objetivity* and *purpose*. In the review study by Jiménez Piano and Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez only two indicators were quoted by nearly half scholars: *accuracy* and *update*. Except for *authority* and *update*, the rest of the most applied Internet Quality indicators are, to that extent, content related evaluators mostly employed for printed news characteristics, named "classical journalistic quality". Consequently, Internet Quality assessement is also the result of other media evaluation. Therefore, cross-media assessment results widely admited (Barth, 2004: 208-210; Ornelas Ley & López Ornelas, 2009: 4-6; Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 72-85; 155-156):

> "La evaluación de la información no depende, en principio, del soporte en el que esté contenida; ahora bien, es evidente que determinados soportes imponen ciertas características que necesariamente influyen sobre los criterios de evaluación." (Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 59)

The wide spread of Internet access raised again the question of credibility. For some specific features, this new medium must gain confidence and, for such a purpose, academics have outlined some characteristics where websites' trustworthiness is believed to be reliable. Accordingly, two sorts of credibility are distinguished. On the one hand, classical concept of believability involving content is called *message credibility*. On the other hand, *surface credibility* emerges as a new conception. As a matter of fact, credibility is thought to be "strongly related to use of particular media". Accordingly, for traditional media, surface credibility might include "physical appearance or attractiveness of a speaker, or quality of the paper". Websites move back to the main discussion about believability, from this precise perspective, and link it to "quickly access", "easy to use" and the like notions. To that extend, surface credibility factors would englobe those considered under the category of Internet specific features in this work (Johnson & Kaye, 2002: 625-626; Wathen & Burkell, 2002: 140-143).

**Chart No. 21 – Proposed model of how users judge
the credibility of on-line information**
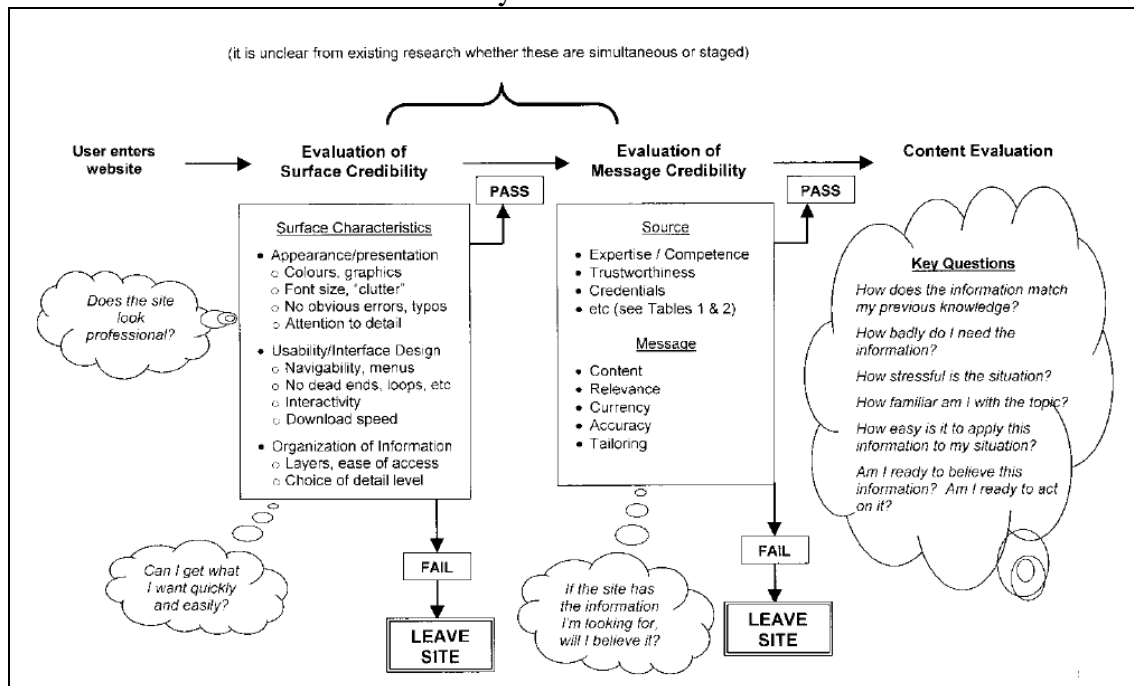
Source: Wathen & Burkell, 2002: 141.

Accordingly, surface credibility is assigned "based on a user's simple inspection of superficial characteristics". Focusing on those attributes users judge reliable, IEEE (acronym for The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) has published some recommendations since 1999. Last IEEE Std. was made public in 2003 and it addressed many aspects of "site planning, design and implementation" for a higher credible website organization (Cardaci & Isaak, 2003: 59-63; Fritch & Cromwell, 2001: 499-503; Wathen & Burkell, 2002: 135-138):

> * *Authority*: Identifying site ownership becomes crucial for credibility. Consequently, actions like providing accurate information about the site's purpose, offering physical contact information (legal notice address and phone number), and highlighting advertising content are encouraged.

> * *Date*: Two principal dates are required. On the one hand, the *page date* reflects the most recent content change relevant to the user. The page date does not match *date last modified*, since the latter reflects "any visible or invisible change", and could result in "erroneous retrieval of out-of-date material". On the other hand, the *expiration date* provides the essential element to automated deletion (or archiving) of out-of-date content.

* *Search engines*: This action entitles users to browse content within the website and, therefore, openly supports interactivity.

* *Protection against hackers*: Websites are encouraged to protect their content against misuse of the information they provide, for example, by digital signature or presentation of warrantee data or other contractually binding information on-line.

* *Accessibility*: Website engines, and not only design, must take care into consideration the needs of persons with disabilities, so that they can also access the required content.

* *Privacy policy*: The confidence that any information query is to be retrieved with our explicit agreement. Users do not enjoy feeling watching by the use of non-agreed cookies, mail capture, browsing history background reading, and the like.

* *Appropriate content*: Since navigation on websites is generally recorded, systems for content access control should be implemented with the aim of alerting users of the topic left in their browser.

* *Valid worldwide*: As Internet access is not restricted to any specific geographical or language motivation, the impact of the site contect according to international legislation or cultural mindsets is to be reconsidered.

* *Updating without affecting workability*: It is regarded as an essential feature, not to disturb or leave behind potential users.

As a result, technical quality becomes two-fold. Whereas *visual design* consists of aesthetic factors (the use of images and colour, for example), *functional design* intends to aid in page navigation. However, both features are believed to have a significant impact on Information Quality. Accordingly, technical quality is considered a basic filter for content quality assessment. Therefore, technical quality (as visual and functional design) is at the service of content's requirements, either content quality demands or communicative quality needs (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 4; Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 325-326; Brandl, 2004: 238-240; Huart, 2000: 315-318; Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 196-198; Wathen & Burkell, 2002: 140-143).

German scholars have outlined those factors affecting content quality from a credibility perspective. Thus, classic journalistic quality is also applied to assess Internet media. Accordingly, German academics focus on *relevance*, *mediation service, currency, accuracy* (both source transparency and deontological performance)*, acceptance, diversity* and *originality* –understood as originality of content and not as innovation (Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 324-326; Barth, 2004: 208-209; Meier, 2003: 249-263).

Finally, communicative quality aims to obtain the maximum effective exchange of information. Accordingly, for the Internet context, interactivity becomes essential. Equally, function design facilitates this level of interaction. Broadcasters refer to this concept as "television magics": the interrelation between technical and content quality. Originality is often cited, in terms of innovation. All in all, this feature has not arisen when assessing Newspaper Excellence (Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 324-326; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 88-92; Medina Laverón, 2006: 58-59; Mulgan, 1990a: 15-17; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 338-339; Welker, 2004: 277).

Table No. 35 – Matching of Media Output Quality assessment dimensions, according to every medium

Programme Quality	Newspaper content quality in the Anglo-American tradition (Gladney)	Newspaper content in the European tradition (Schönbach)	Internet Quality
Diversity	Diversity	Diversity	Diversity
Form	Form	Layout	Technical quality: * Visual design * Functional design
Content	News treatment	Content	Content quality
Interaction of form and content	_____	_____	Communicative quality

Source: Author, based on Alexander & Tate (1999: 4), Albers (1996: 123-139), Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004: 324-326), BRU (1989: 1-5, 20-24), Gladney (1990: 65-66), Lasagni & Richeri (2006: 86-92), McQuail (1992: 144-145), Medina Laverón (2006: 54-59), Mulgan (1990a: 8-17), Pujadas Capdevila (2008: 315-339), Schönbach (2004: 222), and Welker (2004: 276-277).

b.2. Assessment bodies

Scholar debate on quality could only give an overcoming step once public impact discussion turned into a deeper question which audiences could not measure and quality was regarded as assessable. Then, Media Quality became a new research

field. Several approaches arose, according to the body in charge of assessment. Quality measurement is the result of media's self reflection, dialogue with the audience and dialogue with scholars. Accordingly, Media Quality has been assessed from different approaches, according to the body in charge of that evaluation, such as: audience, professional, normative, and market success points of view (Farré, 2005: 5; Hohlfeld, 2003: 216, Huber, 1998: 61-63; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 13; Mezger, 2005: 96-101; Ojer, 2009: 138-148; Raboy, 1996a: 68; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 102; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 176; Scheuer, 2008: xiii; Schulz, 2000: 1-2; Tur Viñes, 2006: 173; Wallish, 1995: 96-198).

As a result, an assessing body will influence quality definition. Audience perception based quality conception seems more likely to assess quality in terms of satisfaction, whereas professionals focus on technical and aesthetic questions. Normative view alleges what can be understood by quality according to the legal requirements in force and professional performance. Finally, market oriented perspective tends to assess quality in terms of financial costs (Costera Meijer, 2003: 17-18; Tur Viñes, 2006: 179).

Table No. 36 – Conceptions on Quality, Concerning Diverse Assessors

	Conception subjectiviste	Conception fonctionnaliste	Conception normative
Objectif	Répondre aux attentes du public	Modifier les attitudes et les comportements du public	Conformité à une norme culturelle
Juges de la qualité	Le public	Expérimentateurs	Élites[85] Experts
Critères de la qualité	Critères individuels	Effets obtenus	Valeurs culturelles
Études à réaliser	Audiences, attentes et satisfactions	Études des effets	Analyse des contenus

Source: Author, based on Durand (1992: 36), and Mbaye (1998: 64).

b.2.1. Audience perception on Quality

Audience is the public every media product is created for and, as long as audience consumes them, the principal corporation goal can be said to have been accomplished. Audience consumption rates have been widely accepted as a "quality scale", applying to all media (broadcasting, press and websites): the higher audience rates media achieve, the better quality it is commonly assumed to have supported them. Therefore, interpreting consumption rates could be the key to understand which quality

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[85] These elites refer to legislative institutions.

requisites audience seeks (Huber, 1998: 61-63; Kohlhaas, 2004: 248-249; Pertilla and Belt, 2002: 91).

i. Audience surveys

Regarding to audience surveys from a chronological order, Quality of Programming happens to be the first question evaluated. It was assessed regarding different research objectives. First of all, at the elemental level, audience's satisfaction degree was measured. Secondly, media in their context were analysed. Lastly, quality indicators derived from previous research became applicable to audience surveys.

i.1. Satisfaction degree

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) set up a *listening panel* in 1941 to assess its radio emissions. Later, in 1950, a similar method was run in order to meet viewer's satisfaction degree: *viewing panel*. This first customer satisfaction evaluation aimed an overall appreciation on programmes in terms of enjoyment. L'Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française (ORTF) adopted that customer approach in 1967 and, from the results, created a *satisfaction index*, conducted in France up to 1974. Broadcasting in Czechoslovakia had been commonly measured on a five degree scale since 1972 and Yugoslavia joined this approach some years later (Durand, 1992: 38-60; Gunter, 2000: 22-29; Gunter & Wober, 1992: 7-9).

The Audience Reactions Assessment (also known as AURA) in the UK conducted by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) from 1973 to 1981, used a six grade scale according to programmes in both, the BBC and ITV, being "interesting and/or enjoyable" or not. Finally, in 1982 the Broadcasting Audience Research Board (BARB) met both Listening-Viewing Panels and AURA, and created an *appreciation index*, according to programme type's "interest and enjoyment" (Gunter & Wober, 1992: 12-20; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 141-142).

Some years before, the *Vox Box system* (by Roger D. Percy), set up in the USA, incorporated value standards to audimeters. Accordingly, viewers assessed programmes on the basis of positive appreciations[86] or negative ones[87]. That system was also used in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Dutch viewers were required to assess on a 1-10

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[86] Such as: "excellent, informative, credible, funny".
[87] For instance, "boring, unbelievable, dumb, zap" or the agreement with the following statement: «I just can't watch it one more time».

point basis those programmes' "acceptance level" in the following four cases: "at the end of emission of a Hollandaise channel, after changing television channel, quitting the living room, and when switching the audimeter off". Those data (watched channel and assessment of programming) were obtained by telephone surveys in France. Japan had already implemented American "People Meter" system by Nielsen in 1961, which measured rating and share data, as well as viewers' habits, on a nightly basis (Ang, 1991: 63-68; Durand, 1992: 39-40; Ishikawa, 1996b: 89; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 56).

At the same time, the BBC introduced a *multidimensional scale* to measured its Quality of Programming against the following propositions: "entertaining, interesting story, informative, easy to follow, boring, acting was good, completely involved me, I intend to watch again next week, etc.". Corporation Public Broadcasting in the USA was to be assessed in 1980 and 1981 against the following four dimensions: "entertaining, different from other television programmes, useful, informative" (Durand, 1992: 38-60).

In fact, researchers argue that the satisfaction index can not deeply explain what quality criteria audience share, because viewers only judge those programmes they watch and they are likely to enjoy whatever they are watching. Moreover, those data do not even indicate how to improve quality. Therefore, audience criteria on rejecting programmes cannot be found with this satisfaction degree approach (Durand, 1992: 53; Ishikawa, 1996b: 91).

i.2. Media comparison

Quality of Programming was measured in concordance with the assessment of other media. *The Public Broadcasting Service* (1986) in the USA compared horizontal quality with other hundred products such as magazines and cable television on the basis of a satisfaction degree for every media. Wober also compared in 1990 BBC viewers' satisfaction level with other nine products (advertising, books…), according to the following parameters: "total inversion of money, satisfaction degree, nation-oriented, quality of impact" (Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 53-56).

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) asked their viewers to compare CBC and its competitors in terms of "preference, reliance when contradictory news, closest to ideology and taste, more programmes you like, better advertisers and hosts,

more informal and amicable, more efficient, better directed, entertains better, is more attentive with users (viewers), and offers more intrascendental programmes" (ib.).

Ahead of comparison among channels, Programme Quality assessment was consolidated by the *Kalomath* system in France in 1975, "in relation to the assessment of the programmes in other channels". Once television genres were distinguished in assessment, their quality was to be measured according to the opposed dimensions for all of them[88]. The Kalomath happened to be not applicable to all genres and, thus, it was highly criticised. *Audikal* was the following system in charge of solving out those metrical obstacles and it pointed the following eight axes for quality definition: "résonance du sujet, professionnalisme, hédonisme, vision active, mobilisation d'attenttion, style, apport personnel, et objectivité, véracité". Moreover, not only watched programmes were assessed, viewers and listeners were required to grade those other programmes they didn't enjoy (Durand, 1992: 44-45).

The Television Audience Assessment (1980) in the USA developed two indexes for Programme Quality. On the one hand, the *programme Appeal Index* collected the appreciation data and, thus, it measured attraction and pleasure values. On the other, the *programme Impact Index* was calculated according to emotions and information questions, and it assessed viewer's implication rate. Therefore, appeal is believed to rate viewers' loyalty to programmes and impact shows how much attention viewers pay to programmes and their likeliness to see the commercial breaks within them. Later research paid attention to "acceptance", "entertainment", "pleasant", "customs" and "quality" measured by audience (Durand, 1992: 50; Gunter & Wober, 1992: 59-60; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 51-52).

To the extent of measuring audience's preference choice, Ipsos developed a two-fold quality assessment in France in 1989. On the one hand, *listening Quality Index* was set up according to attitude towards every programme assessed ("attentif" or "dérangé"). On the other hand, the *Musts' score* pointed the highest ranked programme on one choice answering survey (Durand, 1992: 40-41).

Nevertheless, these interest rating indexes were abandoned, because they proved not to be able to measure all quality dimensions involve in both programming and

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[88] I.e., "compétence–incompeténce, travaillé–bâclé, original–banal, riche–creux, implication–non-implica-tion, il se passe quelque chose–il ne se passe rien, véracité–manipulation".

programme characteristics. For instance, despite their correlated relation, appeal varies according to programme genre, whereas impact is more likely to show greater variances on a same genre programme basis. However, rating indexes outlined indicators managed to focus on specific questions. They also gave a chance to be developed and become a broader coverage standards, "universal indicators" (applicable to every programme) or "genre indicators" (regardless the broadcasting channel) among others (Durand, 1992: 49-54; Gunter & Wober, 1992: 59-60).

i.3. Indicator based assessment

Indicators or standards of quality dimensions have demonstrated they can be the key to assess both Programming and Programme Quality. The audience's new task in assessing quality will most of the times consist in rating beforehand established indicators. It is also considered as valid as the measurement based on the audience's own quality indicators (Rosengren et al., 1996: 12).

However, an extended list of indicators has been enumerated, regardless of other researchers' indicators. On the one hand, it can be the consequence of previous scholars who did not take into account a specific aspect of quality. Consequently, academics employ different denominations for the same concept, and even use the same name for totally diverse ideas. On the other hand, it shows the extreme necessity for an overall accepted indicator cloze-list. As Quality of Programming indicators review (Table no. 37) highlights, later scholars' assessments can easily fit their standards according to old indicators. However, every new research emphasises the fact that scholar research on programming indicators focusing on audience perception is not concluded yet (Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 188-190).

Table No. 37 – Matching of Quality of Programming Indicators' Review, focusing on Audience Perception

Wober for Television Quality (1990)	Wober for BBC and ITV (1990)	Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) (1986)	Television Research Centre (CBC) (1986)
* Enjoyable, pleasant.	* Enjoyable programmes.		* To enjoy audience.
* Informative, educational.	* Information programmes. * Educational programmes.	* Informative. * Educational.	* To inform citizens.
* Good casting, professionalism.	* High cost programmes.		* To broadcast high professional quality programmes.
* Interesting, stimulating.		* Stimulating.	* To increase audience conscience.
* Value-presenting.			
* For all the family, for every taste.	* Confidence that programmes non-suitable for all audiences will be broadcast after 9 pm. * Programmes for children under five. * Some religious programmes.		* To offer programmes corresponding with diverse audience segments.
* Varied.	* Wide programme range to choose from.		* To offer a wide programming prospect.
* No quiz, neither prize.			
* Balanced in diversity.			
* Doesn't insult viewers' intelligence.			
* Varied.	* Wide programme range to choose from.		* To offer a wide programming prospect.

Source: Author, based on Lasagni & Richeri (2006: 49-55).

Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) first measured Programme Quality following uniquely audience's perspective. Producers' intentions were assessed against viewers' criteria in the following tasks:

> "1.- To select appeal points and composing factors considered to be appropriate for each programme.
> 2.- Crossing data: preferences for certain types of programmes and appeal points, and their demographic characteristics.
> 3.- General assessment of each programme.
> 4.- Extent of attainment of the appeal points of each programme.
> 5.- To assess the composing factors of each programme.
> 6.- To analyse correlations between the attainment of appeal points and the general assessment of each programme and also between the assessment of composing factors and the general assessment of each programme." (Ishikawa, 1996b: 92)

The Television Qualitative Ratings (TQR) Service in the USA also assessed Programme Quality, providing fourteen factors "derived from an extensive analysis of viewer programme perceptions":

"What the programme does for the viewer:
    Factor 1 – provides **knowledge and enrichment**.
    Factor 2 – provides **diversion and escape**.
How the programme affects the viewer:
    Factor 3 – givers **fund and amusement**.
    Factor 4 – builds **tension and excitement**.
How the viewer feels about the programme:
    Factor 5 – **positive evaluation** – wants to watch.
    Factor 6 – **negative evaluation** – not interested.
The programme's type of appeal:
    Factor 7 – acceptable for **kid/family viewing**.
    Factor 8 – primarily for **adult entertainment**.
The contents of the programme:
    Factor 9 – subject/people are **familiar and realistic**.
    Factor 10 – subject/people are **unfamiliar or unusual**.
The viewer relationship to the programme:
    Factor 11 – viewer becomes **emotionally involved**.
    Factor 12 – viewer is **interested observer**.
Sensory emphasis of the programme:
    Factor 13 – visual stress on **beauty and glamour**.
    Factor 14 – aural stress on **wit and clever lines**." (Gunter & Wober, 1992: 53-54)

Ishikawa rejects such an assessment method as desirable for the quality research, putting forward three reasons. First, the obtained data in the NHK research was not enough to improve programmes and it did not either reach the information required level. Secondly, producers sorted beforehand what kind of satisfaction their programmes could give. Accordingly, no new approach could emerge and, moreover, such a view was also criticised on behalf of gratification studies research. On the contrary, the Television Qualitative Ratings (TQR) factor based survey factors were coded from viewer programme perceptions. However, those factors were not suitable for every sort of programme genre, as the Appeal Index by the TAA stressed before, because the accomplishment of their specific goals was not to be assessed. Finally, there is little possibility that a survey based on a single criterion (television audience) could target the people who don't watch the programme to be assessed (Gunter, 2000: 28-29; Gunter & Wober, 1992: 55-56; Ishikawa, 1996b: 93-94; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 125).

Moreover, Wober found out several problems in assessing quality on audience perspective. To start with, it was proved that viewers expose different criteria to assess quality or pleasure. Secondly, quality ratings happened to be lower than the acceptance grade. Lastly, viewers openly agreed that they enjoyed many non-quality programmes (Fabbro, 2006: 17; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 46).

ii.2. Media Watch

Organizations where citizens take part to analyse media content are known as "Media Watchdogs". They were first set up in the 1960s in the USA and scholars consider them "an external quality measure" for the media. Media watchdogs challenge "abusive stereotypes and other biased images" in the media[89]. Quality approach is defined in negative terms, considering it avoids "racism, sexism and violence". Nowadays they can be found nearly in every country. Brazilian media watch ("Observatório da Imprensa") remains the more active and up-to-date on the Internet[90], whereas the British "Voice of the Listener and Viewer" (VLV)[91] has been prove to be the most influential on media. It was created in 1983, as a response to the decision of turning *BBC Radio 4* "into an all news and current affairs network" (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 17; Kohlhaas, 2004: 262-263; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 239).

In response to specific aims, new Media Watchdogs have arisen. The Communication Initiative Network[92], for instance, focuses on communication and media for "social and economic development". Among its members we can find international organizations (The Food and Agriculture Organisation of The United Nations –FAO–), media organizations (Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano –FNPI–), development agencies of several countries as well as development charity departments of broadcasting corporation (BBC World Service Trust). The South American Branch of The Communication Initiative Network (named "Red de La Iniciativa de Comunicación")[93] analyses media content on a regular basis, under the consideration of Broadcasting Quality, which they expressly link to Quality of Programming. The "Asociación A Favor de Lo Mejor" brought up in Mexico a survey in 2008 to assess television, radio, press, Internet, films, advertisements and video games. Television perception was measured against the following "thematic axes" (Asociación A Favor de Lo Mejor, 2008: 7):

> "* Contribution to strength a better society.
> * Contribution for raising culture rates.
> * Wholesome entertainment proportion.
> * Adequacy or appropriateness between content and schedules.
> * Receptor's overall satisfaction."

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[89] Media Watch: <www.mediawatch.com> [Last retrieved in 14/03/2009].

[90] Observatório da Imprensa: <www.observatoriodaimprensa.com.br> [Last retrieved in 14/03/2009].

[91] Voice of the Listener and Viewer: <www.vlv.org.uk/vlvaboutuspg.html> [Last retrieved in 14/03/2009].

[92] The Communication Initiative Network: <www.comminit.com> [Last retrieved in 14/03/2009].

[93] Televisión de Calidad: <www.comminit.com/es/node/265988/338> [Last retrieved in 14/03/2009].

On the basis of citizens being "properly informed", the Global Media Watch[94] (GMW) project was set up with a transnational perspective in 2002, during the II World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil[95]. The GMW aims to "identify transgressions to fairness and accuracy", as they consider "free, complete and accurate information is vital for an appropriate process of democracy". *Le Monde Diplomatique* and Inter Press Service (IPS) are the main promoters of GMW, and the founder members of GMW are Bernard Cassen, Ramon Chao, Mario Lubetkin, Joaquim Palhares, Ignacio Ramonet, Roberto Savio and Carlos Tiburcio.

Therefore, GMW analyses information in any media "radio, press, television or Internet" searching "any voluntary disinformation and media manipulation" which will be answered with an "ethical sanction", i.e. "publication of reports, public accusations, collective demonstrations and other peaceful forms of social protest". National chapters were carried out in France, Brazil, Italy and Venezuela. The website of the GMW only reports two assemblies to have taken place up to now: Porto Alegre in 2003 and Mumbai in 2004.

Relating to news, GMW points out several indicators of "inappropriateness, distortion, manipulation or censorship in news content", as well as "structural causes" (i.e. "concentration of economical power and others"): concealing of information, contempt for ethics and honesty, distortion of facts, invention of fake realities, propaganda, etc… Equally, GMW lists a number of indicators they consider promote News Quality:

> "* Information diversity.
> * Geographical balance.
> * Accurate coverage of social, economic, racial, religious, ethnic and national minorities.
> * Cultural diversity.
> * Access to groups who suffer or have suffered any kind of discrimination; or those who suffer or have suffered media misinformation."

iii. Ombudsman

This Scandinavian-origined word designates the person appointed by the Government to handle citizen's complaints about public authorities. Applying to media,

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[94] Global Media Watch: <www.mwglobal.org> [Last retrieved in 16/03/2009].

[95] "The first World Social Forum (WSF) was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in late January 2001. The timing of the WSF was stratgically chosen to coincide with the World Economic Forum (WEF), an annual meeting of global political and economic elites typically held in Davos, Switzerland. [...] The WEF is widely criticized for providing a space where the future of the world is decided while excluding the democratic participation of most of the globe's population." (Smith et al., 2008: 2-3)

the Ombudsman (also called "public editor", "reader's representative")[96] "investigates and replies to comments and complaints concerning published or broadcast material; he obtains explanations from editors and other staff members for readers, viewers or listeners". That is, the Ombudsman channels audience's concerns and he makes them public, as a symbolic authority (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 16-17; Kohlhaas, 2004: 254-261).

The audience happened to be critical even before Ombudsmen were assigned. Thus, it was about a reaction to gain credibility and face protests. For instance, Joseph Pulitzer appointed the first Ombudsman in 1913 in the USA, at the time *The New York World* had decided to change its editorial line. Similarly, the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* set up in 1922 a committee of journalists to channel readers' complaints. Soon, competitors followed the same strategy (Béal, 2008: 5-6).

Although many media in several countries had already established an Ombudsman service for their audience (Sweden in 1969, Switzerland in 1970, Canada in 1972, Portugal in 1975), during the 1980s-1990s many others implemented an Ombudsman as a measure for their business strategies, so that their press should be considered "of quality" in opposition to "popular press": *El País* in Spain (1985), *Folha de Sao Paulo* in Brazil (1989), *Le Monde* in France (1994), *The Guardian* in England (1997), and *De Volkskrant* in Netherlands (1997).

Finally, public appointed Ombudsmen handle citizens' all media concerns, no matter their ownership. Editors and journalists associations set up the Office of the Press Ombudsman in South Africa (1997) and, recently, the Office of the Press Ombudsman in Ireland has been created (2007). Ombudsmen have been worldwide associated since 1980 under the Organization of News Ombudsmen (ONO), concerned on "fairness, accuracy and balance" in the media[97].

iv. Audience direct participation

The audience's traditional direct participation in media has been long defined by the letters they sent to the editor. They actually revealed "public opinion's important keys". Readers' barometer was, thus, considered another quality scale. However, most

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[96] Different words are also employed in several languages to designate the Ombudsman: "Arartekoa" in Basque, "Defensor" in Spanish, and "Médiateur" in French.
[97] Organization of News Ombudsmen: <www.ono.org> [Last retrieved in 17/03/2009].

topics of letters do not deal with newspaper's labour itself[98] (Haller, 2003: 191-192; Kohlhaas, 2004: 251-253).

The Internet has offered new channels to communication, making the relation of media and their audience even deeper. The Internet has, moreover, moved to assess other media as they are also present on the Net, regardless of their original medium. That way, Internet readers can comment news or rate them, create "most talked about", "most rated" or "most viewed" rankings[99] (Ruiz San Miguel & Blanco, 2005: 1-16).

However, quality attributes shown through these channels correspond with never-ending individual criteria. They are extremely diverse and, therefore, the audience's concerns cannot be compiled under any fixed category.

In contrast, Jean-François Fogel[100] and other FNPI[101] members pointed out up to 38 symptoms identifying media's concern on quality (Fogel, 2002-2003). Some of those precepts paid special attention to the relation to audience from a professional point of view:

> "B.- **Relación con los lectores**:
> 7.- El periódico no calla y, al contrario, publica cartas al director que critican el contenido y la orientación del trabajo periodístico.
> 8.- Los lectores tienen acceso al Libro de Estilo de la redacción. Éste está siempre disponible en una página del sitio de Internet del periódico.
> 9.- El periódico publica una "fe de errata" cada vez que se entera de una equivocación en sus columnas.
> 10.- El periódico atribuye cada semana a un Ombudsman (o defensor del lector) un espacio abierto y sin edición previa de su contenido.
> 11.- Una encuesta hecha por un organismo de investigación independiente recopila y analiza de manera sistemática la opinión de los lectores sobre la calidad de cada sección del periódico.
> 12.- Se publica el e-mail de los periodistas al lado de su firma para que los lectores tengan la posibilidad de criticar directamente el contenido. Los periodistas mandan una copia de las quejas al defensor del lector.
> 13.- Un dispositivo que puede incluir varios aspectos (consejo o sociedad de los lectores, comité ad hoc, grupo representativo de organismos cívicos, estudio de las cartas, etc.) analiza el contenido del periódico para que los lectores se expresen como tal frente a la redacción. Ésta le contesta dentro de un proceso abierto y público."

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[98] As a matter of fact, a study on letters to the editor in East Germany (GDR) found out that only 7.1% of letters were related to the newspaper itself. The sample included four socialist newspapers (*Junge Welt, Leipziger Volkszeitung, Neues Deutschland* and *Schweriner Volkszeitung*) for three months (April, May and June) in 1955, 1965, 1979 and 1988. In sum, 2,987 letters were analysed (Bos, 1993: 146-231).

[99] Basque Broadcasting Corporation (EiTB) <www.eitb.com/albisteak> and *Berria* <www.berria.info> have allowed the option to comment every news since 2008.

[100] Editor of on-line *Le Monde* and teacher at the FNPI.

[101] FNPI (Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano): <www.fnpi.org> [Last retrieved: 25/03/2009].

b.2.2. Professional view

Peer analysis offers a closer perspective more related to technical features than that of the audience. Professional judgment gathers the views of award Juries, critics, programme makers and researchers, following Albers' classification. Equally, similar results are founded. On the one hand, not all those peer groups are likely to offer a reliable system to assess quality. On the other hand, all evaluated features match Albers' original categorisation of form, content and the interrelation between them, as well as diversity, in spite of the relevance estimated. Whereas programme makers particularly focus on technical characteristics, scholars tend to draw attention to the interrelation between form and content. Nevertheless, professional rating has been proved to be of high steem by other assessing bodies, such as audience (Gleich, 1994: 253-254; Huber, 1998: 61-63; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 59-69; Leggatt, 1996a: 76; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 142).

i. Awards

Awards are believed to reward quality and, therefore, they are also considered an excellence evaluation in themselves. Robert Albers surveyed twelve American awards (local, regional, national and international prizes) about their own prize criteria. Then, he compiled their answers according to three quality assessment criteria applying to programmes: formal characteristics, content characteristics and the interaction of form and content. *Formal characteristics* refer to "craft related" programme elements, whereas *content characteristics* consist of those criteria "related primarily to subject matter". The third quality dimension (*interaction of form and content*) assumes that "any content is unavoidably altered by its passage through the medium" and, thus, such an interaction is thought to be the place where "*art* or *creativity* occurs". Albers describes this quality feature in terms of effectiveness and appropriateness (Albers, 1996: 107-116; Gleich, 1994: 254).

Albers coded twelve awards' ten answers and ranked the attributes by number of mentions: those attributes with the most frequency of mention could be "considered to be more broadly accepted evaluative parameters". The following chart gathers those most mentioned attributes in descedent importance:

Table No. 38 – Twelve American Awards' Programme Quality Attributes Review Coded By Albers (1996)

Quality dimensions	Attributes
Formal characteristics	Sound
	Photography/camera work
	Directing
	Lighting
	Performance
	Graphics
	Special effects
	Script/writing
	Editing
	Execution
	Sets
	Pacing
	Did opening get attention
	Did opening set appropriate mood
	Video quality
	Film quality
	Production design
Content characteristics	Relevance
	Timeliness
	Accuracy
	Interest
	Appropriateness for audience
	Significance
	Programming possibilities
	Meets goals/purpose
	Clarity
	Thoroughness
Interaction of form and content	Creativity
	Originality
	Organization/structure
	Valid treatment of subject
	Clarity
	Accomplish objectives
	Uniqueness
	Aesthetics
	Content & production relation to audience
	Logical, understandable flow
	Appropriate production techniques
	Artistic quality

Source: Albers (1996: 112).

As noticed before, two of the twelve awards (some of the most important ones) admitted they did not follow any "elaborate form in their evaluation process"; assessment was left to judges' own criteria, instead. Awards are not in the habit of compiling their evaluation parameters and make them accessible to the wide public. In fact, the information they give is related to submission requirements (i.e. Prix Italia

2009, International Competition for Radio, Television and the Internet[102]). However, FNPI explicitly publishes their criteria at the official announcement of the Radio, Television and Internet Cemex-FNPI Award[103]. Those criteria are widely assumed to assess "journalistic quality" (CAF & FNPI, 2005a: 10). Revealed parameters still correspond with some award attributes coded by Albers in 1996:

Table No. 39 – Matching of Cemex-FNPI Award's Criteria and the Award Attributes coded by Albers (1996)

Quality dimensions	CEMEX-FNPI (2007-2008) criteria	Matching award attributes coded by Albers (1996)
Formal characteristics	* Calidad narrativa	* Script writing * Film quality * Video quality
Content characteristics	* Tratamiento de la información en profundidad	* Thoroughness
	* Cobertura de temas socialmente relevantes	* Relevance
Interaction of form and content	* Investigación original de los hechos	* Originality * Valid treatment of subject * Uniqueness
	* El aprovechamiento adecuado de los recursos radiofónicos/ audiovisuales/de Internet	* Appropriate production techniques
Others	* Valores éticos profesionales reflejados en el trabajo	————

Source: Author, based on Albers (1996: 112), and FNPI.

Accordingly, Albers' codification proves to be of current application. It does not take into consideration ethics, due to the fact that it can be a difficult category to assess. That is to say, there might be not found any direct indicator of ethical work. In fact, Jack Kelley, a reporter for the *USA Today*, was appointed Pulitzer finalist in 2002. Two years later, he was dismissed, because some of his reports (even those mentioned by the Pulitzer Prize jury) were evidenced as fake[104] (Ramonet, 2005: 26; Rubin, 2004).

In line with prizes' aim to reward journalistic excellence. Basque journalism prizes, moreover, draw attention to the community they reflect. The Rikardo Arregi Prize was created in 1988 by the town council at Andoain in memory of a local young journalist (Rikardo Arregi: 1942-1969). The Argia Prize was established in 1989 by the

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[102] Prix Italia 2009, International Competition for Radio, Television and Web: <www.prixitalia.rai.it> [Last retrieved: 25/03/2009].

[103] FNPI (Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano): <www.fnpi.org> [Last retrieved: 25/03/2009].

[104] Pulitzer Prize: <http://www.pulitzer.org/finalists/2002> [Last retrieved: 19/08/2009].

longest lasting Basque publication. It was founded in Iruñea (Navarre) in 1919 as a religious monthly magazine named *Zeruko Argia*. The fascist coup d'état in 1936, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and Franco's regime banned its publication until 1963. Back to the audience, on a weekly basis, *Zeruko Argia* put aside its previous religious content and focused on cultural features (Argia[105], Andoaingo Udala[106], Ramirez de la Piscina, 1998: 186-187).

Both Basque prizes refer to their audience in terms of small community. In fact, they don't address all the population in the Basque Country, but the Basque speakers. That highlights the awareness for identity survival. Both consider it as a goal. Rikardo Arregi Prize expresses it in terms of quality:

> "Euskarak beharrezkoa baitu kalitatezko kazetaritza bat, komunikazio prestu eta moderno batean oinarritzen dena. Eta sari honek kalitatezko kazetaritza erreferentzia bihurtzeko laguntza izan nahi du." (Andoaingo Udala)

The Argia Prize awards best journalistic practices in six categories: Internet (I), press (P), television (T), radio (R), advertising (it will not be studied in this work), and Merit (M). The Rikardo Arregi Prize grants young journalists (K.B.: *Kazetari Berria*), Special Award (E.S.B.: *Epaimahaiaren Sari Berezia*), Main Award (S.N.: Sari Nagusia), and Honorary Award (O.A.: *Ohorezko Aipamena*). The following chart shows the matching of Basque juries' criteria and Albers' codification:

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[105] Argia: <www.argia.com/argia-90> [Last retrieved: 03/06/2009].
[106] Andoaingo Udala: <http://www.andoain.org/euskera/i2eu.html> [Last retrieved: 12/10/2009].

**Table No. 40 – Matching of Basque Journalism Awards' Criteria
and the Award Attributes coded by Albers (1996)**

Quality dimensions	*Argia* (2008)	*Argia* (2009)	Rikardo Arregi (2008)	Rikardo Arregi (2009)	Matching award attributes coded by Albers (1996)
Form			S.N.: Pasioa transmititzea S.N.: Komunikazio gaitasuna	S.N.: Kamera aurrekoa	Performance Execution
			K.B.: Multimedia		Production design
Content characteristics	M.: Albisteen analisia	P.: Albisteak interpretatzea R.: Analisia			Significance
			K.B.: Dokumentazioa	K.B.: Dokumentazioa E.S.B.: Dokumentazioa	Thoroughness
				E.S.B.: Zorroztasuna S.N.: Zorroztasuna	Accuracy
	P.: Gaurkotasunezko gaien analisia I.: Gaurkotasunezko pertsonaiak				Timeliness
			K.B.: Ulergarritasuna	S.N.: Ulergarritasuna	Clarity
			S.N.: Iritzien aberastasuna		Relevance
				S.N.: Gaien originaltasuna	Interest
			K.B.: Informazio--iturri anitzak		————
			K.B.: Gai aniztasuna	K.B.: Gai aniztasuna	————
Interaction of form and content			E.S.B.: Euskaraz, independentziaz	K.B.: Ikuspegi kritikoa	Uniqueness
			E.S.B.: Interneten bide-urratzaile	O.A.: Eraberritzailea	Originality
				E.S.B.: Kazetaritza espezializatua	Valid treatment of subject
			S.N.: Hizkuntzaren zuzentasuna	K.B.: Estiloa	————
	T.: Euskaraz dibertitzea		E.S.B.: Euskalkiak naturaltasunez		————
		M.: Euskal kulturarekiko konpromisoa	O.A.: Konpromisoa O.A.: Euskal kultura bultzatzea	O.A.: Zailtasunen aurrean, euskara hutsez	————
	I.: Euskara eta Euskal Herria Interneten sendotzea T.: Hizkuntzarekin dibertitzeko saioa esportatzea				————
		I: Firefox-a euskaratzea T: Etorkinen kultura gureganatzea		S.N.: Urruneko errealitatea gerturatzea	————
Management				O.A.: Sinergiak	————
				E.S.B.: Klasikoa O.A.: Aitzindaritza	————

Source: Author, based on Albers (1996: 112), *Argia*[107], and Rikardo Arregi Kazetaritza Saria[108].

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[107] *Argia*: <www.argia.com> [Last retrieved: 03/06/2009].

Journalistic features find their matching category in Albers' classification. However, source diversity ("informazio-iturri anitzak") and topic diversity ("gai aniztasuna") are not considered. Diversity, instead, is regarded as a category by itself (Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 21-33).

Nevertheless, Basque journalism features do not suit the Awards' criteria Albers synthesized. On the one hand, Albers' Prizes award media performance excellence in the context of normalized languages. Basque, on the contrary, belongs to a non-normalized reality. Basque Journalism struggles for a place of its own at the service of a community, whose definition is Basque media's charge. Consequently, mentions of appropriate language registers, cultural engagement, importation of international content through Basque and contribution to other language communities are highly considered by Basque Awards. On the other hand, management features such as synergy with other media and audience's approval evidences also great importance for organisational efforts. Those special features do not even match German academics' research on Journalism Awards. Nevertheless, they reveal their concern about Jurys' criteria: it is alleged that Prizes pay great attention to questions of content and form, but they actually disregard journalists' social responsibilities. Basque journalism special features might match that assertion. Albers also highlights the fact that Jurys tend to found their assessment on professional evaluators. As a result, awards are believed to follow inexact proceedings and, therefore, not measurable as a formula (Albers, 1996: 112-116; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 60-61; Medina Laverón, 2006: 109-110; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 144-147; Wallisch, 1995: 181-198; Wilke, 1998: 137-142).

ii. Critics

Albers noticed that critics are not "a significant source of evaluative parameters for the evaluation of quality television". Despite the fact that critics are also journalists, they do not follow any fixed criteria where attributes can be assessed. Instead, many of their writings are usually descriptive. Accordingly, there is a vast majority of international scholars stating that critics do not effectively constitute a quality assessing body (Albers, 1996: 117-121; Hall & Haubrich, 1993: 171-173; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 61-62; Medina Laverón, 2006: 103-109; Ojer Goñi, 147-148).

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[108] Rikardo Arregi Kazetaritza Saria (Andoaingo Udala): <http://www.andoain.org/euskera/i2eu.html> [Last retrieved: 12/10/2009].

In the Basque Country there was an attempt to focus on wrong reporting. Iñigo Aranbarri owned a section in the newspaper *Berria* (called "Hizlandia") for a period of two years (2004-2006), where he pointed out broken journalistic rules on a weekly basis. He was not a journalist, so he argues his view on the press could have been similar to that of the audience. For such a purpose, he was even encouraged not to mercy *Berria* itself, rejecting the ombudsman function, on the thought that "press ombudsman in the end becomes the editor's ombudsman" (Aranbarri, 2006: 11-13).

He finally considered himself a traitor ("Judas") to the press (*Hizlandia: Mundua prentsaren judasetik*), despite the fact that he won the press award Argia Saria in 2005. He highlighted two main risks to the Basque press. On the one hand, he questioned its capacity to "show current reality". On the other, media's focal attribute consisted in "translating into Basque, Czech or Norvegian that news written somewhere else". Consequently, not only the topic's perspective, but also the language register happens to be out of reach. It is not a problem of accuracy or truth: "it deals with the management of reality, which is shaped in the function of ideology" (Aranbarri, 2008: 10-12).

iii. Programme-makers

Programme Quality as understood by programme-makers has widely been considered a valid criterion for Programme Quality assessment. Albers interviewed sixteen programme-makers in the USA and classified their answers according to the categories previously explained: *form, content, artistry* (also presented as the *interrelation between form and content*), and *business or commercial success*. Leggatt gathered previous research by Nossiter, Blumler[109] and Albers and moulded it to the UK reality. He intervieeed thirty programme-makers and coded their answers in the function of a system perfectly fitting in that of Albers. Finally, Hillve and Rosengren took that approach to study Swedish television (Albers, 1996: 101-143; Gleich, 1994: 253-254; Hall & Haubrich, 1993: 209-280; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 62-65; Leggat, 1996b: 145-167; Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 231-252).

According to those concepts already explained, whereas *form* is about crafts and technical characteristics, *content* deals with the message itself. *The interrelation between both* refers not only to "broadcasting magics", but also to these new axes: national culture,

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[109] References to Blumler's research articles have only been retrieved throughout secondary sources, such as: Albers (1996), Bennett (2001), Leggatt (1996b), Pujadas Capdevila (2008), and Ojer Goñi (2009).

and moral-legal requirements. Finally, *audience* is regarded in terms of viewership. It is understood in line with organisational goals, as a micro-assessment of Channel Quality.

Table No. 41 – Programme Quality Attributes Review, according to Programme-Makers' Assessment (1996)

	Nossiter (1986)	Blumler (1991)[110]	Albers (1996)	Leggatt (1996)	Hillve and Rosengren (1996)
FORM	**Technical excellence**		**Elements of form**	**Craft skills**	**Craft skills**
			* Writing * Editing * Acting * Lighting * Photography * Directing	Infrastructure of broadcasting: * Writer * Editor * Performers * Lighting * Photography * Director * Sound	Especially those of the writer
				Resources and production values	**Resources**
CONTENT	**Content**		**Content elements**	**Characteristics of programmes**	**Characteristics of programmes**
			Oblique treatment		
		Non-trivial meatiness Authenticity Anti-simplistic	Significant subject matter	Seriousness (search for truth): * A mirror to the nation * Important issues * Make people think * Alternative views * Public service tradition * National debate	Seriousness
		Social relevance and realism		Relevance (contemporary)	Relevance
	Relevance		**Approach and effect on the viewer**		

			Approach to the viewer:
			    * Relevant
			    * Interesting
			    * Honest
			    * Diverting		

			Effect on the viewer (a well conceived and structured programme conforms its pre-requisite)		
			'Grabbing' the viewer		
			Holding the viewer	Qualities of story-telling	Qualities of story-telling
			Emotional effect / Catharsis (Pre-requisite for a quality progr.)	* Touching emotions * Appealing to curiosity	* Touching emotions * Appealing to curiosity
		Controversial engagement	Stimulate thought		
			Move to action / Change behaviour		

[110] Adequation of concepts, matches and equivalences to Nossiter's system were registered by Leggatt (1996: 164-165).

	Nossiter (1986)	Blumler (1991)	Albers (1996)	Leggatt (1996)	Hillve and Rosengren (1996)
INTERACTION OF FORM & CONTENT	Clarity of objective Innovation	Integrity Freshness	**Artistry** *Writing * Talented people * Dimension * Good storytelling * All attributed combined	**Characteristics of programme-makers** Clarity of purpose Passion Innovativeness, originality, adventurousness **Cultural appropriateness** National pride Originated within the home culture	**Characteristics of programme-makers** Clarity of purpose Passion Innovativeness, originality, adventurousness **Organizational environment** Norms and values Latitude thinking Freedoms and rights of integrity, independence and scope for experiments
ORGANISATIONAL GOALS		Expressive richness	**Business/ Commercial success** Generate viewership	**Audience reaction** Audience research **Extra dimension** Fulfilment and satisfactions of the audience	**Audience reaction** Audience research

Source: Author, based on Albers (1996: 121-143), Legatt (1996: 145-167), Hillve & Rosengren (1996: 231-252).

Scholars have reached those quality criteria through an open questionnaire. Although they do not form specific indicators to assess quality, categorisation is clearly marked in concordance with previous quality research, regardless of the high amount of interviewed professionals. First of all, *technical features* are widely mentioned by programme-makers, as expected. They pay attention to that aspect, but scholars do not consider it of the same importance as other features, such as *content*. As a matter of fact, "technical excellence is taken for granted as a pre-requisite of overall quality". Consequently, before assessing other quality features, craft elements must show zero-defects, that is to say, they must go "unnoticed" for the audience (Albers, 1996: 103-123; Gleich, 1994: 253-254; Leggatt, 1996b: 147).

The *interaction of form and content* includes two new dimensions which contextualize the *content* itself. On the one hand, the concept of nation represents a two-fold hook for the target community. It is a distinctive feature among other competents,

which offers a retrieval of home perspective on programmes, at the same time it structures that community. On the other hand, references to morality and legal requirements constrain the message itself, according to professional and normative imperatives. As a result, the sense of cultural community belonging (nation[111]) happens to differ from the concept of citizenship (State) in the function of message contextualization (Costera Meijer, 2005: 29; Gleich, 1994: 253-254; Legatt, 1996b: 155-157, Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 241-243).

Finally, notwithstanding quality is regarded from the audience's perspective, organizational approach gives priority to management features. As a consequence, audience interest is clearly distinguished from public interest. In effect, programme-makers do not relate quality to audience, but their quality assessment meets that of the viewers, irrespective of how large the audience is (Farré, 2005: 4; Larrègola, 43; Leggatt, 1996: 75-76):

> "[…] Viewers clearly employ a different scale of values in judging quality from the one they use in assessing their own appreciation. […] They enjoy many programmes which they acknowledge not to be of high quality; so popularity (share of the audience) does not indicate viewers' opinions as to Programme Quality. […] The higher was the perceived quality of the programme the more viewers reported on them. In other words, the high quality programmes are widely known about; and it seems reasonable to conjecture that they are also widely watched. […] They do not equate quality with popularity." (Leggatt, 1996: 75)

Yet, the existence of a list gathering those criteria, suggesting that the best programmes meet all standards programme-makers appoint to assess quality, is believed to assert that "quality is rare" (Costera Meijer, 2005: 38).

iv. Academic research

Quality perspectives aim to be the clue of an enormous puzzle involving all media. Regarding quality from the position of every link of the chain shed light on early quality debates. Broadcasting Quality turned out pioneer in assessment, because "historically, the notion of quality has been linked to the concept of public service in television". Thus, the debate was originated on those professional terms akin to broadcasting trends. It led up to several ways of approaching to quality, according to the object to be assessed (Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 152-153).

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[111] **Imagined communities** are defined as "communities of people who are imagined as essentially similar, who share a common identity as members of the same territorially defined society (the **nation**), and who share a common culture shaped by a shared history" (Bennett, 2001: 27).

The Japanese *NHK*[112] Broadcasting Culture Research Institute sponsored from 1990 to 1993 the research on Broadcasting Quality (either Quality of Programming or Programme Quality). It involved the cooperation of scholars in five countries: the USA, Canada, the UK, Sweden and Japan. Their contributions were edited by Ishikawa in 1996. It still forms the basic research point to assess Media Quality. All in all, previous academic investigations were found not to be of enough relevance as to base later work upon them (Albers, 1996: 101-107; Ishikawa, 1996a: vii-ix; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 60).

Nossiter defined quality in terms of content and technical excellence. Blumler pointed out the difficulty of American producers to describe quality in the abstract. He considered quality in America was "equated with pleasing and holding a large audience". Consequently, production value in the USA is "a means to an end", whereas in the UK is considered "true to itself". That is to say, British broadcasters are believed to seek quality, albeit the audience size, but American ones choose sophisticated production to gain viewership rates. As a matter of fact, the Broadcasting Research Unit in the UK, attempting to describe quality, had outlined the following quality standards for factual programmes in terms of technical excellence and content quality: "impartiality, treating facts with care and accessibility, placing facts in context, presenting alternative views, avoiding sensationalism, promoting understanding, and presenting with honesty, truthfulness, and simplicity". However, those investigations did not provide the grounding where Media Quality theory could be based on (Albers, 1996: 101-107; Blumler, 1992: 1-5; BRU, 1989: 10-16; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 60).

Not even the definition for quality had reached any agreement. Gutiérrez Gea distinguished up to six perspectives to identify it. First of all, the Swedish tradition states that Programme Quality is the balance between programme features and evaluation criteria, that is to say, "between a set of programmes or programming characteristics and a set of values". Consequently, there is no single key factor to assess quality, but excellence implies a goal in itself. Therefore, several excellence sorts are considered. Accordingly, broadcasters must try to engage the quality approach most suitable to their performance (Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 152-159; Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294).

Similarly, genre based Programme Quality assessment alleges that programmes must be evaluated in the framework of their especial features. They are settled

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[112] Acronym for *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* (Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 71).

according to programme tradition and professional practice. As a result, quality and popularity are disgregated: nowadays viewership rates are openly rejected as a quality assessement criterion.

Thirdly, British convention assigns social responsibility to the conception of Quality of Programming. Echoing the public service notion, contributions to political, economic and social processes, as well as national culture and daily life become relevant. Accordingly, Quality of Programming should include: news broadcast (national and international news, current topics, broadcasting them several times a day and, especially, on prime time), regional programmes, religious and children addressed production, varied range to choose from (for every taste and interest) and high quality programmes.

Practical application to Programme Quality of such a social conception can be found in the British and Japanese traditions, despite the fact that Gutiérrez Gea considered each of them a new perspective. On the one hand, British main contribution asserts that Programme Quality is related to social responsibility. From this point of view, quality is defined according to principles and functions. Hence, programmes are requested to be innovative and, thus, catch the occasional attention of the audience, aiming to retain it. On the other, Japanese conception defines quality as a key value for culture development, in terms of "trasmiting traditions, creating new cultural forms and promoting educational, cultural and sport activities". Accordingly, quality is nearly equated with national culture.

Fourthly, deriving from broadcasting's peculiar nature and arguing audience is heterogeneous and impersonal, this last approach asserts that Programme Quality must be assessed against some earlier determined criteria. Thus, beyond professionalism and originality, quality programmes might include the following features: audience's demands on information, entertainment and leisure; belief and opinion diversity; viewers' imagination estimulation; respect for the legality of national culture; and, promotion of cultural traditions (Farré, 2005: 5-6; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 152-159).

Diversity can be considered the most important European scholars' contribution to the quality debate. In the name of diversity, quality can be assessed, in spite of highlight the subjective perspective of the assessment body in charge of evaluation. Accordingly, Blumler outlined up to seven diversity conceptions in the function of Quality of Programming. First of all, *substantial diversity* allows minorities to

reach visibility. That is why this dimension is in relation to diversity of opinion. Secondly, *genre diversity* pleads for a varied range of programme formats. Thirdly, *programming diversity* focuses on audience's election possibilities, either vertical diversity (channel diversity) or horizontal (system grill at a time). Fourthly, *style diversity* encourages every programme to develop its own characteristics. Fifthly, *resource assignment diversity* alleges every broadcast type should be supported, in spite of its audience and advertisement retrieval. Sixthly, audience diversity aims to target the whole community, by selecting every audience segment. Finally, *quality diversity* gathers programme excellence criteria, according to the programming values marked as goals (Blumler, 1992: 30-33; Gutiérrez Gea, 1999-2000: 77-80; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 160-161; Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 21-33; Mulgan, 1990a: 26-31; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 136-137; Pujadas & Oliva, 2007: 87-88).

Recently, scholars have begun to publish their current works about quality discussions on the Internet. The European Journalism Observatory (EJO) [113], for instance, was established in 2004 as a non-profit center of the Università della Svizzera Italiana. It aims to "build bridges between the different journalism cultures across Europe and the USA, and contribute to the improvement of quality in journalism".

The Broadcasting Observatory[114] established by Universidad Austral measures Argentinian Quality of Programming of the basis of the sum of programmes' quality, as assessed by the Television Quality Index. Results are published every two months from March to December [115]. Gabriela Fabbro, as the director of the Observatory, has pointed out the following six measurable parameters deriving from quality criteria: offer diversity, balance between screen and reality, artistic and technical quality, attractiveness, information and education attributes, and finally no contradiction with socially accepted values. First of all, *offer diversity* measures programme topics, genre variety, as well as social and cultural plurality. The *balance between screen and reality* takes into consideration complexity (as opposed to simplification), lack of distortion and sensationalism, and target diverse social and cultural groups. Thirdly, *information and education attributes* ranks seriousness and personal contribution. Fourthly, *artistic and technical quality* measures

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[113] European Journalism Observatory (EJO): <http://www.ejo.ch> [Last retrieved: 02/11/2009].
[114] Observatorio de Televisión: <http://web.austral.edu.ar/comunicacion-observatorio-tv.asp> [Last retrieved: 02/11/2009].
[115] January and February form the Summer Semester in the southern hemisphere.

professionalism and technical resources. Similarly, *attractiveness* evaluates grabbing viewer's interest and format innovation. Lastly, *no contradiction with socially accepted values* aims to include "sensitive values, such as justice, tolerance, truth, respect, etc." and exclude "disvalues like deception, inequality, obscenity, intolerance, etc." (Fabbro, 2006: 25-26).

Echoing those parameters, the Television Quality Index consists of three main indicators of diverse significance. *Variety* is assigned with 10% of total quality and it measures genre diversity. *Technical quality*, which entails 30% of total quality, considers technological and professional excellence and rates the scenario, lighting, conductor, sound and image features. Finally, *adequation to reality* turns out to be the most relevant factor, which accumulates 60% of total Programme Quality ratings. Whereas language and realistic characteristics compose 12.5% each one, the higher rate focuses on "values" and "misvalues" (up to 35%). Accordingly, notwithstanding all quality dimensions are taken into consideration (*diversity, form, content* and *the interrelation between both*), content related characteristics are scarcely taken into account. Furthermore, they are submitted to the interrelation between form and content. This last dimension becomes a decisive, crucial element upon which Programme Quality resides. As a result, far from programme-makers' technical concern, scholars are more likely to drive attention to other communicative aspects[116] (Observatorio de la Televisión)[117].

Table No. 42 – Programme Quality Attributes of the Television Quality Index

Quality dimensions	Fabbro (2006)	Indice de Calidad Televisiva
Diversity	Diversidad	Variedad: tipo de programación ………………… 10%
Form	Calidad artística y técnica	Calidad técnica ……………….. 30%
	Atractivo	* escenografía y decorados (6%) * iluminación y tratamiento de la imagen (6%) * presentador / actuaciones (6%) * tratamiento del sonido (6%) * encuadre / cámara / montaje (6%)
Content	Atributos de información y educación	Adecuación a la realidad ……... 60%
Interrelation of form and content	La adecuada relación entre la pantalla y la realidad	* lenguaje (12,5%) * grados de verosimilitud (12,5%) * valores / disvalores (35%)
	No contradicción de los valores apreciados socialmente	

Source: Author, based on Fabbro (2006: 25-26), and Observatorio de la Televisión[118].

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[116] As a matter of fact, the interrelation of form and content is named "communicative quality" by German academics studying Internet Quality, as already explained.

[117] Observatorio de Televisión: <http://web.austral.edu.ar/comunicacion-observatorio-tv.asp> [Last retrieved: 02/11/2009].

[118] Ib.

b.2.3. Normative perspective

Legal requirements regulating media activity have been regarded as quality criteria. Whereas professionalism standards set up the grounding for good practice in the USA, Europe focused on State-monopoly broadcasting system and, accordingly, quality issues were inherently related to public service. Both conceptions came across after liberalizing the broadcasting sector and attention was drawn to media self-regulation (Lasagni & Richeri, 1996: 25; Wunden, 2003: 58-61).

i. Public Service

Public broadcasting refers to those corporations whose direct management relies upon state administration. Most of them were created during the 1930s, but after World War II, they reemerged in the 1950s as State monopoly, mainly because there were in charge of assuring freedom of speech. Due to state-owned control of Hertzian waves, public broadcasting was applied the same model as previous public radio system (Ojer Goñi, 2009: 11-21; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 148-151).

Consequently, Broadcasting Quality has been related to public service, in the function of state-owned transmission. The basic eight principles of public broadcasting[119], thus, stem directly from that conception: geographical universality, appeal universality, services for minority viewers, national identity, independence from political and commercial pressure, public fundings, high-quality programmes and creative production. First of all, *geographical universality* refers to both signal reception in remote areas and content related. That way, the nation as a whole is to be represented according to the assumption of diversity. Secondly, *a universality of appeal* pleads for a varied programming, where every audience target is taken into consideration and, similarly, pluralism of opinion is reflected. Thirdly, the especial attention for minorities highlights the importance of *services for minority viewers*. Fourthly, *the enhancement of national identity* derives from the wide agreement that "the nation or community shares a common background of valued and preferences that grant their own identity". Fifthly,

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[119] The basic principles of public broadcasting were originally shared by British (*BBC*), French (*France Télévisions*), German (*ARD*), Italian (*RAI*), Japanese (*NHK*), Korean (*KBS*), and Northamerican public broadcasting corporations (*PBS*), as reported by Nakamura et al. (2006: 1-28). Nowadays they are widely accepted by the rest, France (Durand, 1992: 39-48), Netherlands (Bardoel, 2003: 81-84), New Zealand (Lealand, 2001: 448-450), Portugal (Borges, 2005: 9-11), and Spain (Soler Campillo, 2005: 11-13), amongst others. Those eight basic principles even conform the grounding of the European broadcasting context as regulated by the European Parliament (Abad Alcalá, 2005: 4-7).

the independence of news and programmes from politicial and commercial pressure is believed to be a key issue for democracy's reinforcement. Sixthly, in order to sustain that necessary independence, *public funding* is considered more reliable than advertising, since the latter may interfere with public service interests and, accordingly, divert attention from the common good. Seventhly, scheduling *high-quality programmes* implies allowance not to work under audience data pressure. Finally, encouraging *creative programmes* turns out to be an appeal to innovation, disregarding viewership ratings (Bardoel, 2007: 47-48; BRU, 1989: 1-9; Fabbro, 2006: 17-21; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000: 152-153; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 71-76; Nakamura et al., 2006: 1-12; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 16-17; Thomaß, 2005: 53-60).

Historically, Broadcasting Quality has been equalized to public service. In line with that assumption, the following three classical quality criteria were conceived: *general interest* (for the sake of society), *diversity* (pluralism of opinion, minority groups, large geographical broadcasting areas, varied audience targets, and range of programmes), and emphasis on *national culture* (Medina Laverón, 2006: 13-23; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 125-130, 155-160; Thomaß, 2005: 60-72).

The vast majority of state broadcasting monopolies in Europe lasted for over thirty years. Their crisis was due to new private operators working in a global market, which gave rise to a wider choice for the viewers and, consequently, the sector was finally liberalized. Such a deep change of mentality in favour of management efficiency entailed outsources (Ojer Goñi, 2009: 12-21; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 160-169).

Consequently, the concept of public service broadcasting was also applied to those new operators, with the role of excellence. The notion of public service, whatever may be the management system operators work under, is required to reflect reality. Furthermore, that assumption makes no distinction between news programmes or fiction. All programming is in charge of achieving such a goal on behalf of the general interest. Seven criteria are to ensure reality reproduction, in the meaning of quality: *diversity*, *independence from pressure groups, access* (also understood as "appeal universality", *solidarity* (to promote active tolerance), *objectivity*, *cultural protection* (assumed as "public sphere"), and *common reference system* (understood as "public life" of the nation or targeted community). Nowadays, it is alleged that broadcasting must fulfil public service requirements, in spite of financial goals. As a matter of fact, public interest is assumed not to may fit audience's interest. Consequently, as long as such a superior value is concerned, quality in the conception of public interest is to be promoted (Abad Alcalá,

2005: 17-18; BRU, 1989: 25-32; Prix Italia, 1997: 53-63; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 170-184; Thomaß, 2005: 60-72).

ii. Deontology

Although the concern for Broadcasting Quality is believed to have reached its higher popular heights as academic discussion during the 1990s in the United Kingdom, its application had been implemented long before. According to the Anglo-American tradition, freedom of the press forms the cornerstone of the entire communication system. Therefore, autoregulation was the key to prevent state interference. On the basis of long-established journalists' experience, the *Columbia Broadcasting System* (*CBS*) edited a standard handbook for the use of newscast employees in 1974. Soon, other corporations published their own handbook. Broadcasting standards, therefore, were defined as "operational criteria on journalism, with practical implications (particularly ethical, but also political, argumentative, creative and aesthetic)". Those criteria, embodied in written rules, gather experience of professional practice and reflected the nature of audiovisual journalism, as understood by corporations. Broadcasting standards are considered a quality measure in themselves (Costera Meijer, 2003: 15; García Avilés, 1996: 19-87; Pigeat, 2003: 64-81; Smith, 1990: 1-2).

Europe was more likely to edit deontological codes, especially for print media. The United Kingdom integrates both conceptions: from a European perspective, it originated the Anglo-American tradition for the freedom of the press. As a consequence, the most paradigmatic case is, doubtless, *BBC*'s *Code of Guidance* [120], because it gathers both dimensions: the European "Code on Fairness and Privacy" and the North American "Code on Standards" (BSC, 1998: 5-26; Buendía et al., 2006: 52-54; Plasser, 2005: 48-49).

On the one hand, the section dedicated to the "Code on Fairness and Privacy" deals, first of all, with the issue of fairness. That concept expressly disallows "inaccurate information or distortion, for example, by the unfair selection or juxtaposition of

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[120] The *Code of Guidance* was adopted by the Broadcasting Standards Commission (BSC) in 1998, stemming from the explicit legal appointment in Broadcasting Act 1996. There was another statement for commercial broadcasting, in order to assure their commitment with public service. It was the Independent Television Commission (ITC), which had previously replaced the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA). Nowadays, after Communications Act 2003, both bodies have been substituted by the Office of Communications (Ofcom), who launched its own code of practice (named *The Ofcom Broadcasting Code*) first in 2005 and lastly revised in 2008 (Fenwick & Davis, 2004: 28-32; Ofcom: <www.ofcom.org.uk> [Last retrieved: 12/11/2009]).

material taken out of context". Privacy, on the contrary, regulates the way to obtain information (ethical use of hidden microphones, i.e.) and children's exposure (not to be asked, not to broadcast their image, not to be mentioned…). However, there is no intention to promote active involvement. As a result, for instance, journalists are not encouraged to ask in those press conferences where questions are not beforehand allowed, fact that has also been considered a way to censorship. Regulation, moreover, can hide censorship as British ruled Hong Kong's *Commercial Television Programming Code* (1993), which did not allow live outdoor broadcasting (BSC, 1998: 5-12; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 19-23, Villanueva, 2000: 100-101).

On the other hand, the part assigned to the "Code on Standards" establishes some defined rules on audience appropriateness and principles for taste and decency (about swearing, drugs, and attention to minorities). Nevertheless, standards focus on providing instructions about the portrayal of sex and violence. It has become a recurrent topic, understood as a "negative indicator of quality". Most of the times, sex and violence are regulated in order to prevent audience's shock and, in that way, they are only tolerated "as reality description", when viewers' change of attitude is required. Consequently, sex and violence suitability lies upon broadcasters and legislators and, doubtless, they may include ideological issues. As an example, the Philipine standards handbook expressly rejects broadcasting "premarital or extramarital sex" in fiction (BRU, 1989: 20-24; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 64-69; Medina Laverón, 2006: 23-25; Prix Italia, 1997: 119-133; Villanueva, 2000: 123-129).

**Picture No. 2 – Adoption of sexual and violent "tabloid" contents
in broadcasting**
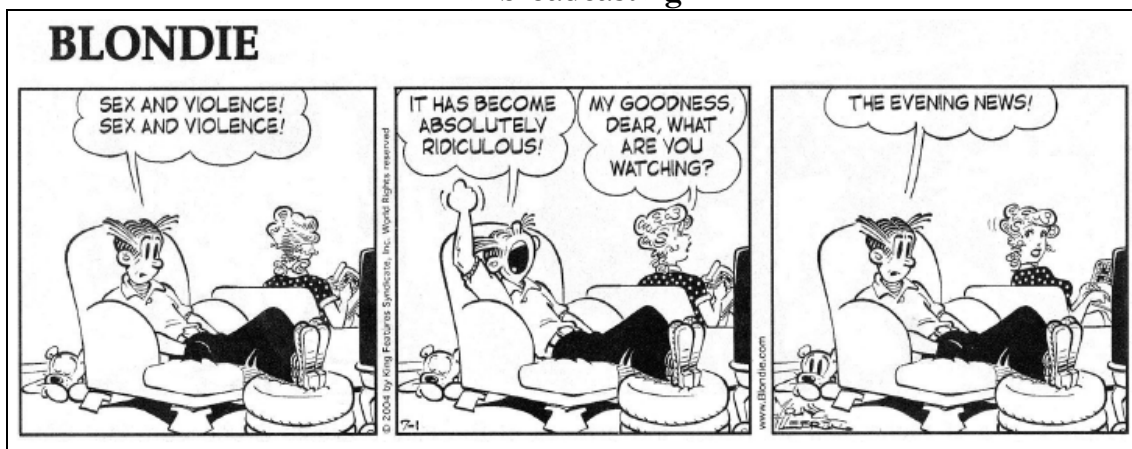
Source: King Features Syndicate in Just & Belt 2004: 2.

Regulation has been proved not to work in favour of quality, since State issues become more relevant than excellence. Therefore, many scholars reject it as a quality criterion. In fact, *BBC* faced "the most stringent controls imposed on the electronic media since the World War II". The *Broadcasting Ban* (also known as *Restrictions*) do not allow *BBC* to broadcast any Sinn Féin members and other proscribed groups and people under anti-terrorism laws since 1988 until 1994. It was announced by Thatcher's government Home Secretary Douglas Hurd on 19th October 1988 in the British Parliament:

> "For some time broadcast coverage of events in Northern Ireland has included the occasional appearance of representatives of paramilitary organizations and their political wings, who have used these opportunities as an attempt to justify their criminal activities. Such appearances have caused widespread offence to viewers and listeners throughout the United Kingdom, particularly just after a terrorist outrage. The terrorists themselves draw support and sustenance from access to radio and television –from addressing their views more directly to the population at large than is possible through the press. The Government has decided that the time has come to deny this easy platform to those who use it to propagate terrorism. Accordingly, I have today issued to the chairmen of the *BBC* [British Broadcasting Corporation] and the IBA [Independent Broadcasting Authorithy] a notice[121] […].
>
> The restrictions will not apply to the broadcast of proceeding in Parliament, and in order not to impair the obligation on the broadcasters to provide an impartial coverage of elections the notices will have a more limited effect during election periods. These restrictions follow very closely the lines of similar provisions which have been operating in the Republic of Ireland for some years […].
>
> Broadcasters have a dangerous and unenviable task in reporting events in Northern Ireland. This step is no criticism of them. What concerns us is the use made of broadcasting facilities by supporters of terrorism. This is not a restriction on reporting. It is a restriction on direct appearances by those who use or support violence […]." (ECHR: 1994, 44-45)

The *Broadcasting Ban* obtained both politicians' and broadcasters' opposition. To start with, the Deputy Leader of the Labour Party Roy Hattersley (a journalist) criticised the vagueness of new legal terms like "supporters" and highlighted the absolute low

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[121] The following rules were established:

"1.) I [Home Secretary Douglas Hurd] hereby require [the *BBC* and the IBA] to refrain at all times from sending any broadcast matter which consists of or includes: any words spoken, whether in the course of an interview or discussion or otherwise, by a person who appears or is heard in the programme in which the matter is broadcast where: (a) the person speaking the words represents or purports to represent an organisation specified in paragraph 2 below, or (b) the words support or solicit or invite support for such an organisation, other than any matter specified in paragraph 3 below.

2.) The organisations referred to in paragraph 1 above are: (a) any organisation which is for the time being a proscribed organisation for the purposes of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1984 or the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978; and (b) Sinn Fein [sic], Republican Sinn Fein [sic] and the Ulster Defence Association.

3.) The matter excluded from paragraph 1 above is any words spoken: (a) in the course of proceedings in Parliament, or (b) by or in support of a candidate at a Parliamentary, European Parliamentary or local election pending that election." (ECHR, 1994: 43-44)

functionality of not interviewing Gerry Adams out of the Parliament about his Parliamentary activity:

> "Does not an examination of the detailed results of the proposal demonstrate that it is trivial, worthless and almost certainly counter-productive in the real fight against terrorism? Today's statement is intended to create the illusion, rather than the reality of activity. It will make the government look simultaneously repressive and ridiculous." (Franklin, 2002: 181)

Likewise, six broadcasters (members of the British National Union of Journalists) applied up to the European Commission of European Rights[122], on behalf of freedom of expression supported by the Convention. However, it was dismissed. Accordingly, for the implementation of the *Broadcasting Ban*, the *BBC* employed "actors to do «voice-overs» on footage of Sinn Féin interviewees". Consequently, the ban was considered to have been reduced to farce, and enhanced the mystique of the forbidden (ECRH, 1994: 42-55). Yet, it didn't fulfil the Government's aim:

> "[Rememberance Sunday bombing in Enniskillen] Gerry Adams could not be found and eventually the Sinn Féin Chairman of Fermanagh Council was tracked down and forced to appear on camera. It had been an awful and pathetic display of ineptitude and hypocrisy, and anyone watching could have drawn their own conclusions. Under the new restrictions, he could not appear, **but a *BBC* reporter would have to report what he said and in doing so probably make it sound more lucid**. Broadcasters would now have to articulate the views of the very people banned from the airwaves, thus exposing them to considerable danger. To place this additional burden on news and current affairs staff who are already under considerable stress, Dr. Morris felt was intolerable and deplorable." (BBC Documents[123])

On the contrary, German scholars point at media journalism ("journalism about media") as a way of self-regulation. It is also known as the "fifth estate"[124], which oversees journalism, that it to say, the one assessing the latter's control of the main three estates[125]: legislative, executive and judiciary. Accordingly, professionals judge practice and, therefore, it constitutes a corrective to journalists. However, any self-regulation is regarded as state interference. As a result, the concept of *public service*

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[122] Only after having exhausted all domestic remedies (the Divisional Court, the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords), could the case be taken to the European Court of Human Rights.

[123] BBC Documents: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/archive/chronicle/1980s/document-23.shtm> [Last retrieved: 12/11/2009].

[124] Ramonet employs such a term to refer to Global Media Watch's (GMW) mission: "Un «cinquième pouvoir» dont la fonction serait de dénoncer le superpouvoir des médias, des grands groupes médiatiques, complices et diffuseurs de la globalisation libérale. Ces médias qui, dans certaines circonstances, ont non seulement cessé de défendre les citoyens, mais qui agissent parfois contre le peuple dans son ensemble." (Ramonet, 2003 : 5)

[125] The conception of appointing journalism as the "4th Estate" has been attributed to Edmund Burke as he considered the 18th century English Parliament: «There are three estates in Parliament, but in the reporters' gallery yonder sits a fourth estate more important than they all. It is not a figure of speech or witty saying: it is a literal fact, very momentous to us in these times»." (Donohue et al., 2000: 24)

journalism is nowadays understood in terms of media responsibility and usefulness (Bucher, 2003: 24-27; Fengler, 2003: 148-158; FNPI; Pöttker, 2005: 127; Ruß-Mohl, 2000a: 33-37; Ruß-Mohl, 2000b: 252-253).

b.2.4. Market orientation

This perspective takes for granted the most elemental principle: the assumption that the market can effectively regulate quality. Accordingly, the continuous search for excellence moves to management goals and the corporation itself prevails over the media product (Beck, 2006: 236-237; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 22-25; Medina Laverón, 2006: 46-54; Pigeat, 2003: 15-16; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 61-108). However, managent decisions clearly influence the media output:

Chart No. 22 – Management Factors which shape Media Content
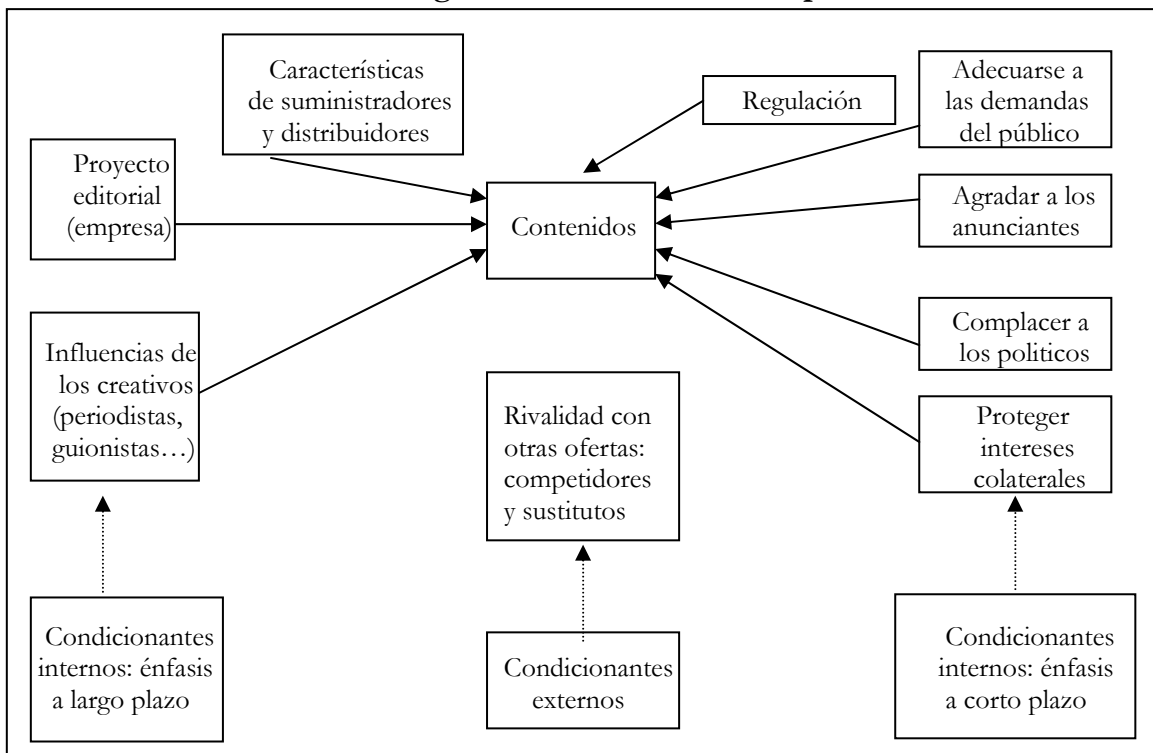
Source: Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 71.

Such a neo-classical economics' ideal of consumer sovereignty regards media product as a a commodity[126]. As a consequence, it priorizes "extreme simplification and sensationalization, which in turn degrade the quality of political discussion and reduces the competence of citizens". Therefore, in an attempt not to consider readers and

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[126] **Commodity**: "An article or raw material that can be bought and sold, especially a product as opposed to a service." (Thompson, 1998: 266)

viewers merely customers, but also citizens, scholars propose to leave the "market model", where the gaining of share and competitive advantage rule, and instead swap to the "moral model", focusing on media's social responsibility. Hence, civic concern is assumed to increase media output's quality[127] (Costera Meijer, 2005: 27-31; Crouch, 2004: 46-49; Fabbro, 2006: 76; Fabris & Renger, 2003: 83-85; Fernández Baena, 2005: 3-4; Huber, 1998: 54-55; Jornet, 2006: 9; Just & Belt, 2004: 2-3; Karmasin, 2000: 197-199; Pigeat, 2003: 7-9; Plasser, 2005: 48-51; Poster, 1990: 26-27; Pühringer, 2007: 83-85).

Scholars are believed to tackle this issue from two perspectives fitting both main thought schools. On the one hand, the Critical Theory highlights market concentration in order to critize that corporations getting closer to power and they only gaze at profitability. The conservative sector, on the other, is more aware of the transgression of ethical standards (Gardner et al., 2002: 258; Medina Laverón, 2006: 25-27; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008-27-29).

Traditionally, there have been two ways of understanding audience-focused information requirements. The normative notion regards viewers and listeners as *citizens*. Accordingly, their information need relies upon the key to understand the world they are living in and, consequently, take actions in several ways. The market oriented model, however, considers viewers and listeners mere *customers* and, therefore, their information demands are not that high (Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 81-86).

Table No. 43 – Citizens' and Customers' Information Demands

Social Roll	Citizen	Customer
Information requirements	Political engagement	Own needs, own interest
Quality Standard	Experts' judgement	Audience data, sale rates
Key election	Majority's election	Selection at selling point

Source: Ruß-Mohl (1994b: 248), and Ruß-Mohl (1994c: 82)[128].

Coster Meijer has introduced a third notion: that of *enjoyers*. It refers to "being so engaged in/by something, that we mentally leave our immediate surroundings to some extent". That way, this third way of understanding audience-focused concept is to "justify the making of high-quality drama, high-quality game shows, high-quality crime series and high-quality nature documentaries" (Costera Meijer, 2005: 27-48).

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[127] This topic also involves the management in Public Broadcasting Corporations. Bardoel and Ojer Goñi have analysed that topic in the Netherlands (*NPO*, former *NOS*) and the United Kingdom (*BBC*), respectively (Bardoel, 2003: 83-84; Bardoel, 2007: 47-52; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 99-130).

[128] My translation from German.

Table No. 44 – Three Ways of Understanding Audience-Orientedness

Which audience group generates / addresses the programme	Citizens	Customers	'Enjoyers'
What is the aim of the programme?	* Address viewers as socially committed.	* Pleasing the advertisers.	* Giving your audience real pleasure.
How does the programme-maker relate to the audience?	* Making your audience aware.	* Addressing, creating and delivering markets (e.g. shoppers 19-49, youth).	* Loving your audience.
How do you recognize programme quality?	* Greater social / democratic involvement. * Community feeling. * Educating and informing the audience. * Rendering visible democratic culture.	* Consumer pleasure. * The targeted viewer group is being transformed into potencial buyers of goods and services.	* Visual pleasure. * Enthral your audience. * Call on viewers' sense of playfulness. * Utopian escapism: imagining a better world and a better humanity.

Source: Costera Meijer (2005: 36).

Quality, accordingly, is related to "impact" on audience, next to "content" and not so close to "pre-given viewer groups". As a result, for the function of information requirements, traditional citizen-consumer conflict schema still applies (Costera Meijer, 2005: 27-48).

Hence, German scholars deliberately distinguish between media performance and media corporations. Accordingly, one of the dilemmas of Medium Quality turns out to be the conflict facing performance to management goals. The former aims to "meet socially consensual functions", whereas the latter "operates under the provisions of sales and profits". As a result, the corporation structures media performance is to act within constitute the main problem of Medium Quality. The suggested solution proposes accepting media performance's quality goals as management objectives. In an attempt to gather both concepts, Ruß-Mohl alledges media performance is at the same time "commercial business and public responsibility"[129]. (Altmeppen, 2003: 125-126;

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[129] From this point of view, it is asserted that key for media's social success still consists in media production:

"La información y la comunicación están relacionadas desde hace aproximadamente 60 años, fecha en la que inician su desarrollo, pero ha habido que esperar hasta los años 90 para superar la subestimación con que estas empresas trataban a los contenidos y servicios, y, pese a que resulta cada vez más evidente que una red de infraestructura sin contenidos y servicios es una red sin *interés* para los usuarios (sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que, sin contenidos ni servicios atractivos, no hay rentabilización posible de las infraestructuras). Hoy, con la llamada *Sociedad de la Información* y *del Conocimiento*, las empresas de infraestructuras de comunicación han ido poniendo el acento cada vez más

Eichel, 1993: 261-264; Huber, 1998: 63-66; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 81-86). Media performance will be deeply analysed in the following chapter. Market, thus, remains according to its original economical concept, albeit its incidence on media performance:

> "The economic marketplace does not ensure any particular level of quality, quantity, or equality of access to information (equal knowledge would be too much to ask for). At best, the market provides a general or chronic balance between information supply and demand. That, after all, is what markets do." (Scheuer, 2008: xiv-xv)

Nonetheless, as long as media output is considered a commodity, assuring Medium Quality (improving media product and fulfilling management goals) will also enhance media system's excellence. According to Huber, horizontal quality can be effectively assured throughout professionalisation (legal requirements, ethical and deontological standards, and the like). That implies the distinction between "serious" or "quality" and "popular" media[130], as well as the assumption that the former are over vertical quality (System Quality) and the latter, under. However, both are likely to enrich their horizontal quality (media output quality). Consequently, vertical quality assurance consists in increasing media system's diversity. That way, the more media products there are, the more complete the whole system becomes. Therefore, media output, even in terms of commodity, is to be assessed on the basis of genre evaluation. Although "serious" and "popular" media increase their excellence through the same process, they will never rich the same level: they do not share media output's characteristics (Huber, 1998: 63-69).

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en los contenidos y servicios, y además, son los motores clave de su expansión, crecimiento económico y empleo." (Ruano López, 2006: 68)

[130] The German word for 'tabloidization' would be **Boulervadisierung** of the media (Esser, 1999: 291-292).

Chart No. 23 – Horizontal and Vertical Quality Assurance

Ebene der seriösen Medien

E-Qualität

| Erfüllen medien-rechtl. Bestimm. | Einhalten ethischer und prof. Normen | **Vertikale Qualitätssich.** Sicherung der öff. Auf-gabe, Medienvielfalt |

Ebene der Boulevardmedien

U-Qualität

Horizontale Qualitätssicherung
(Professionalisierung)
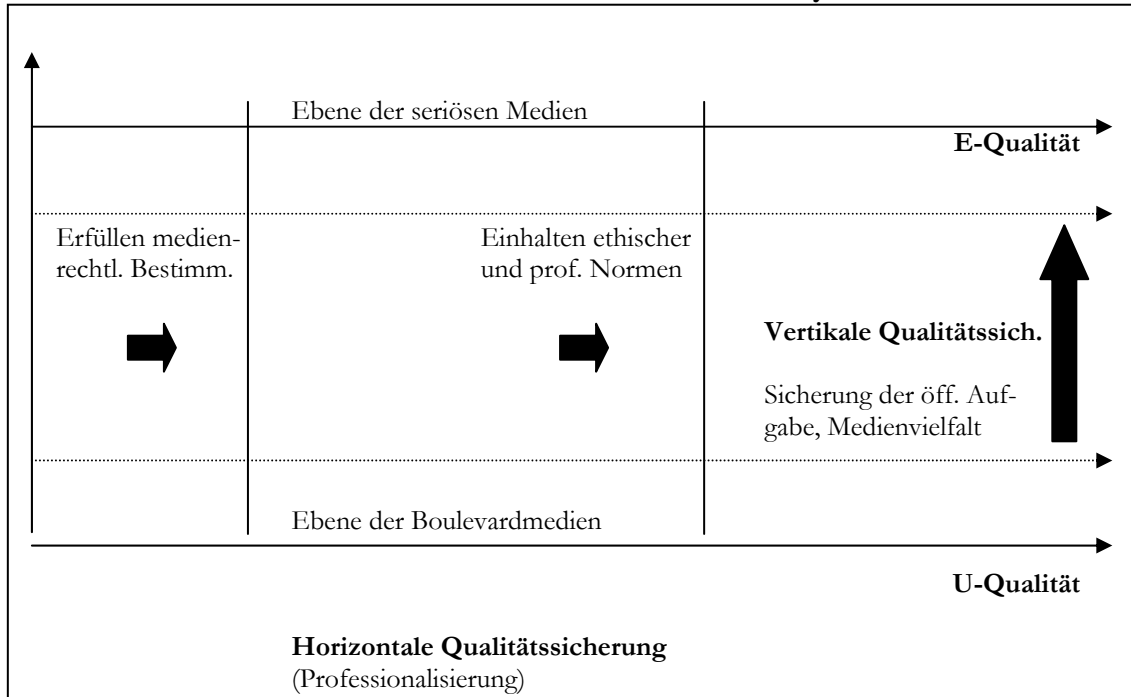
Source: Huber, 1998: 67.

Consequently, the literature review of Media Quality (englobing the concepts of System Quality, Channel Quality, Quality of Programming, and media output quality) offer, as a result, no method widely agreed according to either means of publication, or assessing bodies. On the one hand, means of publication have traditionally focused on Broadcasting Quality and, recently, on Internet Quality. On the other, assessment bodies by themselves turn out to be incomplete at their evaluation. Consequently, scholars pled for cross-media assessment, on the basis of the concept of media performance. Accordingly, the quality method could evaluate every medium activity, getting over assessment bodies' traditional restrictions, such as: audience driven contents, experts' high technical demands, public service in the function of Government interests and media corporations' profitable mentality (Albers, 1996: 139-142; Leggatt, 1996a: 80-85; Kohlhaas, 2004: 403-410; Tur Viñes, 2006: 179). As a result, media performance is believed to be assessed from an audience oriented cross-media perspective, which fits also basic technical features and whose public service derives from the conception of social responsibility:

> "La solución más acertada parece ser la elaboración de un sistema de calidad hecho a medida y aceptado por los distintos agentes que intervienen en el proceso de producción y en el consumo del producto prensa, desde los profesionales de la información a los lectores y a la sociedad." (Kohlhaas, 2004: 404)

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c. *Hedabideen Kalitatea* (LABURPENA)

Hedabideen kalitatea bi ikuspegitatik aztertu izan da. Alde batetik, alemanierazko ikertzaileek kalitatearen bitartez etengabeko hobekuntza bermatu nahi zuten. Horregatik, kalitatearen ziurtatzea ahalbidetuko lukeen sistema integratzailea osatu zuten. Horrela, Tipula Ereduak kalitatean eragina duten eragileen geruzak azaltzen ditu. Azalak hedabide-sistemari erreparatzen dio, Estatuko araudiaren eta merkatu-ereduaren ondorioa den neurrian. Bigarrenik, hedabide-jarduerako erakundeek kalitatea bermatzea dute helburu. Erakundeok kanpokoak izan daitezke (hala nola etengabeko prestakuntza) edo erakunde barrukoak (TQM, esaterako). Hirugarrenik, hedabide-jarduerak berak Kalitate Kontrola egiaztatzen du. Alde batetik, produktua aztertzen duten adierazle objektiboen arabera horren kalitatea neurtzen da. Bestetik, adierazle horiek ondorioztatutako emaitzak hartzaileen erabilera eta onarpen-mailarekin alderatzen dira. Azkenik, bikaintasunaren gakoa kalitatearen kontzientzia duten langileei dagokie. Horregatik, kalitatea ziurtatzeko estrategiek horien lan-metodoak zehaztu egiten dituzte.

24. Irudia – Alemanierazko komunitate zientifikoan erabiltzen den kalitatearen inguruko ikerketaren "Tipula Eredua"
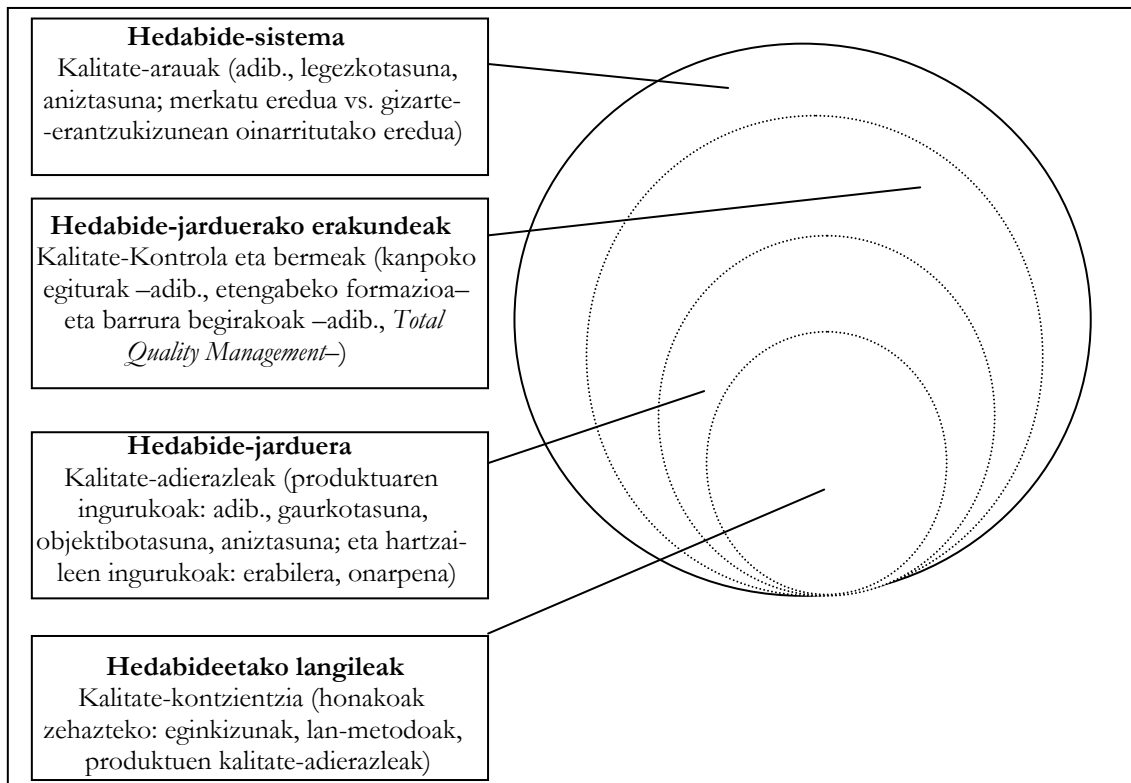
Iturria: Weischenberg (2006a: 13) eta Weischenberg (2006b: 669)[131].

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[131] Egileak alemanieratik itzulia.

Beste aldetik, ingelesezko egileek hedabideen kalitatea enpresa-ikuspegitik aztertu izan dute. Horregatik, ildo ekonomikoa eta hedabide-jarduera bereizi izanak kalitatea aztertzeko aro berria zabaldu zuen, ekonomiak bikaintasunari egindako ekarpenak ahaztu barik. Dena den, ingelezko kalitatearen diskurtsoa sakabanatutako lanek osatzen dute. Europan telebista publikoaren gizarte zerbitzua azpimarratzen den bitartean, AEBetan irabaziei lotutako enpresa izaera nabarmentzen da. Horregatik, kontzeptuak antolatzeko, McQuailek hedabideen jardunbidean bereizten dituen hiru mailen arabera sailkatuko ditugu. Lehenengo eta behin, *egitura*k (*structure*) hedabide-sistemaren nolakotasuna kontuan hartzen du (araudia, azpiegiturak, zabalkundea etab.). Bigarrenik, *kudeaketa*k (*conduct*) enpresaren jardunbidearen ezaugarriak aztertzen ditu (edukia hautatzeko eta ekoizteko metodoak, ildo editorialaren erabakiak, merkatu estrategia, gainerako eragileekiko harremanak, erantzukizunerako prozedurak...). Hirugarrenik, *jarduna* (*performance*) edukiarekin parekatzen da: hartzaileei bidaltzen zaienarekin, hain zuzen. Horregatik, gurean, hedabide-jarduna kazetaritza-jarduna da; are zehatzago, Albisteen Kalitatea aztertzeko eremua da. Beraz, *Hedabide-Egituraren Kalitateak* hedabideen zabalkunderako bitartekoak aztergai dituen bitartean, *Hedabide-Kudeaketaren Kalitateak* enpresa baliabideei erreparatzen die. Azken batean, (Hedabide-) Egituraren Kalitateari komunikazio ikasketen ikuspegia dagokio eta (Hedabide-) Kudeaketaren Kalitateari, ordea, enpresa-ikuspuntua.

c.1. *Hedabide-Kudeaketaren Kalitatea*

Enpresa Zientzien ekarpenak Hedabide-Kudeaketaren Kalitatearen kontzeptuaren inguruan biltzen dira. Izan ere, *Hedabide-Kudeaketaren Kalitatea* enpresa baliabideetatik etengabeko hobekuntzarik eraginkorrena lortzean datza. Horrenbestez, (Hedabide-) Kudeaketaren Kalitateak hiru alde aztertuko ditu: Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketa, Komunikazio-Enpresaren Kudeaketa eta Hedabide-Jarduaren Kalitatearen Ziurtatzea.

Lehenengo eta behin, *Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketa* EFQM ereduaren aplikazioa litzateke. Horrenbestez, kalitatea ez da helburua, bikaintasunaren bila etengabe aritzea baizik. Gainera, kalitate eredu hori, hartzaileen aurrean, konparaziozko abantailatzat aurkez daiteke. Izan ere, Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketak akatsik gabeko ikuspegiari nagusitasuna aitzatesten dio. Honako premisak bere jardunbidea laburbiltzen du:

"Bezeroengan, pertsonengan eta diharduen gizartean erakunde baten errendimendu orokorraren emaitza paragabeak Politika eta Estrategia zuzendu eta bultzatuko dituen buruzagitzaren bidez lortzen dira. Buruzagitza hori erakundeko Pertsonen, Itun eta Baliabideen eta Prozesuen bidez gauzatuko da." (Euskalit)

Printzipio horien adierazpen grafikoak EFQM ereduak honelako eskema jarraitzen duela zehazten du:

25. Irudia – EFQM ereduaren Printzipioek adierazpen grafikoa
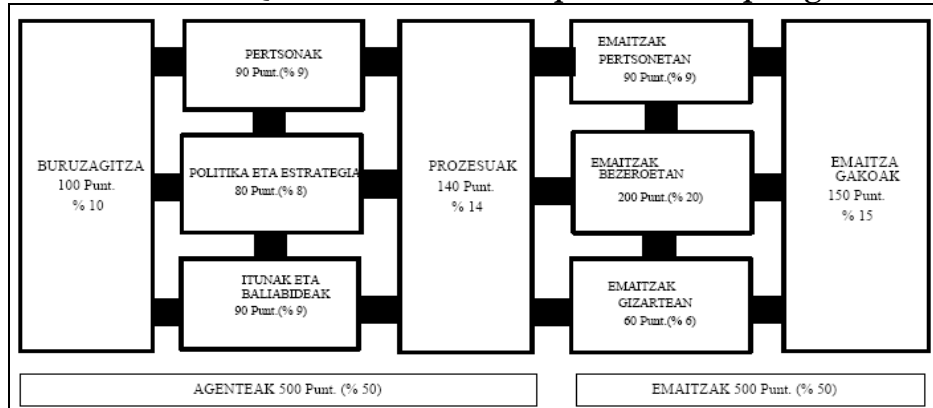
Iturria: Euskalit.

Euskal Irrati Telebistak (EiTBk) 2004an Euskaliten Zilarrezko Q lortu zuen eta 2007an, Urrezkoa. Hortaz, Espainian kalitate-ziurtagiria lortu zuen lehen komunikazio-taldea izan zen. Are gehiago, 2009an Europako Kalitatearen Saria ere bereganatu zuen.

Bigarrenik, *Komunikazio-Enpresaren kudeaketa*k AEBetako Enpresa Zientzien ekarpenak biltzen ditu. Horrenbestez, bezeroaren asebetetasuna oinarritzat hartu zuen kalitatearen inguruko ikerketa-ildoa garatu zuten egileek. Alde batetik, hedabidearen jardunbideak produktuan duen eragina aztertu zuten. Bestetik, ikuspegi ekonomiko hutsaz harago, hedabideek lortzen duten gizarte-eragina handitzeko estrategiak diseinatu zituzten. Orduan, kalitatea errentagarritasunaren pareko bihurtu zuten. Dena den, ikuspegi europarrak bezeroaren asebetetasuna iragarleekin baino hartzaileekin (ikus-entzuleekin eta irakurleekin) lotuta ulertzen du. Hortaz, zenbait egilek EFQMren aplikazioak hedabideen esparruan horren gizarte aldea kontuan izango lukeen egokitzapenaren beharra azpimarratu dute.

Azkenik, *Hedabide-Jarraueraren Kalitatearen Ziurtatzea*k hedabideen jardunbidearen sarean bikaintasuna bermatzen dituzten mekanismoak identifikatzen ditu. Ruß-Mohl-ek profesionaltasunaren bost irizpide zehaztu ditu: objektibotasuna, gaurkotasuna, originaltasuna, konplexutasuna arintzea eta gardentasuna edo gizartearen islatzea.

Gerora, interakzioa ere gehitu dio (hots, hartzaileen ikuspegia barneratzea). Hedabideen jardunbideak profesionaltasunaren irizpideak zuzentzen ditu, beraz, produktuan zeharkako eragina du. Horregatik, *I-Faktor*, hau da, *Azpiegitura-Faktorea* izena hartu du. Ekoizpen prozesuaren hiru fasetan ematen da. Are gehiago, hedabideen jardunbideak erredakzio barruko Kalitate-Kontrolerako neurriak ez ezik, hortik kanpokoak ere biltzen ditu. Horrenbestez, Komunikazio-Enpresaren Kudeaketak lehenengo multzokoak baino zuzentzen ez dituenez, Hedabide-Jardueraren Kalitatearen Ziurtatzeak sistema osoagoa garatu du. Lehenengo eta behin, aitzin-azpiegiturak ekoizpen fasearen aurrekoak dira eta, ondorioz, balizko kalitaterik eza ezeztatzen dute. Besteak beste, Kazetaritza Fakultateak, Estilo Liburuak, etengabeko formazioa eta TQMren aplikazioa aitzin-azpiegituratzat hartzen dira. Bigarrenik, ekoizpen prozesuarekin batera doazen azpiegiturek asebetetasunari erantzuten ez dioten kasuak murrizten dituzte. Fase horretan, etengabeko formazioa eta TQMren aplikazioaz gain, adituek gainbegiratzea eta kalitatea bermatzeko erredakzio barruko zenbait neurri ere (adib.: kazetariak bigarrenez bere lana ikuskatzea, gaien agenda, zuzentzailearen lana...) aurki daitezke. Azkenik, azpiegitura zuzentzaileak albistea zabaldu eta gero martxan jartzen dira. Horregatik, hurrengo produktuaren kalitatea hobetzeko helburua dute. Ildo beretik, aurreko produktuaren kalitatea ebazten dute. Azpiegitura zuzentzaile gehienak kalitate-ebazletzat hartu izan dira: hedabideen behategiak, kazetaritza sariak, hedabideetako Arar, kazetaritzari buruzko kazetaritza, ikerlarien lana etab.

Laburbilduz, Hedabide-Jardueraren Kalitatearen Ziurtatzeak kazetaritza arautzeko ekimen legegilea baino eraginkorragoa dela egiaztatu du. Ildo beretik, merkatuaren ikuspegitik atzeman ezin daitezkeen arazo edo zailtasunak ere hedabideen eginkizunaren araberako azpiegiturek zuzentzen dituzte. Horrenbestez, ikuspegirik zabalena eskaintzen duen kalitate-sistema litzateke. Izan ere, Erabateko Kalitatearen Kudeaketa eta Komunikazio-Enpresaren Kudeaketa hedabide jardunbidearen azpiegiturak dira eta, beraz, Hedabide-Jardueraren Kalitatearen Ziurtatzearen zati bat.

c.2 Hedabide-Egituraren Kalitatea

McQuailen *egitura* kontzeptuan oinarrituta, *Hedabide-Egitura Kalitateak* hedabideen zabalkunderako bitartekoei erreparatzen die. Horregatik, makrokategoria horretan Hedabideen Kalitatearen inguruko literatura biltzeko bi talde nagusi banatu behar izan ditugu. Alde batetik, hedabide-motaren araberako kalitatearen lanak

aztertuko ditugu (ikus-entzunezkoak, egunkariak zein Interneta). Bestetik, kalitateaz ebazteko kontuan hartu izan diren taldeen ekarpenei erreparatuko diegu (hartzaileak, profesionalak, zuzendariak eta merkatu-eragileak).

c.2.1. *Hedabide-motaren arabera*

Atal honetan, (Hedabide-) Egituraren Kalitatearen inguruko ikerketa hedabide-motaren arabera azalduko ditugu: ikus-entzunezkoak, egunkariak eta sareko hedabideak. *Ikus-Entzunezko Hedabideen Kalitatea* gehien ikertutako gaia izan da. Ildo beretik, bere barnean kontzepturik gehien biltzen dituen adiera da. Hemen makroegituratik mikrora ekarriko ditugu. Lehenengo eta behin, *Ikus-Entzunezkoen Komunikazio-Esparruko Kalitateak* ikus-entzunezko hedabideek osatutako legezko eta administrazioko sistemarekin bat egiten du. Bigarrenik, *Programazioaren Kalitateak* bi zentzu ditu: horizontala eta bertikala. Alde batetik, kalitate horizontalak Programazioaren Kalitatearen zabalerazko adiera azaltzen du. Horrenbestez, irrati eta telebista kate guztiek batera bete behar dituzten helburuak eta zabaldu beharreko baloreak zehazten ditu. Esaterako, deneriko edukiak dituzten saioen programazioa: albistegiak, entretenimendurako formatuak (filmak etab.), umeentzako emankizunak, gutxituentzako tarteak... Bestetik, kalitate bertikala hedabide bakoitzaren Ikus-Entzunezko Saioen Kalitate metatuaren ondorioa da. Hirugarrenik, *Katearen Kalitateak* hedabidearen sorrera-estatutuen araberako helburuak eta xede ekonomikoak modurik eraginkorrenean betetzea bilatzen du. Azkenik, *Ikus-Entzunezko Saioen Kalitatea* ebazteko, emankizun bakoitza amaitutako produktutzat hartzen da. Hortaz, saioaren zenbait alderi erreparatzen zaio: formatua, edukia eta bien arteko elkarrekintza.

Ikus-entzunezko hedabideetan ez ezik, egunkarietan ere kalitatearen inguruko eztabaida sortu da. Hala ere, bigarren horri erreparatutako lanak askoz ere urriagoak dira eta, ondorioz, kontzeptu bakarra aztertu dute: *Egunkarien Kalitatea*. Are gehiago, irakurle-tasak behera egin zuenean kalitatearen ardura sortu zen. Horrenbestez, kudeaketak jarduraren bikaintasunean eragiten zuela ondorioztatu zuen Egunkarien Kalitateak. Azken batean, kudeaketari erreparatzen zioten neurrian, egileak Hedabidearen Kalitateaz ari ziren.

Internet bidezko hedabideek, azkenik, kalitatearen eztabaidari berriro heldu diote. Hortaz, ikus-entzunezko hedabideak aztertzeko adina lan eragin du Sareak. Ildo beretik, ikerlanek ez dute oinarri komunik partekatu. Gainera, Internetek, euskarri

moduan, baldintzatzen dituen ezaugarriak ere aztertzen dituen neurrian, *Sareko Hedabideen Kalitatea*ren kontzeptua Hedabidearen Kalitatearen antzera garatu izan da. Horregatik, Interneteko kazetaritzari buruzko ikerlanek euskarriaren mendekotasuna gainditu eta zenbait euskarritan argitaratutako edukia aztertzeko zeharkako irizpideak finkatu dituzte (*cross-mediality*).

Ondorioz, hiru hedabideetako ekoizpena (*jarduera*) neurtzeko gako bertsuak erabiltzen dira ikus-entzunezko hedabideetan, egunkarietan eta Sarean, honakoak alegia: itxura (formatua), edukia eta bien arteko elkarrekintza edo alde komunikatiboa (Interneten).

45. Taula – Hedabideen Ekoizpenaren Kalitatea ebaluatzeko Dimentsioen bat-egitea, hedabide-moten arabera

Ikus--Entzunezko Saioen Kalitatea	Egunkarietako edukien kalitatea, adiera Anglo--Amerikarrean (Gladney)	Egunkarietako edukien kalitatea, adiera Europarrean (Schönbach)	Sareko Hedabideen Kalitatea
Aniztasuna	Aniztasuna	Aniztasuna	Aniztasuna
Itxura	Itxura	Diseinua	Kalitate teknikoa: * Diseinu estetikoa * Diseinu funtzionala
Edukia	Albisteen trataera	Edukia	Eduki-kalitatea
Itxuraren eta edukiaren elkarrekintza	———	———	Komunikazio--kalitatea

Iturria: Egilea, ondoko lanetan oinarrituta: Alexander & Tate (1999: 4), Albers (1996: 123-139), Baeßler & Kinnebrock (2004: 324-326), BRU (1989: 1-5, 20-24), Gladney (1990: 65-66), Lasagni & Richeri (2006: 86-92), McQuail (1992: 144-145), Medina Laverón (2006: 54-59), Mulgan (1990a: 8-17), Pujadas Capdevila (2008: 315-339), Schönbach (2004: 222) eta Welker (2004: 276-277).

c.2.2. *Ebazleen arabera*

Bikaintasunaren helburuek kalitatea ebazteko taldeak zehaztu dituzte. Horrela, alde batetik, hartzaileak kalitatearen ebazletzat hartzen dituen ikuspegiak audientziari zuzendutako edukietan sakontzea du xede. Bestetik, hartzaileen jarreran eragin nahi duen kontzepzioaren asmoak hedabideekiko alfabetatzea erraztea edo kultura zein Estatu jakin baterako atxikimendua lortzea izan dira. Besteak beste, ikertzaileen eta hedabideetako zuzendarien kalitate adierak baloratu dira.

Ondorioz, hartzaileek asebetetasunarekin lotu izan dute kalitatea. Profesionalek, ordea, alde teknikoari eta estetikoari garrantzia handiagoa ematen diete. Hedabideetako zuzendariek bikaintasuna legezko araudiaren araberako kazetaritza-jardueran kokatzen

dute. Merkatu-eragileek, azkenik, kalitatea eragiten dituen kostuen arabera neurtzen dute. Lau talde horien kalitate-irizpideak bilduko ditugu.

Lehenengo eta behin, hartzaileen kalitate-adiera ezagutzeko lau ekimen bideratu ohi dira. Ikus-entzuleen iritzia inkestetan jasota geratzen bada ere, datu horiek ez dute kalitatea hobetzeko gakorik ematen. Gainera, hartzaileak haiek profesionalen kalitate-irizpideekin bat datozela egiaztatu da, baina kalitatezkoak ez diren produktuak gustuko dituztelako kontsumitzen dituztela onartzen dute. Beraz, ikus-entzuleen inkestak ez dira kalitate-adierazleen iturburutzat hartzen. Era berean, Internetek hartzaileen parte-hartzea sustatu du. Izan ere, idatzizko prentsan ohikoak ziren zuzendariari gutunen parte-hartze eremua zabaldu du. Dena den, hartzaileen irizpideak ikuspegi pertsonalean oinarrituta daudela egiaztatu dute eta, horregatik, sailkaezinak suertatzen dira. Beraz, modu horretan agertutako kalitateari buruzko iritziak ez dira baliagarritzat jotzen. Hartzaileen ikuspegitik Hedabideen Behategiak ere sortu dira. Horiek, baina, kalitatearen ezezko definizioa garatzen dute, haiek goraipatzen dituzten printzipioei dagokienez. Ildo beretik, Arartekoak hedabidea gainerakoetatik bereizteko konparaziozko abantaila legez erabili izana leporatzen zaie hedabideei. Beraz, ikertzaileek ez dute kalitatearen diskurtsoa bi talde horien kalitate-adieran oinarritzen.

Bigarrenik, profesionalek garatutako irizpideek hiru dimentsiotan sailka zitezkeela egiaztatu zuen Albersek: itxura, edukia eta bien elkarrekintza. Sailkapen hori oraindik indarrean dago, baina alde bakoitzari aintzatesten dioten lehentasuna lan-arloekin lotuta agertzen da. Horrenbestez, sortzaileek alde teknikoa azpimarratzen dute. Gainera, kudeaketari ere garrantzia ematen dioten neurrian, hartzaileentzako ardura interes publikoaren kontzeptutik bereiztu dute. Ikertzaileek, ostera, itxuraren eta edukiaren elkarrekintza hobetsi ohi dute. Hortaz, ez dute kalitatea hartzaile-kopuruarekin lotzen, hedabideen gizarte erantzukizunarekin baizik, Britainia Handian batez ere. Gainera, Europako ikertzaileen ekarpenik handiena aniztasunaren kontzeptua izan zen, horrek kalitatea neurtzeko bidea zabaldu zuelako. Hala ere, sariei eta kritikariei ez zaie kalitatea ebazteko fidagarritasunik aitzatesten, norbere irizpideak kontuan hartzen dituztelako.

Hirugarrenik, hedabideetako zuzendariek bi joera agertu dituzte. Alde batetik, irrati-telebista publikoen tradizioaren haritik, Europako zuzendariek hedabideon zerbitzu publikoa nabarmendu dute. Horrenbestez, kalitatea hiru irizpideren arabera ebatzi ohi dute: interes orokorra, aniztasuna eta kultura nazionala. Irrati-telebista

publikoek estatuaren monopolioa hautsi eta gero, interes orokorra bultzatzen duten edukiek hartzaile-kopuruan eragin dezaketen arren, balio goren horri eutsi diote. Bestetik, AEBetako arduradunek autorregulazioa sustatu dute. Horrela, deontologia kodeek jardueraren etika bermatzen dute. Dena den, Erresuma Batuko gobernuak *BBC* eredugarriari Ipar Irlandari buruzko berrietan ipinitako informazio-murrizketek Estatuaren esku-hartze oro baztertzea ekarri dute. Hortaz, zerbitzu publikoa hedabideen erantzukizunean eta gizarteari eskaintzen dioten onuran datza.

Azkenik, merkatu-eragileak kalitatearen ebazletzat hartzeak merkatuari berari bikaintasuna arautzeko ahalmena aintzatestea dakar. Horrenbestez, ikuspegi horrek albisteen sinplifikazioa eta horikeria areagotzen dituela diote ikertzaileek. Beraz, "merkatu-eredua" baino, giza-taldearekiko erantzukizunean oinarritutako "gizarte-eredua" hobetsi dute. Horrek kazetaritza produktu mota guztiak bultzatzen ditu (erreferentziazkoak eta horiak), komunikazio-esparruaren aniztasun horizontala areagotzen duelako. Hala ere, kalitatearen ziurtatzea lehenengoek bakarrik egikari dezaketela aurreikusten dute egileek.

Ondorioz, hedabide-jardueraren ekoizpenean eta kontsumoan parte hartzen duten eragile guztiek onartutakoa kalitatea ebazteko sistema osatuena litzateke: hartzaileek, kazetariek eta gizarteak adostutakoa, hain zuzen.

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American Customer Satisfaction Index: < www.theacsi.org>.
Argia: <www.argia.com>.
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British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC): <http://www.bbc.co.uk>.
British Quality Foundation: <www.bqf.org.uk>.
Communication Initiative Network: <www.comminit.com>.
EFQM (European Foundation for Quality Management) <www.efqm.org>
EiTB (Basque Broadcasting Corporation): <www.eitb.com/albisteak>.
EJO (European Journalism Observatory): <http://www.ejo.ch>.
Euskadi Kalitea Lehiatzeko Kalitatea (The Advantage to Compete): <www.euskadikalitatea.net>
FNPI (Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano): <www.fnpi.org>.
GMW (Global Media Watch): <www.mwglobal.org>.
Jayson Blair, the full story: <www.jaysonblair.com>.
Media Management Center (MMC): <http://www.mediamanagementcenter.org>.
Media Perspektiven: <www.media-perspektiven.de>.
Media Watch: <www. mediawatch.com>.
Observatório Da Imprensa: <www.observatoriodaimprensa.com.br>.
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2.1.4. NEWS QUALITY

According to the levels of *media operation*, Media Quality contributions have been compiled under the concepts of Media Conduct Quality and Media Structure Quality. Finally, *performance* constitutes the third level of media operation. It refers to the media content. For the purpose of the present work, as long as news media's performance alludes to news reporting, Media Performance Quality will be called *News Quality*.

McQuail defined "media performance in the public interest" in his work *Media Performance* (1992). Accordingly, the core values of Western societies were expressed, in addition to the principles of media performance derived from such core values. As a result, McQuail compiled all the research conducted on those topics related to those principles.

Scholars have based their studies about News Quality on McQuail's contributions. In an attempt to gather the literature on the topic, researchers' works conducted after 1992 will be analysed under the light of media performance. Therefore, the dimensions of News Quality will be outlined, whose importance relies on the fact that they constitute the basis for the methodological proposal (News Quality Scheme).

a. Media performance analysis in the public interest

News quality is believed to be the basis of every media system. Nevertheless, it could not have been assessed under traditional normative theories. It was not until the concept of media performance was outlined that media quality appraisal in terms of system evaluation could emerge. Nowadays, media quality is not assessed under any other principle scheme (Mezger, 2005: 49-54; McQuail, 1992: 10-19).

a.1. A new normative theory

Communication research on quality assessment has focused on assessing bodies, such as audiences (Bogart, Shamir and Tebert, mainly) or professionals (Albers, Leggatt, Weischenberg, etc.). All those works lack a common framework of norms and values of evaluation. For instance, as explained in previous sections, some works have assessed quality in terms of Media Conduct Quality (such as: Meyer, Picard, Ruß-Mohl, Wyss), whereas others have highlighted the application of deontological codes (Bertrand, Wunden, amongst others). In fact, quality has been described as "a set of characteristics satisfying certain standards backed up by more or less central values and

norms" (Hagen, 1995a: 32; McQuail, 1992: 10-19; Rosengren et al., 1996: 4-8; Schulz, 2000: 1-2; Wallisch 1995: 149-153). Media excellence, then, is assessed against those values and norms stemming from normative theories or ideologies:

> "Quality is always a relational concept, explicitly or implicitly denoting not a single characteristic, but a relation between a characteristic and a set of standards institutionally anchored in a set of norms, in their turn ultimately anchored in a set of basic values characterizing a given society or a given group (stratum, class, fraction etc.) within a society." (Rosengren et al., 1996: 4)

Scholars have traditionally distinguished the following six normative theories: organizational efficiency, social cost-benefit analysis, media effect model, marxist-critical view, media cultural studies approach, and media ethics evaluation. McQuail pled for a new perspective of Media Quality which could include a new approach of media system to be assessed within. He highlighted the fact that Media Quality assessment approaches did not efficiently identify media's *social responsibility* (related to "public interest") and underlined that it remained "independent from the immediate aims and self-interest of the media" (Altmeppen, 2003: 125-126; Bucher, 2003: 18-20; Mattelart & Siegelaub, 1979a: 115-277; McQuail, 1992: 10-19; Rosengren et al, 1996: 4-8; Taufic, 1976: 43-59; Wunden, 2003: 55-74).

He stressed the deficiencies most commonly accepted by Media Quality normative theories. Accordingly, he rejected organizational efficiency and social cost-benefit analysis as useful approaches, since they both deal with Media Conduct Quality. On the one hand, *organizational efficiency* based quality approach analyzes media performance "in terms of efficiency, profitability or level of consumer or client satisfaction". Consequently, standards are internally set, despite some objective indicators, but every organization "unilaterally" has chosen to apply them. On the other hand, *social cost-benefit analysis* has been long applied in "public policy fields such as health, education, welfare, prisons, etc.". This perspective, however, does not seem suitable for media performance assessment, "mainly because there are rarely any agreed, enforceable or even specific policy goals for the media in their general public role" (McQuail, 2010: 184-185; McQuail, 1992: 10-19).

Secondly, McQuail discarded the most three well-known media approaches, despite the fact that all three are concerned with media output quality. First of all, the *media effect model* draws attention to the behavioural consequences of mass media. McQuail put this approach aside, since the media performance assessment sought "the

intentional aspect of what media do and with positive goals", such as providing information. Equally, the *marxist-critical approach* seems to show this weakness, as it also stresses the negative effects of media in terms of social classes and production means. Nevertheless, its contribution to the public interest definition is underlined by the author. Lastly, the *media cultural studies approach* originated within the social critical theory seemed not to be suitable for a new Media Quality perspective. This model claims for "qualitative and interpretative" methodology, instead of a quantitative one. However, McQuail rejected it because the notion of media output provided a media content, considered "a finished «product»". He complaints that, under such a normative theory, "media content only takes on meaning when received and interpreted", accordingly, "there is more interest in *audience* performance that in *producer* performance".

Finally, in an attempt to find a new conception, McQuail also rejected the last of traditional media assessment model: the *media ethics approach*. It is stated that journalism deontological practices can originate "current ideas of standards for media performance". However, such an "internal perspective" tends to emphasize "self-regulation" and "professional conduct", rather than "public concerns".

Hence, those six models happen not to be suitable frameworks to assess media performance. The focal point is the search of a global assessment media system, where media performance becomes essential. McQuail introduces it as the *media performance (in the public interest)*[132] *analysis*:

> "The independent assessment of mass media provision according to alternative 'public interest' criteria, by way of objective and systematic methods of research, taking account of other relevant evidence and the normal operating conditions and requirements of the media concerned." (McQuail, 1992: 17)

The concept of *media performance* adopted by McQuail had been rooted on Western democracies and linked to "social responsibility" following the American Commission on Freedom of the Press (also known as Hutchins Commission, 1942-1947). However, that social concept has been more widely accepted in Europe than in the USA (McQuail, 1992: 15-17).

Although the Onion Model of German quality research had not foreseen "performance assessment", scholars have openly accepted it. Furthermore, current

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[132] The scholar debate has openly proposed to lay that term aside:
"According to some political philosophers, the expression '**public interest**' has been so long and so loosely used and misused, that it would be better to abandon it altogether" (McQuail, 1992: 20).

worldwide quality assessment is based on McQuail's media performance concept (Hagen, 1995a: 35-41; Maurer, 2005: 88; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 15, Puente et al, 2003-2004: 102; Schulz, 2000: 1-2; Vehlow, 2006: 25; Weischenberg, 2001: 11; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-669).

a.2. Adequacy in the literature

McQuail's media performance normative framewok corresponds with previous literature review, such as Media Quality research and manufacturing-fielded quality concept. Furthermore, wide conformity in this media performance perspective has attracted later research and, that way, it obtained an even higher consensus. Nowadays, media performance assessment is the basis for every quality evaluation.

a.2.1. Media systems

In relation to German tradition's quality research, Ulrich Saxer's classification of information systems corresponds with quality literature review and, consequently, also matches with the concept of media performance. Saxer distinguished four systems: information, advertising, science and journalism. First of all, the *information* paradigm is related to the material media consume, that is to say, news agency's supply. As long as that primary information service is to be bought, supplied news is evaluated as a commodity. Secondly, the *advertising* model aims at the production of economically effective information. Thirdly, the *science* pattern produces objectified statements for the purpose of knowledge. Finally, the *journalism* system refers to media product content, that is to say, media performance. Accordingly, *information* shapes for Information Source Quality (section 2.1.2), as already exposed; *advertising* deals with Media Conduct Quality; *science* denotes scholars' research; and, last, *journalism* alludes to McQuail's conception of media performance (Wallisch, 1995: 111-112).

Table No. 46 – Matching of Saxer's Information Systems with Quality literature

Information systems	Matching term
Information	(2.1.2) Information Source Quality
Advertising	(2.1.3.a) Media Conduct Quality
Science	(2.1.3.b) Media Structure Quality
Journalism	(2.1.4) Media performance (News Quality)

Source: Author, based on Saxer (quoted in Wallisch, 1995: 111-112).

a.2.2. Quality assessment stages and social levels

McQuail distinguishes three assessment stages to evaluate quality (media system, channel and programme) and four social levels (those of state, society, audience and professionals). Not only those do two axes explain perspectives on quality research, but they have also been generally accepted by later scholarly works (Bucher, 2003: 20-24; Ishikawa & Muramatsu, 1996: 199-201; McQuail, 1992: 10-12; Schulz, 2000: 1-2). In fact, this approach is believed to allow the analysis of media performance and the outlining of objective indicators:

> "In terms of this four-fold division, the idea of 'media performance', as it is used in this book, calls for the deployment of criteria which represent the values and needs of 'society' (rather than of the state, audiences or communicators). However, each of the other three may have to be looked at as a source for defining criteria of public benefit (especially the state, in official, legal and regulatory documents) or as providing some relevant evidence about performance quality (especially audiences and professionals)". (McQuail, 1992: 11)

Chart No. 26 – Research frame for Quality assessment

National Unity
National Identity

Public Service Idea
Contribution to:
  * political, economic
    and social processes
  * cultural
  * daily life

Uses
Gratifications

Professionalism
Professional
competence

STATE

SYSTEM | broadcasting
policy

SOCIETY

* range, diversity,
* (breadth, depth)
* balance, pluralistic
* fair representation etc.
* in genres formats,
  viewpoints,
* audience targets etc.
* ethical requirements
* timing and flexibility

AUDIENCE

PROFESSIONALS

CHANNEL

* cognitive
    attention
    informative
    etc.
* affective
    appreciative
    appeal
    enjoyable
    etc.

* ethical
    production
    value
    demanding
    innovative
    decency etc.
* technical
* resource
    location

PROGRAMME

KEYS

Levels of Media Systems

Social levels

Broadcasting goals
pursued at each social level

Standards for assessment of quality

Source: Ishikawa & Muramatsu (1996: 200).

a.2.3. Output evaluation

The analysis of media performance in terms of content is regarded as product[133] or service provided. Therefore, when assessing media output (notwithstanding it is a broadcasting programme or news reporting on the paper or Internet), scholars agree

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[133] McQuail explicitly refuses the notion of "finished product" provided by the media cultural studies approach, as long as it does not constitute a sufficient element to assess both audiences and professionals, owing to the fact that such a term focuses on content and not social relevance, for instance. Accordingly, the concept of media performance gathers content and social responsibility concerns (McQuail, 1992: 13-19).

such an evaluation is to be carried out according to genre classification and goals. Accordingly, it is widely assumed that there is no genre supremacy and each case must be specifically discussed. As a matter of fact, genre has been considered in the German literature to be one of the variables quality standards are believed to depend on (Huber, 1998: 59-60; Klüber, 1996: 197-198; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 101-117; McQuail, 1992: 16-17; Mezger, 2005: 226; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 138-140; Ruß-Mohl, 1992a: 88).

Broadcasting genres (validated for radio and television) are broadly gathered under two concepts: fact and fiction. Whereas factual programmes include news, current affairs, documentaries, and the like; fiction predominantly focuses on drama and entertainment. The most extensive literature review actually deals with children's television programmes[134] (Albers, 1996: 102-107; BRU, 1989: 10-20; Bucher & Barth, 2003: 234-241; Ishikawa & Muramatsu, 1996: 201).

Finally, traditional genre classification becomes essential to quality assessment of news. Although newspapers and Internet media[135] deal with information, several genres have been outlined: informative genre (news reporting), feature writing, and special or opinion writing, such as columns and reviews (Alden, 2005: 15-67; Huber, 1998: 59-60; Ruß-Mohl, 1992a: 88; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 35).

a.2.4. Cross-media measurement

Due to the general agreement on genre evaluation, quality assessment has got beyond media excellence. Consequently, cross-media measurement is not only regarded as feasible, but also as already settled in literature. Most of the Internet assessment methods have been developed following previous print media measurement[136]. Print media has traditionally been assessed against the same standard-system, regardless circulation data or corporation conduct dimensions[137]. Finally, regarding the function

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[134] Children's television Programme Quality has been nationwide assessed: i.e. Germany (Gleich, 2004), the Netherlands (Nikken & Van der Voort, 1997) and the USA (Alexander et al., 1998; Alexander et al., 2002).

[135] New research on this topic has found several perspectives to classify hypertextual genres, such as: rethorical classification, hypertextual resources, multimedia language, interactivity, and temporality and timeliness (Díaz Noci, 2004: 5-24). Classical category system will be followed in this work, since elements from other groups will be considered as quality indicators (hypertextual resources, multimedia language, interactivity, and temporality and timeliness).

[136] Amongst others: Alexander & Tate (1999: 2-3), Barth (2004: 208-209), Fritch & Cromwell (2001: 499), Jiménez Piano (2007: 57-59), Rodríguez Gaírin (2001), Tena Parera (1999: 1), and Weischenberg (2001: 282).

[137] I.e. Bogart (2004: 46), and Gladney (1990: 58-59).

of News Quality assessment, scholars have openly preferred cross-media measurement[138].

a.2.5. Diversity as a transversal appraisal

McQuail considers diversity as a principle stemming from equality (a basic communication value of media performance). Traditionally, diversity has been concerned with ownership concentration, cultural uniformity and pluralism. Public service broadcasting has also reinforced the idea of diversity in Japan, Germany and Sweden, especially. Quality researchers found in diversity the first objective standard to measure excellence. German tradition, however, considered diversity a "prerequisite" of quality (Gutiérrez Gea, 1999-2000: 69-77; Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 236-250; Ishikawa et al., 1996: 253-263; Ishikawa & Muramatsu, 1996: 199-202; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 21-33; McQuail, 1992: 65-80; Wallisch, 1995: 108-109).

a.2.6. Standard-based quality definition

The analysis of media performance in terms of supply is regarded as product or service provided, which shapes the excellence of models' tradition and the analysis of media output. As a result, quality is defined as the "fulfilment of a set of inherent characteristics". McQuail alleges those standards must be developed from media performance principles. Scholars have openly followed that system to create objective indicators out of quality assessing criteria (Gunter, 2000: 55-92; Hagen & Beren 1997; McQuail, 1992: 16-19; Perez Menayo, 2005: 31-36; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 102; Schulz 2000: 1-9).

a.2.7. Social Quality

McQuail adopts the concept of "social responsible media" set out by the Hutchins Commission in 1947. It was formulated on the basis that media corporations' business offers an eminent social service and, not a merely commercial one. Providing other European research works also subscribed to that perspective, the media performance research model, as long as a normative theory, states "a clearly defined

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[138] For instance: Abdulla et al. (2002), Brüggemann (2004: 222), Gleich (2004: 595-596), Pellegrini & Múgica (2006a: 40-43), Puente et al. (2003-2004: 103-111), and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000: 93-107).

version of positive social purpose" (García Avilés, 1996: 245-246; McQuail, 1992: 16-19).

As regards the social responsibility standpoint, the concept of Social Quality emerged as "a reaction to the longstanding subordination of social policy to economic policy". In fact, during the 1990s, the European Union's awareness of the convergence criteria for economic and monetary union resulted "in reductions in social spending and increases in unemployment". Therefore, Social Quality was proposed as "a standard by which to measure the extent to which people's daily lives have attained an acceptable level". The Western European approach, which comprises both "economic development (and an acceptable form of competitiveness) and social justice, equity and solidarity", relates to the dominance of the Welfare state over the market. Social Quality is defined as "the extent to which people are able to participate in social, economic and cultural life and development of their communities under conditions which enhance their well-being and individual potential". Recently, that social concern has reached quality management. ISO has recently launched "the development of an International Standard providing guidelines for social responsibility" (ISO 26000) in 2010. Notwithstanding it is not be of compulsory compliance, its employment is voluntary and, accordingly, ISO 26000 does not include requirements and, therefore, it is not a certification standard (EFSQ[139]; ISO[140]; Pérez Menayo, 2005: 40-51).

In line with citizens' information requirements, media news supply becomes crucial for participation in social, economic and cultural life. Hence, it may fit in the concept of Social Quality as understood by the EFSQ and, as a result, under the umbrella of media performance's social responsibility:

> "Information has become a privileged term in our culture […]. Information is presented as the key to contemporary living and society is divided between the information rich and the information poor. The «informed» individual is a new social ideal, particularly for the middle class […]." (Poster, 1990: 7)

b. Outlining a concept for News Quality

Media performance copes with democratic media supply. Accordingly, News Quality is also bound to the society features it serves:

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[139] EFSQ (European Foundation for Social Quality): <www.socialquality.nl> [Last retrieved: 07/10/2008].

[140] ISO – Social Responsibility: <http://www.iso.org/iso/iso_catalogue/management_and_leadership_standards/social _responsibility.htm> [Last retrieved: 26/01/2011].

> "The discussion of media performance is not universal and free floating, but rooted in time and place, and it is reasonable to suppose that the main principles at stake largely coincide with the core values of modern Western society, which, in turn, are likely to govern media institutions" (McQuail, 1992: 67)

The point, however, is to find out what kind of social values are pursued in the USA and in Europe, in an attempt to shape an integrating model.

b.1. Nomenclature

Not only is there an extremely rare consonance for the definition of quality, but news itself has also been found complex to describe. Granted no agreement could be reached, American scholars plead for "identify" than "define" what constitutes news, referring back to the classics that set down the basis for the journalism in the USA during the 1940s[141]. Conversely, Europeans generally regard news as "a direct, compact and possibly objective communication about a new event that is important and interesting to the public". The concept of public-awareness is broader than state consideration, and it also gathers the notion of non-private understanding. Such a social concern will be later reflected in the dimensions of quality (Neiger, 2007: 310-312; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 17-19; Schwiesau & Ohler, 2003: 13).

There is a vast terminology referring to the quality of information supply, despite the language they were created or employed in. Along with media product or media offer, three main terms have extended their meaning to this new field, such as: journalistic quality, News Quality, and news content quality. First of all, *journalistic quality*[142] is the most extensive concept of excellence information supply. In fact, it also alludes to Quality Management. German tradition employs both expressions ("Publizistische Qualität" and "Journalistische Qualität") to express similar signification. Whereas "Publizististik" is the old word for communication, "Journalismus" arose with the application of the USA research, after Germany's defeat

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[141] It is alleged that this quotation was formulated by a journalist for Johnson & Harris' main work [Johnson, S.; Harris, J. (1942): *The Complete Reporter*. New York: Macmillan, page 12], quoted in Neiger (2007: 312).

[142] The following scholars employ this term: **Journalistic quality** (Bogart, 2004; Scheuer, 2008), **Publizistische Qualität** (Barth, 2004; Mezger, 2005; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c), **Journalistische Qualität** (Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004; Brandl, 2004; Brüggemann, 2004; Huber, 1998; Klüber, 1996; Neuberger, 2004; Ruß-Mohl, 2004; Schirmer, 2001; Schulz, 2000; Wallisch, 1995; Wilke, 1998), **Calidad periodística** (Buendía et al., 2006; CAF & FNPI, 2003; CAF & FNPI, 2005b; CAF & FNPI, 2006; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004; De La Torre & Téramo, 2005; Farré, 2005; Fogel, 2002-2003; García Avilés, 1996; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b; Puente et al., 2001).

in the World War II[143]. Nowadays, both terms are generally employed as synonyms. Secondly, the term *News Quality*[144] confirms news is not only content or information features. From a European perspective, such a term highlights media performance's social responsibility. Finally, *news content quality*[145] was originally conceived to designate the excellence of news agencies' information supply in Hagen's research. Consequently, it paradoxically implies subject vacuum. Therefore, *News Quality* designation will be employed onwards, since it is the most integrating concept in the literature review (Hagen, 1995a: 35-41; Pürer, 2003: 37-45; Schirmer, 2001: 65-67; Vehlow, 2006: 12-24).

The concept of News Quality emerges, as it had emerged for manufactured products, when meeting all essential elements to offer a standard product may not accomplish customer's requirements of such ware. The effects of taylorization have reached news. Despite it might be a consequence of erroneous Media Marketing strategies (known in German as "McDonaldisierung der Medien") or journalistic routines, it is taked for granted that not all news is by itself quality news (Ruß-Mohl, 1992a: 60; Weischenberg, 1995: 330-342).

There are two models to react against news taylorization. On the one side, in the UK tradition, the classist distinction between quality and popular press was established. On the other, German scholars have developed a more integrated, transversal approach, which gets over the discussion on tabloidization and gets straight to the point of News Quality. As a matter of fact, tabloidization constitutes a trend in journalism, mainly reflected in terms of topic characteristics and low relevance. However, quality is a broader concept, which actually is considered to detect tabloidization trends in historical research. That may explain why tabloidization has been related to quality in terms of Media System Quality, but not in relation with News Quality itself (Liebermann, 2008: 19-52).

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[143] Furthermore, Angloamerican professional standards were implemented in the German communication system: the strong distinction between reporting and opinion, requested *fairness* in editorials, and the "lead" and "body" structure, amongst others. However, European journalistic traditions are alleged to have revived after such a time (Wallisch, 1995: 150-151; Wilke, 2003: 50-51).
[144] The following scholars employ this term: **News Quality** (Bennett, 2003; Graber, 2003; Hove, 2008; Plasser, 2005; Porto, 2007; Zaller, 2003), **Nachrichtenqualität** (Daschmann, 2009b; Köster & Wolling, 2006; Maurer, 2005; Vehlow, 2006), **Calidad de las noticias** (Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002).
[145] The following scholars employ this term: **News content quality** (Bodle, 1996), **Informationsqualität von Nachrichten** (Bucher & Altmeppen, 2003; Weischenberg, 2003), **Calidad informativa** (CAF & FNPI, 2005a; CAF & FNPI, 2005b; De Pablos Coello & Mateos Martín, 2004; Puente et al., 2001; Téramo, 2006b).

Nevertheless, News Quality denotes disfunctional information. Accordingly, Germans returned to European journalism's principles, in order to make a deal in quality distinction. Moreover, Germans highlighted the social engagement of journalism (Fahr, 2001: 7-9; Weischenberg, 2001: 135-136; Weischenberg, 1995: 17).

As a result, News Quality must be defined in the function of indicators, stemming from excellence principles, according to a given value system. Such a conception gathers three currencies. First of all, a standard-based definition perfectly shapes for the traditional quality movement literature review. Secondly, it fits objective requirements to satisfy audience's requirements. Notwithstanding that every construction of quality standards implies a subjective action taking for granted audience's concerns, McQuail highlights the intentional nature of media performance. Furthermore, deriving those indicators from principles widely agreed in our value system is considered to prevent "arbitrariness". As a concequence, the figure of the impartial observer is claimed to clarify unprejudiced requests on duties accomplishment. Therefore, scholars argue that News Quality can effectively be evaluated against excellence indicators, since standards materialise the essential abstraction of the quality conception, as evidenced by diversity assessment. As a matter of fact, previous quality research (such as Information Quality, in concordance with Information Source Quality) has been carried out following this process for identical assessment goals. Moreover, in the framework of communication research, the reliability of measurement itself has evinced to be determined and, thus, subjectivity has successfully been eliminated. Thirdly, social concerns and journalism functions are to be inserted in the definition of News Quality, due to the "intentional" media performance approach (Bucher, 2003: 11-15; Bucher & Barth, 2003: 232-234; Costera Meijer, 2003: 19-20; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 32-37; Fogel, 2002-2003: 1-3; Hohlfeld, 2003: 216-217; Huber, 1998: 61-63; McQuail, 1992: 12-17; Mezger, 2005: 91-101; Prix Italia, 1998: 91-95; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 238-240; Raboy, 1996: 49; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-691; Schulz, 2000: 1; Tankard, 2001: 104-105; Wallisch, 1995: 99-104; Wolling, 2002: 1-15).

b.2. The ideal of the "informed citizen"

News constitutes information entitling citizenry to perform their social participation in Government. Media performance is to accomplish information goals, in

addition to other social features. As a matter of fact, media supply articulates a community, integrates its members and offers a public deliberative forum. As the agenda setting theory states, information is provided so that citizens can rate news importance and, accordingly, decide the response they deserve. In fact, it is widely assumed that "there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues […] and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences". Moreover, broadcasting classic slogan pleads for "information, entertainment and education". However, it is still discussed whether such an information scope should included analysis and investigation or not. It even now depends on a broader or narrower interpretation of citizenry participation (Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 21-27; Schiwesau & Ohler, 2003: 18-21; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: 10-19; Schudson, 2008: 67-73).

b.2.1. The American model

All scholars highlight News Quality as the central element in achieving journalism's goals in democratic societies. Accordingly, news excellence becomes a factor for the quality of democracy itself. Such a concern implies, as a prerequisite, no interference of political or business power (Meyer, 2004a: 66-74; Picard, 2004: 60; Scheuer, 2008: xi-xv; Schönbach, 2004: 219-220; Waisbord, 2007: 126; Wallisch, 1995: 149-153). Therefore, democracy entails civic participation:

> "We are offered the following definition of participation, which is «a relation based on partnership with Government, in which citizens actively engage in the decision- and policy-making process. It acknowledges a role for citizens in proposing policy options and shaping the policy dialogue –although the responsibility for the final decision or policy formulation rests with Government»." (Carpentier, 2007: 106)

However, such a definition is widely or narrowly interpreted, according to political deviances. Hence, scholars distinguish both lines by considering "full or partial participation". Similarly, media researchers have focused on the question of how news facilitates or impedes citizen competence (Carpentier, 2007: 106-110; Porto, 2007: 303-304; Waisbord, 2007: 115; Wolin, 2006: 219).

Zaller distinguishes the Full News standard and the Burglar Alarm standard. The Full News standard assumes "the news should provide citizens with the basic information necessary to form and update opinions on all of the major issues of the day", in order to serve the ideal of the *informed citizen*. He objects that such information is costly, since it takes "a great deal of time" and, moreover, current journalists hold a lesser control over the news product than when such a standard was conceived. As a

consequence, Zaller pleads for the Burglar Alarm Standard for the service of the *monitorial citizen* in the USA, whose information demands involve scanning the environment "for events that require response", whereas for many purposes "just scanning the headlines is sufficient". Along with the rational citizen[146], the monitorial citizen obtains the information interest groups, interested in making it public, have selected and analyzed, awarding its bias. In fact, the rational citizen "constructs a set of free or subsidized information sources that match his or her own interests". Zaller grounds this citizen model's contribution to democracy on the basis that voters are more likely to get influenced by polls than news coverage and the belief that "citizens can glean useful information even from those they disagree with". As a result, the Burglar Alarm standard would cover "non-emergency but important issues by means of coverage that is intensely focused, dramatic, and entertaining" for the service of the monitorial citizen (Zaller, 2003: 109-130).

Yet, Bennett considers the Burglar Alarm standard "as an account of what already exists", since news has shifted towards sensationalism and infotainment[147]. Furthermore, such a News Quality framework has no provision for either false alarms (that is to say, "dramatic coverage that alerts us to problems that are often inconsequential or simply nonexistent") or "instances in which a public concern exists but no alarm sounds". As a matter of fact, Zaller founds his confidence on the fact that the system is believed to function well, as long as "there are no claims to the contrary from inner circles of parties and interests". Zaller is alleged to attribute to the press a "passive" and "irrelevant" task, as a mere teller of important stories. For instance, Bennett is aware of politicians constructing "problems to fit stock solutions"[148] (Bennett, 2003: 131-138). Journalists covering them will not be alert of politicians' aims and, hence, citizens either:

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[146] The classical concept of citizen competence differentiates the ignorant citizen and the rational citizen. The **ignorant citizen** model states that "citizens' low levels of information prevent them from effectively performing their civic roles". The **rational citizen** pattern, however, asserts that "low levels of political knowledge do not necessarily undermine citizen competence, since citizens rely on a variety of shortcuts that allow them to compensate for lack of information" (Porto, 2007: 303-307).

[147] **Infotainment**: "Broadcast material intended both to entertain and to inform". It is a neologistic portmanteau of *information* and *entertainment* (García Avilés, 1996: 71; Thompson, 1998: 698).

[148] Chomsky highlights that content-vacuumed messages are more likely to get public opinion's involvement, based on the Mohawk Valley Formula (also known as "scientific methods to break strikes"). It consists in encouraging population around a simple slogan no one can disagree with, such as "Proud of being American" or "Support our troops" for the 1st War on Irak (Chomsky & Ramonet, 2005: 17-20).

"It is precisely the Full News standard (albeit not the wooden version that Zaller constructs) that helps keep false alarms in check and larger numbers of problems from going undetected." (Bennett, 2003: 132)

Both authors, Zaller and Bennett, are conscious of the loss of audience. Zaller estimates the shifting to soft news might widen the market segment of the monitorial citizen and, that way, stop the current decline of hard news consumption. Bennett, however, considers the "continual sounding of burglar alarm" on irrelevant issues as well as false alarms will discourage news consumers. On the assumption that crisis and uncertainty situations move citizens towards hard news, research has proved that "the demand for soft news is limited". Furthermore, providing they do not assess the same audience, soft and hard news cannot overlap each other. Therefore, the rational citizen or the monitorial citizen as proposed by Zaller is tolerated, as a remedy for not being able to target the remaining audience refusing to be informed throughout hard news. Some researches have actually found out that soft news consumers are not less politically informed than non-infotainment consumers (whether they are informed through hard news or not). On the basis of genre assessment, infotainment might be a way to sustain viewers in their role of citizens, by means of "enjoyers", who otherwise would rarely prefer factual programmes and, hence, would not access to information. Hence, news remains in charge of providing citizens with "the basic information necessary to form and update opinions on all of the major issues of the day", in order to accomplish media's social responsibility (Baum, 2003: 174-187; Bennett, 2003: 131-134; Costera Meijer, 2005: 29-48; Frewer et al., 2002: 368-371; Graber, 2003: 145-148; Hove, 2008: 3-20; Jamison & Baum, 2004: 1-16; McLeod, 2000: 16; Patterson, 2003: 140-143; Plasser, 2005: 48-51; Prior, 2003: 161-168; Zaller, 2003: 127-128).

Nonetheless, the Full News and the Burglar Alarm standards fail in taking for granted equal access to news. None of them makes amendments for political and economical inequality. It is assumed that quality "sells", but it also implies a great deal of time. Moreover, excellent news seekers must get rid of overabundant misleading information. Consequently, Porto has proposed another model, named News Diversity standard. Based on consistency, understood as "the diversity of shortcuts available in

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citizens' environment", this third standard pleads for diversity of frames[149]. Porto focuses on a specific type of frame: the *interpretative frames*. He asserts such frames "offer a specific interpretation of a political event or issue" and, accordingly, the higher variety of frames, the superior quality of news. To that extent, his model of citizen competence is related to the "availability of competing interpretations of political events and themes in their environment", although news consumers may not be "well informed". As a result, Porto's model supports the *interpreting citizen*. The News Diversity standard is concerned about internal diversity[150]. Porto alleges such a model shapes for the USA journalism[151], but the author himself is acquainted with the fact that it becomes not applicable in Europe, where societies are "culturally and linguistically divided", consistent with external diversity[152]. Moreover, such diversity can be measured through bias methodology, in accordance with "balanced and objective news styles". Hence, News Quality as stated by the Full News standard seems competent to evaluate diversity and, thus, there may be no need for any information concerned limiting model (Bennet, 2003: 131-133; Digón Regueiro, 2005: 4-5; McQuail, 1992: 145-147; Porto, 2007: 308-318; Prior, 2003: 167-168; Ramonet, 2001: 21-27; Sánchez-Tabernero, 2008: 111-120).

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[149] **Framing** designates "the typical manner in which journalists shape news content within a familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning". It is based on the assumption that "how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences". As a result, frames are defined as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: 10-11; Van Gorp, 2007: 60-62).

[150] **Internal diversity**: "This refers to the condition (of system, sector or single channel) where a wide range of types of content or points of view is offered by the same channel(s), usually with a view to reaching a large and heterogeneous audience. […] Such arrangements are characteristic of pluralistic societies, where a small number o large circulation newspapers or of television channels compete for much the same large, national audience. The condition is also likely to be found (as in the United States) where city regions are served by only one or two newspapers or a few broadcasting stations." (McQuail, 1992: 146-147)

[151] Some scholars are aware of the shift for partisan press in the USA. They mainly point to the Fox channel, which have employed "former political consultants and close advisers of [Republican] presidents and federal candidates" as reporters and commentators (Plasser, 2005: 55).

[152] **External diversity**: "The 'external' principle of structure (strongly linked to the idea of access) refers to a condition where the full range of relevant differences (political, social-cultural, etc.) in a society is matched by an equivalent range of *separate and autonomous* media channels, each catering exclusively for its own group or interest. It presupposes a high degree of homogeneity or consistency of content *within* each channel, a corresponding degree of audience homogeneity and a high degree of differentiation between one channel and another. In theory, each 'voice' in a differentiated society will have its own channel and speak to its own 'followers'.

While complete media systems of this kind no longer exist (if they ever did), the principle can be seen at work in culturally and linguistically divided societies and those where there has been a strong partisan press system, in which each party has its own organ of opinion which serves and mobilizes a loyal following, [(…) amongst others,] broadcasting in the Netherlands or the newspaper press in Sweden." (McQuail, 1992: 145-146)

Consequently, the Full News standard is believed to have been idealized by journalists themselves who, under the business pressures constraining their work, may only offer a Burglar Alarm coverage. Therefore, the "paradox of mass politics"[153] and the "democratic dilemma"[154] remain unsolved. Viewers and readers, moreover, understand it as fairness and credibility losses. Then, scholars plead for media's social responsibility, in terms of News Quality. As a matter of fact, quality has emerged in this field when taylorism of information products assures manufacturing but cannot guarantee excellence: exactly as it happened in the industrial and service fields (Bennett, 2003: 131-136; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 16-17; Costera Meijer, 2003: 15-16; Digón Regueiro, 2005: 1-6; Esser, 1999: 291-301; Fernández Baena, 2005: 1-4; García Avilés, 1996: 83-87; Just & Belt, 2004: 4-5; McQuail, 1989: 17-19; Mezger, 2005: 49-54; Picard, 2000: 97-98; Plasser, 2005: 48-54; Porto, 2007: 303-307; Spassov, 2007: 14-16; Vera et al., 2004b: 44-45; Wallisch, 1995: 113-115).

The Fair Press Project presented a list of readers' claims to the press. Thus, best practices are posed throughout negative performance. Errors (factual and writing ones), abuse of anonymous sources, conflict perspective and bias are considered "unfair". Moreover, fairness is a key factor for credibility, as audience asserts, and also to trust, since the actions taken by the *New York Times* prove to equally cover readers' concerns on fairness. Furthermore, credibility works often refer to fairness (Abdulla et al., 2002: 1-15; Gaziano & McGrath, 1986: 451-462; Haiman et al., 1999: 9-61; Meyer, 2004a: 65-76; NYT, 2005: 1-15; Spassov, 2007: 3-7).

Yet, journalistic deceptions[155] could meet those content requirements for credibility and still not accomplish the standards of quality. Furthermore, many of the most relevant American media have faced news fabrication: Associated Press, *Boston Globe*, *New York Times*, *USA Today*, *New Republic*… However, it is also asserted that those media corporations have actively encouraged revelation of their own deceptions. As a matter of fact, deceptive news is likely to contain more and diverse sources

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[153] **Paradox of mass politics**: "The gap between the expectation of an informed citizenry […] and the discomforting reality of widespread ignorance revealed by surveys." (Porto, 2007: 304)

[154] **Democratic dilemma**: "The fact that the people who are called upon to make reasoned choices may not be capable of doing so." (ib.)

[155] **Journalistic deception**: "An act of communicating messages not only by lying but also by withholding information, so as to lead someone to have a false belief. […] «An occupational construct» shaped by professional demands and newsroom culture." (Lasorsa & Dai, 2007: 160)

(minorities, i.e.) than authentic news, in a double proportion. In addition, they equally appear on the front page on a double basis, compared to the authentic ones. Deceptive news stories tend to be remote-located, cope with "international, defence, terrorism or war affairs" and, accordingly, use hard to trace, secrecy sources. Scholars generally distinguish seven reporting transgressions matching with types of deception, listed according to frequency: source fabrication, fact fabrication, plagiarism, dateline fabrication, quote fabrication, full fabrication and undisclosed byline. First of all, *source fabrication* consists in taking for granted a source, let it be about either the source which did not exist or which was not interviewed. Secondly, *fact fabrication* indicates a partially made-up report grounded on true information. Thirdly, *plagiarism* denotes another writer's language or information under no acknowledgment. Fourthly, *dateline fabrication* highlights the fact that the reporter was not at the specified place in the dateline. Fifthly, *quote fabrication* results in falsifying quotations, whether from an authentic or fabricated source. Sixthly, *full fabrication* implies the invention of the whole news. Lastly, *undisclosed byline* refers to using an assistant to write a substantial portion of the story without giving credit (Callahan, 2004: 28-224; Lasorsa & Dai, 2007: 159-172; Woo, 2003: 47-53).

Journalistic deceptions have been evinced to be foreseeable with regard to reporters' activity. In fact, most journalistic deceptions were corroborated due to telephone calls. Accordingly, Picard had beforehand measured journalists' activity in terms of quality. He distinguished up to seven activities journalism work requires, by means of use of time: a) conducting face-to-face and telephone interviews; b) making telephone calls for information, arranging meetings, etc.; c) attending conferences, seminars, meetings, events about which stories are written; d) attending staff meetings, discussions, and training conferences; e) reading newspapers, professional magazines, reference materials, and other background information; f) thinking, organizing, and waiting for information and returned phone calls; and, g) travelling to and from locations for information for stories, to take photographs and other work related purposes. For the American tradition, time is a key factor, indirectly proportional to quality. Scholars have come to the conclusion that "quality satisfaction is related to the time devoted to an article on average" and, consequently, different from numerical measurement. Thus, excellence stems from job satisfaction. Therefore, taylorism gave rise to quality concerns in news reporting, as it had happened in the industrial sector:

media output is to be measured as a tool to find out if it can be of readers' and viewers' satisfaction. Along with those results, corporations could implement quality assurance methods to guarantee product excellence (Craig, 1999: 61-63; Lasorsa & Dai, 2007: 159-172; Park et al., 2002: 2-13; Picard, 1998: 76-81; Picard, 2000: 100-101; Russial, 1994: 91-99).

b.2.2. The European pattern

European scholars share a more extensive sense of democracy. They even consider Americans have not developed any normative system out of their deliberations on news standards (Peter, 2009: 1-32; Schudson, 1989: 30-32; Strömbäck, 2005: 331-333). In effect, Europeans do not concentrate on citizen's voting competence, but on public discussion aptitudes:

> "There is a difference between the «informational citizen», saturated with bits and bytes of information, and the «informed citizen», the person who has not only information but a point of view and preferences with which to make sense of it." (Schudson, 1989: 30)

Accordingly, the 1970s-1980s were considered the *information age*, understood as "the transition from industrialism to informationalism". In addition, the Frankfurt School declared the industrialization of culture throughout the mass media. As a consequence, culture was considered a fraction of the capitalist production model. It was named the *postindustrial society*. Marxists designated it *advanced capitalism*, whereas Weberians used the *idea of modernization*. Finally, Americans called it the *third wave of democracy*. They all referred to an "innovatory «telematic» age, based on the application of computers for communication rather than calculation and routine data organisation". Unlike the industrial society established by the Industrial Revolution, such an emerging *information society* assumed wealth was no longer "land, capital and machinery, but knowledge […] and the information work associated with its production, application, consumption and circulation". It was the time for a "weightless global economy", whose central feature was the new role of knowledge and information in the accumulation of wealth. By the turn of century, it is believed to have been a shift from the information society to the *Network society*. Coinciding with nearly worldwide access to the Internet, under such a conception, information happens to be "much more than a commodity or resource" (Castells, 2004a: 33-49; Chernilo, 2007:

135; McQuail, 2007: 32-34; Poster, 1990: 20-26; Ruano López, 2006: 62-68; Van Dijk, 2006: 32-41; Wolin, 2006: 211-213).

The deriving of machinery risks increasing interest in technology, laying aside communication itself. However, it has coincided in time with the early democracies in Eastern Europe, arosen immediately after the Soviet block. European researchers do not only focus on Western democracies, but also on central-planned economies and developing countries. Accordingly, audience's interests are believed to change under such a state typology. To start with, media in liberal democracy ruled countries provide information on the function of business profit. Secondly, along with the socialist partisanship journalistic model, information becomes "necessary for the political and idelogical leadership of the party". Similarly, news proves to be an efficient tool to fight both external and internal enemies of the socialism. Finally, developing countries give priority to "the objectives of national development and social education" (Blaum, 1980: 97-162; Raicheva, 2002: 1-14; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 50-51; Weischenberg, 2001: 11-17).

Granting the interrelation between media and democracy, media's effect on the quality of democracy makes scholars pay attention to former soviet and developing countries. From a lineal conception of history, Wolin states that "economic and social injustice" places South America in a similar situation as interwar Europe, owing that citizens in underdeveloped countries have been evidenced to openly accept a return to authoritarian rule "were it is to prove economically advantageous". Accordingly, the "loss of democratic self-confidence in Russia and Latin America" does not remain as a "localizable phenomenon", instead, fascists parties are arising as a buttress in the Northern Hemisphere. Notwithstanding ultra right wing political parties are not in Government on the continent again, "they are likely to exert a baneful influence on the fabric of European political culture". Scholars are perfectly aware of the existence of journalism and news under other non-democratic regimes. As a matter of fact, media performance has also supported the advent of authoritatian states, such as Pinochet's dictatorship or Hitler's Third Reich (Bernedo & Porath, 2003-2004: 115-124; Glaab, 2006: 167-184; Scheuer, 2008: 27-39; Wilke, 2003: 50-51; Wolin, 2006: 216-217).

Therefore, researchers have appointed the notion of *economic democracy*, that is to say, "a highly unequal, class divided society resulting in an elected polyarchy". That would be the conception of democracy "existing in the United States and being

promulgated worldwide by the USA". Nevertheless, such a free-market ruling democracy is not likely to be feasible for the former Soviet block. As a matter of fact, "the end of rigid and direct control and the greater freedom of the press [in those countries] have not automatically produced good newspapers". Furthermore, from the social perspective of democracy, it is assumed that "in relation to current Eastern European democracies, less state means less freedom" (Boswell & Chase-Dunn, 2000: 4-8; Spassov, 2007: 11-15; Waisbord, 2007: 125-127).

Opposing to the American model, *global democracy* pleads for increasing the democratic scope taking advantage of economic globalization. The term global democracy alludes to the societal term *social democracy* as it was understood prior to the rise of the communist states (Bohman, 2004: 187-204; Boswell & Chase-Dunn, 2000: 4-6; Scheuerman, 2008: 122-125). It is argued to work as analog for Marx's *real democracy* or Habermas' *deliberative democracy*:

> "**Global democracy** assumes a democratic and colective rationality that promotes greater equality between as well as within countires, greater international cooperation and an end to war, and a more sustainable relationship with the biospher. Such a system must be democratic because social justice can only be conceived as an expression of the will of the people. Undemocratic socialism is simply not socialism regardless of the good intentions of its creators." (Boswell & Chase-Dunn, 2000: 4-6)

Whereas the expression "international" grants current state order, "global" idiom denotes worldwide features. For the case of Europe, globalization implies two main characteristics: media homogenization and continental political convengence. On the one hand, the old continent has assumed an "Americanization" of media and politics, inciding on its democracy pattern. Nevertheless, European scholars reaffirm their engagement with "intentional" journalism, that is to say, with media performance that aims to produce social changes, stemming from a particular value system. This conception of deliberate journalism shaping for the notion of quality can only effectively developed under the media performance in the public interest analysis. After all, News Quality enables citizenry to accurately address their action is society, admitting their sovereignity. Accordingly, the projection of their desired future must determine the actual election (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 16; Gutiérrez Gea, 1999-2000: 70-71; Kapuščiński, 2002: 36-38; McQuail, 1989: 17; McQuail, 1992: 12-19; Plasser, 2005: 63-65; Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002: 119-144; Ruß-Mohl, 2003b: 205-213; Scheuerman, 2008: 90-125; Spassov, 2007: 7-10; Turnšeck, 2007: 187-193; Wenmann, 2009: 112).

On the other, Europe evidenced weakness in not having been able to conform own characteristics of europeanity. Furthermore, European countries seem reticent to get over their linguistic borders and create a continental identity. Media performance has traditionally played "a crucial function as a builder of both nations and civic societies", owing the fact that media shapes cultural and political identities "through spreading common languages and establishing a shared sense of time and space". Moreover, when addressing audiences as members of "imagined communities", they are already being created. Hence, speaking a language is not sufficient to be considered a member of that language community. Instead, the desire of living in that language entails peers' belonging sympathy. However, Europe's characteristic media scope fitting in nation-State structures clearly hinders stateless nation's journalistic construction. Language hegemony results in the key issue to control society and change culture. For instance, Basque and Spanish languages' officiality in the Basque Autonomous Community is acquired not to form a pure cultural duality, rather than to "perpetue dominant Spanish identity in the Basque Country". Consequently, Basque nationalists (who live in Spanish and do not understand Basque) feel "at home", whereas Basque speakers are treated as outsiders. As a matter of fact, Spanish hegemony alludes to a "natural situation", deriving from state organization. Opposition to such a *status quo* denotes a controversial, negative image. Therefore, Basques are not entitled to act as members of the Basque community, but as Spanish speakers, which is found to be of more vital significance than the political conflict. European nation-States show equal determination to prevent internal multiculturality as to integrate themselves in the European public sphere. As a result, scholars refer to the europeanization of fragmented national public spheres. In fact, even the project of the cosmopolitan democracy takes for granted existing nation-State structures[156]. The essential question relys on the fact that the current legal system opposes a previous language community on behalf of legality, concealing "etnocide" on the purpose of state identity (Forst, 2004: 137-138; Kleinen-v.Königslöw, 2007: 219-228; Marchetti, 2008: 25-30; Odriozola, 2002: 82-123; Pensky, 2004: 238-248; Trenz, 2004: 291-314; Tubella, 2004: 465-472; Waisbord, 2007: 122-127; Zabalo, 2000: 27-39).

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[156] "We are always writing the history of the same war, even when we are writing the history of peace and its institutions." [Foucalt, Michel (2003): *Society must be defended*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, page 16], quoted in Wenmann (2009: 179).

Providing democracy cannot assure News Quality, scholars agree that not all news is excellent news and not every media performance fits under the journalistic conception. In spite of the traditional distinction between popular and quality press, an innovative media element claims to "represent also the quality media segment". Such a *hybrid press* offers "an eclectic mix of different stylistic registers and approaches to information and reporting, but with a prevalence of tabloid characteristics". It is assumed post-democratic concerns have also reached the European media (Costera Meijer, 2003: 19-20; Crouch, 2004: 18-49; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 8-12; Esser, 1999: 291-294; Plasser, 2005: 48-51; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 21-27; Scheuer, 2008: 32; Spassov, 2007: 15-16). *Postdemocracy* has been employed as the term to:

> "[…] Describe situations where boredom, frustration and disillusion have settled in after a democratic moment; when powerful minority interests have become far more active than the mass of ordinary people in making the political system work for them; where political elites have learned to manage and manipulate popular demands; where people have to be persuaded to vote by top-down publicity campaigns. This is not the same as non-democracy, but describes a period in which we have, as it were, come out the other side of the parbola of democracy. There are many symptoms that this is occurring in contemporary advanced societies, constituting evidence that we are indeed moving further away from the maximal ideal of democracy towards the postdemocratic model." (Crouch, 2004: 19-20)

Accordingly, media actually faces difficulties in scrutinizing power. As a result, they are believed to have constructed *mediatic democracies*, by acting as lapdogs. Basic elements of the lapdog view are "total submissiveness to authority, total lack of independent power, obliviousness to all interests except those of powerful groups, and framing all issues according to the perspectives of the highests powers in the system" (Bourdieu, 2006: 16-22; CAF & FNPI, 2003: 50; Chomsky & Ramonet, 2005: 80-85; Donohue et al., 2000: 24-26; Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002: 19-20).

Consequently, compliance media performance is argued to be "in the ascendancy", whereas critical journalism confronts the decline. The audience loosing of *Le Monde*, for instance, was due to the fact that it was considered "boring", albeit its overall high-quality worldwide estimation. Five challenges were proposed in order to gain quality in terms of social features: confront information overload, contest any kind of power (let it be state or corpotative interest), object to the USA hegemony (which is not consider a minor task), question globalization and, finally, find one's ubiquitous way on the information ocean (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 27-30; Fogel, 2002-2003: 1-4; Ramonet, 2005: 26).

Hence, news taylorism in the USA brought back former issues such as fairness and credibility, that is to say, how to inform, Europeans are concerned with the reasons why and the intention media should inform for. Scholars allege Americans have not developed a specification of the model of democracy employed as a normative standpoint. Accordingly, their quality assessment happens to be more practical than principle-based European model. However, there is little agreement among Anglo-Saxon researchers. As a consequence, the vast number of quality indicators is found to be of little relevance, since it gives no shred of empirical success evidence. German scholars, on the contrary, have founded their works on the grounding of previous research following Schatz and Schulz.

c. Principles of Media Performance

Media performance is conceived in concordance with news outlets' social function. Consequently, the conception of quality is inherently rooted "in time and place" to the society media work for. Scholars openly agree that Western capitalist democracies are based on the values originated "from the Age of Enlightenment and the great democratic revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries", such as freedom, equality and cohesive order. The legal orders of Western modern democratic societies, "including the communication and media laws", are based on these values. Hence, media institutions must fulfil the "expectations of public communication" in terms of *freedom*, justice or *equality* and *cohesive order* or solidarity (McQuail, 1992: 65-80; Schulz, 2000: 1-2).

To start with, the principle of *freedom* is inherent to democracy, since it is intrinsically related to self-expression. Moreover, such a concept also implies economical connotations, i.e. the duty of media to act in the public interest. Secondly, *equality* refers to the publicity requirement to effectively guarantee equality of rights. Thirdly, *cohesive order* alludes to community. It constitutes a shared value in Europe. It was understood as "fraternité" in the French Revolution of the 18th century, whereas communist movements have appealed to the "solidarity" of workers for the last two centuries (McQuail, 1992: 65-80).

Providing freedom, equality and cohesive order "govern" media institutions, the analysis of media performance aims to assess the quality aspects such principles

supervise. Accordingly, those attributes stemming from those core values will appoint the direction towards quality evaluation in the form of principles. Finally, those principles will objectively designate indicators for News Quality "in the public interest". As a first attempt, research on those topics (conducted until 1992, the publication of McQuail's *Media Performance*) is compiled and presented to illustrate every principle. However, McQuail himself acknowledges obvious interrelations and overlaps among those three core values. As a result, such an abstract distinction is accomplished on behalf of scientific assessment purposes (McQuail, 2010: 191-215; McQuail, 1992: 65-80).

c.1. Freedom

Freedom can only emerge as a public communication value where popular sovereignty is the source for State legitimacy. Furthermore, freedom becomes an essential duty of media institutions in their public performance. On the one hand, freedom implies *independence* from the Government, not only in terms of structural conditions. Media must also operate freely, let it be the Government, interest groups or economical corporations. Thus, independence turns out to be a prerequisite for their watchdog role. On the other hand, freedom is assigned to reflect *heterogeneity* of opinion, which will produce credibility in the end. Variety of opinion as a value entails diversity of access (means of entry to channels for citizens) and diversity of supply (considering both topics and points of view). Therefore, independence and diversity are estimated to reflect the principle of freedom (McQuail, 2010: 192-195; McQuail, 1992: 68-71).

Chart No. 27 – Freedom as a Principle of Media Performance
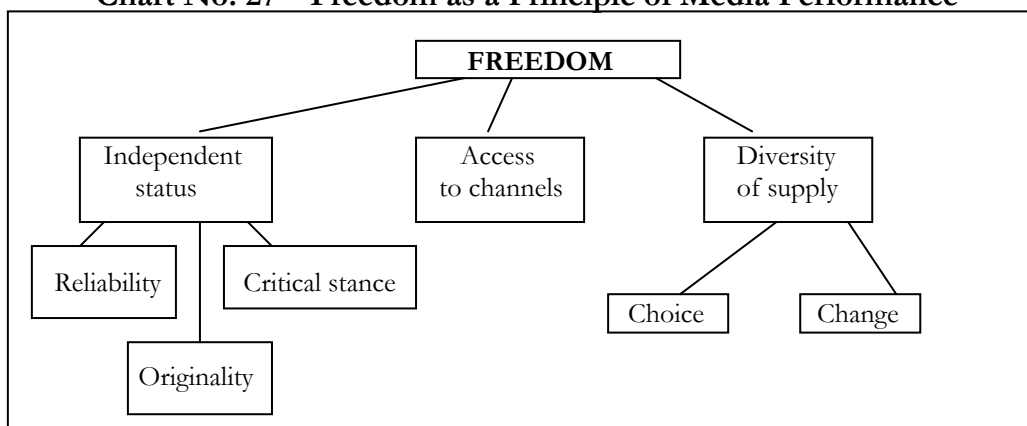
Source: McQuail, 1992: 71.

c.1.1. Independence

Independence derives from the principle of freedom. Conceived as a double direction sub-principle, media must be independent from owners, Government, internal constraints, advertisers, sources and pressure groups on behalf of artistic creativity, advocacy, critical role and diversity. Hence, gaining independence from the former facilitates independence for the latter, in the name of public interest. Not only State structural conditions may obstruct media's independence, but also labour terms may interfere. However, consequences are not easily attributed to them (McQuail, 1992: 81-125).

As a result, independence indicators based on content analysis of news might not appoint the underlying cause. In fact, they are not aimed to lay the blame on anybody, but to range the degree of independence in news reporting:

> "There is enough evidence at least to support McCombs' (1988) conclusion, that variable conditions of any given organizational structure are less important than more universal tendencies which apply to a branch or sector of media activity." (McQuail, 1992: 126)

Accordingly, dependence to sources, regardless of their character, has been traditionally assessed according to the variety of protagonists and the origin of their information. As a matter of fact, the influence they may have on news reporting (i.e. advertisers' content) results extremely difficult to evaluate, since it is likely to "take the form of the omission of content". Therefore, news assessment in terms of independence will scrutinize, first of all, any over-reliance on a restricted range of sources, which can result in bias. In spite of the confident relation between journalists and actors their mediation work may create, powerful sources have been proved to gain more effective access to media. The alienation towards the information such powerful sources provide is evaluated through the variables of conflict and criticism. Secondly, the informational initiative has been classified as press release or news conference and "journalistic" work (alluding to investigative activity). It is highlighted that media's own content (such as correspondents' information) may suffer from identical dependence or routine and, thus, it may be also classified as press release or conference material and investigative content. Finally, news agency and non-agency material is considered, but it is not synonym of quality *per se*. McQuail proposes media comparison as an indirect measure of independence across the informational initiative (McQuail, 1992: 126-140).

c.1.2. Diversity of supply

Diversity related to the principle of independence is not considered an end in itself. Hence, diversity of access and supply assure means of participation, whereas content related diversity features are compiled under the principle of equality. On the one hand, *diversity of access* refers to the means of media entrance. As a result, structural characteristics (such as public or private ownership, heterogeneity or homogeneity of target audiences) are assessed. News content analysis relies mostly on media comparison. Accordingly, four indicators evaluate the diversity of access to the media. First of all, inter-channel homogeneity research measures "the share of time, of attention and of types of news given to the contenders" in election campaigns, for instance. However, it has been evidenced that "multiplication of channels does not do a great deal for the multiplication of access opportunities". Secondly, studies on duplication rate of news stories among media have reported a high degree of duplication of sources too. Moreover, most research on sources access has openly shown a preferential tendency for "official rather than unofficial sources, as well as men rather than women". Thirdly, balance has been assessed, in terms of diversity of access, according to positive or negative associations (i.e. intensity, criticism, use of adjectives). Nevertheless, such an assessment remains "complex and often contested". Finally, studies on hegemonic tendencies in media content have revealed evidence of predilection for "a narrow set of problems, especially as defined by governments or other 'elite' or 'official' sources". As a result, the politically and socially deviant minority groups' access to media is gained under negative considerations (McQuail, 2010: 196-199; McQuail, 1992: 171-175).

On the other hand, *diversity of supply* deals with two questions. Along with the principle of freedom, "an abundance of channels and choices is presupposed". Diversity research, thus, evaluates whether an increase on channels does actually entail a wider choice for the audience. Diversity of supply, then, measures "the degree to which a determinate audience […] has alternative channels available to it". Whereas reader choice is assessed "in terms of the distribution across different content categories", viewer and listener choice research measures vertical and horizontal diversity. However, such an assessment lacks unanimity among scholars, due to "the assumption that all programmes of a given type are perfect substitutes for each other". Then again, diversity of supply also corresponds with "the degree to which senders […] have

effective access to their chosen audience". Research on audience's media preferences has been conducted in the commercial context of launching new products. Print and broadcasting outlets have also been distinguished. Audience diversity has been evidenced to operate in accordance with "medium type and social conditions of use", such as individual or group use, range availability, and required effort (McQuail, 1992: 175-181).

c.2. Equality

The conception of equal rights has been economically interpreted as equality of opportunities. Accordingly, diversity of provision pleads for senders' equal option for access in the media system. Such an interpretation supports the progressive change in society and implies *heterogeneity* of media types, sort of content, geographical level of operation, targeted audience, "language, ethnic or cultural identity", politics or ideology, etc... However, the consideration of fairness demands that media provision must offer diversity of reflection in terms of relevance. Regardless of literal reading of the equality principle (those methods assigning equal time to different viewpoints, for instance), diversity is to be assessed following representation features, since "a media system is more equal in character the more diverse the provision" (McQuail, 2010: 195-196; McQuail, 1992: 71-73).

Similarly, *objectivity* is related to equality due to the concept of fairness. Objectivity is understood as "a form of media practice [...] consisting in adopting a position of detachment and neutrality from the object of reporting". Notwithstanding independence (stemmed from the principle of freedom) guarantees reporting conditions of improving impartiality (contrary to crisis, war and political repression situations), objectivity is strongly bound to the principle of equality. In fact, objectivity asserts equal treatment for sources and objects of news reporting, that is to say, "a fair and non-discriminatory attitude" towards them (ib.).

Chart No. 28 – Equality and its Main Components
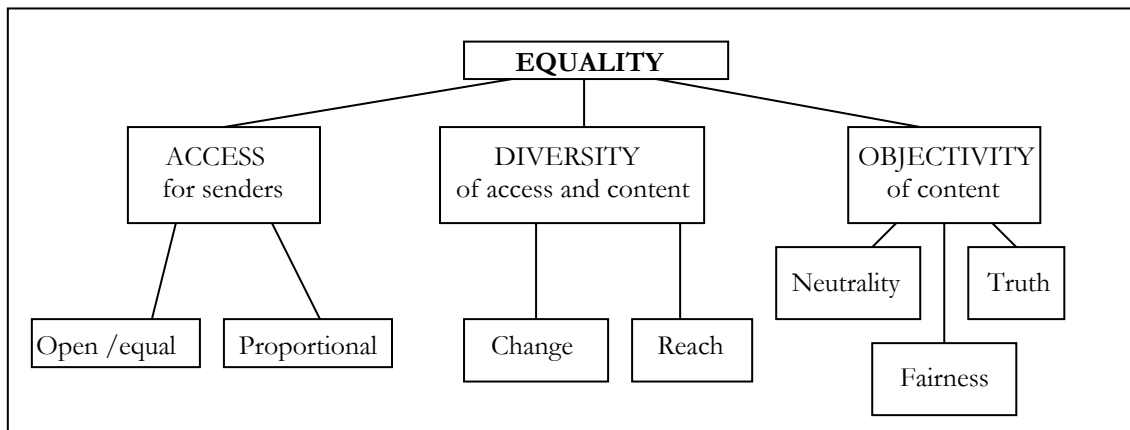
Source: McQuail (2010: 196; 1992: 74).

c.2.1. Diversity of access and content

The principle of equality includes two conceptions of diversity: equal and proportional reflection and access, in addition to reflective diversity (access and content). On the one side, *diversity of access for senders* corresponds with "the variability of mass media (sources, channels, messages and audiences) in terms of relevant differences in society (political, geographical, social-cultural, etc.)". Accordingly, variability of both outlets and content is assessed on the basis of two indicators. On the one side, equality of access stipulates "having equal share of access to media channels or receiving equal attention in the media", that is to say, "absolute equality of time or space". It is "literally" applied in countries with two language communities (such as Belgium or Canada), electoral purposes and gender consideration (for the latter, "the equality claim may coincide with that of proportionality"). This literal application of equality results more effective in promoting change and, consequently, minority or oppositional groups do strongly plead for "equal access and attention". Nevertheless, proportional access states that "media distribution (e.g. of content voice and image) should match the 'social reality' distribution". However, it is claimed to be "inadequate to serve any useful communication purpose", due to the "weakness of numerical notion" of such a social rating. Laying aside equal or proportional access or attention "in terms of media space and time", diversity of treatment is related to balance. However, it is alleged no to be any "consistent relation between amount and direction of coverage", that is to say, getting a fair share of attention does not in fact entail a positive treatment (McQuail, 1992: 147-149).

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On the other side, *reflective diversity* measures "the degree of correspondence between the diversity of the society and the diversity of media content". McQuail presents three dimensions of differentiation: political, social-cultural and geographical diversity. Political divisions are assessed in terms of actor diversity (by comparing the balance of media attention to actors on an average of space and time, "and the distribution of the 'population' of political actors, as this appears in media content") or substance of politics (factual coverage carried out by agenda-setting research). However, it is evidenced that main elements affecting political diversity tend to be "over-reliance on the same sources and shared journalistic routines and news values". As a consequence, criteria of significance and prominence emerge as diversity distinction features, although it may "result in a similarity in the balance of attention given to events between different media serving the same national audience". As a matter of fact, news outlet pluralism is highlighted not to entail message pluralism (McQuail, 1992: 150-170).

Social-cultural pluralism entails the concern on race and ethnicity questions, as well as gender approach. Those minorities aiming to fight their media invisibility have been also evidenced to result "more likely to be identified in negative contexts". Research on the media reflection of social status has been conducted too. All in all, social-cultural pluralism compares the content of media with social characteristics in relation to "the media representation of the statistical reality". The more heterogeneous the audience, the more diverse message content must be in order to gain viewers and readers. For multicultural societies, undifferentiated audiences contribute to mutual understanding between groups and cultures. However, Belgium and Canada consider differentiated media audience composition may prevent identity incursions for minority language or cultural groups (McQuail, 1992: 162-170).

Finally, geographical diversity in relation to media content states media must give attention to different regions. Furthermore, media performance assessment evaluates the diversity of information among media "in terms of the criteria of access and reflection". As a result, territoriality becomes a transversal indicator for diversity (McQuail, 1992: 150-152).

c.2.2. Objectivity

Aside from the wide range of designation nouns (e.g. *fairness, pertinence, reality reference*, etc.), the professional concept of objectivity alludes to "a form of media *practice* and also a particular attitude to the task of information collection, processing and dissemination". It calls for neutrality towards the object and reporting. However, such an understanding is also rooted in the set of values governing the pattern of Western capitalist democracies. Yet, objective practice has been transformed after a process of "routinization", resulting in "offering undiluted truth about the world more misleading than the old kind of diverse partisanship and propaganda", often under the guise of neutrality, such as showing "no more than two equally matched sides" of a complex story. As a consequence, main objection aiming to reject objectivity research has highlighted its impossibility and/or undesirability. On the one hand, objectivity assessment seems impossible because even the selection of news to be evaluated is subjective. Furthermore, there is no objective reality such a selection can be tested against. On the other, objectivity is deplored as undesirable, since pretended balance (pleading for equal attention to different parties in dispute) may derive in implicit support to the established power and, to that extent, to the social and political *status quo* (McQuail, 2010: 199-203; McQuail, 1992: 71-73, 182-204).

Nonetheless, McQuail explicitly refers to Westerståhl's conceptual framework for objectivity as an assessable scheme. Its main worth relies on the decomposition of the objectivity concept in two components: factuality (truth and relevance), and impartiality (balance and neutral presentation). McQuail's contribution consists in the incorporation of the "informativeness" approach, which would measure "news volume". Accordingly, Westerståhl's scheme has been unanimously accepted by European scholars, because it stimulates the development of objectifiable indicators to assess News Quality (McQuail, 1992: 196-236; Schulz, 2000: 3-4; Westerståhl, 1983: 403-424).

Chart No. 29 – McQuail's Component Criteria of Objectivity
(based on Westerståhl's Objectivity Scheme)
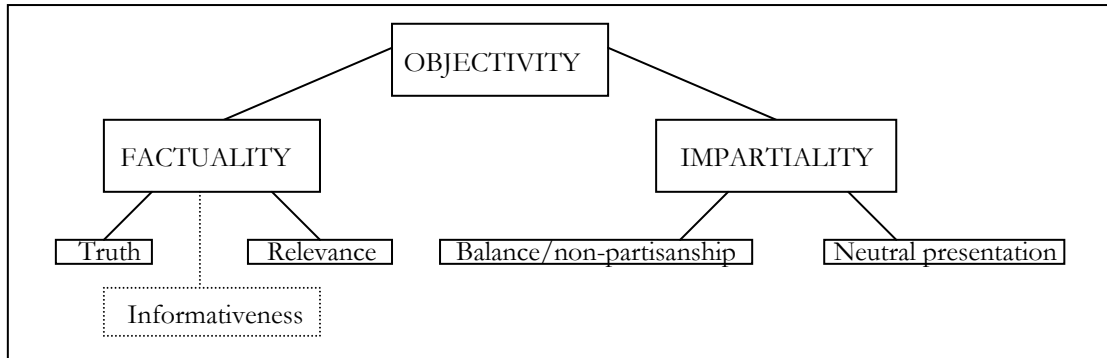
Source: McQuail (2010: 202; 1992: 196).

c.3. Cohesive order

The third principle of media performance alludes to the integration and harmony of society. Accordingly, the *social domain* reflects social organization. Thus, the question of perspective becomes crucial. Whereas such an assessment has been grounded on the dominant conventional attitude shaped by "established authority", McQuail asserts that media should continuously reflect alternative positions in the name of public interest. Moreover, symbolic meaning system concerning social cohesion is designated as "culture" under the anthropological discipline. Hence, the *cultural domain* is bounded to the concept of identity (McQuail, 2010: 203-206; McQuail, 1992: 73-78).

Chart No. 30 – Order and its Main Component Principles
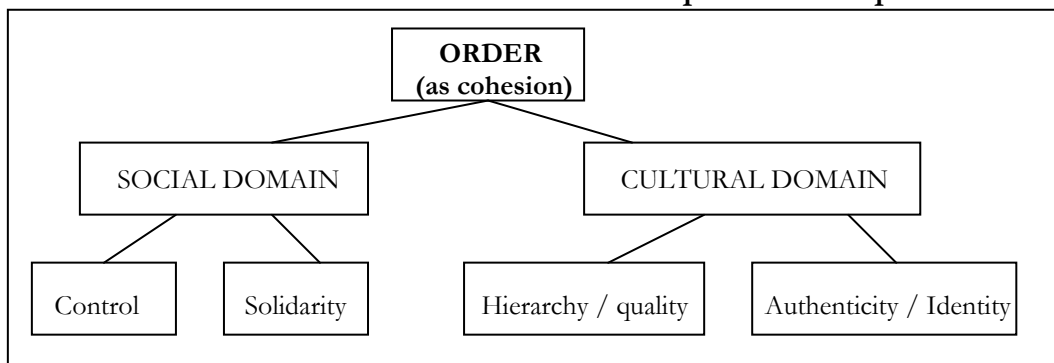
Source: McQuail, 1992: 77.

c.3.1. Social domain

The social domain of cohesive order deals with control (defined as "relations of power and compliance") and solidarity (in the understanding of "mutual attachment and cooperation"). Societies are constructed on the basis of some "fundamental

values". Those core principles will be the "middle ground" to establish balance and, accordingly, they will integrate the "bench mark for evaluation of performance". Conservative authors state such fundamental values coincide with those established by law. However, the Critical Theory alleges that "social institutions exert a 'bias' in favour of 'normality' and of social harmony, with which 'good order' is usually identified". As a result, taking for granted legal values compose social core principles does effectively demonstrate established media's conservative and social control. In any case, the principles of freedom and equality remain binding and, thus, applicable to the third core principle of cohesive order (McQuail, 2010: 203-205; McQuail, 1992: 237-273).

Chart No. 31 – Social Order: Framework for Performance Research
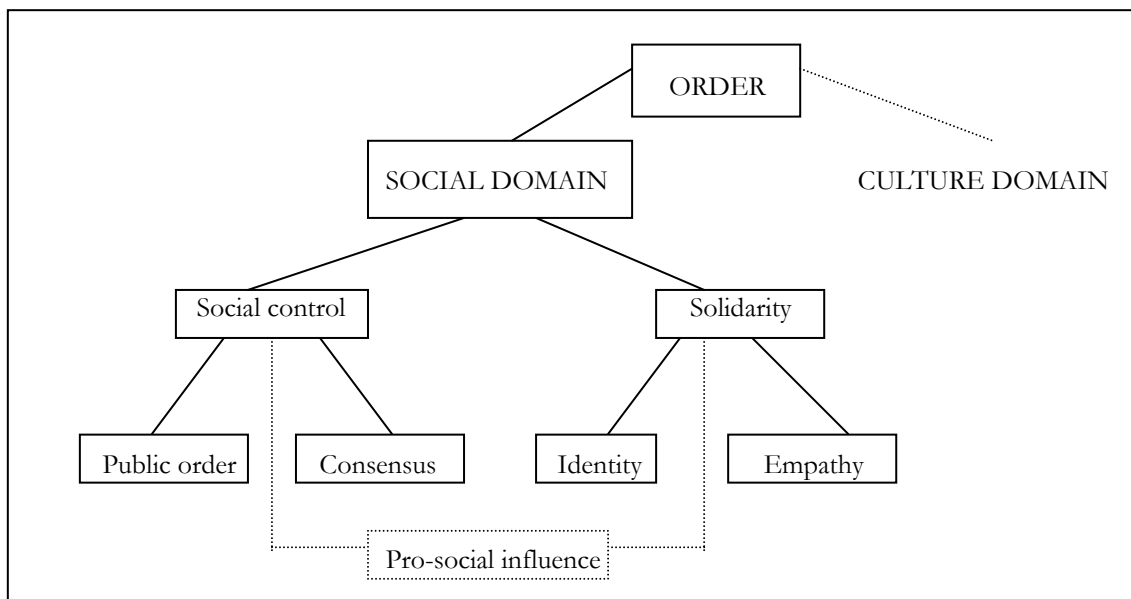
Source: McQuail (1992: 239).

Both sub-principles of the social domain, control and solidarity, are composed of a structural dimension ("public order" and "identity", respectively), as well as of a cultural extent ("consensus" and "empathy", precisely).

i. Social control

Social control is the first component of the social domain. It deals with "relations of power and compliance". Social control consists of a structural dimension (that related to overt matters of maintaining *public order*) and a cultural sphere (aiming to build maintenance of a longer term *consensus*). In order words, whereas *public order* tolerates the use of force in the name of law and basic order, *consensus* develops indirect social control by managing the 'symbol system'. The core values of Western modern

societies, such as the principles of freedom and equality, may restrain social control. As a matter of fact, they can bring media "into potential conflict with forces of the established social order and upholders of dominant values". Limit situations where *public order* is involved, and accordingly media's freedom of expression might be restricted on behalf of the national State, include: international conflicts, civil disturbance and terrorist activities (McQuail, 1992: 237-250).

First of all, war situations *per se* acknowledge the following media-relevant features:

> "* A vital national interest, as determined by the Government of the day, is at stake, involving matters of life and death and of national prestige.
> * A significant degree of controversy about the legitimacy of state action is present.
> * A strong interest is shown by the authorities in managing the flow of information and in keeping some matters secret.
> * The events have high salience and there is considerable public interest and demand for news (hence a potential conflict with the interest of authorities).
> * Immediate consequences are felt outside the national territory and by non-participants, so that world attention is also involved." (McQuail, 1992: 241)

Under those circumstances, media have been evidenced to "be rooted in a nexus of unexplained attachment to the 'national interest' and to values of patriotism". However, the watch-dog role demands neutral reporting "on behalf of citizens, in whose name war is being waged". As a consequence, in line with wars facing social distrust (i.e. "the European process of decolonization or American actions to protect hemisphere interests"), media are likely to better accomplish their executive control commitment. Furthermore, any social consensus requires, as a precondition, "an adequate flow of reliable information to the public in the interests of opinion formation and reducing anxiety". Rating standards measure, first of all, the degree to which support is given to the official view of national interest (e.g. committed to the national Government or neutral position). Secondly, criteria pretend to evaluate the degree of dedication of the media to informing their audience, despite official restrictions or disapproval (how the media react to official attempt at news management or disinformation). Lastly, it is highly encouraged to assess the degree to which opposing views are reported and a balance of evaluation on controversial issues maintained, out of the number of employed 'enemy' sources and points of view, for instance (McQuail, 1992: 240-244).

Civil disturbance has traditionally been "vividly reporting and even encouraged", in relation to another country's civic disorder, under two variables: "the degree of

politicization" (challenge to the legitimate political order), and "the degree of violence against authorities and property". A direct proportional relation has been certified: "the more of both the more inclination on the part of established authority to limit media freedom to report". As a result, media's ideal performance oscillates "according to the nature of the case and local conditions". In fact, conservative assertions have considered media "stimulate, encourage and help to spread riotous behaviour" to other localities (by 'contagion') or "amplify incidents beyond their real significance". Critical perspectives, however, shed light on the fact that media "minimize the contribution of police or army in instigating violence". Furthermore, media may "exaggerate the violence of supposed rioters", in addition to the stigmatization of minorities and sub-groups. As a matter of fact, it has been evidence that media "tend to have a distorting effect on the protest movement", albeit it concerns "legitimate challenges to the social order". For instance, by exaggerating militancy and promoting celebrated anti-Vietnam war leaders, the media "unintentionally helped polarize the society between revolutionism and embattled reaction". Similarly, media have been proved to follow their own logic and, accordingly, report of an anti-war protest meeting in the terms of violence they have announced such an event, despite there had been no riots. In any case, McQuail states that the choice of standards for media performance assessment must take into consideration "the legitimacy for civil disturbance", on the basis of the degree of licitness of those who threaten the peace ("attributed or assumed") and the degree of proportional correction of methods used (McQuail, 1992: 244-247).

Finally, notwithstanding terrorist activities share political misbelieves on media's collaboration for spreading riotous behaviour with other public disorders, States have traditionally pretended not to "give a platform" to political aims of terrorism. As a matter of fact, since the 1960s, Western news outlets have employed the term "terrorism" to designate the aims of official information sources: "delegitimize a nationalist group or any rebel or resistance movement which uses violent methods". Actually, "news of terrorism almost always comes from Government (or related) sources, objectives are rarely explained or justified, terrorists are identified with criminal violence or threats to national security". Accordingly rarely violence carried out by states, especially where a friendly state is involved. As a result, media have evidenced they "allow themselves to be used as an instrument of propaganda and of crisis management by forces of law and order". Aside from the cases for censorship

(manipulation to that extent) in the public interest promoted by the official "war against terrorism" view, media have exhibited other three performance perspectives. First of all, alternative approaches fulfil media's public commitment and offer "a balanced assessment of the terms of debate, more recognition of possible legitimacy and of the coerciveness of the state". Secondly, most shared populist positions usually "put the needs for law and order above legality (thus supporting 'official terrorism' and psychological warfare)". Finally, oppositional views actively "support violence as a means of last resort against an oppressive system". Taking for granted that "information about terrorism is often constructed differently from other news", representation of terrorism in media can be assessed according to the concepts of open and closed reporting (whether they offer "single or multiple perspectives"), neutral presentation requirements in terms of tight and loose formats of television programmes (productions "which lead to a single, unambiguous, *preferred*, interpretation and those which include alternative values, ambiguities, contradictions and unresolved loose ends"), and "the degree to which media follow official lines and for uncovering the ways in which they may deviate" (McQuail, 1992: 247-250).

Media operate "in the immediate present" and, consequently, they can not evaluate in advance which current "circumstances actually justify the overriding of communication values". Regardless of the "pressure from those who have power to impose their value priorities", the principles of freedom and, especially, that of equality (diversity and objectivity) stand for the adequate satisfaction of citizens' information requirements in order to reduce uncertainty.

The cultural dimension of social order aims to "build maintenance of a longer term *consensus*", throughout a system of agreed symbols, where media play the "role of potential agents of socialization and legitimation". Accordingly, on the assumption that media performance may interfere with public order, social patterns and values to prevent disorder become media portrayal. Socialization searching for social consensus results in implicit powerful means of social control, rather than explicit, "occurring by omission rather than active propaganda", generally on behalf of conformity. Along with the model of media as an instrument of social conformity, informal socialization through mass media can effectively preserve "the maintenance of a social and normative order". Audience, hence, is assumed to be dependent "on the media as a

source of ideas, information and impressions". The news they consume, however, "comprises a large universe of social morality plays". In line with symbolic reward and punishment, media identify story protagonists as "heroes, villains and neutral characters" or, on the contrary, "certain activities or traits can be labelled or stigmatized as anti-social". Such an assessment field has been long researched, mostly on the basis of economical class stigmatization and gender roles. Nowadays, framing theory reads off media salience and establishes connections with social values and attitudes. Nevertheless, Western mass media "take for granted the *normality* of current social arrangements", on the reliance that "whatever is normal requires no explanation or justification, while whatever seems to challenge normality is suspect" (McQuail, 1992: 251-258). Such "normal or natural arrangements" include:

> "Marriage and the nuclear family; heterosexual love; traditional role divisions between men and women; large inequalities of property and income; the work ethic; free market principles in economic matters; parliamentary democracy; great poverty of the Third World; vast defence establishments which cannot be dismantled, etc." (McQuail, 1992: 257)

Unequally, instead of employing media to denigrate crime, public exposure follows market demands in the search of higher audience rates. Owing to public interest's legitimacy "in having reliable information about disorder in society", crime is to be reported under the following norms: not to over-sensationalize it and to keep proportion with amount and type of crime according to "the way the system of law enforcement works at the key moments of the crime process (discovery, pursuit, capture, trial and sentence)". The publication of crime statistics is openly rejected. As a matter of fact, reported crime tends to "deviate from statistics, usually by an overemphasis on crimes against the person and by neglect of 'white-collar' crime". Furthermore, media should be aware of the "danger of stigmatizing marginal or ethnic minority groups, as in the role of perpetrator of crime or violence" (McQuail, 1992: 251-255).

Lastly, media performance to handle questions of taste and morality require local assessment, since offences to "taste, public decency, morality or behaviour" are "very culture-specific and thus variable". Moreover, they change over time. As a consequence, regulations on sex, violence, commercialism, blasphemy and intrusion on privacy integrate most deontological codes (McQuail, 1992: 258-262).

ii. Solidarity

The second component of the social domain is designated as *solidarity*, in the understanding of "mutual attachment and cooperation". Analogue to social control, solidarity is also integrated by a structural and a cultural dimension. The former, called *social identity*, independent from national identity, pleads for a "fellow feeling and the construction of a shared moral order". Accordingly, minority identification research has dealt with counter-culture movements, ethnic groups, gender approaches and local character. First of all, the term counter-culture denotes "alternative life-styles" of social movements, considered "as deviant or dissident in relation to an increasingly bureaucratic, consumerist, militaristic society". As a consequence, many of those groups have been evidenced not to wish wider access to media exposure. Secondly, ethnic groups have been proved to tend to require "their own exclusive channels". However, ethnic minorities demanding integration are more likely to demand "treatment on equal terms with the majority". African Americans in the USA shape for such a treatment. Thirdly, women are seen as a minority social group, when media pretend to satisfy demands on "distinctive social an economic objectives" and, accordingly, "communication needs relating to identity and self-organization". That is the case for two contrary positions: that of feminist publications and that of magazines launched for female readers. Finally, local media are believed to "supplement national or regional media", on the assumption that quality performance of local media intensifies "local community identification and the vitality of local communities" (McQuail, 1992: 263-269). The following indicators have been long applied as "measures of content" to rate "quality of local media performance":

> "* The relative attention to local news and issues;
> * the use of own news-gathering staff;
> * the degree of attention to matters of local controversy, to criticism and different opinions;
> * the taking of editorial stands on matters of local controversy;
> * advance information about, and coverage of, local activities;
> * relative attention to 'positive' local news (as against crime, sensation, disorder news);
> * giving support to local interests in conflicts with external bodies (e.g. over investment, environment, jobs, etc.);
> * giving support to local business;
> * the extent to which local or regional media are *distinctive* in their general content (thus supporting diversity)." (McQuail, 1992: 268)

However, McQuail explicitly denies the value of controversy as a consistent indicator. For the rest, he underlines that "cohesion and control may be two sides of the same coin". Accordingly, for the assessment of quality performance it becomes of

great importance to take into account "who benefits from local cohesion" (McQuail, 1992: 267-269).

The cultural dimension of solidarity is understood as *empathy*, which "entails the capacity to assume another's perspective, a skill that involves an act of imagination". On the basis of such a "sympathetic fellow-feeling", social order can also be reinforced. The "kinds of potential 'beneficiary' of empathic tendencies in the media" have a different treatment in news. On the one hand, in respect to national citizens, there are individual victims who enjoy sympathy "by large consensus" (e.g., media designated "heroes, widows of servicemen, helpless children, young victims of illness") and larger groups, victims of social conditions or disasters, whose situation "might either be considered deserved or even self-inflicted" (such as "drug addicts, convicted criminals, immigrants, the mentally ill and sometimes also women victims of rape or battering"). Such a degree of empathy results in space/time assignment differences and divergent measures of balance of evaluation of victims (it can also be the reflection of "a routine reaffirmation of consensual values"). On the other hand, the provision of information about "disadvantaged and victimized abroad" is not related to its suitability, but to "the quality of attention, especially the affective quality of sympathetic understanding". As a matter of fact, on behalf of an informed attitude to problems of poverty an underdevelopment, there are recurrent news issues claiming access to media on a cyclical basis. First of all, reporting about "matters of peace and disarmament" demands accuracy of information and emphasis of the benefits of disarmament. Secondly, the question of "images" of foreign countries, especially those "historically regarded as hostile or culturally alien or inferior" solicits, amongst other content measures, "balance of positive over negative representations, reference and contexts; more than just attention to hard news; coverage in sport, human interest and cultural contexts". Thirdly, news on "disasters and emergencies abroad" may positively draw attention to those countries and, accordingly, the possible effect is also positive, "despite the risk of creating an image of disaster-proneness". Furthermore, supporting victims as information source may fight "cultural gap and influence attitudes". Fourthly, in the case of "refugee and migratory movements", the intention of reporting turns out to be "a relevant dimension", i.e. that of "the degree to which the issue is dealt with as a human tragedy or a political conflict". According to that, information supply on

minority groups forced to flee may be answer to cover a human tragedy in itself or to create "negative images of national majorities or regimes", according to political interests. Fifthly, economic news relating the "economic relations" between the developed countries with "the developing world and the Third World" may be assessed conforming to the degree of attention to the Third World, the weight of their point of view and the amount of «good news» about them. Sixthly, media coverage and treatment of "relevant institutions and agencies" can contribute to their recognition. Lastly, "reports of ecological problems", from an international approach, should emphasize "elements of shared risk and shared costs of ecological repair" (McQuail, 1992: 269-273).

Both components of social domain are guided by a transversal aspect to both *social control* and *solidarity*: pro-social influence. It consists in "reinforcing positive social values". It stems from the idea that "media content is supportive of, rather than threatening to, society". As a consequence, *pro-social content* aims "to increase social awareness, understanding and empathy or to reduce and counter negative and discriminatory stereotypes" (McQuail, 1992: 237-289).

c.3.2. Cultural domain

The *cultural domain* of the principle for cohesive order is related to the concept of identity. Culture is defined as "a bounded set of individuals, sharing the same space and having a common history and sense of identity". As a result, it copes with meanings and symbols of "human cultural heritage" in a particular area. Media contributes to symbolic culture throughout production and distribution of texts, access to fellow countrymen and women, and cultural institutions, as well as its "effects on the cultural environment". As a result, culture has been abstractly detachment from society, although "no modern society is characterized by a single culture" (McQuail, 2010: 205-206; McQuail, 1992: 275-300).

McQuail distinguishes four principles of cultural policy for the media. First of all, *hierarchy* entails a graduation of quality, "according to standards of intrinsic, educational, scientific, aesthetic or artistic merit", as stated by experts. Secondly, *equality* asseverates "cultural goods should be equitably distributed". That constitutes, in essence, a double assertion: universal access to "educational and information

provision", as well as a "fair and non-discriminatory" message. Thirdly, *cultural identity* refers to the cultural features of a nation, understood as the "consciousness of belonging to a place, a period and a community of others". Language and symbolic concerns become a priority. Finally, *taste and morality* allude to a set of agreed "norms and correct forms of social intercourse". However, those principles have been gathered under the configuration of three main dimensions of the cultural domain: hierarchy and quality (and equality), identity and authenticity, and the 'uncultural' (already explained in the previous section). McQuail acknowledges such a gap and he justifies it in the name of practical purposes (McQuail, 1992: 275-280).

As a consequence, some values are assumed to be superior. Accordingly, basic criteria of cultural performance have studied three main areas: "education, artistic or cultural quality and identity content". Media content analysis has been characterized as "positive, negative or neutral". Although multiple qualitative assessments may seem more reliable, they imply more intense labour and, paradoxically, they are "more likely to be ambiguous in outcome". Structuralist and semiological approaches have traditionally researched those questions (McQuail, 1992: 299-300).

Chart No. 32 – The Main Component Criteria of the Media Cultural Domain
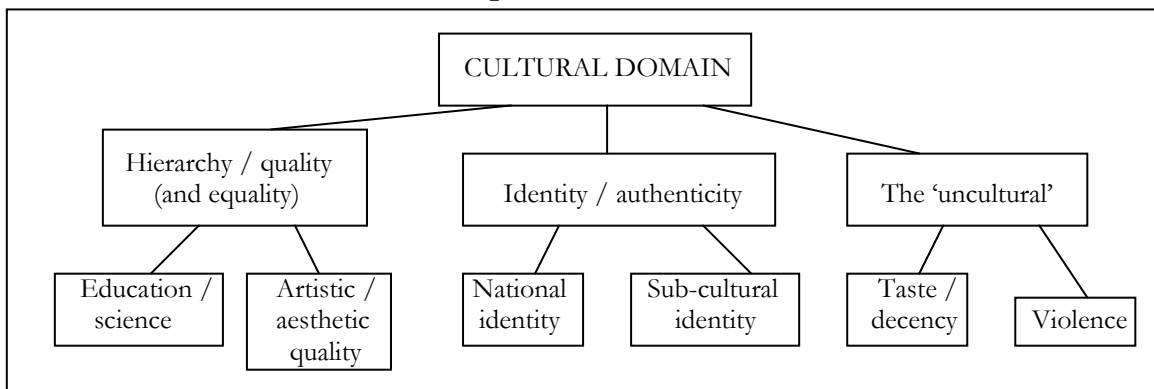
Source: McQuail, 1992: 280.

i. Hierarchy (quality) and equality

Under the conception of hierarchical culture (on the assumption that it does exist a superior refinement over popular cultivation), media have been assigned a pedagogical task. It entails especial attention to *education and science*, as well as to *artistic and aesthetic* quality matters.

i.1. Education and science

The concept that media should have an active educational role was derived from the ideal of public broadcasting. Accordingly, for the sake of an informed society, citizens must be educated in order to be able to efficiently accomplish their duties in democracy. Quantitative assessment has led up to rate "the amount of educational content" according to a given category system, relying on national legal requirements or quota. Nevertheless, diversity of format and television programming are openly rejected as reliable, since the former lacks a clear classification and the latter takes for granted "comparability between different media channels or across time and place" on equal terms. Therefore, qualitative assessment goes back to informational quality, consisting of "information value of content", and "form and presentation". On the one hand, the information value of content is related to "the amount of factual information (density of information), to its relevance, seriousness of purpose, good faith and originality". On the other, form and presentation are attached to "the degree of superficiality or sensationalism of informational programming". Accordingly, a programme can be considered "trivial", in spite of its purposes of effective communication. Such a controversy is usually illustrated by the quiz-show format and the graduation of its educational value. However, when informational quality is to be assessed according to media output, other indicators are proposed: "heavy versus light information; much or little use of entertainment presentation feature; high or low personification…" (McQuail, 1992: 280-283).

i.2. Artistic and aesthetic quality

Artistic and aesthetic preferences have been evidenced to match socioeconomic class position. Moreover, culture is the reflection of "the dominant values of a class society". Consequently, cultural quality has been assessed in the context of the following dimensions and indicators: space dedicated to high culture, originality, social morality or political value, production values and professional quality, folk art and crafts, and commercial criteria of success. First of all, the measure of *the space for high culture* implies an explicit distinction between elitist and popular culture and may rest consideration to contemporary art in the name of traditional values (McQuail, 1992: 284-287). Acquiescing with such an assertion, quantitative indicators have rated the space dedicated to high culture as follows:

"* The allocation of time/space to the artistic forms and genres conventionally associated with traditional culture: ballet, opera […].
* Incidence of actual works recognizably belonging to the canon of established art and culture.
* Incidence of content about established art and culture in the form of publicity, reviews, commentary, instruction, etc.
* Value patterns in other content (e.g. fiction or news) relating to traditional art and culture." (McQuail, 1992: 286-287)

Secondly, the standard of *originality* has been evaluated according to three interpretations. Originality as novelty ("first time showing/appearance") is highly relevant in fiction assessment. Originality as the balance between "controversiality and unconventionality" is to determine the degree of "critical attitude to social convention or sacred cows". Lastly, originality as minority appeal is thought to measure the purpose to contribute to the avant-garde movement, although it is considered an "uncertain test of quality" (McQuail, 1992: 287).

Thirdly, common criteria to assess *social morality or political value* pay attention to sender's intention. The following features are taken into account: reality reference ("associated with seriousness of purpose"), political or moral commitment, purpose to communicate, and pro-social content (McQuail, 1992: 287-288).

Fourthly, *production values and professional quality* recognize the commitment for quality, independently of what those indicators may show. It could be the case for "cost of production" or "degree of stardom": although those standards rate other concerns, they are also regarded as engagement evidence. Then again, professional or technical excellence is to be assessed, independently from content, by peer analysis (McQuail, 1992: 288).

Fifthly, *folk art and crafts* may become visible through the "performance of music, and dance", as well as "folk-tales and some historical works". They tend to be most often characteristics of non-Western and ex-colonial countries (McQuail, 1992: 288-289).

Finally, commercial criteria of success have been applied on the belief that some media productions have become themselves in culture. Accordingly, they share "a form of classic or cult status" (McQuail, 1992: 289).

ii. Identity (authenticity)

The pretended aim to protect cultural heritage and identity has led to the development of the concept of *cultural autonomy*, defined as follows:

"[**Cultural autonomy**] Implies the right of people (whether collectively defined in social or spatial terms) to the means to express and enjoy their 'own culture', in the sense of a 'symbolic' or communication environment which they can recognize as their own, which serves their self-determined needs, or which they have produced for themselves." (McQuail, 1992: 291)

Hence, cultural distinctiveness is believed to be correlated to a strong sense of personal identity and, thus, to enhance social integration. On the one hand, claims to cultural autonomy have demanded "reflective media diversity", that is to say, "good potential access to media channels and content". On the other, on behalf of cultural autonomy, postulations for protection against an "oversupply" of outside originated content have insisted that "distinctive sets of values and a pre-existing sense of cultural identity" may be included in them. Consciousness on the transnationalization of media was tardily acquainted, after the Second World War, due to the interaction of four historical moments: the huge increase of international flow of media content, "the even more dominant position of the United States in this flow", the nationalist positions of former colonies after their independence, and the global distribution between the ideologies of communism and capitalism. In respect to the Third World, the concepts of "cultural imperialism" or "cultural dependency" were coined. Europe, however, has traditionally understood it as increasing domestic production against any potential process of "Americanization", in an attempt of small countries to protect "their own cultural and language autonomy". For such a purpose, home cultural production was supported by the implementation of "quotas". Accordingly, the balance "between an imported media product, thus a product first made in and for another national society, and a domestic (and supposedly more 'authentic') one" is thought to be the main measure of transnationalization (McQuail, 1992: 290-293).

Yet, it can not be asserted that every importation is of poor quality. On the one side, it should be assessed against quality standards and, as a matter of fact, expensively produced imports have been bought by nearby countries, which could not meet the expense of such a high quality production. On the other, the lack of imports does not entail *per se* any increase in quality. For instance, "it is doubtful if the evident cultural autonomy of American television, in itself, contributes a great deal to the quality of the system". Consequently, cultural diversity, only regarded as "a result of diversity of origin", may not be a consistent argument to explain the case of product homogenization in order to "maximize wider market appeal and to minimize cultural difference and distance". Nevertheless, those assertions may only be applicable to

"balanced economic relationships" among States and the Third World countries do not fit in that affirmation. Moreover, the measure of the origin of content may be erratic, since several formats and genres (news itself) have been "effectively internationalized", irrespective of their national content (McQuail, 1992: 293-297).

Therefore, portrayals of the national culture ("the authentic culture of people or place") can be competently identified according to positive representations. First of all, the *national identity*[157] can be detected conformed to the "attention to significant ceremonials and events", such as, parliamentary occasions, remembrances of war dead, national heroes, centenaries… Preferential access to nation related topics and coverage (e.g. international sporting events) is interpreted "a sign of active engagement by the media with the national culture", as well as "culturally unique or characteristic activities" (amongst others, "cricket in England", "beer festivals in Germany") and "familiar national historic locations and symbolic places" (i.e. "American westerns, Soviet revolutionary themes, Japanese samurai drama…"). Secondly, *regional or local identification* is understood as a means towards national character, being complemented by "an adequate and diverse local media provision". Accordingly, along with distinctive places, minorities and social categories (in terms of language or accent, custom, religion, demographic category, location, etc) also integrate "the country's own national culture". Finally, *minorities' identity* is analyzed according to solidarity, as already explained (McQuail, 1992: 297-300).

Hence, the core values of Western modern democracies (based on the principles of freedom, equality and cohesive order) raise the question of media performance assessment criteria. Some, moreover, interact among them, especially those of freedom and equality. That would be the case for the most important journalistic principles: access, diversity and objectivity, in addittion to solidarity.

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[157] **National identity** refers to: "A homeland, a set of domestic shared beliefs, a distinct identity embodying historical continuity and a duty to preserve and develop it, a common public culture, and common legal rights and duties for all members." (Marchetti, 2008: 123)

Chart No. 33 – Principles of the Media Performance Assessment Approach
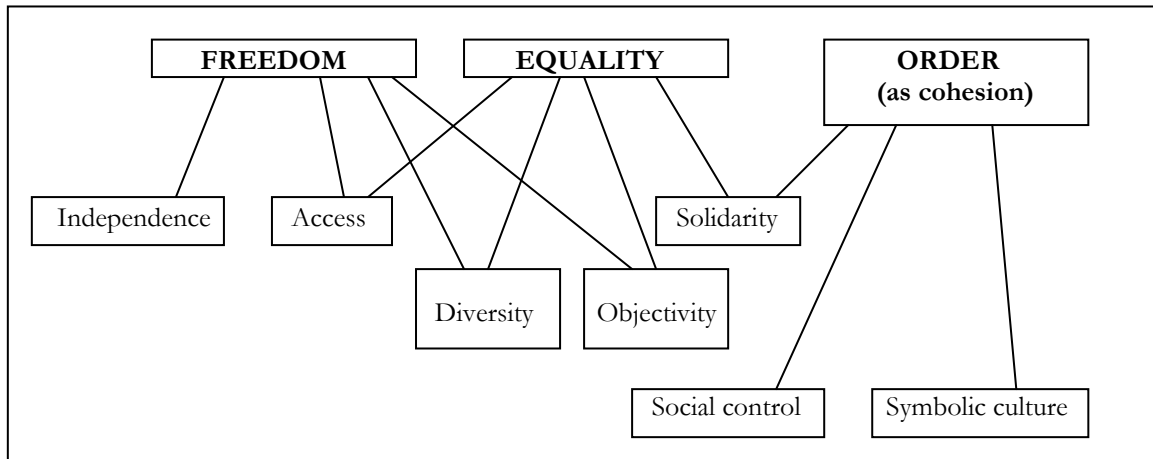
Source: McQuail, 1992: 78.

McQuail defends the applicability of such a normative framework even in the context of post-modern "information societies"[158], which he acknowledges to have entailed "a general shift in the balance of normative approaches to mass media". Paradoxically, the increase in the amount of media channels "has diminished the concern at the possible shortage of diverse information adequate for modern democracies". Therefore, main implications of such a contemporary word on democracy affect its core values. First of all, *freedom* requires independence, regarded as opinion diversity and relevance of significant issues. However, the logic of free market competition results in "sensationalized" news. Secondly, the standpoint for *social equality* asserts that "cultural and informational inequality is caused by social and economic inequality (rather than vice versa)". Media performance can effectively "equalize the quality of life in a modern society". On the one hand, high-quality production remains for the public sector, since "the relatively small demand" for those products entails "continuous investment" that commercial logic cannot afford. On the other, the increase of media corporations have not reflected a wider access to them, even more, minorities remain further marginal. Finally, *order and culture* face the "internationalization of content". Accordingly, "traditional standards of intellectual and artistic quality" receive less emphasis, whereas national identity gains attention (McQuail, 1992: 301-316). Nevertheless, McQuail assigns media the key to provide useful information according to societal demands:

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[158] McQuail defines them as being "dependent upon complex electronic information and communication networks and which allocate a major portion of their resources to information and communication activities" (McQuail, 1992: 302).

"An 'information society', in a shrinking world, *can* be a more informed society and a more creative, politically active, more culturally diverse society. However, the main path to this goal is still by way of the means of public communication (the mass media) rather than technologically mediated interpersonal communication." (McQuail, 1992: 310)

d. News Quality Assessment Review

News Quality is often defined in a negative sense. Excellence is described according to what it is believed not to be. Therefore, first of all, News Quality castigates soft news, which includes "human interest-stories, coverage of dramatic events such as crime and disasters, sensationalized stories, and a focus on entertainment, weather, or sports". As a result, soft news is believed to be detected according to topic diversity. In fact, soft news denies media performance's social responsibility in terms of "cultural impact, participation entitlement and relevance". However, hard news does not imply quality news *per se.* Furthermore, it may be poorly covered "in terms of reporting". Hence, News Quality highlights media performance's social intentionality, by assuring it (Baum, 2003: 174-187; Chomsky & Ramonet, 2005: 77-84; Costera Meijer, 2003: 19-20; Just & Belt, 2004: 3-4; Mezger, 2005: 61-73; Plasser, 2005: 50-51; Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002: 19; Weischenberg, 2001: 31).

Several concepts have led to News Quality. Pioneering research was carried out in Scandinavia, under the notion of *informativity.* Media credibility became the focus point of German and North-American scholars in the search of news excellence. Germans arrived to News Quality throughout professionalism, whereas Americans evaluated it in concordance with commercial profit. South American scholars were influenced by the latter, but they are currently locating closer to European approaches. Finally, left and right-wing academics have discussed social relevance of News Quality.

Nonetheless, all researchers agree in employing methodology based on content analysis to evaluate News Quality. In fact, every news report is considered an assessment item in itself. Approaches stress different nuances for News Quality: informativity, professionalism, commercialism, journalistic practice or social commitment (Hagen, 1995a: 32-35; Bonfadelli, 2003: 87-93).

d.1. Scandinavia: The concept of *informativity*

Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud redefined Kent Asp's types of quality to assess media content in the framework of "the role of the mass media in public opinion formation processes", as conceptualized in his book *Mäktiga massmedier* (1986). Owing Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud published their works in English, Nordic perspectives were first formulated for the worldwide News Quality discussion. Kent Asp distinguished three types of *values*, which Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud renamed as *qualities*, "defined in terms of relationship". First of all, *descriptive quality* is assessed "by comparing media content with related aspects of reality". Accordingly, "fidelity" to reality is evaluated. In relation to higher levels of assessment such as Quality of Programming, the key concept to judge descriptive quality has been emphasized as that of *diversity*, due to European public service broadcasting tradition (Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 35-40; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 284-291; Rosegren et al., 1996: 12-24). Along with News Quality, Asp's main contribution was the notion of *informativity*[159], defined as follows:

> "The amount of information offered by a given news medium or a given set of phenomena reported upon in the medium, standardized for the amount of space dedicated by the medium to the set of phenomena. Amount of information, in its turn, is conceptualized in terms of density, breadth and depth." [Rosengren, Carlsson & Tågerud (1991): "Quality Assessment of Broadcast Programming", *Studies of Broadcasting*, no. 27, p. 49], quoted in Biernatzki & Crowley (1995: 10)

Granting relevant information (competent to answer "what" and "who" questions) as a prerequisite, *density* is measured by calculating the amount of topics for a given period or column centimetre. *Breadth* is operationalized as the number of different lines of reasoning (types of arguments) provided by the medium, "expressed as proportion of the number of types available". Finally, *depth* is revealed by the proportion of the story devoted to background material. It alludes to the number of explicative instruments offered. It is the result of measuring the amount of time dedicated to each line of reasoning. The *informative value*, thus, consists of those three content aspects (density, breadth and depth of relevant information). Furthermore, *informative score* is measured by contrasting informative value with the space or time provided by the outlet. Such a methodology is aimed to confront information capacity

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[159] On the contrary, the term **informativeness** is employed to designate the normative demand for the function of media in democracy, that is to say, to provide information on issues in order to inform the citizenry, as a way to contribute to free opinion formation (Asp, 2007: 33-35).

among several media (Asp, 2007: 34-35; Biernatzki & Crowley, 1995: 10; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000b: 161-163; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 35-40; Rosegren et al., 1996: 23-24).

Secondly, *receiver use quality* focuses on excellence as experienced by "the end of the chain of communication". Consequently, a vast range of subqualities correspond with different audience categories. Moreover, this quality aspect is inherently subjective, since it is defined as stated by every receiver. Providing receiver use quality assesses the relationship between the message and the receiver, Rosengren refers to *comprehensibility* as an "essential precondition to understand news". Hence, facts and events must be presented in a context where casual, spatial and temporary connections are explained (Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 35-40; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 284-291; Rosegren et al., 1996: 24-34).

Thirdly, *sender use quality* is formulated in terms of social responsibility. As a result, this quality type is evaluated according to the accomplishment level of the societal functions media consider they must fulfil (Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 284-291; Rosegren et al., 1996: 34-37; Vehlow, 2006: 23-24).

Finally, Rosengren *et al.* added a fourth quality type, called *professional quality*, which grounds its excellence evaluation on peers' recognition. The need for such a new quality category is arguable, due to the fact that professionals integrate the other three perspectives in their assessment (Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 236-239; Hillve et al., 1997: 293-294; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 284-291; Rosegren et al., 1996: 37-39).

However, Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud complain about the absence of a specific normative theory, whose values and norms could derive quality assessing indicators. As a matter of fact, the six normative theories applying until the early 1990s (before McQuail's media performance analysis in the public interest theory was formulated) were not of competent relevance, since the four types of quality as articulated by Nordic scholars may overlap each other. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that subjectivity in indicators' election will be surpassed once they are stemmed from normative principles. Therefore, Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud's work may be regarded as an attempt to gather quality research under such conceptions. Accordingly, *descriptive quality* would pay attention to content excellence. *Receiver use quality* would congregate previous audience research perspectives in the search of quality, such as: effect approach, uses and gratifications research, literary criticism, cultural studies and reception analysis. *Sender use quality* may stem from audience indirect

effect enquiries, i.e. agenda setting research. Lastly, *professional quality* is alleged to emphasize technical aspects over other quality features (Biernatzki & Crowley, 1995: 10-11; Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 236-239; Ishikawa, 1996b: 89-98; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 35-40; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 284-291; Rosengren et al., 1996: 4-43; Schenk & Gralla, 1993: 8-9).

d.2. Germany: News Quality in terms of professionalism

German scholars followed Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tågerud's initial works on quality in the early 1990s. However, it was already considered to have been late initiated in such a research field, especially after "American, British and Japanese initiatives". Nevertheless, they were able to develop their own concept on quality, based on *professionalism* (Köster & Wolling, 2006: 76-77; Schenk & Gralla, 1993: 13-14).

Primary research on News Quality focused on audience. Accordingly, the notion of *acceptance* (*Akzeptanz*) took priority. Viewership rates (i.e. audience share ratings) were believed to rank excellence. Such an audience oriented quality model directly stemmed from the media marketing conception. A more integrative concept pleads for differentiating receiver types. Accordingly, Arnold has classified six reader prototypes (along with Newspaper Excellence), such as: the cosmopolitan reader, the local information user, the average reader, the regular reader, the entertainment user and the disinterested audience. As a consequence, differentiated quality scales apply for each of them. Broadcasting viewers types have been categorised as follows: populist, intellectual, modest, and non-conventional. Hence, high acceptance *per se* was soon no longer considered "a proof of quality" (Arnold, 2006: 420-429; Baeßler, 2006: 442-455; Schenk & Gralla, 1993: 10-12; Tebert, 2000: 85-86; Tebert, 2003: 310-319; Tebert & Gierse, 2006: 23-28).

Audience perspective also promoted research on *credibility* (*Glaubwürdigkeit*). On the one side, credibility was initially related to news' information quality (excellence of agencies' supply of news) and ethic or moral aspects of the information transfer process. Accordingly, *truthfulness, completeness, in detail, comprehensibility* and *pluralism* (diversity of genres and diversity of access) were regarded as indicators for news' information quality. Ethical or moral aspects of the information transfer process were less detailed (breach of good taste, mixing news and opinion, business influence…). On the other hand, credibility was also analysed in the function of which media are likely to

be reliable, especially related to broadcasting and, recently, to Internet outlets (Barth, 2004: 204-207; Deimling et al., 1993: 203-218; Gleich, 1994: 256; Matthes & Kohring, 2006: 369-380; Mezger, 2005: 49-51; Welker, 2004: 275-278).

Kohring and Matthes laid aside the concept of media credibility and moved to *trust* in news media, which would shape for the theories of journalism and modern societies. Accordingly, the credibility scales applied until then seemed not suitable for the concept of trust. Complexity defines modern societies. As a consequence, trust acts as a mechanism in "helping people deal with the risk of an open future". Trust consists in "giving up control to someone else" and, in essence, it may even replace knowledge. News media, as long as owning organizational structure, knowledge and resources (such as time and money), are "regarded by most people as the crucial source of information about social and political life". All in all, media's societal function is believed to "consist in selecting and conveying information about the complex interdependencies of modern society". Paradoxically, trust in media becomes essential to gain confidence in other social actors (i.e. politicians), but news media performance itself relies on the risky action of selectivity of news reporting. Along with such a line of reasoning, *selectivity* becomes the key to understand trust in news outlets "rather than objectivity or truth". As a result, Kohring and Matthes constructed a multidimensional scale which could measure trust in news media on the basis of the interrelation of four hierarchical dimensions of journalistic selectivity. First of all, *trust in the selectivity of topics* alludes to the confidence that the selected topics and events are the most "relevant" to the public. It implies a given topic "receives the necessary attention, it is assigned an adequate status, it is covered in an adequate frequency and also on the necessary regular basis". Secondly, *trust in the selectivity of facts* refers to background information and contextualization. Latent factors for such a dimension may submit that "the essential points are included, the focus is on important facts, all important information regarding the topic is provided and reporting includes different points of view". Thirdly, *trust in the accuracy of depictions* is defined as "trust in verifiable and approvable accuracy of depicted facts". Such a dimension pleads for "the information in a report to be verifiable if examined, the reported information to be true, truthfully recount the facts, and public to receive correct facts". Lastly, *trust in journalistic assessment* analyses reporter's labour, in terms of "explicitly emphasized assessments" or "appeals for action". Accordingly, the following factors will analyse their intentionality: "criticism is

expressed in an adequate manner, the journalists' opinions are well-founded, the commentary regarding the given topic consists in well-reflected conclusions, and the audience feels that the journalistic assessments regarding the given topic are useful" (Kohring & Matthes, 2007: 231-249).

McQuail's new normative theory on media performance analysis in the public interest was soon accepted in the German literature. As a matter of fact, Schatz and Schulz's early works on quality established the normative principles governing such a new research field, "proceeding from media laws and extract the standards for a norm-compliant media performance and a journalism of high quality". Other scholars (i.e. Bucher, Rager and Weischenberg) are thought to have gone further in their journalistic perspective and have studied quality from a deontological approach. News Quality appraisal will be exposed according to the main approaches evaluating them in relation with media types (Arnold, 2006: 418-420; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 76-77; Maurer, 2005: 85-88; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-692; Schulz 2000: 1-2; Vehlow, 2006: 23-24).

d.2.1. Broadcasting news assessment paradigm

Schatz and Schulz's pioneering works established the groundings of broadcasting News Quality. Notwithstanding it originally took the name of *Programmqualität*, such a system has been widely applied in the German literature. Schatz and Schulz's normative approach distinguishes five precepts for Programme Quality: diversity, relevance, professionalism, acceptance, and legality. It has been corroborated to shape for McQuail's media performance analysis and its Western principles. Consequently, News Quality is thought to provide "credibility, reliability and reputability" in turn (Daschman, 2009a: 10-11; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006: 28-34; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-711; Vehlow, 2006: 25-46).

i. Diversity

Diversity (*Vielfalt*) is believed to integrate "the most important dimension of Programme Quality". Following McQuail's work, Schatz and Schutz agree that the diversity precept should proportionally reflect reality in its political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. Diversity is the measurement for the basic democratic values of freedom and equality. Schatz and Schulz differentiate *structural diversity* and *content*

diversity. On the one hand, 'structural diversity' is the connection between *functional diversity* (aimed to accomplish the public broadcasting goals, such as: information, entertainment and education) and 'formal diversity' (programme types and genres to reach those public standards). On the other, *content diversity* clearly distinguishes between information and opinion. Along with information, four diversity types are regarded: objective diversity (variety of events, information and topics related to different areas of public life), diversity in terms of geographical and regional areas, heterogeneity of cultures and ethnic groups, and wide range of social and political interests. Actors and topics are understood as measurable indicators for the latter. There is a clear distinction between individual actors and representative of collectives (divided into social categories –youth, unemployed…–, and social systems –groups, parties, associations–). Topics, however, are subdivided in various subject categories (politics, economy, society…), considering individual events. Topic characteristics are also underlined: context ("semantic content, opinions, and perspectives"), structure (syntaxes, elaboration…), and context (aiming to reduce complexity). Nevertheless, Daschmann argues that complexity reduction, as far as it is related to utility and clarity of information, should be included in the dimension of professionalism. Similarly, the criterion of balance is alleged not to be taken into consideration under the diversity precept. Consequently, diversity results understood as "the heterogeneity of actors in the selection, without saying anything more than their share of coverage" and the variety of the important themes "to reflect the diversity of the social reality of the news day" (Daschman, 2009a: 5-6; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006: 28-34; McQuail, 1992: 143-145; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 693-695; Vehlow, 2006: 25-30).

Chart No. 34 – Aspects of Programme Diversity
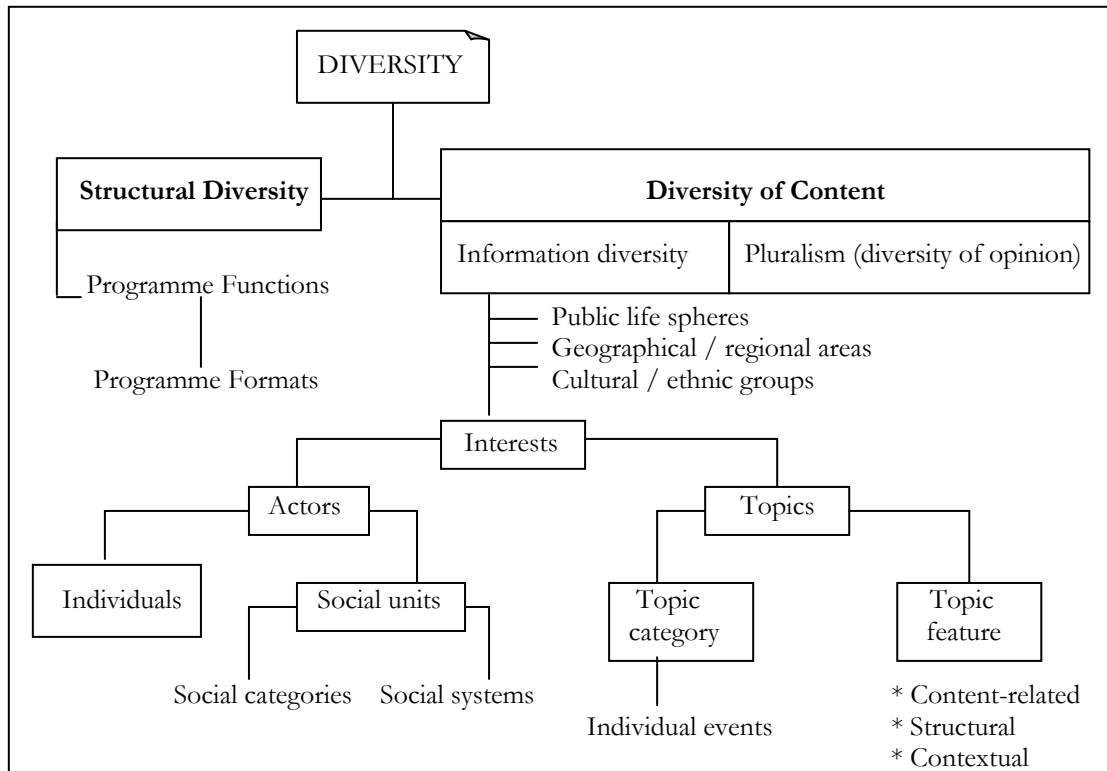
Source: Schalz & Schutz, 1992: 694[160].

ii. Relevance

Laying aside its psychological perspective, which states it is "an attribute of information to be cognitively useful", *relevance* (*Relevanz*) for the journalistic quality research also stems from mass media's public function. It is assumed as an aspect of excellence, since it highlights "issues to be watched". Therefore, a given message may be published, based on the significance classification, but not achieve it. Relevance is understood as a relational concept, in line with newsworthiness, although it is not a synonym of quality *per se*. Hence, relevance measures the extent to which an event is newsworthy, according to qualitative and quantitative factors. On the one hand, quantitative factors consider the number of individuals involved and the news admission based on the probability of occurrence "in the negative sense". Qualitative factors take into consideration impact intensity, centrality, actor's social prominence, protagonist's intention, geographical and emotional proximity, and durability of a situation. All in all, relevance is to be considered regarding the informed citizen ideal: between social levels –macro, medium or individual stages–, and attributers or

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[160] My translation from German.

assessment bodies –public opinion; active, media or scientific publicity; and criticism–(Daschman, 2009a: 6-7; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006: 28-34; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Vehlow, 2006: 30-36).

Chart No. 35 – Aspects of Relevance
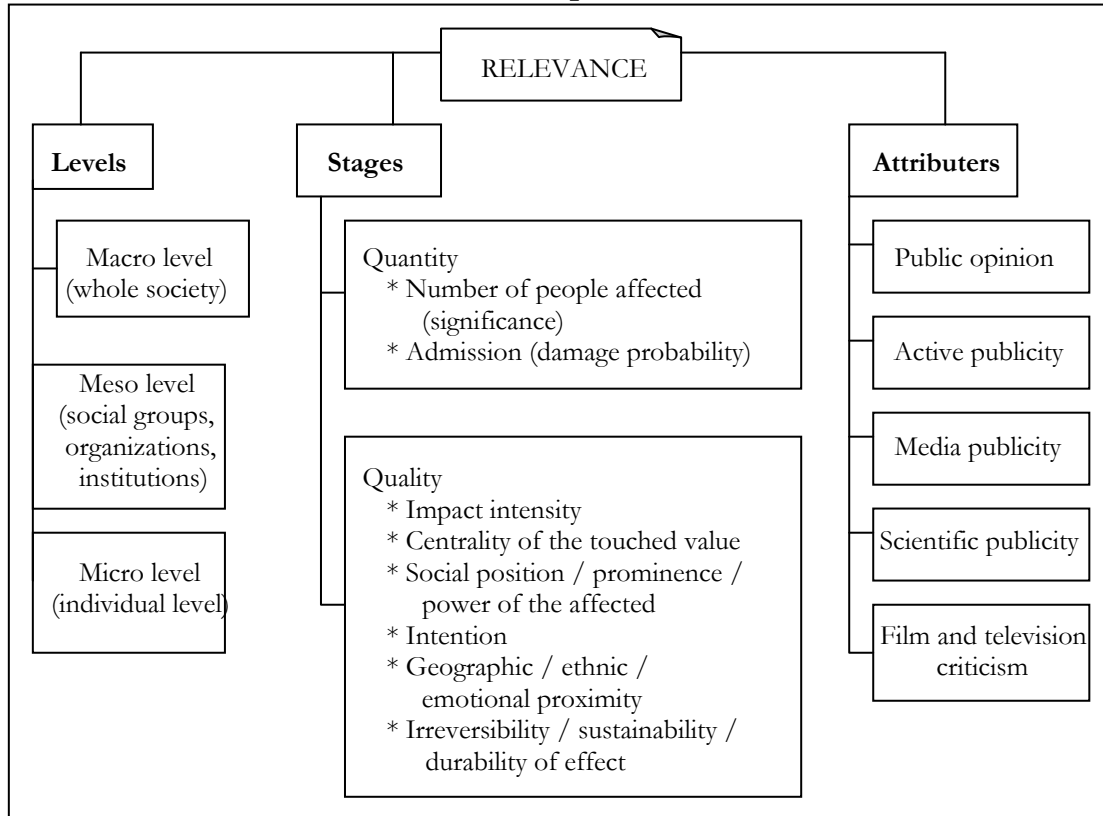
Source: Schalz & Schutz, 1992: 696[161].

iii. Professionalism

The precept of *professionalism* (*Professionalität*) is conformed by two dimensions: content and design professionalism. On the one hand, *content professionalism* is understood to be "often reduced to the compliance of the journalistic principles", subdivided according to descriptive and analytical characteristics. *Descriptive quality* aims at the objectivity of reporting and, accordingly, consists of appropriateness and impartiality principles. 'Appropriateness' takes into consideration accuracy and relevance. Schatz and Schulz quote McQuail and Rosengren to affirm news is to be "accurate and complete", as establishes the objectivity research. Thus, accuracy establishes that information must match with reality, as well as transparency of sources. Notwithstanding facts cannot be corroborated against reality, a measurable test seems

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[161] My translation from German.

suitable, consisting in answering the 6W: *who, what, when, where, how* and *why*[162]. News would be complete if they answer all those questions. Some scholars have stressed the fact that the closer in time news is to the event, the higher quality it presents[163]. Accordingly, currency is measured in terms of "the amount of time going by from the date of the event until the news item". It is argued such a currency approach may shape for the relevance precept contained under appropriateness. The principle of *impartiality*, however, refers to balance and neutrality, as corroborated by the objectivity research. The former differs from the diversity principle, since the goal it is not a high variety of viewpoints itself, but equal treatment to all positions. Neutrality, on the contrary, has been understood as the separation of facts and opinion, as well as the use of appropriate language. Along with descriptive quality, *analytical quality* alludes to the explanation of the causes and consequences of current events.

On the other hand, *design professionalism* evidences the influence of technical excellence in News Quality. Following Albers' research, Schatz and Schulz quote "camera, lighting, editing and directing" as the formal aspects of Programme Quality. Applying to print media, Weischenberg[164] states "directness, brevity, conciseness, simplicity and clarity of language" as News Quality technical requirements (Daschman, 2009a: 7-8; Fahr, 2001: 31; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006: 28-34; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 701-705; Vehlow, 2006: 37-41).

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[162] Original German interrogative pro-forms begin with "W": *Wer, Was, Wenn, Wo, Wie* and *Warum*.

[163] I.e. Hagen (1995a: 128-129) and Roether [(2004): "Die Nachrichtenmacher: Wettbewerb und die Informationskompetenz", *Tedenz – Magazin für Funk und Fernsehen der Bayerischen Landeszentrale für Neue Medien*, no. 1. zenb., p. 14], quoted in Vehlow (2006: 39).

164 Quoted in Vehlow (2006: 41) [WEISCHENBERG, Siegfried (1990): *Nachrichtenschreiben: Journalistische Praxis zum Studium und Selbststudium*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, p. 144].

Chart No. 36 – Aspects of Professionalism

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │   PROFESSIONALISM   │
                        └─────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
        │     Content      │          │     Design       │
        │ professionalism  │          │ professionalism  │
        └──────────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
        │   Journalistic   │   │ Aesthetic / artistic │ Comprehensibility │
        │ professionalism  │   │ professionalism  │  │    (clarity)     │
        └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
    ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Analytical quality│  │ Descriptive quality│
    └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
          │  Appropriateness │        │   Impartiality   │
          └──────────────────┘        └──────────────────┘
      ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────┐
      │ Accuracy │    │ Relevance│  │Balance, fairness│ Neutrality │
      └──────────┘    └──────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────────┘
   * Reality testing            * Analysis of       * Separation of news
   * Consensus review             structural topics     and comment
   * Journalistic Ws                                 * Appropriate language
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Source: Schalz & Schutz, 1992: 705[165].

iv. Acceptance

It is strongly argued that audience *acceptance* (*Akzeptanz*) as a quality dimension lacks the empirical benchmark the rest of dimensions offer. Granting the reception of media content is overlaid by many subjective motives, scholars assuming acceptance as a quality criterion have moved to measure news values out of the newsworthiness traditional theory, such as: "surprise factors, personalization, negativism and emotional appeal", amongst others, which are claimed to be clear characteristics of news tabloidization in order to gain readership or viewership higher rates (Daschman, 2009a: 8-9; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Neuberger, 2004: 34-38; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 705-708; Vehlow, 2006: 42-43).

v. Legality

The *legality* (*Rechtmäßigkeit*) precept states the observance of rules as established by the constitutional order, international human rights and specific broadcasting regulations. Some scholars have stressed that, regardless how basic it may seem, "violations of these rules are by no means a rarity". Others, however, argue that such a

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[165] My translation from German.

dimension entails no empirical analysis (Daschman, 2009a: 9-10; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 75-80; Neuberger, 2004: 34-38; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 708-710; Vehlow, 2006: 43-45).

Chart No. 37 – Aspects of Legality
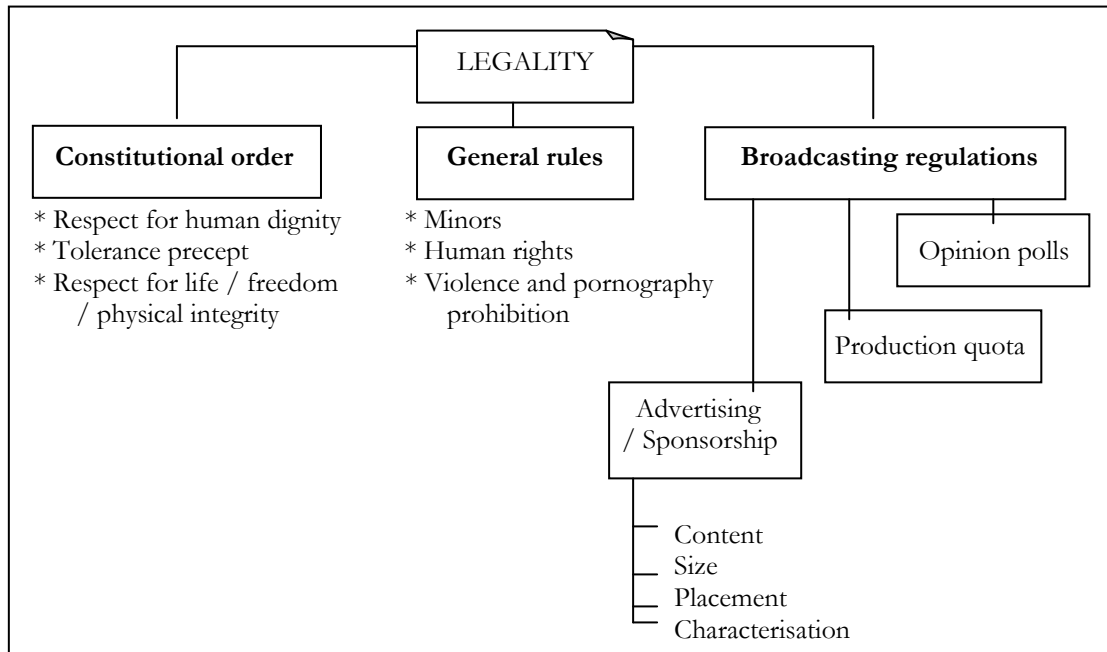
Source: Schalz & Schutz, 1992: 709[166].

Therefore, broadcasting News Quality is defined as a multidimensional construct, where five normative precepts operate: diversity, relevance, professionalism, acceptance and legality. First of all, content-related information *diversity* is represented in the variety of actors and topics. Secondly, *relevance* is defined along with the content significance, as a consequence of "the effect of intensity, centrality of values, geographical as well as emotional proximity, and sustainability of the issues reported". Furthermore, relevance is supported by the judgment of significant instances. Thirdly, *professionalism* implies appropriate dealt with both content and design. The former gathers analytical and descriptive quality, being design professionalism subcategorised in suitability (currency, accuracy, and completeness) and impartiality (balance and neutrality). Later scholars evaluating broadcasting News Quality on the basis of such a normative approach have openly discarded the *acceptance* and *legality* precepts as content analysis valid attributers. As a matter of fact, those five precepts do not construct themselves their "own assessment dimensions". All in all, later methodologies rely on

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[166] My translation from German.

those content-related measurable indicators stemmed from the normative approach (Daschmann, 2009a: 10-11; Fahr, 2001: 10-57; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006: 28-34).

Chart No. 38 – Content-related Measurable Indicators for News Quality
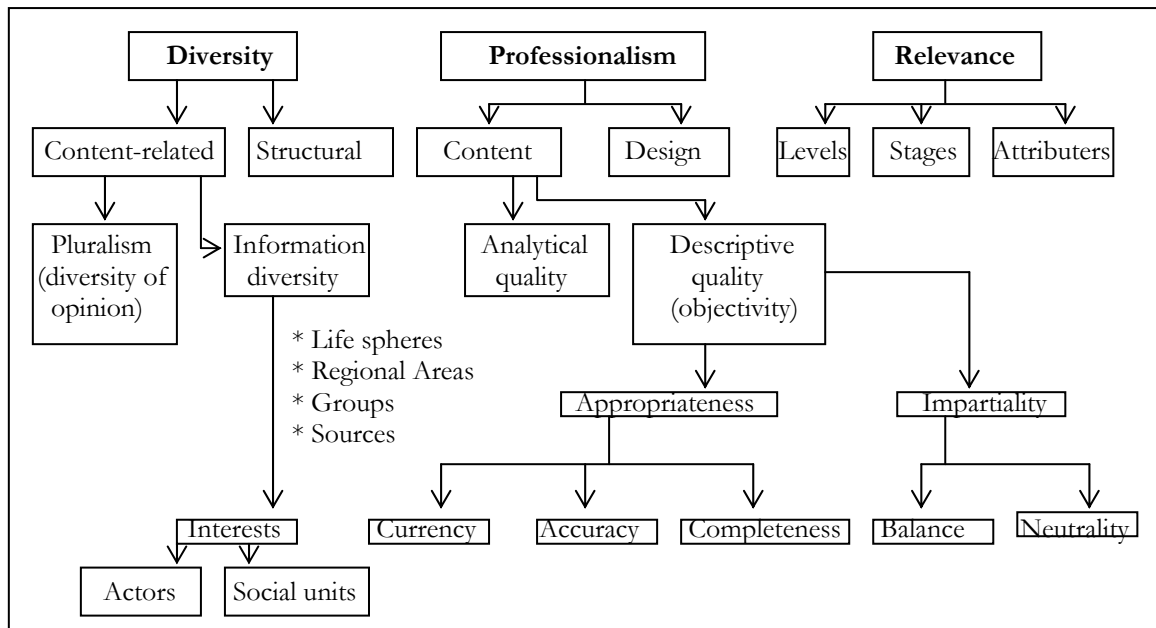
Source: Daschmann (2009a: 11), Fahr (2001: 10-57), Maurer & Reinemann (2006: 32)[167].

Along with broadcasting media performance, radio focused research has not integrated a proper study field. Bucher and Barth compiled research on News Quality principles. It is concluded that Paul Grice's four maximums of effective information exchange applied to Philosophy of Language[168] (*truth and truthfulness, relevance, informativeness* and *comprehensibility*) result "analogue" to Kantian categories of quality, quantity, relationship and modality. Moreover, they are believed to shape for journalism principles contended in German deontological codes. Bucher and Barth added two more principles related to public opinion construction, such as (internal and external) *diversity* and *currency*, considered as reliability by Kohring and Matthes (Bucher & Barth, 2003: 223-234; Kohring & Matthes, 2007: 231-249).

The application of those six principles to the radio News Quality analysis is classified according to News Quality aspects, such as content features, communicative characteristics and other information contributions not related to. First of all, *content features* distinguish topic diversity on the basis of controversial or neutral topics. Previous research has estimated topic diversity may reflect "informativeness, relevance,

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[167] My translation from German.
[168] See GRICE, Herbert Paul (1975): "Logic and Conversation" in COLE, Peter, MORGAN, Jerry L. (argk.): *Speech Acts*, New York, p. 50 [Quoted in Bucher & Barth, 2003: 232-234].

selection criteria and accuracy", but Bucher and Barth consider it is not applicable to the radio system, since it is grounded on the interaction with other media, such as print and broadcasting outlets. As well as topic diversity, language is considered as another radio News Quality content aspect. For the assessment of such an attribute, syntaxes, lexica and text construction are to be examined. Accordingly, language evaluation is similar to that in broadcasting and print media. Secondly, *communicative characteristics* are derived from medium's specifications. Therefore, radio's immediacy develops specific forms of representation that are functionally adapted to the nature of the medium. Apart from technical questions on waves' reception, message coherence becomes crucial. Due to medium's idiosyncrasy, radio news differs from other media news. Consequently, there is a higher selectivity of topics and subject related aspects. Hence, thematic coherence and linearity of ideas must supply the absence of other visual appeals contributing to range news' importance. As a result, listener's comprehensibility is believed to become the key aspect which may stem quality criteria. Finally, *other information contributions* highlight "the correlation between stimulation and attractiveness" (Bucher & Barth, 2003: 232-241).

Bucher and Barth's classification turns out of great importance, because it examines radio's own environment. Furthermore, despite the misleading terms, it shapes for Albers' distinction among form, content and their interaction, as well as for German scholars' Internet contributions too (Bucher & Barth, 2003: 232-241).

d.2.2. Print news evaluation model

Print News Quality has not gathered yet such an agreement as the broadcasting normative model. In fact, Weber and Rager listed four quality dimensions, based on professionals' criteria, as Albers had undergone for Programme Quality indicators, but they were not grounded on McQuail's or on Schalz and Schutz's works. However, German academics shared equal consideration for the concept of professionalism. Accordingly, the four dimensions of quality, in the order as professionals had ranked them, were accuracy, mediation, currency, and relevance. First of all, *accuracy (Richtigkeit)* is considered the base for any further assessment. It alludes to the concept of "full information" and, as a consequence, entails the appearance of all sources related to the issue, the answer to the 5W's and reduction of complexity (by explaining the causes and consequences of the matter). Secondly, *mediation (Vermittlung)* refers to the effective

communication flow between journalists and their audience. Several measures are outlined as criteria: clear separation of information and comment, adequate illustration and design, as well as topic and genre diversity. Thirdly, *currency* (*Aktualität*), as "the key criterion for the selection of news", has been recently postponed and, in reverse, exhibiting exclusive material (which is believed to work as a trade-off for currency) has been rewarded. Earlier, diversity had also been disregarded on behalf of currency. Finally, *relevance* (*Relevanz*) makes reference to "new and important information". For such an assessment, placement and presentation become crucial and the question of exclusive material gains importance (Weber & Rager, 1994: 1-12; Schirmer, 2001: 68-74).

Nevertheless, other evaluation systems, such as that by Pütz, compiled all those elements (e.g. accuracy, mediation, currency and relevance) under the consideration of the *content dimension* of quality. Therefore, criteria matching such a parameter would include: currency, newsworthiness, number of sources, relationship between topics and exposed positions, self-research, unreliability on news agencies material, objectified facts, and relevance. Furthermore, *formal dimension* alludes to the use of language. It is required not to allow any grammar or spelling errors (moreover, the nominal account is not seen enough and scholars claim for a quality scale for language related mistakes). Writing style is also regarded as assessable, according to indicators like "easy and fun or official and formal". Previous attempts to measure the appropriate tone of language have proposed the following standards: "contemporary-anachronistic, interesting-dull, new-old, exceptional-current, easy to understand-difficult to understand, fast-slow, boring-exciting, simple-complex". However, Pöttker includes an overall analysis of the use of language for every content related feature. Accordingly, diversity or universality measure the use of expert terminology, and comprehensibility aims to find the degree of readability. Finally, the *optical dimension* focuses on layout. The suitability of employed typography and colours is analyzed in terms of aesthetic quality and capacity to attract the audience's interest (Pöttker, 2000: 22-30; Pütz, 1994: 21-25; Schenk & Gralla, 1993: 10-11).

Hagen, on the contrary, widely acknowledged previous research by *NHK* and McQuail, in addition to that by Schatz and Schulz. However, he conducted a study on

news' information quality of items served by news agencies which implied a News Quality scale. Consequently, such a system established nine quality assessing criteria, likely to be described under four parameters: quantity, relevance, objectivity (attributes such as accuracy, transparency, factualness, balance, and diversity are stemmed from the research on objectivity), timeliness, and comprehensibility. Hagen verified the corroboration of the quality scale as a new form of content analysis, whose indicators stem directly from principles (Hagen, 1995a: 32-53, 273-274).

First of all, *quantity* (*Menge*) measured the amount of "linguistic information" contained in news agency material. It may respond to the specific duty of news supply. Accordingly, the total of employed words in every item (news report) may reflect any correlation with the number of facts described (Hagen, 1995a: 54-69, 270).

Secondly, *relevance* (*Relevanz*) in regarded according to two aspects. On the one hand, external relevance is assessed against reality indicators. For such a purpose, "social attributes" of information sources are highlighted. Consequently, experts' opinion is highly considered. However, it may indicate a problem of legitimacy or bias. Therefore, it should be crossed with balance indicators. On the other hand, internal relevance implies the idea of completeness. Traditional 5W's (e.g. *who, what, when, where, why* and *how –"Wie",* in German–) indicate the verification of facts. Reduction of complexity requires the exposition of causes and consequences of current issues. In the German literature, it has also been called the "seventh W": that of *Woher*, which means "*from where*" (Hagen, 1995a: 70-105, 270-272; Hagen, 1995b: 158-172).

Thirdly, derived from previous research on objectivity, Hagen combines the following assessing criteria: accuracy, transparency, factualness, balance and diversity. *Accuracy* (*Richtigkeit*) cross-examines the values of sources with the character of actors and the informational initiative. *Transparency* (*Transparenz*) evaluates the identification of sources. *Factualness* (*Sachlichkeit*) assesses the separation of news and comment on the basis of positive and negative connotations of employed verbs. *Balance* (*Ausgewogenheit*) weighs the matching of opinions, arguments, actors, sources and events or topics. *Diversity* (*Vielfalt*) only measures source heterogeneity (Hagen, 1995a: 105-128, 272-273).

Fourthly, *currency* (*Aktualität*) gathers precise significance in the context of information supply. News agencies must correctly communicate happenings or incidents as soon as they have occurred. For the assessment of such a specific purpose, currency is measured as the time space elapsing from the event until the first mention

(*Mittlerer Lag*) or until the first report (*Ereignis-Lag*). Furthermore, the average of factual errors is also emphasized (Hagen, 1995a: 128-129, 273).

Finally, comprehensibility (*Verständlichkeit*) is deemed as being easy to understand. Notwithstanding Flesch's readability formula employed in the USA is openly discarded[169], any other method pretending to rate readability becomes erratic. As a result, Hagen proposes to relate comprehensibility with topic diversity and informational initiative (Hagen, 1995a: 129-135, 273).

As a final point, last approach towards print News Quality took the form of Quality Assurance. Ruß-Mohl conceived a system where the professionalism criteria were reflected. The following benchmarks are believed to integrate the concept of professionalism: currency and relevance (*Aktualität/Relevanz*), objectivity and diversity (*Objektivität/Vielfalt*), originality (*Originalität*), reduction of complexity (*Komplexitätsreduktion*), interactivity (*Interaktivität*), as well as transparency and reflexivity (*Transparenz/Reflexivität*). The significance of such a system was reflected by the form it took: coined as the "Magic Polygon", it reflected the interactions among professionalism criteria in terms of "trade-offs". For instance, a more accurate report can only be reached at the expense of a lower level of reduction of complexity (background) or less originality (Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 92-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 106-110; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-347; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374-375).

First of all, *currency* and *relevance* are related to main newsworthiness criteria. Last versions of the Magic Polygon do not longer consider them as only one benchmark. Secondly, *objectivity* and *diversity* stand for factual happening and standpoint heterogeneity as their basis. Thirdly, *originality* is related to medium in the sense of Albers' categorisation of Programme Quality: that of the interrelation of form and content. Furthermore, journalist's own initiative on the search of information is promoted. Fourthly, *reduction of complexity* shares some indicators with objectivity criteria (e.g., fact verification and background), and it adds to clarity of the employed language. Fifthly, *interactivity* has been recently included, as a consequence of current Internet research. It pleads for a dialogue with the audience. Lastly, *transparency* and *reflexivity* allude to organizational features fighting opacity of business interests. Moreover, as a matter of independence, it demands a critical attitude towards information sources.

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[169] It will be explained in section 'd.3. North America: News Quality in the function of comercial profit'.

Chart No. 39 – Last Version of the Magic Polygon
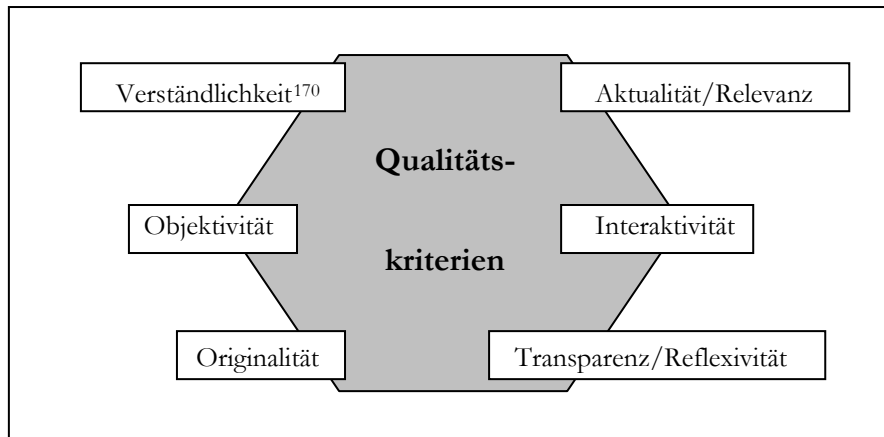
Source: Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 336).

Nevertheless, the Magic Polygon has constantly evolved since its creation. Last versions have not only included the interactivity criterion, but also the separation of currency and relevance. The following table explains every criterion and highlights the focus points that have remained unchanged since 1994.

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[170] It is designated as "Komplexitätsreduktion" (*reduction of complexity*) in previous and later works.

Table No. 47 – Evolution of the Criteria and Standards of the Magic Polygon

1994c	2002	2003a, 2005
CURRENCY/RELEVANCE[171]		
* Chronological currency (timeliness) of news report	* Time factor	**CURRENCY** * Temporal proximity to the event
* "Problem" currency (timeliness): importance, significance	* Priority factor	**RELEVANCE** * Meaning or "weight" of the event (topic for several audience targets)
OBJECTIVITY / DIVERSITY[172]		
* Fact verification	* Fact verification	* Fact verification
* Observation of the news values (selection proceedings)	* News selection criteria	_____
* Separation of facts and opinion	* Separation of facts and opinion	* Separation of facts and opinion
* Diversity of perspectives	* Diversity of perspectives	* Diversity of perspectives
* Fairness / Balance	* *Fair play*	* Fairness / Balance
* Background	* Background	* Background
ORIGINALITY		
* Medium incentive	* Medium incentive	* Medium incentive
* Own research / "Counter-information"	* Independent research from news agency information supply	* Exclusivity / percentage of personal research
REDUCTION OF COMPLEXITY[173]		
* Fact verification	* Accuracy – factualness	* Fact verification
* Comprehensibility (language, context information)	* Comprehensibility (language, context)	* Comprehensibility (clear language, necessary context information)
	* Simplification	* Appropriate simplification
INTERACTIVITY		
_____	_____	* Feedback / dialogue with the audience
TRANSPARENCY/REFLEXIVITY		
* Exposition of the reporting conditions	* Increase the research consciousness	* Exposition of the reporting conditions
* Source criticism	* Critical attitude towards information sources	* Source criticism
_____	_____	* Examine the media business and its editors

Source: Author, based on Ruß-Mohl (1994c: 96-97; 2002: 107; 2003a: 334-336; 2005: 374)[174].

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[171] It has integrated the concept of "Relevanz" since 2003 and it has been considered to be integrated by two criteria (those of *currency* and *relevance*) since 2005.

[172] It has included the "Vielfalt" (*diversity*) term since 2005.

[173] It was also known as "Verständlichkeit" in 2003.

[174] My translation from German and Italian.

d.2.3. Internet contributions

Traditional Internet evaluation measures allude to content, taking for granted the starting point of print media's quality research. First of all, the *correspondence between purpose and coverage* aims to satisfy communication needs of the intended audience. Objective standards try to determine whether the entire work is available or only some parts of it, whether the Web version offers additional information, such as back-dated issues, etc. Secondly, notwithstanding *authority* is a basic feature of websites evaluation, it is assumed that reputation may not be a "useful indicator of quality" for this purpose of media performance. Thirdly, *accuracy* is understood in line with facts. Fourthly, *currency and maintenance* refer to the length of time between the publication of the printed and electronic versions, as well as to up-dates, revisions and the indication of such tasks being undertaken. Finally, under the conception of "*other*", many technical issues were gathered, such as: presentation, search facility, index for the site, access to back issues, e-mail comments on articles, direct links into other electronic resources, availability of 'pdf' files of print version and its easy download, coherence between text and pictures in terms of hypertext's specific problems, and so on. German scholars' main contribution consisted in establishing a clear distinctive criterion to classify the attributes in the last group, namely "others". As a result, *technical quality* was assigned with questions about presentation and format, whereas *communicative quality* was in charge of the assessment of the interaction between technology and communication. Furthermore, such a categorisation shapes for previous research in other media fields, such as broadcasting and print outlets (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 87; Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 323-328; Barth, 2004: 206-210; Brandl, 2004: 238-240; Cooke, 1999: 98-104; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Neuberger et al., 2009c: 198-227).

d.2.4. Cross-media research

After Internet's cross-media approach, News Quality assessment was in need of an integral journalistic excellence system in order to evaluate several news outlets' performance on the basis of a particular methodology. On the one side, methodological research was developed by Internet Quality academics, who compiled previous News Quality research. Neuberger developed a framework for the literature review of print news. Quality criteria were assigned in accordance with the principle they were to indicate and, in the end, aimed to solve. Thus, he gathered main research works on

newspaper content quality, news agency supply of information and Quality Assurance according to three core principles: relevance, objectivity and interpretation. Such a framework happens to be also applicable to broadcasting and Internet News Quality research, as the following table exposes (Neuberger, 2004: 38; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 256-269).

Table No. 48 – German Scholars' News Quality Principles Review

| BROACASTING | | PRINT | | | | | | INTERNET | ENGLISH NOMEN-CLATURE |
| TV | RADIO | QUALITY ASSURANCE | | NEWSPAPERS | | | AGENCY | | |
Schatz & Schuz (1992)	Bucher & Barth (2003)	Ruß-Mohl (1994c, 2002, 2003a, 2005)	Wyss (2003)	Weber & Rager (1994)	Pöttker (2000)	Weischenberg (2003)	Hagen (1995a)	Barth (2004)	
RELEVANZPROBLEM									
	Aktualität	Aktualität	Aktualität	Aktualität	Aktualität		Aktualität	Aktualität	**Currency**
Relevanz	Relevanz	Relevanz	Relevanz	Relevanz	Vollständigkeit	Relevanz	Relevanz	Relevanz	**Relevance**
Vielfalt	Vielfalt		Vielfalt		Verschiedenartig-keit	Vielfalt	Vielfalt		**Diversity**
					Unabhängigkeit	Ausgewogenheit	Ausgewo-genheit		**Balance**
							Menge		**Quantity**
			Objektivität			Objektivität	Sachlichkeit		**Objectivity**
		Originalität			Unterhaltsamkeit				**Originality**
OBJEKTIVITÄTSPROBLEM									
Professio-nalität		Objektivität / Vielfalt	Richtigkeit	Richtigkeit	Richtigkeit	Genauigkeit	Richtigkeit		**Accuracy**
					Fairness				**Fairness**
					Unparteilichkeit				**Impartiality**
					Sorgfalt				**Accountability**
	Wahrheit und Wahrhaftig-keit	Transparenz / Reflexivität	Transparenz		Wahrhaftigkeit	Transparenz	Transparenz	Glaubwürdig-keit	**Transparency**
	Informativität							Informativität	**Informativeness**
INTERPRETATIONSPROBLEM									
	Verständ-lichkeit	Komplexitäts-reduktion	Verständ-lichkeit			Verständlichkeit	Verständ-lichkeit		**Reduction of complexity**
		Interaktivität	Vermittlung	Vermittlung					**Mediation**

Source: Author, based on Barth (2004: 205), Bucher & Barth (2003: 232-233), Hagen (1995a: 54-136), Hohlfeld (2003: 207), Neuberger (2004: 68-74), Pöttker (2000: 22-30), Ruß-Mohl (1994c: 96-97; 2002: 107; 2003a: 334-336; 2005: 374), Schatz & Schulz (1992: 692-711), Schirmer (2001: 68-74), Weber & Rager (1994: 1-15), Weischenberg (2003: 169), and Wyss (2003: 137), according to Neuberger's classification (2004: 38).

First of all, *relevance* indicators shared by researches appoint to currency, relevance (in the sense of prominence), diversity, balance, quantity and objectivity. Precisely, *objectivity* as a principle deals with accuracy, fairness, impartiality, accountability, transparency and informativeness. Finally, *interpretation* problems are believed to be solved throughout reduction of complexity and mediation (ib.).

Nevertheless, recent German works searching News Quality took the form of doctoral theses, which ground their roots in Schatz and Schulz's normative system and also share some features with other authors. To that extent, practical assessment has denoted the significance and applicability of News Quality frameworks. German scholars have analysed print articles (Schirmer), broadcasting news (Fahr, Maurer, Vehlow), and news agencies' material (Grüll) on the light of quality.

To start with, Schirmer has developed a system to evaluate the quality of headlines on the front-page of *Bild*. He has distinguished up to four assessing dimensions: content, form, language and journalistic quality. *Content* features refer to topic diversity and news factors. The *form* dimension evaluates headlines, text and images, as well as their correlation. *Language* mainly classifies headlines according to "stylistic deviances" (i.e. the abuse of exclamation calls, metaphors, alliteration, superlatives…). Finally, the assessment of *journalistic quality* relies on Rager's system, following the criteria of accuracy (6W's), currency (temporal timeliness) and relevance (in the sense of prominence: number of affected people). The consideration of ethics as another element of journalistic quality becomes erratic, since it mostly cannot offer measurable indicators ahead from those derived from the normative framework, such as: secrecy of intimate life, no discrimination, and lack of sensational treatment for medical news (Schirmer, 2001: 68-188; Weber & Rager, 1994: 1-15).

Secondly, studies on broadcasting News Quality relying on Schatz and Schulz's normative system are believed to evidence the operationalization of the system, notwithstanding their findings on quality are not generalizable, since each of them has focused on different broadcasting outlets' news and diverse main subjects. Three scholars have applied such a normative system. First, Fahr analysed conflict and catastrophic news' treatment in 2001. Later, Maurer (2005) and Vehlow (2006) have based their doctoral dissertations on broadcasting news (Daschmann, 2009a: 4-5; Fahr, 2001: 10-195; Maurer, 2005: 85-285; Vehlow, 2006: 25-154).

Fahr grounded his research on television news. He took, as sample, six channels' news programmes (*ARD, ZDF, RTL, SAT.1, ProSieben* and *VOX*) from January to March 1996. In addition to them, two well-considered newspapers were chosen to establish any possible convergence: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) and *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Daschmann, 2009a: 12; Fahr, 2001: 10-195).

Maurer carried out a content analysis of news programming in four German broadcasting channels, public and private ones (*RTL, Sat1, ARD* and *ZDF*). The sample consisted in two assessing calendar weeks in 1992, 1998 and 2001. Moreover, Maurer compared those data with the first pages of two newspapers: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ). His main results found that news quantity was higher in public broadcasting, while private corporations offered a greater thematic variety. He included some variations to the system by Schatz and Schulz, borrowed from Hagen[175] (Daschmann, 2009a: 17-19; Maurer, 2005: 85-285).

Vehlow conducted a study on late-night broadcasting news on the hypothesis that "they report comprehensive and up to date on the happenings of the day, in order to summarize the main events". He mainly applied Schatz and Schulz's normative system (Vehlow, 2006: 25-154).

Finally, Grüll has reviewed attention to news agencies' material. On the basis of Schatz and Schulz's system, as well as Hagen's works, news' elements at this stage much gather, in relation to text, the following features: objectivity, reliability, and currency, in addition to language and text components (Grüll, 2009: 22-92).

As a result, current researchers have measured News Quality according to indicators for the principles of diversity, relevance and professionalism. *Diversity* distinguishes four sorts of heterogeneity: journalistic genres, topics, place of origin, and actors. Schirmer's work draws attention to diversity throughout the concept of news factors. Each factor is assigned a punctuation in the context of beforehand established parameters. Maurer and Vehlow, however, analyze each standard individually.

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[175] Maurer is the only current researcher who has measured the amount of news.

Table No. 49 – Indicators for Diversity

Schirmer (2001)		Fahr (2001)	Maurer (2005)				Vehlow (2006)	
1.- Content	a.- Topic diversity	Topic diversity and convergence	1.- Structural diversity	a. - Genre			1.- Diversity of design (genre)	
				b.- Type of news				
			2.- Content diversity	a. - Topics	i. - News sections		2.- Topic diversity	a .- Variety of topics
					ii.- The thematic diversity within the political reporting			b .- Variety of subjects
	b.- News factors: i.- Place relevance			b.- Spatial connection	i. – Amount of news origin places			c .- Other aspects of the topic diversity: i. - Range of topics and event location ii. - Event type
	ii.- Factualness							
	iii.- Non-foreseeable events				ii.- Crossing of actors and places			
	iv.- Amount of affected people							
	v.- Controversy	Diversity of perspectives						iii. - Emphasis: neutral, good, bad news
	vi.- Prominence	Diversity of actors		c.-Actors			3.- Actor diversity	a.- Role: no player, major player; protagonist, secondary actor
		Diversity of meaningful objects			i. – Amount of actors			b.- Amount and subject of actors in the news broadcasts
	vii.- Influence				ii.- Social representation			c.- Representation: individual, representative of an organization, group, institution
	viii.- Personalization							

Source: Author, based on Fahr (2001: 76-82; 107-135), Maurer (2005: 85-285), Schirmer (2001: 68-188), and Vehlow (2006: 25-154)[176].

Prominence is understood as "significance", on behalf of the informed citizen model. Schirmer has included relevance in the journalistic quality criteria. However,

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[176] My translation from German.

Maurer and Vehlow, in order to measure it, have assessed relevance in concordance with other criteria, such as total amount of information, length and placement. Moreover, it becomes highly recommended to compare several media's coverage.

Table No. 50 – Indicators for Relevance

Schirmer (2001)	Fahr (2001)	Maurer (2005)	Vehlow (2006)

Interaction of topics and actors	1.- Scope and weight of topics		1.- Scope of reporting on relevant topics:
			    a. - Summary of the distribution of relevance
			    b. - The proportion of reports on issues relevant to the transmission time of the evening news broadcasts

		1.- Ranking of topics relevant in broadcasting and comparison to the relevant topics in the print news	2.- Length of contributions on relevant topics
	2.- Consonance of publication decisions		3.- Placement of reviews on relevant topics

	3.- Consonance of topics' observance	2.- Overlap of programmes in the reporting on relevant topics	4.- Consonance of coverage:
			    a.- Topic in all programmes of the day; Topic in five items of the day - Topic in a show of the day
			    b.- Consonance reporting: Number of programmes that report on the same topic

Source: Author, based on Fahr (2001: 46-57; 100-107), Maurer (2005: 85-285), Schirmer (2001: 68-188), and Vehlow (2006: 25-154)[177].

Finally, *professionalism* is the key concept of News Quality. It deals with content and, accordingly, it applies to the research arena that Rager had coined as "journalistic quality". Providing Schatz and Schulz's legality framework has not been practically developed, such an assessment system lacks the indicators for McQuail's principle of cohesive order. As a matter of fact, Rager's conception of journalistic quality understood in terms of professionalism may only allude to the principles of freedom and equality.

Professionalism entails journalistic basic features, such as currency, accuracy and balance. Cross-media assessment has also led to take into consideration not only the appropriateness of the employed language, but also the interaction of text and image.

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[177] My translation from German.

Table No. 51 – Indicators for Professionalism

Schirmer (2001)	Fahr (2001)	Maurer (2005)	Vehlow (2006)
TIMELINESS / CURRENCY	**PROFESSIONALISM**	**PROFESSIONALISM**	**PROFESSIONALISM / OBJECTIVITY**
1.- Currency	*1.- Objectivity* — a.- Currency: * current or archive images		a.- Timeliness of contributions: current / not current
ACCURACY			
2.- Position Diversity — a.- 6W's	b.- Completeness (6W's)	1.- Completeness	*1.- Content* — b.- Completeness and accuracy of reporting (6W's)
b.- Diversity of controversial positions	c.- Balance: i.- Topic diversity ii.- Diversity of perspectives iii.- Diversity of actors	2.- Balance: a. - The distribution of attention: political party as actors b.- Evaluation of political party as actors	c.- Neutral Reporting: i.- Emotionali-sation in coverage ii.- Neutrality
	d.- Neutrality: * Instrumentality	3.- Neutrality: a. - Lack of separation of statement makers (journalists and non-journalists) b.- Separation of fact and opinion	
c.- Identification of sources of information	e.- Accuracy: i.- Transparency: identification of sources ii.- Comparison with reality according to statistics	4.- Accuracy	d.- Source transparency: i.- Safe and unsafe sources ii.- Explicit reference to sources
d.- Causality	*2.- Analytical Q.* — a.- Actors' prominence b.- Speech: declarative, directive, *kommisiv*, or expressive c.- Number of arguments		e.- Background information
3.- Form — a.- Stylistic devices in the headlines (direct speech, exclamation call, metaphor, alliteration, superlative…) b.- Lead c.- Headline d.- Use and formal meaning of images			f.- Quality of writing (O-Tones, Reporters on the image…)
	3.- Formal professionalism — a.- Lay out: i.- Visual diversity ii.- Visual content		*2.- Formal professionalism* — a.- Plausibility of contributions: i.- Logical internal presentation of the facts
			b.- Clarity of presentation (graphic elements): i. - Background Design Presenter / Narrator ii. - Overview of contributions with graphical processing iii. - Moderation / spokesperson reports with visual support in the background
			c.- Graphical contributions
e.- Connection between headline and image	b.- Text-image correspondence		d.- Text and image
			e.- Formal errors i.- Technical errors in the broadcast message ii.- Errors of the moderator
			Contributions — a.- Repetition in the main news broadcasts i.- Same news report broadcast in the main news iii.- Slight contribution, different in the main news

Source: Author, based on Fahr (2001), Maurer (2005), Schirmer (2001), and Vehlow (2006)[178].

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[178] My translation from German.

Germans have developed the most extensive system of principles and criteria discussion on News Quality assessment. Nevertheless, having laid aside the questions of legality has entailed a lack of social commitment. German scholars have mainly focused on relevance and professionalism. Yet, German literature has explicitly acknowledged media's intentional performance (Wallisch, 1995: 163-170).

d.3. North America: News Quality in the function of commercial profit

News Quality research in the USA has been linked to business success, taking for granted the assumption that such an extent is "somehow profitable". Accordingly, content became a key issue to compare different corporations in terms of News Quality: let it be big and small companies, professional and non-professional newspapers etc. Such a research began in late 1970s. Main contributors were Bogart, Lacy & Fico and Gladney, as already explained. Their research has been recently reviewed. On the one hand, Meyers' Quality Project has drawn attention back to the relation between content and profit[179]. On the other, the Project for Excellence in Journalism, run by Kovach and Rosenstiel, has recovered interest in quality, in the role of gaining credibility. Similarly, both projects were first settled down as an on-line community and, later, the conclusions of their findings were published in a book (Bodle, 1996: 672-681; Bogart, 2004: 40-52; Gladney, 1990: 58-66; Gladney, 1996: 319-327; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2003; Lacy, 1989: 40-48; Lacy & Fico, 1990: 42-54; Meyer, 2004b).

The Quality Project supervised by Meyer focuses on the relation between content and profit. It measured the following content related aspects of News Quality: credibility, accuracy/errors, readability, and editors' role. Regardless the isolated application of some criteria under other News Quality assessment methods, Meyer's approach does not configure an assessing method. To start with, *credibility* is believed to be "statistically significant", especially in advertisement. However, it is acknowledged that "credibility is probably not the only component of influence, but it's a good place to start". Accordingly, based on previous research in the USA, Meyer establishes a Credibility Index to measure believability, consistent of five indicators and their

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[179] Classical American research bibliography for "News Quality and credibility: their relation to profit and circulation" is available at the Quality Project: <http://www.unc.edu/~pmeyer/Quality_Project/ bibliography_news_quality_and_credibility_thorson.pdf> [Last retrieved: 12/12/2009].

opposites: fair/unfair, unbiased/biased, tells the whole story/doesn't tell the whole story, accurate/inaccurate, and can be trusted/can't be trusted. As Meyer connects credibility with community focus, the Credibility Index is complemented with four-item index of community affiliation: patriotic/unpatriotic, concerned about the community's well-being/not concerned about the community's well-being, concerned mainly about the public interest/concerned mainly about making profits, and watches out after your interests/does not watch out after your interests (Meyer, 2004a: 65-76; The Quality Project)[180].

Secondly, the *accuracy/errors* approach evaluates spelling, mathematical and factual errors, on a 0-7 scale. Meyer found that accuracy only improves both, circulation robustness and population credibility, on small direct effects. The main influence, in terms of profitable productivity, happened to be source credibility (Meyer, 2004a: 83-108).

Thirdly, *readability* is traditionally assessed in the USA according to Rudolf Flesch's formula, as articulated in 1949:

$$\textit{Reading Ease Score} = 206{,}835 - 1{,}015(\text{x SL}) - 0{,}846 \ (\text{x NS})$$

SL represents the "average number of words per sentence" and NS is the "number of syllables per 100 words". The formula yields a measure from 0 to 100, "where 0 is practically impossible to read, and 100 is easy for any literate person". Furthermore, two other precisions evaluate average readability. A 70-80 score expresses "an accessible text to persons who read at the sixth grade level", whereas 30-50 points result implies "some college education is required" in order to understand the text properly (Bodle, 1996: 672-678; Meyer, 2004a: 109-123).

Finally, under the notion of *editor's role* his/her impact on content is measured, according to the following criteria: localism, editorial vigour, illustration and interpretation, and the quantity of news. Firstly, *localism* is geographically defined and, thus, it turned out not to be "correlated with either penetration or robustness". Instead, "staff-writing" coding approach is believed to denote a consistency with local/community news. Secondly, *editorial vigour* is evaluated according to Ralph

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[180] The Quality Project (last update took place in 2004, coincident with the publication of Meyer's *The Vanishing Newspaper* book): <www.unc.edu/~pmeyer/Quality_Project/index.html> [Last retrieved: 12/12/2009].

Thrift's index, whose main elements are: localism ("it takes more vigour to discuss local matters that your readers know about"), controversy ("editorials that examine matters on which local citizens disagree are more vigorous than those on which there is consensus"), argumentation ("the vigorous editorial writer will pick a side, lay out its case, and let you know where the newspaper stands"), and mobilizing information ("people who are persuaded by the argument will need to know what they can do about it"). However, editorial vigour was found helpless to predict household penetration or circulation robustness. Thirdly, *illustration and interpretation* aimed to find a correlation with readability. Such a connection was found inexistent, whereas the number of illustrations was correlative to the number of interpretative stories. Lastly, *quantity of news* is grounded on the assumption that "a good newspaper should contain more news than a bad one". Nevertheless, such an extent can only be measured on the long time (Meyer, 2004a: 124-144).

On the contrary, the Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ), funded in 1997, is "a research organization dedicated to trying to understand the performance of the news media and the revolution transforming information". On a weekly basis, PEJ publishes the report of *News Coverage Index*. It measures what is being covered and not covered in the American media (nearly 45 broadcasting, print and online media). The News Coverage Index consists mainly in monitoring on topic diversity, based on "newshole" (the space or time devoted to each story). The News Interest Index assesses "the public's response to the stories identified in the News Coverage Index" (Buendía Hegewisch et al., 2006: 69-70; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2003: 21-46; PEJ[181]). As a matter of fact, PEJ focuses on professional fairness and it explicitly denies commercial success as main approach:

> "Un periodismo en el que toda noticia tiene como objetivo conseguir la mayor audiencia posible deja fuera a la mayor audiencia posible." (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2003: 41).

PEJ research on Broadcasting Quality has been largely applied by later scholars. Such research found five story elements required for high quality television: community relevance, significance and information, journalistic enterprise, balance, authoritativeness, and sensationalism. First of all, *community relevance* alludes to the fact that stories should be relevant to the local community. Reporting has been categorised

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[181] Project for Excellence in Journalism: <www.journalism.org> [Last retrieved: 12/12/2009].

as "local interest stories, non-local stories with local impact explained, and non-local stories without local impact explained". The story has also been measured, in the function of which audience segments or minorities it may affect. Secondly, *significance and information* highlights that stories should focus on significant events or hard news. There are two ways to detect soft news: evaluating topic diversity (giving preference to classical important issues, and measuring neutral-sensational tone. Thirdly, *journalistic enterprise* is defined as "the effort put in disseminating news to the maximum number of audience/viewers/readers in informative and expressive ways". Accordingly, external stories are distinguished from in-house reports: the former are believed to imply a lower effort than generating the latter. As a result, stories should be based on investigative and original reporting. Fourthly, *fairness*[182] *and balance* states that stories should reflect fair and balanced reporting with multiple viewpoints. Two variables come across: the number of sources used for a report and the amount of viewpoints provided in a story, taking for granted that "more sources mean more points of view". Lastly, *authoritativeness* establishes that stories should include information from authoritative sources. Consequently, sources are categorised as anonymous, personal, major actor in the story, expert (out of camera/on camera), authoritative and first-hand. Those five factors are reduced to a 0-1 range, which allows statistical comparability as well as independent testing (Huang et al., 2004: 79-88; Just & Belt, 2004: 4-7; Pursell, 2003: 1).

Authoritativeness is already a fixed indicator every Internet assessment methodology relies on. The evaluation of electronic journals, magazines and news websites is based on authoritativeness and some print media's assessment related concepts, such as: accuracy, currency, unbiased, depth or coverage, and presentation. Parallel to that extent, those indicators are also regarded as message credibility[183] factors, let it be to assess broadcast, print or Internet media. However, scholars have recently left trustworthiness aside of message credibility features and relate it only to

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[182] The notion of **fairness** is widely extended in the USA, since it is considered a key concept for credibility, as already explained. Moreover, **fairness** itself has been equalized to quality itself. Jay Rosen established the following formula: $A + B + C + D + E = F$

Where A is for *accuracy*, B for *balance*, C for *criticism*, D for *demonstrability* or *detachment*, E for *ethics*, and F for *fairness* (Meneses Fernández, 2006: 83; Puente et al., 2001: 114).

[183] **Message credibility** analyses "the characteristics of messages that could make them more or less credible." (Metzger et al., 2003: 296)

source credibility[184], since message and source credibility may seem overlapping concepts (Abdulla et al., 2002: 1-15; Alexander & Tate, 1999: 87; Bucy, 2003: 248; Cooke, 1999: 98-104; Flanagin & Metzger, 2000: 521-522; Flanagin & Metzger, 2007: 320-327; Gaziano & McGrath, 1986: 451-462; López Ornelas et al., 2005: 133-134; Meyer, 2004a: 65-76; Metzger et al., 2003: 302-306; Wathen & Burkell, 2002: 135-137).

To conclude, leaving aside system theories often applied to journalism, Fengler and Ruß-Mohl have recently drawn attention to the economics of journalism. Such a conception of economics aims to explain human behaviour, "employing the assumption that individuals behave rationally". Based on the rational choice theory[185], those scholars reject the notion of immutable "media system" as a model of individual behaviour. However, they decline the classical conception of *homo oeconomicus* provided by the rational choice theory: fully informed, but ignorant of transaction costs and particularly selfish in relation to what acting ignorant of all social costs may cause. Consequently, the notion of modern *homo oeconomicus maturus* shapes for the application of economics to journalism, since the latter acts "in a much more human way". Although the *homo oeconomicus maturus* determines his actions "by his desires and by restrictions limiting his space of action", he "systematically" reacts to incentives. In interactions, he takes part for cooperation or defection. Moreover, "his rational behaviour may include altruistic decisions", which clearly differentiate him from classical *homo oeconomicus*. The modern agent appears "integrated in communities and accepting their social norms". Accordingly, the term "bound rationality" appeals to satisfaction, rather than maximization of goal accomplishment. The application of such a model to newsrooms is asserted to help to understand "better than other paradigms", amongst others, "the logic of individual and collective action in journalism". Grounding on this model, Fengler and Ruß-Mohl classify three media markets: the trade between news agencies and media; the commerce of news and entertainment for audience targets, and the results of those audience data confronting advertisers' investment. Hence, such an approach highlights the economic connotation of news values,

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[184] **Source credibility** has been traditionally defined as "the judgements made by a perceiver concerning the believability of a communicator". It differs from **media credibility**, which designates "the relative believability of particular forms of communications" (ib.).

[185] The **rational choice theory** is the dominant theoretical paradigm in microeconomics, which establishes that individuals reason before taking an action, that is to say, costs are balanced against benefits. It is alluded to 'rationality' (Kirchgässer, 2008: 69-70).

according to the news selection process (Fengler & Ruß-Mohl, 2005; Kirchgässer, 2008: 11-24; Ruß-Mohl, 2006b: 189-195). Therefore, classical *5W's* "helping editors making decisions" turn out to be:

> * "**Who** cares about a particular piece of information?
> * **What** are they willing to pay to find it, or what are others willing to pay to reach them?
> * **Where** can media outlets or advertisers reach these people?
> * **When** is it profitable to provide the information?
> * **Why** is this profitable?" (Ruß-Mohl, 2006b: 194).

However, the point is whether media trade fits in the conception of asymmetric information markets or not. Economists refer to *asymmetric information markets* to explain the trades where "buyers have much less information about the product quality than the sellers". Such a concept was first formulated in 1970 by Akerlof, who jointly received the Nobel Prize in Economic with Spence and Stiglitz "for their analyses of markets with asymmetric information". Since quality is related to uncertainty, purchasers cannot properly judge the excellence of a given product. Accordingly, "their willingness to pay for the product is low" and, as far as sellers are concerned, they are likely to "offer products of low quality –the so-called lemons[186]–" at the same price as good merchandises, because the base for prospective purchases relies on market statistics and not on an isolated sale. It is believed to incentive low quality deals, due to the fact that "the returns for good quality accrue mainly to the entire group whose statistic is affected rather than to the individual seller". Therefore, both the average quality of goods and the size of the market diminish. The higher probability to pay for low quality products at good merchandise's average price, the more buyers' willingness to purchase will decrease. As a result, "those sellers who intend to offer quality at a higher price" will be drive out of business. Notwithstanding not all media markets are asymmetric information markets, Fengler and Ruß-Mohl find it useful to "identify which of them actually are", so that journalistic quality resources and investment could efficiently concentrate on them. In fact, brand names "counteract the effects of quality uncertainty": they indicate quality and they also give the consumer "a means of retaliation if the quality does not meet expectations" for future purchases (Akerlof,

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[186] Akerlof explained this theory in the context of used cars. Owing carelessly used cars are called "lemons" in the USA, asymmetric information markets are also known as "markets for lemons" (Akerlof, 1970: 489).

1970: 488-500; Fengler & Ruß-Mohl, 2005; Kirchgässer, 2008: 59-86; Nobel Prize[187]; Ruß-Mohl, 2006b: 196).

Ruß-Mohl considers such an economical approach suits the best current trends in media performance. The *homo oeconomicus* is alleged to be "omnipresent", especially in the "tyranny of small decisions". As public broadcasting corporations compete with private organizations, they can no longer "neglect the market forces". Consequently, they have to justify the huge amount of money they spend also in terms of audience ratings. Economists refer to "a shift of goals" to explain "the result of an infinitesimal number of those small decisions" in the long run. Those small decisions explain trends in current media performance, such as closing down foreign first-hand correspondents' offices and replace their reports with "news devoted to car accidents, sports coverage, or sex and crime stories" (Fengler & Ruß-Mohl, 2005 ; Ruß-Mohl, 2006b: 196-204).

With regard to times of crisis und social uncertainty, as already explained, citizens move towards hard news. Nevertheless, as recently appointed, it may occur that well-known reference media had previously been pushed out of the marketplace, owe to internal restructurings. Hence, if media markets offer low quality news at the price of high quality, whereas cheaper tabloid content media are spreading, they may be considered lemon markets. As a result, internal restructuring reduces the size of high quality news market and, in the meantime, it reduces the economical viability of high quality media, which may be expelled from the marketplace. Therefore, it is argued that "economic theory provides even lucid explanations for the behaviour of those very institutions in journalism that were created to counterbalance the market forces". Although the *homo oeconomicus* and *asymmetric information market* approaches do not conform a methodology to assess News Quality, they both highlight the fact that improving it and making advertisers aware of the profitability of commercial promotion in high quality media can prevent being driven out of the news marketplace (Fengler & Ruß-Mohl, 2005; Frewer et al., 2002: 368-371; Ruß-Mohl, 2006a: 1; Ruß-Mohl, 2006b: 196-204).

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[187] Nobel Prize: <http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/2001/index.html> [Last retrieved: 14/12/2009].

d.4. South America: News Quality in the context of media communication

Researchers from the Chilean Catholic University have launched in the 1990s News Quality evaluation method called VAP (acronym for "Valor Agregado Periodístico", *Journalistic Aggregated Value*). First approaches derived from the USA commercial tradition. Basic goals consisted in distinguishing soft and hard news, measuring topic diversity and relevance on the front page, and assessing news values in terms of deontological practice (De Fontcuberta, 1999: 61-69; Gutiérrez Coba 2001; Pellegrini, 1999: 49-55; Pellegrini, 1995; Puente et al., 2001: 116-118; Téramo, 2006b: 15-16).

VAP consists of several parameters of non-public diffusion[188], which measure the "capacity" of journalists to process and elaborate professional information "without distorting reality". Its principal contribution lies on incorporating the newsmaking approach to News Quality assessment (De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 48-51; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 9-23; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 32-34; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006a: 42-47; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 16; Puente et al., 2001: 114-120; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 101-103). Accordingly, parameters were arbitrarily gathered on behalf of two main journalistic processes: that of news selection and the other, elaboration.

> "La selección de las variables de los estudios de calidad periodística se fundamenta en la experiencia recogida en los cursos 'Políticas de Información' dictado por la profesora Silvia Pellegrini, 'Criterios de Calidad Informativa', por la profesora Francisca Alessandri y por investigaciones cuantitativas en las que ha participado el professor William Porath. En esos cursos se ha desarrollado un marco teórico en torno a la calidad informativa y se han determinado variables que permiten evaluar la calidad de los medios de información." (Puente et al., 2001: 116-117)

VAP's major significance depends on its extended application in Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Peru. Cross-national assessment relies on a particular result out of measurable scales, in order to compare several news outlets, despite the fact that it is not public knowledge either. VAP has already evaluated print and television news. Such a shift in cross-media assessment made available a more complete News Quality content analysis. As a matter of fact, distinction between soft and hard news has been definitely laid aside in the name of current news typology. Similarly, front page appraisal

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[188] "[…] El producto final de la investigación Fondecyt [Proyecto Fondecyt Nº 1030996: "Establecimiento, validación y análisis de criterios para medir calidad informativa: 'Valor Agregado Periodístico' en diarios y noticiarios de televisión chilenos en perspectiva comparada"] fue una ficha [ficha VAP-UC], que incluye 50 variables distintas para analizar prensa y 54 para televisión, y que se encuentra inscrita ante el Departamento de Derechos Intelectuales (inscripción número 137.956). Treinta y cuatro variables evalúan el proceso de selección, 20 buscan medir la etapa de creación para televisión, y 16 para prensa." (Puente et al., 2003-2004: 104-105)

does not shape for any predetermined scale. Accordingly, assessment of topic diversity and its correlation with appropriate placement of contents (as well as correlated with treatment in inner pages) has been generally examined on its own. Once again, diversity may play a transversal role in quality assessment (Buendía Hegewisch et al., 2006: 61; De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 51-54; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 50-122; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 31-54; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006a: 41-47; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 105-112; Téramo, 2006a: 62-79).

As a result, current VAP methodology is defined as follows:

> "El **VAP** es una metodología –que reúne los criterios para la medición de calidad periodística– que apunta a calificar (evaluar) la calidad del valor agregado de una información (noticia) respecto del grado de cumplimiento de parámetros preestablecidos, sobre la base de lo que un determinado medio es capaz de hacer y –efectivamente– logra hacer." (De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 47-48)

Notwithstanding public knowledge on VAP parameters is limited, most works have outlined the following indicators:

Table No. 52 – Evolution of VAP Parameters

DIMENSIONS	Puente et al. (2001)	Puente et al. (2003-2004)	De La Torre & Téramo (2004)	Gutiérrez Coba (2006)	Téramo (2006b)
PROCESO DE SELECCIÓN					
Selectividad de la noticia	Tipo de noticia (soft - hard)	Tipo de noticia (actual - atemporal)	Tipo de noticia (actual - atemporal)	Tipo de noticia (actual - atemporal)	Tipo de noticia (actual - atemporal)
	Origen de la información	Origen de la información (indefinido, de la fuente, reproducción, iniciativa del medio)	Origen de la información (indefinido, de la fuente, reproducción, iniciativa del medio)	Origen de la información (indefinido, de la fuente, reproducción, iniciativa del medio)	Origen de la información (indefinido, de la fuente, reproducción, iniciativa del medio)
	Relevancia de la noticia (proximidad y consecuencia)	Relevancia de la noticia (proximidad y consecuencia: estatus de los actores involucrados, su número, relevancia por consecuencia, relevancia temporal y otra)	Relevancia de la noticia (proximidad y consecuencia: proximidad emocional, proximidad geográfica, relevancia por consecuencia)	Relevancia de la noticia (cercanía geográfica, estatus de los actores involucrados y rareza)	Relevancia de la noticia (cercanía geográfica, estatus de los actores involucrados y rareza)
	————	Impacto socio-emocional (cercanía, factor humano o su rareza)			
Nivel de acceso a las fuentes	Fuentes (número, tipo, nivel de fuente y aporte informativo)	Fuentes (número, tipo, nivel de fuente y aporte informativo)	Fuentes (número, tipo, nivel de fuente y aporte informativo)	Fuentes (número, tipo, nivel de fuente y aporte informativo)	Fuentes (número, tipo, nivel de fuente y aporte informativo)
Equidad informativa	Criterios de objetividad	————	Presencia del protagonista y/o antagonista	Presencia del protagonista y/o antagonista	Presencia del protagonista y/o antagonista
	————	Pauta informativa (originalidad y, en particular, su diversidad)	Pauta informativa	Pauta informativa (principales temáticas y ubicación en portada)	Pauta informativa (principales temáticas, ubicación en portada y jerarquización)

		PROCESO DE CREACIÓN			
Estilo	Nivel narrativo: foco, estructura (pirámide invertida, cronológica o mixta), adjetivación y verbos de atribución	Nivel narrativo (prensa) y aporte de tomas al hecho (televisión): estructura, elementos gráficos	Estructura (pirámide invertida, cronológica, mixta o entrevista), nivel narrativo (trascripción o procesamiento), elementos gráficos	Estructura (pirámide invertida, cronológica, mixta o entrevista), nivel narrativo (trascripción o procesamiento), elementos gráficos	Estructura (pirámide invertida, cronológica, mixta o entrevista), nivel narrativo (trascripción o procesamiento), uso de adjetivos, verbos de atribución y aporte gráfico específico (fotografías, infografías, gráficos)
Contenido	Contextualización	Contextualización (datos comprobables)	Contextualización (datos comprobables)	Contextualización (datos comprobables)	Contextualización (datos comprobables)
	————	Elementos de contexto (antecedentes, consecuencia y observación periodística)	Elementos de contexto (antecedentes, consecuencia)	Elementos de contexto (antecedentes, consecuencia)	Elementos de contexto (observación periodística)
		————	————	————	Tratamiento o alcance
					Comprensibilidad
Enfoque	Énfasis: enfoque principal	Costo-beneficio, conflicto, descripción-información, interés humano, responsabilidad, ideas	Conflicto, interés humano, trascendencia	Costo-beneficio, conflicto, descripción-información (5W's), interés humano, asignación de responsabilidades	Costo-beneficio, conflicto, descripción-información, interés humano, asignación de responsabilidades
	————	Puntos de vista (sólo uno, uno con referencia a otra versión, mezcla de puntos de vista)	————	Puntos de vista (sólo uno, uno con referencia a otra versión, mezcla de puntos de vista)	Puntos de vista (sólo uno, uno con referencia a otra versión, mezcla de puntos de vista)
	————	Hechos, opiniones o especulaciones	Hechos, opiniones o especulaciones	Hechos, opiniones o especulaciones	————

Source: Author, based on Puente et al. (2001: 116-120), Puente et al. (2003-2004: 103-109), De La Torre & Téramo (2004: 50-122), Gutiérrez Coba (2006: 37-54), and Téramo (2006b: 17-70).

Although parameters have remained as their initial designation, main changes have been influenced by German scholars' works. For instance, the degree of factualness (facts or speculation), as well as completeness on reporting (6W's), are not longer considered under the approach *enfoque*, as a dimension of the elaboration process. The degree of factualness is a matter of selection, in spite of its later comparison with balance indicators to measure relevance. Completeness on reporting, moreover, alludes to "fact verification" according to 5W's, which are at present discussed to be six or seven (De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 51-54; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 14-17; Téramo, 2006b: 54-57).

Nowadays, VAP parameters are said to have been corroborated by three focus groups (held in 2003) where audience, journalists and editors took part (Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 16; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 110-111). Accordingly, News Quality assessing concepts rely on *relevance, clarity of style* and *proximity*:

> "De este modo, los participantes reconocieron, en lo esencial, las mismas variables que se utilizaron en el instrumento de medición.
> Tanto los resultados de la aplicación de la ficha VAP-UC a contenidos de los medios, como la discusión generada en los *focus groups*, nos sugieren que el instrumento desarrollado por los investigadores está constituido por estándares periodísticos que son transversales a la academia, los profesionales y el público." (Puente et al., 2003-2004: 111)

Chilean researchers have followed McQuail's approach on quality definition "in the public interest" from the moment *Media Performance* (1992) was translated into Spanish in 1998. Recently, in the 2000s, they have also incorporated German academics' findings to their works. They have been especially influenced by Hagen's studies on the quality of information supplied by news agencies, although Schatz and Schulz's normative system has been unanimously accepted. German influence has moved quality discussion into terms of deriving indicators from journalistic principles, in an attempt to reduce subjectivity in research. As a result, a system of journalistic information quality indicators (CIP, acronym for "Calidad para la Información Periodística") has been proposed to channel guidance on behalf of quality improvement (De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 58-60; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 32-34; Puente et al., 2001: 114-115; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 101-103; Téramo, 2006a: 75-76).

Table No. 53 – Journalistic Information Quality Indicators (CIP)

Estándares CIP	Objetivos	Indicadores
1.- Confiabilidad	Observar el pluralismo de la información periodística	* Cantidad de fuentes * Autoridad de las fuentes
2.- Relevancia	Observar la importancia de la información periodística	* Grado de impacto sobre la población (cantidad de afectados) * Situación de los actores de la noticia (estatus)
3.- Interés	Observar proximidad de la información periodística	* Cercanía sobre población objetiva del medio
4.- Proporción	Si a más impacto (relevancia)/proximidad (IP), más espacio o tiempo (E)	* Extensión/FIP (Impacto, Proximidad)
5.- Adecuación	Observar la contextualización	* Cantidad de antecedentes * Cantidad de consecuencias
6.- Transparencia	Si el encuadre es el adecuado al tema	* Marcos de la información (enfoques) desde el *framing*
7.- Precisión	Corrección lingüística	* Lenguaje apropiado para esa información
8.- Claridad	Observar el orden oracional / la gramaticalidad	* Aplicación del índice de Flesch
9.- Integración	Observar el uso de imágenes en relación con textos	* Cantidad y calidad técnica de imágenes que no sean redundantes del texto
10.- Incidencia	Observar la correspondencia con público	* PCP[189] y aplicación de indicadores desde la teoría de la *agenda setting*[190]

Source: De La Torre & Téramo (2007: 59), and Téramo (2006a: 76).

Over half of those indicators are currently used as VAP parameters: those related to information sources, degree of impact, actors, proximity, context (causes and consequences), appropriate use of language and adequate graphic elements. However, some of the proposed standards cannot be measurable as content analysis indicators. For instance, the quality literature mostly agrees that Flesch's readability index is not reliable to evaluate the internal coherence of specific writing structures, such as the inverted pyramid formula, since it offers no priority to journalistic constructions on behalf of formal requirements (i.e. amount of syllables and words). Similarly, the intentionality of media performance on social issues is explained as a public demand: "good journalistic products are expected, amongst others, to reflect the community they belong to". Such a principle may shape for McQuail's cohesive order, as a core

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[189] Contemporary VAP research has focused on audience perception of News Quality. Whereas in Argentina it is known as PCP (acronym for Percepción de la Calidad del Producto Periodístico, that is to say, *Perception on the Quality of Journalistic Output*), Chilean research has been called Mediatrix. Moreover, its inclusion in this system as another criterion has been considered misleading, since it mixes content analysis with perception studies (Buendía Hegewisch et al., 2006: 61-63; De La Torre & Téramo, 2007: 58-60; De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 132-195; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006a: 43; Vera, 2004: 93-94).

[190] **Agenda setting** is based on the assertion that audience can be large influenced by the significance media give to certain issues (McCombs, 1993: 58-67; McCombs, 1972: 176-187; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: 10-17).

value of Western modern societies. However, no measurable indicator for content analysis is offered (De la Torre & Téramo, 2007: 49-51; Montesi, 2006: 117-122).

d.5 Social concern on News Quality

Notwithstanding any selection and elaboration of news inherently implies a determinate degree of intrinsic ideological result, some scholars' News Quality assessment has focused on media performance's intentionality. First of all, researchers of the Chile State University have formulated a critical-structural analysis to evaluate News Quality (Digón Regueiro, 2005: 2-8; Vera, 2004: 80-82; Vera et al., 2004a: 10-25). It focuses on the features of cohesive order, as formulated by McQuail:

> "Por ello entendemos que la información periodística tiene una función cultural, ideológica, *cognitiva* en tanto administra entendimientos de la realidad, y se la debe entender dentro del proceso de la *construcción social de la realidad*, como una actividad que media la propia intersubjetividad social y opera como *principio de constitución de la realidad*." (Vera, 2004: 79-80)

As a result, consensus on social control is assessed throughout content analysis. The critical-structural analysis measures indexable indicators, gathered under the dimensions of general structure, as well as that of actors and scenes. Variables for *general structure* measure the amount of news, geographical area, distribution of journalistic genres, and number of topics involved. Standards for *actors and scenes* evaluate actors' role (protagonist, secondary actor or antagonist), treatment on reporting (favourable, unfavourable or neutral), relation between actors and topics and, finally, actors' correlation with topics and journalistic genres (McQuail, 1992: 237-262; Vera, 2004: 95-105; Vera et al., 2004a: 9-11).

Such a system is defined as ideal for cross-media assessment. As a matter of fact, it is less labour intense than reading out processes of framing. Moreover, indexable indicators may be compatible with News Quality research methods, which lack the measurement of indicators for the principle of cohesive order:

> "El análisis crítico-estructural realizado, detecta bien los componentes-atributos de las noticias de los diarios y permite relaciones-combinaciones de significado, que entregan códigos para una lectura ideológica de los diarios y obtener metainformación." (Vera et al., 2004a: 23)

Secondly, Argentinean researchers have targeted the question of social values in their assessment of broadcasting News Quality. Whereas the critical-structural analysis measured media output, studies pretending to judge "socially appreciated values" entail

the arbitrary designation of such ideals beforehand. Notwithstanding "justice", "truth" and "respect", in addition to the rejection towards violence, are widely agreed to compose Western democratic basis, other values may cross the slight fence of taste and decency, depending on religious or ethical considerations. That would be the case of the so-called "misvalues", such as: "effortless success", "lack of respect towards institutions", "infidelity"..., for which authors make an explicit mention to ethics. In fact, the question of Broadcasting Quality is asserted to constitute an "ethical problem" (Fabbro, 2006: 25-30; Farré, 2005: 14-15).

The cultural domain of cohesive order, according to McQuail, entails questions of education, artistic and aesthetic issues, identity, taste and decency, as well as intolerance towards violence. Argentinean researchers accept the promotion of the first three issues as relying on content quality, whereas assessment of "social values and misvalues" is assigned a specific indicator. Fabbro's appraisal measures them in the proportion to the total amount of news (by percentage). The Television Quality Index, supervised by Farré, however, offers up to 35% of total assessment to the question of "values" and "misvalues". Accordingly, from a scientific perspective, the selection of social values to promote values and misvalues to demote should be in accordance with every outlet's social commitment. Arbitrary values cannot be accepted as universal tools to evaluate quality. For instance, a methodology based on catholic values would negatively judge the quality of any progressist medium, albeit the assessment of information coverage. Similarly, a traditional scale of values would deny any attempt for open debate, which has been explicitly appointed as media's social commitment (Fabbro, 2006: 20-21; Farré, 2005: 10-11; McQuail, 1992: 275-300; Observatorio de la Televisión).

Finally, the implementation of NIS denomination (acronym for "Noticias de Interés Social", that is to say, *Social Interest News*) aims to distinguish "socially relevant" information from the rest. Ahead of any quality assessment research, the NIS label stresses the ideological consumption of news for the outline of future tends in media expenditure itself:

> "Es necesario que el acceso del consumidor a los bienes informativos se reconozca como consumo ideológico, tal como corresponde a la naturaleza del bien consumido. Esto significa poner en evidencia que el futuro deseado debe determiner el presente elegido, y que esta elección del consumidor […] determine finalmente el futuro que construyen los medios de comunicación." (Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 143-144)

Along with every information, social interest news must also face both stages of the newsmaking processes. At the selection level, the informational initiative, as well as its main supplying source, should be in correlation with the amount of involved people. Similarly, interest is designated according to the number of affected citizens. Then again, the elaboration activity demands news causality, in order words, current information must be the consequence of previous news or the cause for future ones. Equally, news creation process entails novelty in terms of semantic reporting, different nuance of similar events. Information coverage must oppose immediacy on behalf of diversity (Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 137-154).

In conclusion, international News Quality research has already given some common directions for future research. First of all, all of them employ content analysis to assess News Quality, whose evaluation item is news report itself. Moreover, every indicator is measured as a percentage or in a scale. Accordingly, cross-media comparison can be held for each and every quality standard, regardless of the medium news items are published in. Most methods, however, lack a scheme of overall quality assessment, inspired in a normative framework.

Arbitrariness is solved throughout standards stemming from a principle system, but no specific measurable, objective indicator has been employed to assess the conception of McQuail's cultural domain. On the contrary, it is defined as a result of indicator-matching. Nevertheless, internal coherence for standards requires distinguishing the newsmaking stages of selection and elaboration of information.

Notwithstanding Scandinavian understanding of "informativity" was essential for News Quality research, it has remained for applicability in the political communication field. German tradition of professionalism, on the contrary, turns out to be more complete and adequate to cover other spheres too. On the one side, German scholars compile international research also published in English, e.g. Kohring and Matthes' (2007) studies on credibility. American academics base their works on empirical methodology, applying too concise indicators. German recent research, on the contrary, operates with simple indexable standards. Notwithstanding too many criteria have been formulated and most of them have been corroborated by later studies, research works do not interpret them by confronting their contained data. On

the other side, such a broad sense of professionalism as understood in Germany enables design to be judged too, as stated in Schatz and Schulz's normative system.

e. News Quality dimensions

At the age of globalization, the consideration of public interest in postmodern societies has been evidenced to remain essential for democratic participation. Furthermore, academics relate it to News Quality. Technology has contributed to the shift from the *information society* towards an emerging *Network society*. However, "historical and social change" has been proved not to be in correlation with technical development, albeit "mutual influence" (Castells, 2004a: 33-49; Chernilo, 2007: 135; McQuail, 2007: 32-39; Turnšeck, 2007: 187-193; Van Dijk, 2006: 32-41; Weischenberg, 2001: 11). Therefore, media performance in the public interest still requires the adoption of a normative perspective to evaluate News Quality, in line with current media features:

> "[…] No balance of evaluation can ever be struck and assessment has to be a continuing process. It also implies a need to look again at the body of normative theory relating to media which provided the starting point for this enquiry." (McQuail, 1992: 302)

Current economical features ground on "the belief in the merits of the free market". As a consequence, news reporting overload risks decreasing "concern of information shortage". Moreover, time and distance are not longer considered "critical limiting factors". Technology solved such weaknesses, but it enforces the reformulation of media performance's core values (e.g. freedom, equality and cohesive order). To start with, *freedom* in relation to democratic scope is aware of audience's consideration. The role alteration from citizen to consumer may imply a potential "decline on democracy". Audiences may not get relevant enough information as active participation entails. Accordingly, the principle of freedom, in the context of the *Network society*, pleads for "significance", understood as "diversity of viewpoints" and involving the "majority of citizens". Furthermore, deterritorialisation has approached an "international media culture", which shares "professional standards worldwide" and follows the logic of market competition giving raise to sensationalism. As a result, news items become standardized global products (McQuail, 2010: 194-195; McQuail, 1992: 301-309; McQuail, 1989: 13-19).

Secondly, *equality* must focus on "potential and actual sources of inequality". Providing social and economic disparity definitely cause "cultural and informational inequality", media performance can effectively "help to equalize the quality of life in a modern society". Accordingly, the problems of access are theoretically solved by increasing the number of news outlets. However, as already explained, information overload has not taken the form of adequate news. Moreover, minorities are achieving a "greater degree of marginalization" (McQuail, 2010: 196; McQuail, 1992: 309-310).

Finally, *cohesive order* confronts "less emphasis" on traditional standards of artistic or aesthetic quality. Furthermore, globalization has promoted the internationalisation of news content. Consequently, concepts such as authenticity and identity are enhanced (ib.).

All in all, the Network society, as a result of technological development of the information society, still holds the key of social participation:

> "An 'information society', in a shrinking world, *can* be a more informed society and a more creative, politically active, more culturally diverse society. However, the main path to this goal is still by way of the means of public communication (the mass media) rather than technologically mediated interpersonal communication." (McQuail, 1992: 310)

In conclusion, McQuail's media performance analysis in the public interest may be considered a *critical theory* for communication, according to Max Horkheimer's criteria. First of all, such a new paradigm is explanatory, that is, "it must explain what is wrong with current social reality". Secondly, it must identify "actors to change it" so that such a theory can fulfil its practical requirement. For such a purpose, media are explicitly appointed. Lastly, the normative criterion ensues it must "provide clear norms for criticism and practical goals for the future". Those are outlined in the form of principles. News Quality research, moreover, has later deeply assessed them on behalf of quality indicators. Therefore, such a criteria scheme indicates the direction towards excellent media performance. Consequently, media performance analysis in the public interest can not be deemed as a mere "traditional" theory, pretending to "mirror reality as it is". In fact, it deals with critical assertions to enhance democratic participation throughout media action (Bohman, 2004: 184-186; McQuail, 1992: 310; Turnšeck, 2007: 187-193; Wallisch, 1995: 96-99).

The *Network society* copes with a higher vast amount of media channels available to worldwide audiences. Hence, content analysis does not properly befit to evaluate

"what *reaches* the public and might have consequences for public life". Owing to the modification of reception conditions, received information cannot be "coextensive with what is sent". Therefore, content analysis may only measure the message. Nonetheless, for the sake of public interest evaluation, audience perception and message understanding are proposed to confront any content appraisal (McQuail, 1992: 311-316).

Moreover, McQuail encourages cross-media assessment to inspire content analysis, in order to overcome those research approaches "still rooted in a print culture". As a matter of fact, in spite of broadcasting assessment furthest attention, the evaluation of Internet news has following print media's appraisal criteria. As a result, such demands plead for a cross-media content analysis, as several researchers have already conducted (Bogart, 2004: 46-48; Buss, 2003: 269-277; Fritch, 2001: 499; Huart, 2000: 187-219; McQuail, 1992: 311-316; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006a: 40-47; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 17; Schönbach, 2004: 219-222; Stark & Kraus, 2008: 308-311). Hence, technical features are not considered an obstacle to evaluate News Quality, in terms of content, published in different media. Information form limitations may also affect news. Some scholars have already appointed such an influential direction:

> "La evaluación de la información no depende, en principio, del soporte en el que esté contenida; ahora bien, es evidente que determinados soportes imponen ciertas características que necesariamente influyen sobre los criterios de evaluación." (Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 59)

Therefore, apart from content, scholars have also drawn attention to specific features stemming from format distinctions. To that extent, news is the result of three processes: selection, communication and design. The *selection* activity chooses news topics and assigns them a place, according to their significance. *Communication* denotes journalist's intentionality at the stage of the news creation. *Design* means delimiting the scope of information. On the one side, design affects the audience, since it is in charge of making information more comprehensible. On the other, design also influences content itself on account by ranking information in concordance with its significance. As a result, content analysis can effectively measure presentation and subject message, but the considerations about communication activity may be derived from the previous two. Similarly, audience's perception research focuses mainly on communication and presentation. Message content is regarded in the way as audiences have understood it (Wallisch, 1995: 163-172).

Chart No. 40 – Journalistic Symbolic Process

INTERPRETATION
PATTERN

JOURNALIST
PROGRAMME-MAKER

Thematic
processing

Intention

**Communication
process**

**Selection
process**

BROADCAST,
NEWS REPORT

Formal editing

Design Process

Placement, Programming

Function

Content
selection

AUDIENCE

CONTENT
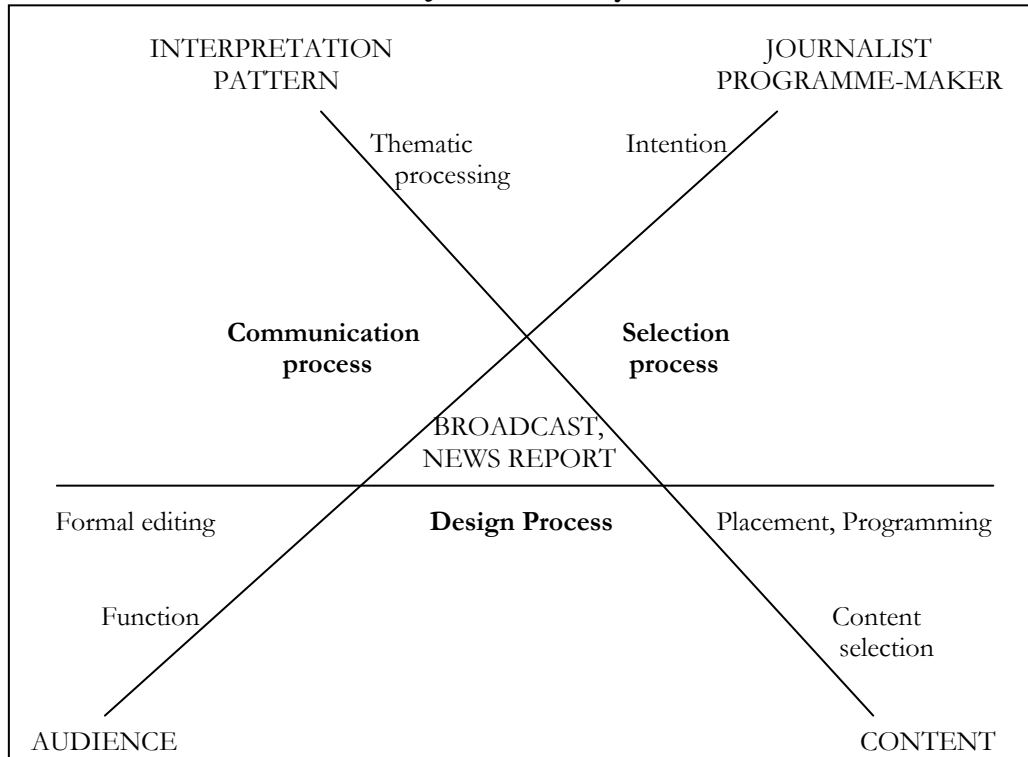
Source: Wallisch (1995: 164)[191].

Applying Wallisch's designation to the normative framework of media performance analysis in the public interest, the selection process would match the assessment of the principles of freedom and equality. As a matter of fact, it fits in the category of classical News Quality research on the basis of content analysis. Secondly, communication process focuses on media performance's intentionality and, accordingly, on order and culture issues. Finally, the design process gives shape to previous categories.

For practical purposes, those processes will be considered as quality dimensions. Equally, processes will be renamed as formal, content and social. First of all, *Formal Quality* will observe the fulfilment of appearance rules. Secondly, *Content Quality* will assess the characteristics mass media's products are agreed to compile. Finally, *Social Quality* will establish those requisites the targeted community widely estimates to be taken into account. Such a classification system shapes the quality research of every media output. Evaluation has undoubtedly distinguished such dimensions[192], especially American broadcasting research, as well as German scholars' print and Internet

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[191] My translation from German.
[192] See pp. 121-122.

approaches (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 4; Albers, 1996: 123-139; Baeßler & Kinnebrock, 2004: 324-326; BRU, 1989: 1-5, 20-24; Gladney, 1990: 65-66; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 86-92; McQuail, 1992: 144-145; Medina Laverón, 2006: 54-59; Mulgan, 1990a: 8-17; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 315-339; Schirmer, 2001: 68-74; Schönbach, 2004: 222; Weber & Rager, 1994: 3-4; Welker, 2004: 276-277).

Table No. 54 – Matching of News Quality Dimensions

Wallisch	Renamed
Design process	Formal Quality
Selection process	Content Quality
Communication process	Social Quality

Source: Author, based on McQuail (1992: 66-80) and Wallisch (1995: 163-165).

e.1. Formal Quality

German scholars have clearly distinguished content from formal features. News elaboration has been classified according to two characteristics: content and technique. Whereas journalist's work load includes content related issues, technical matters (such as interruption of signal reception or blots of ink) affect overall product quality. On the one hand, *technical quality* alludes to the specific features that every medium shows at the four stages of news supply, according to content and technique undertakings:

Table No. 55 – Content and Technique Undertakings for the four Stages of News Supply

	Medium	Preproduction	Production		Postproduction	Distribution
Content	Broadcasting	Topic research	* Material research * Material creation		Material edition	Broadcasting
	Print				Reproduction (analogue / digital)	Distribution / Digital supply
	Internet	Requirement analysis	* Storyboard / Flowchart * Application creation		Verification of applications	Digital supply
Technique	Broadcasting	Editorial system	Browsing system	Recording-Playback system	Postproduction system	Channel settlement system
	Print			Writing / Layout system	Printing and content management system	Provider system
	Internet	Management	* Prototyping and design system * Development of technical environment		* Verification of technical environment / * Verification system	

Source: Author, based on Krömker & Klimsa (2005a: 102; 2005c: 236; 2005d: 432; 2005e: 370)[193].

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[193] My translation from German.

Content tasks are merely journalistic for the cases of broadcasting and print media. Internet is regarded as a new platform. In concordance with the multimedia-journalistic concept, content related undertakings also imply the capacity to operate with required technological applications. Equally, technical issues for broadcasting and print media work on the basis of industrial mechanical appliances, such as image edition and printing systems, which constrain content itself. That is to say, news is shaped according to the medium requirements. Internet media disposes of mechanical dependence in order to offer direct news supply. It entails the verification of already operated technological applications. As a result, Technical Quality becomes crucial to News Quality (Benzoni & Bourreau, 2001: 889; Brüggemann, 2004: 228; Kipphan, 2000: 70-120; Klüber, 1996: 193-198; Krömker & Klimsa, 2005a: 102; Krömker & Klimsa, 2005c: 236; Krömker & Klimsa, 2005d: 432; Krömker & Klimsa, 2005e: 370; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Pavlik, 2009: 83-87; Pérez de Silva, 2000: 192-193; Radü, 2009: 60-61; Wallisch, 1995: 99-104).

Similarly to manufacture articles, every consumption item must be error-free, before any Content Quality evaluation is conducted. Product deficiencies can be measured by applying the formula employed for quality assessment as explained earlier:

$$\text{Error index} = \frac{\text{Deficiency Frequency}}{\text{Deficiency Occasion}}$$

Where, *deficiency frequency* measures the number of errors committed during a given period and *deficiency occasion* expresses finished products for that period. Notwithstanding general defects can be beforehand formulated, Zero Defects programmes acknowledge that item verification itself codifies specific deficiencies for every medium and for each corporation. Technical deficiencies can be classified as critical, major or minor defects. Deficiencies are considered *critical* when they imply a risk for "life and safety". *Major defects* "seriously affect the proper functioning of a product". Lastly, *minor defects* do not inhibit functioning, but customers are reluctant to product satisfaction. Therefore, news supply can be affected by major and minor defects, since appliance creators are responsible for critical deficiencies (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 16; Colomer Cugat, 1997: 3; Crosby, 1996: 185; Ishikawa, 1985: 50; Juran, 1990: 17).

On the other hand, journalists can be held accountable for the practical errors appearing in the news. *Presentation quality* can be assessed on the measure of aesthetic and operational deficiencies, as distinguished by Alexander and Tate. First of all, aesthetic faults have been traditionally evaluated according to layout[194] (for print media) and crafts[195] (for broadcasting). Visual features contribute to content comprehensibility. However, cross-media assessment concedes no design evaluation, since it may interfere in the News Quality appraisal, providing some media technical requirements are more complex than others. Moreover, there is no agreement in their assessment criteria, except for the absence of faults:

> "Even though each of our interviewees [programme-makers] felt that the formal or craft elements were very important determinants of quality, they indicated that at their best, the craft elements went unnoticed." (Albers, 1996: 123)

Furthermore, scholars agree that layout and crafts elements must work in the function of content. Providing imperfection derived from faulty employment of technology will be counted as minor defects of technical quality (i.e. lighting and sound issues), journalistic presentation requirements will be taken into account only as an extended field of media performance, because the accomplishment of aesthetic features supports content comprehensibility (Albers, 1996: 103-104; Alexander & Tate, 1999: 2-4; Brandl, 2004: 235-239; Huart, 2000: 318-322; Jiménez Piano & Ortiz-Repiso Jiménez, 2007: 196-198; Legatt, 1996a: 76-80; Medina Laverón, 2006: 26-27; Meier, 2003: 262-263).

Hence, *aesthetic deficiencies* allude to design elements of reported news. Radio has been traditionally exempted from displaying visual faults, but recent works pay attention to reporter's tone in terms of aesthetics. Print information display in newspapers or screen is required to fill the totality of the space determined for it, on behalf of news comprehensibility (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 2-4; Barth, 2004: 208; Brandl, 2004: 235-239; Echeverri González, 2006: 97-105; Haller, 2003: 184-185; Huart, 2000: 318-322; Lallana, 2000: 60-61; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Román Álvarez, 2004: 76; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 170-189).

Secondly, the assessment of those presentation faults taking the form of *operational deficiencies* does not include the evaluation of language in terms of spelling, for

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[194] Specific research on layout appraisal can be fund at Armentia Vizuete (1993), Armentia et al. (2002, 2000, 1999), Jacobson (1999), Pütz (1994), and Tena Parera (1998).
[195] Deeper assessment bibliography can be acquired at Pujadas Capdevilla (2008: 41-77).

instance. Operational deficiencies identify those faults that hinder comprehension, such as typing errors or stammer (Barth, 2004: 208; Brandl, 2004: 235-239; Bucher & Barth, 2003: 238-239; Craig, 1999: 59-61; Eppler et al., 2004: 2; Huart, 2000: 318-322; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Meyer, 2004a: 83-108; Pöttker, 2000: 22-26; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 170-189; Wallisch, 1995: 99-104).

Table No. 56 – Aspects of Formal Quality

Formal quality	Errors
Technical quality	Major defects
	Minor defects
Presentation quality	Aesthetic deficiencies
	Operational deficiencies

Source: Author, based on Alexander & Tate (1999: 2-4), Ishikawa (1985: 50), and Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189).

Formal Quality, bounded to journalist's work load, is measured in terms of errors, not to be included as a stage of the News Quality Scheme, although it cannot constitute an indicator of the News Quality Index. Nevertheless, technical and presentation faults are separately evaluated.

e.2. Content Quality

The second dimension of News Quality, namely *Content Quality*, alludes to the elements of elaboration. It has become the most studied aspect of News Quality, especially in the American literature, as a result of objective indicators. Content Quality is guided by two core values of Western democratic societies, such as freedom and equality, throughout the principles stemmed from them (i.e. independence and diversity, as well as diversity and objectivity, respectively). Those principles are essential to objectify News Quality attributes and standards. For practical purposes, diversity will be explained first, since it has been considered a qualitative measure of quality, whereas independence and objectivity demand quantitative standards of evaluation. As a result, scholars conducting empirical research have referred to the indicators of independence and objectivity as "journalistic quality" or "professionalism", as understood by German scholars (Gutiérrez Gea, 1999-2000: 69-86; Medina Laverón, 2006: 54-60; Pütz, 1994: 21-25; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-712; Schirmer, 2001: 68-114; Schulz, 2000: 1-4; Weischenberg, 2003: 169-170).

e.2.1. Diversity appraisal

The concept of diversity derives from that of variety. Whereas the latter refers to the "raw number" or amount, diversity focuses both on the numbers (or amounts) and "the differences among them". Optimum diversity is believed to have been reached if "all given categories are represented with a similar share". However, due to McQuail's conception of reflective diversity, optimum goal would be accomplished by matching "between the diversity on the supply side and the diversity on the demand side". Such equivalence can be assessed following equal representation standards, significance criteria or normative considerations. To that extent, diversity has been connected with the ideal of pluralistic democratic Western societies (Arnold, 2009: 57; McCann, 2007: 55-56; McQuail, 1992: 141-159; Napoli, 1999: 10-11; Rössler, 2007: 465-468; Thomaß, 2003: 96-97; Weber & Rager, 1994: 3-4).

Diversity consists of three levels, as renamed by McQuail: diversity as access, diversity as choice, and diversity as reflection. First of all, *diversity as access* (also designated as "source diversity", "macro-level" or "structural level") refers to the channels available at the media system where society is constructed or invented. Accordingly, diversity as access deals with questions of cultural identity. In fact, it promotes cohesion. Therefore, it is the field where policymakers work for diversity in public broadcasting, as research on *BBC Radio* has evidenced. It has been traditionally assessed according to the following three subcomponents: "diversity of ownership of content or programming, diversity of ownership of media outlets, and diversity of the workforce within individual media corporations" (Arnold, 2009: 58-60; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000a: 75-77; McCann, 2007: 61-67; McQuail, 1992: 171-181; Moult, 2004: 16-24; Napoli, 1999: 10-29; Porto, 2005: 138-140; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 231-253; Rössler, 2007: 476-481; Rössler, 2006: 223-227; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-676).

Secondly, *diversity as choice* (otherwise identified as "exposure diversity", "meso-level" and "audience approach") regards communication services as "consumption goods", assessed from the audience's perspective. The expression "communication services" alludes to media outlets (such a certain broadcasting channel or newspaper), as well as to programme genres (i.e., fiction, news coverage or entertainment). On the one side, *horizontal diversity* (also referred to as "external" or "system diversity") measures "the choice of programme types provided by any single outlet over a certain period of time". On the other, *vertical diversity* (also called "internal" or "channel

diversity") describes "the variety of programme types offered by all media in a defined market at one given point in time" (Arnold, 2009: 58-60; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000a: 75-77; Hillve et al., 1997: 291-318; McCann, 2007: 61-67; McQuail, 1992: 171-181; Napoli, 1999: 10-29; Porto, 2005: 138-140; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 231-280; Pujadas & Oliva, 2007: 87-98; Rössler, 2007: 481-486; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-676). Specific measurements evaluate each dimension of diversity:

Table No. 57 – Measures of Programme Diversity

Aspect of programme diversity	Level of analysis	
	Individual channels	All channels / channel system
Breadth	Relative Entropy Index (H)[196] *Channel diversity*	Relative Entropy Index (H) *System diversity*
Difference	Deviation Index (D)[197] *Deviation between channels*	Choice Option Index (A)[198] *Number of simultaneous programme type options*

Source: Hellman (2001: 194).

Accordingly, several studies have been conducted to assess horizontal diversity of a given State or vertical diversity of a particular channel. The majority of research focusing on horizontal diversity pretends to depict main differences between public and private broadcasting media outlets. Cross-national diversity evaluation has been proved to be only reliable when measuring vertical diversity (Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 231-252; Ishikawa et al., 1996: 253- 263; Ishikawa & Muramatsu, 1996: 199-202; Lasagni & Richeri, 2006: 21-33; Litman & Hasegawa, 1996: 203-230; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 135-138).

Finally, *diversity as reflection*, (under the name of "content diversity" or "content level") alludes to how social issues or characteristics are reproduced. First of all, *topic diversity* is considered a sign of pluralism: the higher equivalence in subject share, the more balance information is believed to be. Accordingly, topic heterogeneity has become the most researched issue of diversity as reflection (Arnold, 2009: 58-60; Gutiérrez Gea, 2000a: 75-77; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; McCann, 2007: 61-67; McQuail, 1992: 160-170; Napoli, 1999: 10-29; Porto, 2005: 138-140; Pujadas Capdevila,

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[196] "**Entropy** is expressed by he following formula: $H = \Sigma\text{-}p_i \log_2 p_i$ where p indicates the probability of each category being selected. When there is no concentration of categories, H takes its maximum value ($H = \log_2 N$) where N is the number of categories. Relative entropy is calculated by dividing obtained H by H's maximum value, and it ranges between 0 and 1." (Ishikawa et al., 1996: 254)

[197] "The **Deviation Index (D)** measures how much the content of one network, in terms of programme types represented in its schedule, deviates from the content of another. Mathematically this is derived by subtracting the percentage of time p per programme category i by one broadcaster $A(p_{iA})$ from the corresponding figure by another (p_{iB}) and summing up the differences: $(2)D = \Sigma \left| p_{iA} - p_{iB} \right|$ The higher the sum of differences, the higher the deviation between the channels. The mathematical maximum of this index, representing by definition the vertical dimension of diversity, is 2 while the minimum is 0." (Hellman, 2001: 192-193)

[198] "The **Choice Option Index (A)** represents the average number of simultaneous programme type alternatives per 15-minute interval." (Hellman, 2001: 193)

2008: 231-253; Rössler, 2007: 488-501; Schirmer, 2001: 92-94; Weischenberg, 2006b: 668-676; Zubayr & Geese, 2005: 159-162).

Furthermore, media outlets can effectively construct their public profile by focusing on certain subjects and suppressing given topics. On the one hand, common ownership of several media channels in a community has been proved not to result "in a predictable pattern of news coverage" on relevant topics "between the commonly owned outlets". On the other, topic diversity may detect soft news at their early stage. Hard news has been described as "useful" news for the informed citizen, which copes with "politics, economics, and foreign affairs", whereas soft news involves "lifestyle, celebrity, entertainment and crime/scandal". That is why topic diversity has also been regarded as an indicator for significance (Benzoni & Bourreau, 2001: 889; Brandl, 2004: 248-252; CAF & FNPI, 2006: 97; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Maurer & Trebbe, 2006: 39-51; Plasser, 2005: 48-49; Rössler, 2007: 488-501; Schirmer, 2001: 92-94; Weber & Rager, 1994: 10-12).

Secondly, *event coverage* stresses the degree of factualness and the origin of information. Both European and American scholars agree in taking "the single event generating a news story as their basic unit of analysis". Diversity of event coverage promotes "product differentiation": duplication and exclusive reporting between two outlets are measured by the Spearman rank correlation coefficient[199]. A high rate of exclusive information is widely deemed to establish an indicator of quality (Brandl, 2004: 243-254; Porath, 2007: 48-69; Puente & Múgica, 2003-2004: 88-90; Rössler, 2007: 491-494; Wallisch, 1995: 108-109).

Thirdly, the analysis of *opinion diversity* evidences that variety of media channels or journalistic genres does not successfully assure "a true multiplicity of viewpoints". Media are expected to exhibit "all relevant opinions in an appropriate way to ensure a high level of public information". Accordingly, the amount of different standpoints is measured. Referring to the reporting approach, professionals are aware of exhibiting a pessimistic actuality, due to a critical duty of media (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 51-52; Dorer & Klaus, 2003: 555; Hagen, 1995a: 125-128; McQuail, 1992: 150-170; Rössler, 2007: 488-490).

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[199] The **Spearman rank correlation coefficient** is calculated by the software programme SPSS14.0 (Porath, 2007: 49). On-line assessment is available at the following websites: <http://www.wessa.net/rank-corr.wasp> and <http://udel.edu/~mcdonald/statspearman.html> [Last retrieved: 23/02/2009].

Fourthly, *heterogeneity of protagonists* is assessed either in concordance with the given time or space or amount of appearance occasions. Moreover, throughout codification of actors, the representation quota that social groups and minorities achieve is displayed. Similarly, the outcome of the combination of opinion and protagonist diversity has been employed as an indicator for balance reporting (Brandl, 2004: 243-254; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; McQuail, 1992: 150-170; Rössler, 2007: 498-500; Weischenberg, 2006a: 19-21; Weischenberg, 2006b: 675-676).

Fifthly, *geographical* diversity pretends to contribute to "national identity". It is evaluated on the ratio between home or domestic content, as stated by British and French broadcasters. Similarly, communities aiming to differentiate their cultural conception from an expansionist identity notion are usually likely to reject importations from the latter:

> "It is generally taken for granted that 'independence' is a good thing for the press, that an independent press is necessary for democratic government, and that we know what we mean when we say a newspaper or television or radio station is 'independent'.
> In the American view, independence for the press largely means immunity from government interference. But throughout the former Soviet Union, independence has come to mean not only independence from government, or independence from ancient theologies of reportage, or independence, even, from the influences of the West. In the emerging battle for identities in Ukraine or Kazakhstan, Estonia or Azerbaijan, independence has often meant, above all, freedom from televised images produced by Russia." (Price, 1989: 81)

Moreover, in those countries where imported information may mean "linguistic colonization" (i.e. Canada and the Netherlands), especial care is directed to "the language of origin". The balance would lay in contributing to cultural diversity, under the risk of ethnocentrism. However, importations can not be assumed to promote internal diversity *per se*, since they are not diverse either. That is the case for the USA products and news, which tend to monopolize most of the imported share. It has also been considered an indicator for sensationalism. Accordingly, a high ratio of US news on "trivial" topics may be a filter for soft news early detection. To that extent, geographical diversity may also illustrate any interference with independent media performance. Similarly, domestic content may denote geographical bias throughout coverage concentration towards the metropolitan areas (Brandl, 2004: 247-248; Fabbro, 2006: 102; Gunter, 1997: 67; Hillve & Rosengren, 1996: 239; Just & Belt, 2004: 2-21; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; McQuail, 1992: 150-152; Medina Laverón, 2006: 15-21; Nelson, 2005: 114; Ojer Goñi, 2009: 73-75; Raboy, 1996b: 269-279; Rössler, 2007: 498-500).

Sixthly, *diversity of visual elements* has been assessed by singular studies on certain issues. They have mainly focused on the utilization of print images. Broadcasting news research has stresses image redundancy (Gunter, 1997: 74-75; Rössler, 2007: 496-497).

Lastly, *diversity of news values* has been considered a quality indicator, on the assumption that "a media system is more equal in character the more diverse the provision". Nonetheless, scientific evidence has proved news values differ for every media outlet. Accordingly, cross-media assessment for News Quality research can not rely on differentiating factors. As a matter of fact, visual feasibility is nowadays considered another news selection criterion, along with traditional ones, such as: currency, proximity, status, and so on (Brandl, 2004: 243-245; Hagen, 1995a: 70-105; Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006: 29-33; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-107; McQuail, 1992: 71-73; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 127-139; Schirmer, 2001: 94-99).

As a final point, diversity must be acknowledged not to assure quality. However, it is a complementary measure for certain issues where balance is required (i.e. heterogeneity of cultural importations). Furthermore, the matching of topic and geographical diversity constitutes a filter for soft news. Equally, the correlation of topics and actors indicates the degree of prominence (Brandl, 2004: 243-245; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Medina Laverón, 2006: 15-19; Plasser, 2005: 48-49; Rössler, 2007: 472-475, 486-488; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 693-701; Weber & Rager, 1994: 11-12).

e.2.2. Independence attributes

Deriving from the freedom value, independence is a double sided principle. Media are asserted to actively support independence *from* Government, pressure groups, advertisers, etc. in order to remain independent *for* the effective critical accomplishment of their watchdog role (McQuail, 1992: 81-125; Schulz, 2000: 2-4; Thomaß, 2003: 95-96).

On the one side, insufficient *from*-independence leads up to deficient media performance, taking the form of over-reliance on determinate sources, source bias, credibility failure, identitary inherence and useless information. To start with, *over-reliance on determinate sources* alludes to the dependence on a given type of informants. It has been evidenced that official sources are more likely to succeed in achieving such a status.

Therefore, deficient media performance due to over-reliance on determinate sources has been assessed by matching the variety of protagonists, the origin of their information (whether it is news agency material, press release information or investigative reporting), and the factual character of news. Content comparison of different media outlets has been considered an indirect measure for the cause of information, especially to unmask some dubious situations, where the real supply tends to be diffused under a given byline. Similarly, news has been classified in concordance with reflected reality and verifiable information, in a hierarchical rank about its level of factualness: events, other outlet's investigation, officers' statements, and speculations or conjectures (Alden, 2005: 16-26; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 32; Fernández Baena, 2005: 16-17; Fogel, 2002-2003: 20-24; Hagen, 1995a: 105-113; McQuail, 1992: 126-133; Neiger, 2007: 310-321; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-104; Schirmer, 2001: 94; Trenz, 2004: 305-307; Wallisch, 1995: 128-131; Weber & Rager, 1994: 10-12).

Secondly, *source bias* occurs when over-reliance on certain sources results in the adoption of their approach. Assuming sources' discourse, media performance turns into a tool in the service of them. It may be detected by the matching of indicators for over-reliance, in addition to critical or conflict reporting perspective (Brandl, 2004: 220-221; CAF & FNPI, 2003: 51-52; Gunter, 1997: 26-27; Hagen, 1995a: 105-113; McQuail, 1992: 136-140).

Thirdly, *credibility failure* has been regarded as the consequence of deficient media performance. Accordingly, measures to recover audience's trust do not only imply origin of information, but they also request factual information (Bogart, 2004: 49; CAF & FNPI, 2005: 31; Costera Meijer, 2003: 15-16; Lacy & Fico, 1991: 46; Wathen & Burkel, 2002: 135-140).

Lastly, *identitary inherence* may be considered accidental in news selection, but it can be hardly argued to deny its intentional role in the elaboration process. Accordingly, the degree of an effective protection against content related to an expansionist identity conception may be measured according to the number of domestic news. Similarly, the significance such a foreign content is to ensure useful information, since it may lead to soft news. Therefore, domestic content is likely to be perceived as more reliable (Aranburu, 1991: 20-26; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 44; Just & Belt, 2004: 2-21; Nelson, 2005: 114; Picard, 2004: 60-61; Price, 1989: 81; Raboy, 1996a: 60-68).

On the other side, concerning *for*-independence, scholars appeal to media performance's critical approach on behalf of its watchdog role. Certainly, aligned information supply may denote self-censorship. Accordingly, the level of conflict will exhibit the extent to which media performance is deviated from its utility. It has been measured in terms of "positive, neutral or negative" approach towards reporting object (De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 50-122; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 37-54; McQuail, 1992: 126-140; Müller & Donsbach, 2006: 129-145; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-109; Schirmer, 2001: 92-98; Téramo, 2006b: 17-70).

As a matter of fact, the concept of usefulness has emerged to appoint a determinate information supply, which provides the interpretation key to understand *deferred consequences of current events*. Therefore, the appropriate explanation of events' magnitude and subsequent effects is inherent to useful news. Preconditions for usefulness are a great deal of interest, as well as an adequate correlation between factual character or news and their currency. First of all, all definitions of news include the *interest* attribute. It has been quantitatively measured as the number of people that will face the consequences of such current news. Secondly, the relevance of *current news* does not lay on mere novelty. Instead, it requests a *correlation with the level of factualness*. As a result, the concept of useful news goes further than hard news, since the latter does not stress the require of deferred consequences (Arnold, 2006: 421-424; Bowman, 2006: 628-643; CAF & FNPI, 2005a: 84; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 27; CAF & FNPI, 2003: 52-53; Gardner et al., 2002: 158; Gomis, 2008: 125-134; Graber, 2003: 146; Herzog et al, 2006: 399-413; McLeod, 2000: 16; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 50-51; Scheuer, 2008: 28-32; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Schirmer, 2001: 97-99; Schwer, 2006: 350-351; Schwiesau & Ohler, 2003: 18-22).

Table No. 58 – Indicators for Independence in News Reporting

Facets of independence	Deficient media performances	Indicators of independent media performance
From	Over-reliance on sources	* Diversity of protagonists. * Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness.
	Source bias	* Diversity of protagonists. * Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness. * Large number of critical news.
	Low credibility	* Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness.
	Identitary inherence	* Large number of domestic news (geographical diversity). * Great deal of relevance of foreign news.
For	Self-censorship	* Large number of critical news.
	Useless information	* Clarification of consequences. * Great deal of interest (number of affected people). * Correlation between the level of factualness and currency.

Source: Author, based on Gunter (1997: 26-27), Hagen (1995a: 105-113), McQuail (1992: 81-140), Nelson (2005: 114), Price (1989: 81), Raboy (1996a: 60-68), Schatz & Schulz (1992: 696-701), and Schirmer (2001: 94-99).

Furthermore, independence is a "crucial condition" to achieve objectivity. The inner connection between both principles reflects traditional divergence conceptions of Anglo-American and European media performance. The formers relate objectivity to the principle of independence and, hence, journalistic activity is regarded "as a common carrier between interest groups and the public". The European model pretends to "investigate those interest groups' assertions and get to the hard and 'true' facts of the political scene". Consequently, such an interrelation will lead to share some objective indicators assessing at the same time some aspects of independence and objectivity (Donsbach & Klett, 2000: 182-194; Scheuer, 2008: 48).

e.2.3. Objectivity criteria

European scholars unanimously agree in acknowledging Westerståhl's framework's worth in having decomposed "the objectivity concept into more concrete terms which are related to rules of everyday practice in journalism". It is based on the assumption that objectivity's two components are factuality and impartiality. Each of them derives two more attributes in the search of objectifiable indicators, which admit media output or salience assessment (Arnold, 2009: 44-57; Gunter, 1997: 13-34; McQuail, 1992: 196-236; Pujadas Capdevila, 2008: 281-291; Rosengren et al., 1996: 19-23; Schulz, 2000: 3-4).

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Chart No. 41 – Westerståhl's Objectivity Scheme
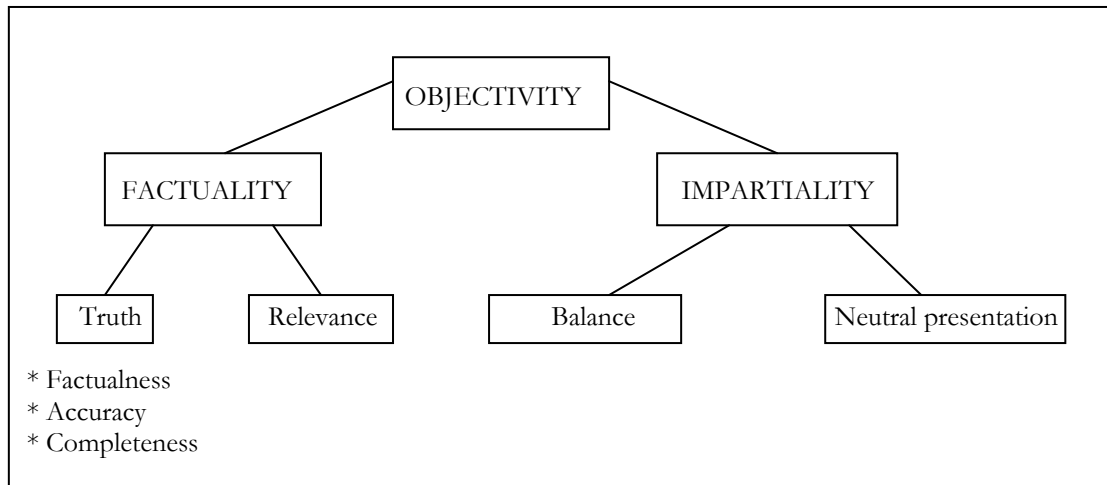
Source: Westerståhl (1983: 405).

Factuality, as the first component of objectivity, is inherently related to facts. It consists of two concepts: truth and relevance. On the one side, *truth* is referred to features "likely to be associated with the reliability and credibility of accounts". It is assessed on the basis of information's essential attributes (e.g. factualness, accuracy and completeness). As a result, truth has also been appointed to gather the elements of news' "information quality". First of all, *factualness* originally referred to the "separation of facts and opinion", also known as transparency, at the early stage of news selection. That is to say, contrary to European reticence to underline the importance of such a distinction during report elaboration, it becomes a measurable criterion to evaluate the event that originated such information. At the present, scholars are also concerned with the events originating news and, accordingly, they tend to promote event coverage over speculation. Similarly, large range of exclusive material has been urged. However, it can not be considered isolated from further attributes, under the risk of lowering its informative potential. In an attempt to better assess the reliability of reporting, factual verification is thought to be guaranteed by the use of "named sources and relevant supporting evidence". Moreover, unattributed statements are evidenced to affect source bias, since they correspond with groups able to exhibit enough impact to be anonymously taken into consideration. McQuail expressly lays aside the concept of 'informativity', adopted by Scandinavian academicians, arguing it may be useful for newspaper assessment, but hardly for broadcasting news. Instead, he introduces the measure of 'informativeness' aiming to calculate news volume (Arnold, 2009: 44-47;

Bentele et al., 2008: 305-325; Gunter, 1997: 37-42; McQuail, 1992: 204-212; Mezger, 2005: 61-73; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 53-54; Schwer, 362-364; Vehlow: 39-40; Wallisch, 1995: 104-108; Westerståhl, 1993: 403-424).

Secondly, *accuracy* alludes to factual verification with reality. Such an evaluation implies checking back news with sources, experts or independent eyewitnesses. Studies on the topic have proved to be valid for a determinate kind of error under analysis. To that extent, trivial inaccuracies in trivial facts turned out to be "the easiest to identify". In addition to eyewitness comparisons, sources' and audience's perception on accuracy have corroborated their one-side implication in such an assessment. Hence, internal accuracy of news items remains as a clear indicator. It measures the "consistency of the relation between the headline and the substance of the story which follows". For such a purpose, headlines in both print and broadcasting media are classified as 'accurate', 'irrelevant' or 'misleading' (Arnold, 2009: 44-47; Gunter, 1997: 37-42; McQuail, 1992: 204-212; Vehlow: 39-40; Westerståhl, 1993: 403-424).

Thirdly, *completeness*[200] focuses on the amount of necessary information. Range of coverage has been assessed according to several levels. 'Internal completeness' pleads for "all the essential facts of a given story". It has been understood as "depth" of information, as stated by the concept of "informativity". Consequently, it has been verified on the basis of the inclusion of the answers to the seven journalistic W questions. 'External completeness' scopes all the essential stories of the range of coverage. However, McQuail explicitly rejects survey based fullness criteria to be objective and he emphasizes the fact that such studies tend to benefit newspapers' coverage analysis, because they assign a higher space to news than broadcasting media. 'Cumulative completeness', lastly, pays attention to news currency. As a result, long-running stories in time result promoted (Arnold, 2009: 44-47; Hagen, 1995a: 70-105, 270-272; Hagen, 1995b: 158-172; Gunter, 1997: 37-42; McQuail, 1992: 204-212; Westerståhl, 1993: 403-424).

On the other side, in addition to truth, *relevance* is the second attribute of factuality. In fact, it emerges as "the central matter of news selection". Such an attribute is in charge of evaluating whether accurate facts are trivial or appropriate. Two kinds of methods have analysed relevance from different perspectives. 'Intratextual relevance'

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[200] **Completeness** shapes for Hagen's concept and assessment methodology of "internal relevance".

determinates the range of topics, events or protagonists by measuring the amount of space or time allocated to them, in order to exhibit a "picture of reality". Research conducted to analyse intratextual relevance has laid attention to salience not only in terms of selection and composition decisions, but also of presentation and location features. 'Extramedia content' has assessed "the degree of correspondence between message and a relevant reality" according to the criteria established by several assessment bodies (such as experts, professionals, audience or institutional actors). However, implicated bodies denote vitiated assessment. Therefore, widely agreed indicators appoint towards German research's direction: hard news' thematic content, current information and a great deal of significance –in concordance with the number of people involved in such an event (Arnold, 2009: 47-48; Gunter, 1997: 42-51; Hagen, 1995a: 40-51; McQuail, 1992: 196-222; Rupar, 2006: 128-137; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Westerståhl, 1993: 403-424).

Along with factuality, as the second component of objectivity, *impartiality* highlights the consideration of news as value. Impartiality is composed of two attributes: balance and neutral presentation. *Balance* deals with the amount of media attention at the selection stage. Which topics and events are reported and which are excluded is to be discerned. Accordingly, diversity of topic and event coverage is evaluated by comparing media outlets' salience. When assessing the content of one medium, balance in access is measured in terms of space or time given to one or other side or viewpoint. However, it is objected that numerical balance may not reflect reality or real significance of every side. Similarly, when fundamental values are involved, such a 'middle point' balance may not result fair. That is to say, two confronting points of view may not be accurate with a pluralistic reality and, moreover, they cannot be considered of similar significance[201]. Consequently, overall assessment is pondered as a more complete measurement tool. It assesses balance according to "favourable, neutral and unfavourable coverage". Moreover, it includes other visual and event selection

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[201] Horacio Verbitsky refers to such a debate on the following terms:

"Hay veces en que el célebre mito de la objetividad se queda corto, pues el periodista, supongo, debe tomar partido. A veces en el tema del equilibrio se nos va la mano y esto sería interesante discutirlo. En Argentina, por ejemplo, se ha llegado a extremos absurdos como el del conductor de un programa de televisión que propició un **debate entre un dirigente Nazi y un judío**, y al final del programa **él, como periodista, sacó una conclusión ubicándose en el justo medio**. Ese modelo de objetividad y equilibrio evidentemente está en crisis." (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 71-72)

elements influencing news coverage. In addition to source bias, the extent to which media's involvement in controversial issues may be detected by matching overall coverage assessment with the number of sources, and with the correspondence of information origin with actors. Equally, geographical bias and its intentionality may be noticed by matching overall coverage assessment with the range of origin countries or communities. Nevertheless, providing media are not merely social loudspeakers, critical theorists (Habermas, for instance) assert news must also supply sufficient arguments to support or discard any given position in the public debate. As a result, American empirical research has measured every favourable, neutral or unfavourable argument. Appraisal was expressed according to both variables: quantitative and qualitative significance (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 71-78; García Avilés, 1996: 35-36; Gunter, 1997: 54-70; McQuail, 1992: 71-73, 223-236; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 115-116; Scheuer, 2008: 27-28; Schwiesau & Ohler, 2003: 30-42; Tuchman, 2000: 130-132).

Finally, *neutral presentation* aims to detect "presentational bias". Whereas treatment encouraging "personalization, emotionalism and dramatization in content" may be easily identifiable as sensationalist features, the "happy news format" (i.e. television presenters who chat with each other) has not been evidenced yet to present any bias. As a matter of fact, it has been considered a question of audience attraction and interest "in order to communicate at all". Accordingly, neutral presentation attends to adequacy of additional informational elements and appropriateness use of language. The former analyses the degree of adequacy of inclusion of audiovisual and photographic elements to support reporting. For example, pictures in printed news are not likely to exhibit the right moment of the event origination. Lastly, the evaluation of appropriate use of language ponders news' describing tone and register (Bucher & Barth, 2003: 234-240; Gunter, 1997: 70-83; McQuail, 1992: 223-236).

Table No. 59 – Indicators for Objectivity in News Reporting

Components of objectivity	Elements	Indicators of objective media performance
Factuality	Truth	*Factualness:* * Separation of facts and opinion. * High degree of factualness as root of news. * Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * Refusal to the employment of unattributed information sources.
		Accuracy: * Internal accuracy (correspondence between headlines and reporting).
		Completeness: * 'Internal completeness': Depth of information. * 'External completeness': Range of topics. * 'Cumulative completeness': Long-running stories in time.
	Informativeness	* News volume.
	Relevance	* Amount of space or time allocated to topics, events or protagonists.
		* Placement and presentation of news.
		* Hard news' thematic content.
		* Current information.
		* Great deal of significance (number of affected people).
Impartiality	Balance	* Comparison of diversity of topic and event coverage.
		* Amount of space or time allocated to each viewpoint.
		* Overall assessment: favourable, neutral or unfavourable coverage. * 'Source bias': matching it with the number of sources, and with the correspondence of information origin with actors. * 'Geographical bias': matching it with the range of origin countries or communities.
		* Number and significance of every argument.
	Neutral presentation	* Adequacy of additional informational elements.
		* Appropriate use of language.

Source: Author, based on Arnold (2009: 44-57), Gunter (1997: 37-83), and McQuail (1992: 196-236).

In conclusion, independence and objective media performance share quality indicators. As a matter of fact, they can be considered to form two sides of the same reality. News supply can only be objective if outlet and performance are independent. As a consequence of independent journalistic activity, objective news supply is provided.

Chart No. 42 – Principles and Attributes of Freedom and Equality

Freedom	**Equality**	

Independence	**Diversity**	**Objectivity**

Independence *from*	**Independence** *for*	**Diversity** of *content*	**Diversity** of *access*	**Factuality**	**Impartiality**
* The State * Pressure groups * Advertisers * Media owners	* Watchdog role * Advocacy * Creativity	* Opinions * Topics * Issues * Persons * Groups * Regions	* Equal access * Proportional access	* Truth * Relevance	* Balance * Neutral presentation

Source: Schulz (2000: 3).

e.3. Social Quality

The traditional Quality Management Movement has considered Social Quality as (Casadesús et al, 2005: 266). Then again, Europe has developed another conception for that term, based on Jürgen Habermas' concept of "social life world". Among others, the European Foundation for Social Quality, created by the European Union in 1997, works on a Habermas' conception basis:

> "**Social quality** is a comprehensive conception of the quality of people's daily lives. It is a function of the constant tension between individual self-realisation and participation in the various collective identities that constitute everyday life, which takes place within a social context comprising two well-known fields of action." (EFSQ[202])

Consequently, the term of *Social Quality* will be employed to assign the third dimension of News Quality, that of "cohesive order", following McQuail's media performance framework. Similarly, Weischenberg distinguishes between professional and functional consciousness. The former refers to Formal and Content Quality (the aspects that Germans have designated as "professionalism"), whereas functional consciousness alludes to media's social responsibility. However, Social Quality differs from Formal and Content Quality assessment, since social engagement cannot be effectively evaluated against indicators. As a matter of fact, it is to be measured and, afterwards, analysed. Moreover, the scope of Social Quality might diverge in relation to

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[202] EFSQ (European Foundation for Social Quality): <www.socialquality.nl> [Last retrieved: 07/10/2008].

every economical system. Notwithstanding journalism promotes social development, Western capitalist democracies apply such an aim in terms of audience interest, whereas former socialist countries pursued the fulfilment of communist principles. Similarly, media in the states integrating the so-called Third World are believed to select news on behalf of national development (Costera Meijer, 2005: 36; McQuail, 1992: 237-300; Trenz, 2004: 308; Weischenberg, 2003: 169-175; Weischenberg, 2001: 17).

Thefore, following McQuail's theoretical framework, Social Quality consists of two main domains, namely *lawfulness features* (in an attempt to avoid repetition of the term "social", which may be misleading) and *cultural attributes*. The former copes with legality and legitimacy questions. It refers to social control and solidarity issues. The cultural order gathers the broad dimensions of culture, such as science and arts, education, national identity, and decency.

e.3.1. Lawfulness features

Several scholars have referred to this aspect of Social Quality under the denomination of "legality" (as expressed by Schatz and Schulz) or the more open-ended "democratic concern", which includes both conceptions: legal authority and legitimacy (Peter, 2009: 1-31; Picard, 2004: 54-60; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 708-710; Schönbach, 2004: 219).

Nevertheless, ethics were early discarded as a quality assessing source in initial debates. Ethical questions may still remain at superficial stages of quality assessment, generally related to professional norms or deontological codes. However, the conception of ethics is not only misleading, but it has also been employed to disregard professionalism and relate it to blunders. As a consequence, ethics is not considered scientifically relevant. On the contrary, it is delimited by journalistic rules or even by law (Buendía et al., 2006: 53; Fabris & Renger, 2003: 79-91; Weischenberg, 2006: 679; Wilke, 2003: 47-51).

Lawfulness features preserve *social order* by supporting established institutions (i.e. the law, military, police and the like), as well as *solidarity*, since media are required to offer "symbolic support for relevant minority groups and views". Accordingly, several indicators for content analysis have been employed to measure the extent to which a news outlet is involved in audience's social concerns. For instance, reporting under Government restrictions in cases of international conflicts, civil disturbance or terrorist

activity has been assessed according to information sources (i.e. the number of sources opposing the official version). However, the most employed indicator to measure social order and solidarity was the social engagement of the media outlet, featured as "positive, negative or neutral" towards news events. Social engagement assesses social order under the assertion that it implies maintaining a neutral position towards certain topics, but being belligerent against Government abuse (police violence, for example). Social engagement for solidarity seeks concern for equilibrium between reporting on armed conflicts and giving a realistic image, especially of the Third World. As a consequence, social engagement is believed to root on diversity: variety of topics, heterogeneity of protagonists, geographical diversity. However, the key element to measure media performance's engagement towards those indicators results in information handling (positive, negative or neutral), matched with diversity standards (McQuail, 2010: 203-205; McQuail, 1992: 237-273).

e.3.2. Cultural attributes

McQuail employs the term "culture" in a broader sense, which includes erudition (science and art expansion), education (media literacy), civilization (national identity reinforcement), and good taste (or decency). The accomplishment of cultural engagement thus is to be assessed against news coverage and information handling, following diversity standards (McQuail, 2010: 205-206; McQuail, 1992: 275-300; Thomaß, 2003: 98-104).

To conclude, Social Quality alludes to the engagement with the audience "which the media serve": let it be in terms of lawfullness (established authorities and minority groups) or culture (language and identity). It denotes a shifting position towards information, according to its social effects. Thus, social engagement is understood as the consequence of a conscious decision on media conduct. However, it may also highlight the fact that remaining neutral (in the sense of disinteresed) about certain central issues results in silent acceptance and, thus, it leads to implicitly support unfair situations.

f. *Albisteen kalitatea* **(LABURPENA)**

Kalitatearen azterketa ildo subjektibotik abiatu zen. Hartzaileek eta profesionalek bikaintasuna zelan ebazten zuten aztertu nahi izan zuten ikertzaileek. Biek ala biek iritzi subjektiboetatik abiatu zuten haien ebazpena. Horregatik, kalitateak printzipio objektiboetatik eratorri behar zuela azpimarratzen zuten egileek, kontzeptu integratzailea eta osotua garatu ahal izateko. McQuailen interes publikoaren aldeko hedabide-jardueraren azterketak albisteen kalitatea aztertzeko teoria arauemaile horren oinarriak finkatu zituen. Horretarako, hedabide-jarduera (kazetaritza-jarduera, gure kasuan) mendebaldeko demokrazia kapitalisten oinarrizko baloreetatik ondorioztatzen zen. Gainera, kontzeptu hori ordura arteko kazetaritza-jardueraren bikaintasunari buruzko ikerketarekin ez ezik, Nazioarteko Kalitate-Mugimenduaren printzipioekin ere bat zetorren (besteak beste, produktuaren azterketa –Kalitatearen Kontrola–, hartzaileen asebetetasuna eta hedabideen gizarte-ekimena).

Kazetaritza-jarduera arautzen duten printzipioak, beraz, *liberté, egalité et fraternité* lelo klasikoarekin bat datoz: askatasuna, berdintasuna eta kohesio-ordena, hain zuzen. Horietatik kazetaritza-jardueraren egitekoak eratortzen dira. Lehenengo eta behin, askatasunarekiko atxikimenduak jardueraren independentzia eta eskaintzaren aniztasuna ezinbesteko ditu. Bigarrenik, berdintasunerako aldarriak sarbide- eta eduki-aniztasuna zein objektibotasuna berezkotzat hartzen ditu. Azkenik, kohesio-ordenak gizarte-eremua eta kultura-eremua antolatzen ditu.

Berriek, albiste ezaugarriak bete arren, hartzailea asebetetzen ez dutenean albisteen kalitatearen kontsiderazioa sortu da. Gabezia horri aurre egiteko bi estrategia eman dira. Alde batetik, Erresuma Batuan erreferentziazko hedabideek (*quality press*) prentsa herrikoietik (*popular press*) bereizteko neurriak hartu zituzten. Bestetik, alemanierazko komunitate zientifikoak kazetaritza-jarduera aztertzeko zeharkako ikuspegia garatu zuen. Ondorioz, albisteen kalitatea ez dagokio euskarriari, printzipioetatik eratorritako adierazleen ebaluzioari baizik.

Albisteen kalitatearen ikerkuntzari oso komunitate zientifiko gutxik erreparatu izan dio. Gainera, ekarpenak jatorrizko hizkuntzan gorde izan dira. Horrenbestez, lehenengo eta behin, albisteen kalitatearen ikerkuntzaren oinarria Eskandinaviako autoreek 1980ko hamarkadan garatutako *informativity* kontzeptua izan zen. Honela definitu zuten:

"Hedabide jakin batek edo hedabideak jasotako gertaera-multzo jakin batek zabaldutako eta gertaera-multzoari hedabideak eskainitako espazio-neurrira araututako informazio-kopurua. Horrenbestez, dentsitateak, zabalerak eta sakonerak informazio-kopuru hori zehazten dute." [Rosengren, Carlsson & Tågerud (1991): "Quality Assessment of Broadcast Programming", *Studies of Broadcasting*, no. 27, p. 49], quoted in Biernatzki & Crowley (1995: 10)[203]

Albisteen kalitatearen azterketak *informativity* kontzeptua alboratu badu ere, hark bikaintasuna neurtzeko lehen adierazleak finkatu zituen: dentsitatea (gai-kopurua), zabalera (argudio-kopurua) eta sakonera (aurrekariak).

Bigarrenik, albisteen kalitatearen inguruko eztabaidarik osatuena alemanierazko komunitate zientifikoan gauzatu da. Hortaz, 1990eko hamarkadan hasi eta oraindik eboluzionatzen jarraitzen duen ikuspegia garatu dute. Alde batetik, bikaintasunaren helburua etengabeko hobekuntzarekin lotu dute. Horregatik, albisteen kalitatea aztertu ez ezik, horixe ziurtatzeko estrategiak diseinatzen ere aitzindariak dira (hala nola Ruß-Mohl, Wyss). Bestetik, albisteen kalitatea profesionaltasunaren arabera aztertu dute (Schirmer, Fahr, Maurer, Vehlow eta Arnold ikertzaileen Doktorego Tesiak, batez ere). Are gehiago, euskarri guztietara aplikatzekoak diren kalitate-adierazleak sortu dituzte (Neubergerrek, esaterako).

Hirugarrenik, AEBetako egileek 1990eko hamarkadan ere albisteen kalitatearen eta enpresa-irabazien arteko harremana ikertu zuten (Meyerrek, batik bat) . Ikuspegi horrek ez zuen bikaintasuna bilatzeko norabiderik seinalatzen. Dena den, ikertzaile germaniarrek adiera ekonomiko horri alderantzizko ikuspegitik heldu berri diote (adibidez, Fenglerrek eta Ruß-Mohlek). Horrela, hartzaileen erabaki ekonomikoen motibazioak ezagutuz gero, horien araberako albiste-eskaintza zehaz daiteke. Horregatik, albisteen kalitateak konparaziozko abantaila eskaini baino, merkatuaren segmentu baten sustengu ekonomikoa lortuko lukete hedabideek. Horri esker, ez dute nazioarteko *tabloidization*ek (horikeriak) seinalatutako biderik hartzaile berrien bila urratu behar izango.

Laugarrenik, Hego Amerikako zenbait unibertsitateren elkarlanetik VAP sistema (*Valor Agregado Periodístico*, hau da, *Kazetaritzaren Balio Erantsia*) sortu dute XXI. mendearen atarian. Hainbat ikertzailek erabili du: De La Torre, Gutiérrez Coba, Múgica, Pellegrini, Puente, Téramo...). Albisteen kalitatearen adiera AEBetako egileen ikuspegi ekonomikotik abiatu bazuten ere, gaur egun autore germaniarren

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[203] Egileak euskaratua.

bikaintasunaren kontzepzioarekin bat egiten dute. VAP sistemak albistegintzaren bi prozesuak aztertzen dituen hainbat sekretupeko adierazle garatu du.

Azkenik, arestiko kalitatearekiko ardurak gizarte-atxikimendua azpimarratu du (Rausell Kösterren eta Veraren lanek, esaterako). Horrenbestez, albisteen kalitatea hedabideen eginkizun legez ulertzen dute.

Egile horien guztien lanak McQuailen kazetaritza-jarduraren kontzeptuan oinarritu dira. Ondorioz, bikaintasuna aztertzeko erabili dituzten adierazleak bildu eta sailkatzen dituzten albisteen kalitatearen hiru dimentsio zehaztu ditugu: formatu-kalitatea, eduki-kalitatea eta gizarte-kalitatea. Lehenengo eta behin, *formatu-kalitatea*k albiste akastunak identifikatzen ditu, Kalitatearen Kudeaketaren akatsik gabeko eskaintzan oinarrituta. Hortaz, formatu-kalitateak albisteen hornidurako hutsegiteak (kalitate teknikoa) eta euskarriaren betekizunetara egokitzeko akatsak (aurkezpen-kalitatea) antzematen ditu.

Bigarrenik, *eduki-kalitatea* hiru printzipioek arautzen dute: aniztasunak, independentziak eta objektibotasunak. Alde batetik, adierazle kualitatiboen bitartez aniztasuna aztertzen da. Bestetik, independentzia eta objektibotasuna ebaluatzeko adierazle kuantitatiboek germaniarrek izendatutako *profesionaltasuna* neurtuko dute.

Azkenik, *gizarte-kalitatea* gizataldea antolatzeko ereduaren eta kultur-atxikimenduaren arabera zehazten da. Hortaz, eduki-kalitatea aztertzeko irizpideekiko informazio-trataerak hedabidearen gizarte-eginkizunak mugatuko du.

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2.1.5. METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSAL: NEWS QUALITY SCHEME

News Quality has been evidenced to constitute a cross-media value. Therefore, News Quality assessment goes beyond information outlet type. Such an evaluation must gather the essential elements all media share. As a result, News Quality appraisals comparing international media have been conducted. Hence, medium is no longer considered a determining factor (Abdulla et al., 2002: 1-15; Brandl, 2004: 235-242; Gladney, 1990: 58; Huber, 1998: 59-61; Neuberger et al., 2009a: 256-269; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-111; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 94-95; Weischenberg, 2006b: 677; Weischenberg, 2003: 169-170).

Content analysis has been proved to evaluate News Quality, stemmed from the core values of Western democracies, because such a method points out the journalistic model at the rear of a vast number of data and figures. However, the election of quality standards must be scientifically supported, in order to prevent subjectivity and arbitrariness. First of all, they must derive from the core values of society and include social expectations for media performance. Secondly, scholars find more reliable a system consisting of standards that have been already employed in previous research. Thirdly, every evaluation scheme must prove its internal reliability (Fahr, 2001; Gladney, 1996: 320; Gladney, 1990: 60; Hagen, 1997a: 10; Kohring & Matthes, 2007: 241-243; Martín Serrano, 2004: 171; Maurer, 2005; Priest, 2010: 87; Raboy, 1996a: 49; Schirmer, 2001: 90-92; Steiner et al., 2004: 61-71; Trebbe et al., 2008: 10-13; Vehlow, 2006; Wilke, 1998: 134-135).

Consequently, this methodological proposal of a News Quality Scheme will evidence to be stemmed from the core values of Western modern societies, on the basis of McQuail's research. Indicators will be chosen from those described in the literature review. The proposed News Quality Scheme consists of three stages to assess Formal, Content and Social Quality. The first stage identifies technical and presentation errors. The second assessing phase conducts not only the evaluation of diversity, but also the matching of a set of indexable indicators to quantify independence and objective reporting according to the News Quality Index and to the degree of every criteria accomplishment. Finally, Social Quality is measured in accordance with the relevant perspective the journalist points out.

As a result, every level enables stage analysis. Moreover, it constitutes a platform for cross-level assessment, according to several variables, such as error-free supply,

topic and geographical concreteness, type of sources… All in all, Formal, Content and Social Quality features are measured by several indicators and the combination of them.

Table No. 60 – Elements of the News Quality Scheme

Dimensions	Main categories	Standards
Format Quality	*Technical Quality*	Major defects
		Minor defects
	Presentation Quality	Aesthetic deficiencies
		Functional or operational deficiencies
Content Quality	*Diversity*	Topic diversity
		Diversity of protagonists
		Geographical diversity
	News Quality Index	Origin of information
		Type of sources
		Degree of factualness
		Currency
		Relevance
		Accuracy
		Completeness
		Number of perspectives
		Adequacy of additional informational elements
		Appropriate use of language
Social Quality	*Engagement*	Positive, neutral or negative position

Source: Author.

a. Formal Quality: Error-free Supply

Formal Quality, as the first stage of the News Quality Scheme, becomes a prerequisite for overall excellence. In fact, it operates as a filter for faulty news. Error-free supply aims to prevent a domino effect. On the one hand, evident errors are considered a gate for later errors. If prevention at an early stage has failed, content errors are thought to may have been more difficult to avoid. Hence, any content which presents formal errors is believed to present higher non-quality rates than error-free supply. On the other hand, early errors discard not only actual customers, but also potential ones, because media receivers must be confident that time is "well invested". Therefore, the losses due to lost customers are "magnified", since "an unknown number of potential customers" is already lost, because they are much more relunctant than those who are not familiarised with the product yet (Albers, 1998: 103-104; Eppler et al., 2004: 2-8; Legatt, 1996a: 80; Rosander, 1991: 101-137).

For methodological purposes, error-free news supply distinguishes Technical and Presentation Quality. Notwithstanding the present deficiency categorisation has not

been tested yet, several scholars have effectively appointed the measure of different sort of errors for similar purposes[204].

a.1. Technical Quality

Content related information undertakings also imply the capacity to operate with required technological applications. Despite journalists cannot be held responsible for *Technical Quality*, technical matters affect overall product quality. Accordingly, technological defects preventing the appropriate use of news are categorised as major or minor errors. *Major defects* "seriously" affect news supply. They can be originated at any stage of news provision (i.e. preproduction, production, postproduction and delivery). Typical case for major defect is the interruption of signal reception. *Minor defects*, however, interfere in news supply to an extent where provision is possible, "but customers are reluctant to product satisfaction". Blots of ink, for instance, may be considered minor defects, as long as news remains readable (Casadesús Fa et al., 2005: 16; Colomer Cugat, 1997: 3; Crosby, 1996: 185; Ishikawa, 1985: 50; Juran, 1990: 17).

Nevertheless, technical errors are extremely rare, since broadcasting corporations have already adopted quality actions. For instance, EiTB (Basque Broadcasting Corporation) has employed since 1999 Quality Control questionnaires referring to imported images:

Chart No. 43 – EiTB's Technical Quality Control Questionnaire for Television Reports

Source: EiTB.

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[204] Albers (1996), Alexander & Tate (1999), Kennedy (1994), Ruß-Mohl (2003a), and Vehlow (2006).

EiTB's Technical Quality Control Scheme consists of several indicators, such as colour features and audio channels. Those are before hand established and, if the television report does not match with those standards, it is automatically rejected. Moreover, overall quality is assessed according to "employer's subjective criteria". On a basis of a five step scale, image must be evaluated as follows: 5 = excellent; 4 = good; 3 = satisfactory; 2 = deficient; or 1 = bad. Audio perceptions give preference to the absence of jamming. Thus, it is ranked as 5 when disruption is imperceptible; 4 = perceptible; 3 = noticeable; 2 = irritating; or 1 = harsh. Consequently, when any of both categories obtains less than a three point score, such a product is automathically rejected. Defauly items are counted on a regular basis.

a.2. Presentation Quality

Unlike Technical Quality, *Presentation Quality* identifies errors related to journalistic activity, classified as aesthetic or operational defects. Nowadays, news presentation features are considered to integrate a new stage of newsmaking.

a.2.1. Aesthetic Deficiencies[205]

Since *aesthetic deficiencies* allude to design elements of reported news attributed to journalists' work[206], print news has been long assessed. Visual requirements for information display on behalf of comprehensibility entail the filling of the gap determined for it, in proportion to the importance and attention-catching it pretends to be. Accordingly, especial supervision is offered upon headlines and kickers, since no white space left must appear, in order to prevent deviating attention. Illustration and photograph captions are required to exhibit, at least, half the line space written. Moreover, text reporting paragraphs must present more than one non-fractioned word in their last line. Similarly, orphan[207] and widow lines[208] are not tolerated (Alden, 2005: 15-67; Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 143-147; Böhringer et al., 2002: 29-35; Brandl, 2004:

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[205] **Aesthetic deficiencies** or some of their aspects have become research item in the following works: Alden (2005: 15-67), Arana Arrieta (1995: 98-101); Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189), and Vehlow (2006: 140-141).

[206] Aesthetic deficiencies do not evaluate the quality of image (broadcast or photographed), since it is not attributed to journalistic activity; lay out represents aesthetic quality of media outlet quality, instead (Böhringer et al., 2002: 535-665).

[207] **Orphan line** alludes to "the first line of a paragraph appearing on the last line of a column of text" (Alden, 2005: 40).

[208] **Widow line** is the "last line of a paragraph appearing on the first line of a column of text" (Ib.).

235-239; Echeverri González, 2006: 97-105; Euskalterm[209]; Haller, 2003: 184-185; Kolodzy, 2006: 91-213; Lallana, 2000: 60-61; Meier, 2007: 219-223; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 124-126, 170-189).

In fact, long-gapped topics denote an especial concern to compile the most significant information, in proportion to the importance such an item deserves. White spaces, however, imply discarding prominent data. Notwithstanding time constraints, failing the purpose of reflecting prominence may give rise to desconfiance about Content Quality.

Picture No. 3 – Aesthetic Deficiencies imply discarding Significant Information conferred to Prominent Topics

Source: *Le Journal du Pays Basque*, 30/04/2008 (p. 4).

Similarly, aesthetic defects do not give place to express nuances. For instance, the following vague statement may refer to arts (as it corresponds with) or to advertisement, sexuality, politics, etc.

Picture No. 4 – Aesthetic Deficiencies dismiss Significant Nuances

Source: *Berria*, 08/03/2008 (p. 44).

Therefore, the break of aesthetic rules does not entile more concise information at first sight, in terms of granting understandability.

Picture No. 5 – The breaking of aesthetic rules does not provide more concise information

Source: *Diario Vasco*, 29/06/2008 (p. 15).

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[209] EUSKALTERM, Basque Public Term Bank: <http://www1.euskadi.net/euskalterm/indice_e.htm> [Last retrieved: 22/02/2009].

Broadcasting news is also expected to fill in every gap on the screen, paying especial attention to headlines. Ruß-Mohl and Kolodzy go further and state that broadcasting news must compile both languages: visual and audio. In fact, audio reporting must relate the broadcast image. When both channels are not connected, attention deviates and information does not reach the audience. Equally, radio news is considered valid at this stage when they sound to be "told" and not "read" (Arana Arrieta, 1995: 98-101; Bucher & Barth, 2003: 238-239; Cohen, 2001: 191-193; Gutiérrez Paz & Fernández Astobiza, 2005: 19-20, 43-55; Kolodzy, 2006: 91-213; Larrañaga, 2005: 57-64; Meier, 2007: 219-223; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 124-126, 170-189).

For methodological purposes, broadcasting pictures will be only considered aesthetic elements if they are not sound editing images. That is to say, when soundscape is in charge of offering information (except for the reporter's live or recorded speech), it will be assessed according to its adequacy as "informational element" (similar treatment as graphs or photographs, for the press). Therefore, this stage to avoid aesthetic deficiencies will evaluate the visual processing of news.

When there is no image of reporting facts, American journalism influenced countries (including Spain) solve it with reporter's presence. Such a testimony is in charge of explaining the facts. Despite *Euskal Telebista* usually employs that solution, many aesthetic errors have been registered because of the abuse of zoom (out and in) of a place, whereas the story explains facts not related to it[210].

Image coherence and synchrony must guide the development of the news story. Moreover, they also prove veracity. For example, it reflects higher rates of honesty when personal statements are broadcast rather than when the reporter echoes them. Informing about the public concern for the overseas security, referring to a press conference given by the Basque ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *Euskal Telebista* presented such a ministry and the Basque Government spokeswoman attending the press conference and taking a seat, while it was the reporter who noticed:

> "Hala ere, Saenz de Samaniego [Nekazaritza, Arrantza eta Elikadura Sailburua] kezkatuta dago Indiako ozeanoan diharduten 22 atunontzien segurtasuna bermatuta ez dagoelako. Hori dela eta, arazoari irtenbidea bilatzeko eskatu dio Espainiako Gobernuari." ('Gaur Egun 1', 29/05/2008)

His personal statement or deeper details about overseas security were not broadcast. It was explicitly explained that such a statement had been expressed at that

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[210] For instance: 'Gaur Egun 1' (21/07/2008).

press conference. However, regarding visual processing, it looked as if it was a scoop relying on past images, but then again it was not especified as "archive images". Hence, preference was openly given to audio proceedings over visual elements, which may lead to misrepresentation of truthfulness. All in all, broadcasting information must give meaning to images.

Internet, finally, gathers all previous research applied to print and broadcasting media, as well as its own specificities, such as the existence of links to other Websites (Alexander & Tate, 1999: 2-4; Barth, 2004: 208; Böhringer et al., 2002: 29-35; Brandl, 2004: 235-239; Huart, 2000: 318-322; Meier, 2007: 219-223; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Román Álvarez, 2004: 76; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 124-126, 170-189).

Table No. 61 – Operationalization of Aesthetic Deficiencies

Media outlet	Aesthetic defects
Newspaper	* There is remaining white space in headlines and kickers. * Illustration and photograph captions are not half line written. * A fractioned word in the last line of every paragraph. * Widow or orphan lines.
Television	* Audio reporting does not coincide with broadcast image. * Longer headlines than the delimitated area.
Radio	* News sounds as if they were being read.

Source: Author, based on Alden (2005: 15-67), Bucher & Barth (2003: 238-239), Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Lallana (2000: 60-61), Meyer (2004a: 83-108), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189), and Wallisch (1995: 99-104).

a.2.2. Operational Deficiencies[211]

The assessment of those presentation faults taking the form of *operational deficiencies* must be distinguished from language. Notwithstanding some scholars have paid attention to the use of language at this formal stage (in the sense of spelling), content analysis seems more adequate to assess it. Therefore, operational deficiencies refer to those faults that hinder comprehension, such as typing errors, stammer or slip of the tone. Operational errors are only concerned with journalistic performance and, hence, they cannot be considered faults when sources make such mistakes (Barth, 2004: 208; Brandl, 2004: 235-239; Bucher & Barth, 2003: 238-239; Craig, 1999: 59-61; Eppler et al., 2004: 2; Huart, 2000: 318-322; Meier, 2003: 262-263; Meyer, 2004a: 83-108; Pöttker, 2000: 22-26; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 170-189; Wallisch, 1995: 99-104).

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[211] The following scholars have researched on **operational deficiencies**, in spite of the expression employed: Alden (2005: 15-67), Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Meyer (2004a: 83-108), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189), and Wallisch (1995: 99-104).

Operational deficiencies give an account of involuntary mistakes in reporting, as long as the term "lapsus" refers to the unconscious. Accordingly, stammer or slip of the tongue will be codified as *lapsus linguae*, if the reporter does not correct them. Similarly, slip of the typewriting will be categorised as *lapsus clavis* (a previous form was *lapsus calami*, which meant "slip of the pen"). Thus, lapsus clavis includes typing errors, such as symbols or endless sentences.

Picture No. 6 – Lapsus clavis: Typing errors
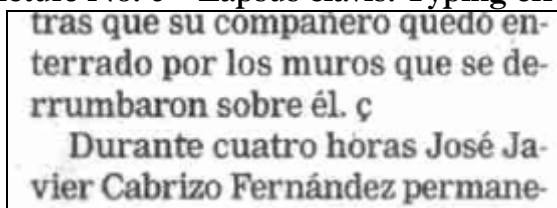
Source: *Diario Vasco* (15/05/2008, 22. or.).

However, lapsus clavis evaluation will not include those typing errors related to misspelling, because there is no clear distinction to find when it was a proper lapsus or it constituted a break of orthographical and grammatical rules, such as a unique coma between the subject and the verb. That is also the case for "baten" and "batean" in Basque. Accordingly, typing errors involving the break of orthographical and grammatical rules will be assessed according to the appropria use of language (News Quality Index).

Picture No. 7 – Difficulty to distinguish Lapsus Clavis from Misspelling
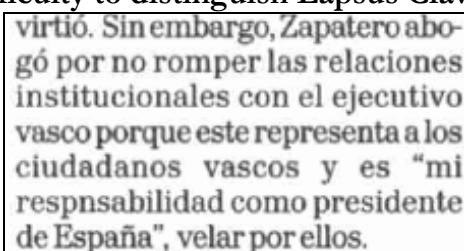
Source: *Diario de Navarra* (28/06/2008, 2. or.).

In fact, such a sentence reports three errors: "este" [sic: "éste"], "respnsabilidad" [sic: "responsabilidad"], and a unique coma between the principal verb ["es"] and the predicat ["velar por ellos"]. It lacks of a clear rule to establish a distinction between lapsus clavis and orthographical or grammatical typing errors. Hence, the three of them (including "respnsabilidad") will be considered "language errors" (News Quality Scheme).

Lapsus clavis ruin news reporting about events, albeit they may remain historical. Moreover, newspapers are more likely not to overcome such an error.

Picture No. 8 – Historical Lapsus Clavis that hinder Comprehension

Source: *Eskualduna* (07/05/1937, 2. or.).

However, lapsus clavis in broadcasting news result much more noticeable. That is the case of the following example: Broadcasting headline displayed "injuztizia" instead of "injustizia".

Picture No. 9 – Lapsus Clavis also affect Broadcasting Headlines

Source: *Etb1* (22/01/2008).

Some misprints do not only hinder comprehension, but they also add a new meaning to the sentence. Accordingly, several books have collected lapsus clavis. In fact, many typographical errors have become classics, such as "God **shave** the Queen". Mark Twain warned about reading health books, because one "may die of a misprint" (Esteban, 2003: 7-35). Some lapsus clavis found in Basque media may be considered a silent insurrection against political correctness:

Picture No. 10 – Irreverent Lapsus Clavis

Source: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (10/04/1998, p. 12)[212].

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[212] My translation: "The Spanish Popular Party believes the Act [to Promote the Use of the Catalan Language] does not respect the rights of the **chestnut sellers**" [It is written "*gaztaniadunak*" instead of "Spanish speakers" ("*gaztelaniadunak*")].

Picture No. 11 – Disguised Lapsus Clavis

2002ko uztailean etorriko dira
berriro garai opariak AEBetara.

Source: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (27/11/2001, p. 18)[213].

Functional deficiencies shape audience's perception on the news and, in the end, they diminish media's credibility. *The Guardian* is still referred to as *The Grauniad*, as a result of having once printed its own name as *The Gaurdian*. However, editors argue that the observed misprints are rarely frequent at the present and such a nickname is due to the high cultural level of the readership (Bernhard, 2007: 26-27; Maier, 2005: 533-534; Marsh & Marshall, 2004: 7-9).

Table No. 62 – Operationalization of Functional (or Operational) Deficiencies

Media outlet	Operational defects	Categorisation
Newspaper	* Slip of the typewriting	* Lapsus clavis
Television	* Slip of the typewriting	
	* Stammer	
	* Slip of the tongue	* Lapsus linguae
Radio	* Stammer	
	* Slip of the tongue	

Source: Author, based on Alden (2005: 15-67), Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Meyer (2004a: 83-108), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189), and Wallisch (1995: 99-104).

Salience deficiencies of Technical and Presentation Quality will be separately measured by applying the following formula employed for quality assessment:

$$\text{Error index} \; = \; \frac{\text{Deficiency Frequency}}{\text{Deficiency Occasion}}$$

Where *deficiency frequency* measures the number of errors committed during a given period and *deficiency occasion* expresses finished products for that period.

Formal Quality is the first filter for news. It will depict which news, according to which variables (i.e. currency), are more likely to be faulty. Furthermore, error detecting assessment does not exclude overall evaluation for Content and Social Quality.

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[213] My translation: "Times of **gift recovery** will be back to the USA in July 2002" [It is written "*opariak*" ("gift", "present") instead of "plenty" ("*oparoak*")].

b. Content Quality

The second stage of the News Quality Scheme evaluates news features according to qualitative standards to measure diversity and quantitative variables to assess "journalistic quality" or "professionalism", as understood by German academicians. Therefore, Content Quality consists of two assessing levels: diversity and News Quality Index (Gutiérrez Gea, 2000a: 69-86; Medina Laverón, 2006: 54-60; Pütz, 1994: 21-25; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-712; Schirmer, 2001: 68-114; Schulz, 2000: 1-4; Weischenberg, 2003: 169-170).

b.1. Distinctive diversity

The first stage of Content Quality will attend to the features of *diversity as reflection* (also referred to as "content diversity" or "content level"). Those characteristics will not be pondered at collecting stage, since diversity constitutes a qualitative, transversal criterion. Accordingly, diversity will assess variety of topic, protagonists and geographical coverage (Gutiérrez Gea, 1999-2000: 69-86; Rosengren et al., 1996: 3-48; Wallisch, 1995: 200-247).

As a matter of fact, some aspects of diversity have traditionally been understood in terms of "heterogeneity", not related to "range". Hence, for those quantitative aspects of diversity appraisal (such as heterogeneity of opinion, news coverage, visual elements and news values), ensuring diversity constitutes an end in itself on behalf of pluralism. Nevertheless, under the concept of media performance, such "heterogeneity" is pretended to assure News Quality and, therefore, they integrate some of the variables of the News Quality Index.

First of all, *heterogeneity of opinion* will not be measured at this stage, since such a concept includes double consideration. On the one hand, it alludes to the necessity of a wide range of points of view for every news (*diversity of perspectives*). In fact, away from diversity qualitative measurement, Ruß-Mohl has considered it as a warranty of objectivity. Accordingly, it will be analysed according to objectifiable standards (*number of perspectives*). On the other, heterogeneity of opinion will be evaluated on the light of social engagement. To that extent, it will be deeper explained in relation with Social Quality (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 51-52; Hagen, 1995a: 125-128; McQuail, 1992: 150-170; Rössler, 2007: 488-490; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374).

Secondly, *event coverage* will be assessed in terms of the degree of factualness and the origin of information. In fact, the latter makes a distinction between the source where news was originated and the informant. Moreover, exclusive material has been givin in and considered a non-realistic goal, that is why transparency towards the origin of information becomes essential (Brandl, 2004: 243-254; Porath, 2007: 48-69; Puente & Múgica, 2003-2004: 88-90; Rössler, 2007: 491-494; Wallisch, 1995: 108-109).

Thirdly, *visual elements* not related to Formal Quality will be evaluated on behalf of internal relevance or support elements, according to the value it aggregates to information (Gunter, 1997: 74-75; Rössler, 2007: 496-497).

Finally, diversity of *news values* will not be measured in an isolated way from other variables, since there is light shred of evidence about their reliability as a unique quality criterion. On the contrary, news values will be classified, to find out if they may function as indicators of tabloidization (Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006: 29-33; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Lorenz, 2009: 86-91; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-107; McQuail, 1992: 71-73; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 127-139).

b.1.1. Topic Diversity[214]

Variety of topics will exhibit the thematic range media conform. They will be coded following previous research on Basque media salience by Camacho Markina (2001: 40-44) and Aiestaran (2007: 116-149). New topic categories aiming to classify information reports include more categories in Politics (international organizations), Economics (finance), Society (natural catastrophes), Culture (science), as well as Weather.

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[214] Research on **topic diversity** has been conducted by the following scholars: Arnold (2009), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Dernbach (2010), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Gutiérrez Gea (2000a), Köster & Wolling (2006), McCann (2007), Maurer (2005), Porto (2005), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b), Trebbe et al. (2008), and Vehlow (2006).

Table No. 63 – Operationalization of Topic Diversity

Section	Issues
Politics	1.- <u>City Council</u>: Topics related to the administrative body of a town or city and the policies undertaken in a local area. 2.- <u>County Council</u>: Similar to the previous category, corresponding to Araba, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa. 3.- <u>Administrative Government</u>: News about the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community or Navarre. 4.- <u>Political parties</u>: Questions about politics from a partisan point of view, on their own future and internal composition. 5.- <u>Basque conflict</u>: Issues about political tension from a Basque - Spanish/French perspective ("us" and "them"), engagement for self-determination right, as well as consequent political and judicial repression, in addition to armed struggle and police repression. 6.- <u>Spanish Government</u>: Subjects related to the Spanish administration and the policies undertaken. 7.- <u>French Government</u>: Similar to the previous category, in relation to France. 8.- <u>European Union</u>: Matters related to the European administration and the policies undertaken. 9.- <u>USA</u>: News about the North American administration, politics, and society. 10.- <u>International Organizations</u>: Themes related to International Organizations, their internal composition and organization, as well as the policies undertaken. 11.- <u>Political conflicts</u>: Tension or divergence between two administrations or areas in a nationwide context. 12.- <u>War</u>: Disputes involving the military. 13.- <u>Others</u>: Issues not fitting in the previous categories.
Economics	1.- <u>Employment</u>: Public policies to reduce unemployment, regulate labour conditions, and the like. 2.- <u>Agriculture and farming</u>: Activities related to the agricultural or farming sector. 3.- <u>Fishing</u>: Similar to the previous category, referred to the fishing sector. 4.- <u>Industrial state</u>: Topics about corporations, business success, class struggle, etc. 5.- <u>Service or tertiary sector</u>: Questions mainly concerning consume and tourism. 6.- <u>Banking and Finances</u>: Matters about speculative economy. 7.- <u>Global economy</u>: Issues on nationwide economy. 8.- <u>Others</u>: Issues not fitting in the previous categories.
Society	1.- <u>Social Groups</u>: Activities and internal composition of social groups, such as NGO, women groups, political societies… 2.- <u>Solidarity, charity</u>: News about social labour with the marginalized and the poor. 3.- <u>Housing</u>: Social considerations of housing and mortgages. 4.- <u>Public Works</u>: Restoration, reparation and construction activities. 5.- <u>Traffic</u>: News on density on public highways, for instance. 6.- <u>Education</u>: Topics on public education policies or internal composition of public corporations dealing with educational questions. 7.- <u>Health</u>: Issues related to healthy life, health risks, etc. 8.- <u>Ecology and environment</u>: News involving environmental concern. 9.- <u>Leisure, Travelling</u>: Information about leisure activities. 10.- <u>Tradition (Social life)</u>: Social custom and conventions, such as, San Fermin. 11.- <u>Civil society (Civil life)</u>: Questions about the social organization of a community (i.e. legality of abortion, struggle against homophobia). 12.- <u>Criminality</u>: Focus on criminal rates and violence. 13.- <u>Natural catastrophes</u>: News about disasters and devastation beyond the influence of human action. 14.- <u>Accidents</u>: Unfortunate events causing physical harm or damage, i.e. car crashes. 15.- <u>Others</u>: Issues not fitting in the previous categories.
Culture	1.- Theatre 10.- Literature 2.- Music 11.- Cinema 3.- Dance 12.- Mass media 4.- Drawing 13.- The media outlet itself 5.- Sculpture 14.- Basque Communication System 6.- Craftwork 15.- Photography 7.- Artistic and cultural heritage 16.- Basque language 8.- Gastronomy 17.- Science 9.- Bertsolaritza (Traditional impromptu performance) 18.- Others
Sports	1.- Football 10.- Ski 2.- Athletism 11.- Jai-Alai Ball 3.- Handball 12.- Trekking 4.- Basketball 13.- Duathlon, Triathlon 5.- Swimming 14.- Chess 6.- Rowing 15.- Judo 7.- Cycling 16.- Rugby 8.- Basque traditional sports 17.- Motor Racing 9.- Hunting 18.- Others
Weather	
Others	

Source: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149) and Camacho Markina (2003: 40-44).

Topic diversity aims to present balance among all the most significant issues of the day. Consequently, it has been considered the referent of pluralism. As a matter of fact, such an assertion takes for granted the convenience of informing about every subject, as long as the overall diversity displays equilibrium. Therefore, topic diversity may point out any potential shift to soft news, characterised by "light" themes. Whereas hard news has been described as "useful" news for the informed citizen, which copes with "politics, economics, and foreign affairs"; soft news involves "lifestyle, celebrity, entertainment and crime/scandal". That is why topic diversity has been regarded as an indicator for relevance, since soft topics have been employed to inhibit political action. Accordingly, topic diversity may also detect tabloidization at an early stage, according to the focus on criminality, accidents and natural catastrophes. Moreover, *fast journalism*, understood as a shift of journalistic standards, can only be evaluated against several variables, including topic diversity. Thus, the matching of thematic variety with other variables (such as location, origin of information, amount of perspectives…) will enable definitive recognition of tabloidization features (Aiestaran, 2007; Benzoni & Bourreau, 2001: 889; Brandl, 2004: 248-252; CAF & FNPI, 2006: 97; Camacho Markina, 2003; Esser, 1999: 293-294; Fabbro, 2006: 53-56; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Krüger, 2005: 302-311; Maurer & Trebbe, 2006: 39-51; Plasser, 2005: 48-49; Rössler, 2007: 488-501; Schirmer, 2001: 92-94; Trebbe et al., 2008: 220-288; Weber & Rager, 1994: 10-12).

Furthermore, soft topics (such as football matches) have been evidenced to draw attention away from political questions. Accordingly, authoritarian journalism offers soft news in order to prevent social participation. Then, political disturbs seem irrelevant, in concordance with the news approach provided by journalists. For example, the fact that the police had shooted five workers and they had injured hundreds of civilians after a demonstration in Vitoria-Gasteiz (1976) was silenced with insignificant football score. At the time, although demonstrations remained prohibited four months after Dictator Franco's decease, workers in Gasteiz had already organized three demonstrations since January, which had gathered over six thousand demonstrators.

Picture No. 12 – Soft Topics have been employed to inhibit Political Action

Source: *Abc* (04/03/1976).

b.1.2. Diversity of Protagonists[215]

Secondly, *diversity of protagonists* focuses on the central actors of news. Those who maintain an active leading role towards news are considered protagonists. In fact, passive characters can hardly show any wish to become source of information. Their codification will remain in accordance with topic classification (Brandl, 2004: 243-254; Köster & Wolling, 2006: 80-92; Rössler, 2007: 498-500).

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[215] The following academicians have measured **diversity of protagonists**: Brandl (2004), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Fabbro (2006), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Hagen (1995a), Just & Belt (2004), Maurer (2005), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Puente et al. (2001), Téramo (2006b), Vehlow (2006), and Vera et al. (2004a).

The new category "anonymous individuals" aims to identify the private approach of public topics on reporting. Therefore, it denotes no social claim in their intervention. Accordingly, they differ from social groups, which promote discussion on public affairs.

Table No. 64 – Operationalization of Diversity of Protagonists

Section	Main actors	Section	Main actors

Politics[216]	1.- Political parties in power
	  1.1.- EAJ (EAJ-EA, EB)
	  1.2.- PSOE-EE
	  1.3.- Ezker Abertzalea
	  1.4.- PP/UPN
	  1.5.- None
	
	2.- Political parties in the opposition
	  2.1.- EAJ
	  2.2.- PSOE-EE
	  2.3.- Ezker Abertzalea
	  2.4.- PP/UPN
	  2.5.- EA
	  2.6.- EB/IU
	  2.7.- ETA
	  2.8.- Anonymous individuals
	  2.9.- None
		Society	1.- Home Office, Police
			2.- Officials and civil servants (Judiciary, social servicers, International Organizations, etc.)
			3.- Basque Cultural Associations
			4.- Social group or segment
			5.- Anonymous individuals
			6.- Criminal
			7.- None

		Culture	1.- Artists' or scientists' associations 2.- Culture or science promoters 3.-. Culture creators or scientists 4.- Anonymous individuals 5.- None
		Sports	1.- Business executive 2.- Coacher 3.- Players 4.- Anonymous individuals 5.- None
Economics	1.- Businessperson / employer 2.- Trade Unions 3.- Workers 4.- Anonymous individuals 5.- None	Weather	1.- Experts 2.- Anonymous individuals 3.- None
		Others	—————

Source: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149), Camacho Markina (2003: 31-34), Mugak[217], Ramirez de la Piscina & Agirreazaldegi (2010: 27-30).

b.1.3. Geographical Diversity[218]

Thirdly, *geographical diversity* will observe, in relation to the Basque reality, what kind of linguistic and politic community is targeting. That is to say, which cultural or political borders are considered: those of the whole territory of the Basque language, the Basque Autonomous Community, the four Basque Provinces in Spain (Southern Basque Country) or the three remaining Provinces in France (Northern Basque Country). The assessment of news on other stateless nations will enable the

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[216] Spanish political parties have been taken into consideration. Accordingly, French politicians are only assessed according to their relation with power.

[217] Mugak: Aniztasunaren Behatokia <www.mugak.eu> [Last retrieved: 16/04/2010].

[218] The following researchers have taken into account **geographical diversity**: Arnold (2009), Brandl (2004), Fabbro (2006), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Kepplinger & Ehmig (2006), Maurer (2005), Schirmer (2001), Trebbe et al. (2008), and Vehlow (2006).

classification in cultural and political terms. It seems a particularly interesting perspective, since cultural affections may interact. For the rest of international news geographical codification, State borders will be respected. However, the question of news location cannot be rated in importance, since this scheme aims to enable international assessment. Consequently, targeting community will be confronted with geographical variety. It may reveal tabloidization features, such as the fact that *Euskadi Irratia* reported as first news at 09:00pm (14/09/2009) the death of a pregnant woman in the USA, because a car had ran over her while she walked on the pavement, but her child had been saved.

Table No. 65 – Operationalization of Geographical Diversity

Area	Places	Area	Places
Local	1.- Araba 2.- Bizkaia 3.- Gipuzkoa 4.- Lapurdi 5.- Nafarroa-Garaia 6.- Nafarroa-Beherea 7.- Zuberoa	**Stateless nations**	1.- Catalonia 2.- Galiza 3.- Irlanda
		Europe	1.- European Union or its members 2.- Oriental Europe
		International	1.- United Nations 2.- NATO
Basque Country	1.- Basque Autonomous Community 2.- Nafarroa 3.- Southern Basque Country 4.- Northern Basque Country 5.- Basque Country	**America**	1.- USA 2.- South America
		Asia	1.- Israel 2.- Palestine 3.- Chine 4.- Irak 5.- Former USSR
States	1.- Spain	**Africa**	
	2.- France	**Oceania**	

Source: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149), Camacho Markina (2003: 30-31), Mugak[219], Ramirez de la Piscina & Agirreazaldegi (2010: 27-30).

Diversity range may be expressed as a percentage (out of all news, of non-faulty news, etc.). It constitutes a central element for indicator combination. Significance ratings, such as Budd scale, have been explicitly laid aside, due to the general prominence of every analysis item, as they the main stories of the day. First page and headline news have been evidenced to achieve the highest score in quality rankings. On the contrary, significance scales are enormously worth in comparing headline news to inside information (Just & Belt, 2004: 11; Bogart, 2004: 45-48; Gunter, 1997: 40-41; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-106).

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[219] Mugak (op. cit.).

Table No. 66 – Diversity Features

Diversity types	Measurable characteristics
Topic diversity	* Main topic.
Diversity of protagonists	* Identification of main characters, in accordance with topic.
Geographical diversity	* Stateless nations: cultural and political borders. * State borders, for remaining international news.

Source: Author.

b.2. News Quality Index

News Quality research has mainly focused on indicators that could effectively assess journalistic quality. Accordingly, objectifiable standards resulted in evaluating independence and objectivity. As a consequence, News Quality was concreted as professionalism. Hence, the News Quality Index measures to what extent professional requirements are met.

Nevertheless, the election of given indicators may have not been scientific enough, accused of subjectivity and arbitrariness. Gladney proposed the assumption of standards that had been employed at least three times in previous works. Similarly, scale scores are believed to reduce coder's subjectivity.

McQuail's framework for media performance analysis, likewise German research, has become essential to surpass such limitations. The indicators aiming to assess News Quality according to the proposed scheme are directly derived from the values of freedom, equality and cohesive order. As a result, all the content indicators to operate in this scheme have already been employed in previous research and take the form of scale scores (Gladney, 1990: 60; Gunter, 1997: 6-84; Hagen, 1995a: 40-52; McQuail, 1992: 65-300; Raboy, 1996a: 48-50; Pöttker, 2000: 22-30; Priest, 2010: 83-94; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 690-712; Weber & Rager, 1994: 3-12).

Despite some of them may have been used to assess diversity in quantitative terms, the following table displays which indicators remain in charge of evaluating independence and objective performance:

Table No. 67 – Distribution of Indicators stemming from Principles

Principles		Independence problems / Objectivity features	Diversity	Indexable indicators
Independence	From	Over-reliance on sources	* Diversity of protagonists.	* Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness.
		Source bias	* Diversity of protagonists. * Large number of critical news.	* Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness. * Diversity of perspectives.
		Low credibility		* Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information). * High degree of factualness.
		Identitary inherence	* Large number of domestic news (geographical diversity). * Great deal of relevance of foreign news.	
	For	Self-censorship	* Large number of critical news.	* Diversity of perspectives.
		Useless information		* Clarification of consequences. * Great deal of significance (number of affected people). * Correlation between the level of factualness and currency.
Objectivity	Factuality	Truth	* Refusal to the employment of unattributed information sources.	*Factualness:* * Separation of facts and opinion. * High degree of factualness. * Large amount of exclusive material (origin of information).
				Accuracy: * Internal accuracy (correspondence between headlines and reporting).
			Completeness: * 'External completeness': Range of topics.	*Completeness:* * 'Internal completeness': Depth of information. * 'Cumulative completeness': Long-running stories in time.
		Relevance	* Hard news' thematic content.	* Current information. * Great deal of significance (number of affected people).
	Impartiality	Balance	* Comparison of diversity of topic and event coverage.	* Overall assessment: favourable, neutral or unfavourable coverage. * Number and significance of every argument.
		Neutral presentation		* Adequacy of additional information elements. * Appropriate use of language (Tone).

Source: Author.

The type of conducting research has dispensed with the additional application of amount and significance indicators. As a matter of fact, this study will only analyse the main stories of different media. Whereas their prominence and placement are similar,

news volume features become not indexable and, thus, reliable for the cross-media character of the assessment of headline and front page news. Therefore, two indicators of factuality (informativeness and the "amount of space or time allocated to topics, events or protagonists", for relevance), as well as a standard of impartiality ("amount of space or time allocated to each viewpoint", for number of perspectives), have been discarded.

The standards integrating the News Quality Index can be disposed according to the newsmaking stage they operate in, following VAP's main contributions. The following table exhibits such a distribution:

Table No. 68 – Distribution of Indicators integrating the News Quality Index, according to the Stages of the Newsmaking Process

Newsmaking stages	Indexable indicators
SELECTION PROCESS	Origin of information
	Type of sources
	Degree of factualness
	Currency
	Relevance
ELABORATION PROCESS	Accuracy
	Completeness
	Number of perspectives
	Adequacy of additional informational elements
	Appropriate use of language

Source: Author.

Excellence quantification models have principally taken the form of percentages, ponderations or coefficients. Simple measurements have been proposed. The indicators of the News Quality Index sum up a total of ten criteria, which enables its quantification on a 0-10 scale. Providing journalistic activity relies on the equitable operationalization of them all, news reporting deficiencies are automatically disclosed. Moreover, every indicator's internal codification displays the degree of accomplishment on a 0-1 computation to avoid coder's subjectivity. Score is asigned according to rejected unprofessional practices –zero points–, basic journalistic elements –which obtain half point–, and excellence features –awarded with one point–. As a consequence, the score resulting out of the measure against ten standards is rated with five points, when journalistic central elements are satisfactorilly accomplished. The difference in score until ten points (quality goal) represents the way towards News Quality and the stages to be taken into account (Bodle, 1996: 672-675; Brandl, 2004; Grüll, 2009: 51-92; Jiménez Piano, 2007: 52, 209-228; Just & Belt, 2004: 19-21;

Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 23; Priest, 2010: 83-94; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 105; Steiner et al., 2004: 56-60; Wallisch, 1995: 147; Wilke, 1998: 134-135).

b.2.1. Selection process

The News Quality Index consists of ten indicators, referring to both stages of news making. First of all, the selection process includes standards to measure the features of the news that media have opted for[224]. The following five indicators are considered: *origin of information, type of sources, degree of factualness, currency* and *relevance*.

i. Origin of information[225]

Scholars have complained about the abuse of news agency supply equalizing all media outlets. News agency material has been recommended only as a platform for new stories for a better News Quality provision. Journalistic activity conducted by own initiative has been long referred to as "exclusive material", which alludes to the fact that such information supply will distinguish its provider from other media also in terms of topic diversity. Similarly, self-production has been long considered a warranty of originality (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 8; De Pablos Coello & Mateos Martín, 2004: 359; Mezger, 2005: 61-73; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374).

Owing to current journalism overloaded with news agency supply and media officers' agenda, scholars focus their research on the additional information every medium has gained to the information provided by agencies and media officers. That is to say, it is widely accepted that news agency material constitutes the basis of contemporary communication. However, in terms of quality, it is agreed that such information must be complemented during the elaboration process. Moreover, research cannot be grounded on the assumption that media accurately indicate the origin of information, distinguishing between news agency material, press releases, press conferences (where questions can be posed) and exclusive material (Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 249-259; Fogel, 2002-2003: 22; Gutting, 2004: 287; Ramirez de la Piscina, 1994; Riesmeyer, 2006: 285-305; Vehlow, 2006: 123-126).

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[224] **Do not confuse** selection process indicators with news values, which measure the features of the selected event (Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007: 11-12).

[225] The following scholars have paid attention to the **origin of information**: Arnold (2009), Brandl (2004), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Maurer (2005), Puente et al. (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Riesmeyer (2006), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b) and Vehlow (2006).

Hence, it is highly appreciated to mention how such information was conducted. On the one hand, it is considered a warrant for transparency. On the other, it fits in the new communication requirements of the Network society. Accordingly, the access to the Internet forces media to play a new role. Classic communication models considered journalism to be a "gatekeeper" of reality, in charge of choosing which information deserves the consideration of news. New communication models operating in the Network society state media are no longer mere news senders. On the contrary, they must also intermediate between audience and sources, so that the former can access to direct information. In fact, excluding indications towards any information deepening process has been referred to in terms of "confiscated news" (Landa Ijurko, 2005: 409; Meier, 2007: 252-255; Riesmeyer, 2006: 285-305; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-347; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374-375).

Chart No. 44 – Comparison between the Classic "Gatekeeping" Communication Model and the New Communication Model based on Internet Openness
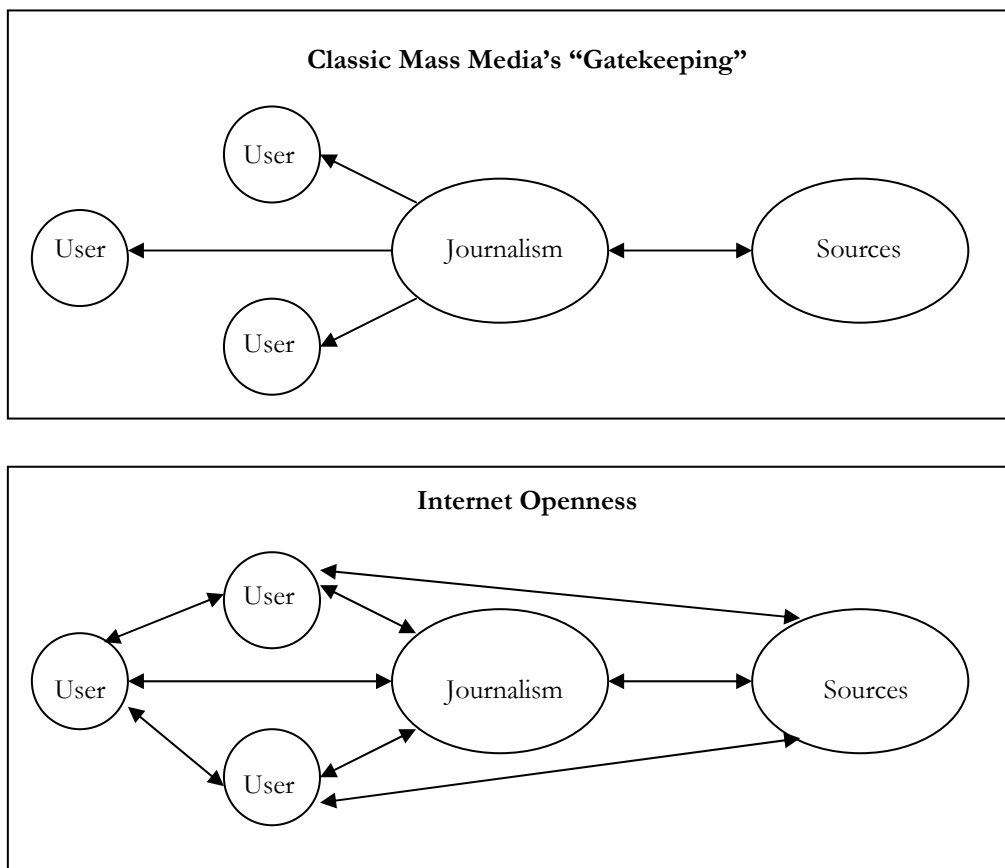
Source: Meier (2007: 252-253)[226].

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[226] My translation from German.

Therefore, mentioned *origin of news* allows users to get access to the main sources. This stage points out informational transparency. The question of what kind of sources is employed to cover that information emphasizes journalistic work, as it will be later exposed. Therefore, since exclusivity has become a rare value, scholars plead for informational transparency to keep informant's distance towards news. Otherwise, media run the risk of becoming interested versions of their protagonists. As a matter of fact, Basque and Spanish media rarely declare their information on ETA was provided by the Spanish Home Office. Instead, they employ the names of their own reporters:

> [**PSE-EEko zinegotzi ohi bat hil du ETAk kanpainako azken egunean, Arrasaten**]
> "Isaias Carrasco PSE-EEko militantea eta Arrasateko (Gipuzkoa) zinegotzi ohia hil du ETAk, bost tiro botata. Espainiako Gorteetako Hauteskunde kanpainako azkenengo egunean egin zioten tiro, atzo, Navas de Tolosa kaleko bere etxe aurrean. Debagoienako erietxera eraman zuten hasieran, artean bizirik, baina bi aldiz geratu zitzaion eta sendagileak suspertzen saiatu ziren arren, 14:40an hil zen. 42 urte zituen, ezkonduta zegoen eta hiru seme-alaben aita zen." (*Berria*, 08/03/2008)

In contrast, media in Northern Basque Country (i.e. *Gure Irratia*, *Le Journal du Pays Basque*) explicitly state their information is based on those press releases:

> [**Un ex-elú du Parti socialiste d'Euskadi tué à Mondragon**]
> "[…] Lors d'une conférence de presse tenue juste après les faits, le ministre de l'Intérieur espagnol Alfredo Perez Rubalcaba […]." (*Le Journal du Pays Basque*, 08/03/2008)

Notwithstanding audivisual media are in need of informative images, they seldom expose Home Minister's press conferences. At an intermediate stage, *Diario de Navarra* sets white space to appoint which news agency has supply the information below, next to the byline.

Picture No. 13 – Identified news agency supply

Source: *Diario de Navarra* (08/03/2008).

Equally, international news does not generally express who has spread it worldwide, in spite of sharing similar images to illustrate news:

> "**Lurrikara [Txinan]**: Bi egunez hondakinen azpian, eta bizirik atera dituzte" (*Etb1*, 14/05/2008).
> "Cada vez más tragedia" (*Telecinco*, 14/05/2008).
> "**Séisme en Chine**: Près de 15.000 morts" (*Tf1*, 14/05/2008).

Most of the times, audience may get to know how that news arose when images designate their pictorial copyright owned by international news agencies.

Picture No. 14 – Identified pictorial copyright owned by news agencies

Source: *Diario de Noticias de Álava* (06/08/2008).

Finally, concealing informant's intentions may display biased news. As a matter of fact, publishing the leaking of a report might imply collaborating with political conspiration if the *origin of information* remains omitted and reporters sign their article as exclusive material, thus no information provider is named. However, any informational initiative related to Home Office is explicitly laid aside when revealing data obtained by police actions[227]:

> [**Detienen por tripiclar la tasa de alcohol al jefe de la Ertzaintza cesado por Ares**]
> "El hasta hace dos días jefe territorial de la Ertzaintza en Guipúzcoa –cesado el miércoles por el consejero de Interior, Rodolfo Ares, por pérdida de confianza [gobernu-aldaketa zela-eta]– fue detenido en la madrugada de ayer en un control de la propia Policía vasca por triplicar el nivel de alcoholemia permitido […]. El Departamento de Interior se negó ayer a comentar este caso y no realizó ninguna declaración sobre el incidente […].
> Alrededor de las dos de la mañana, una patrulla de la Ertzaintza detuvo un coche que al parecer realizaba movimientos sospechosos. El conductor se identificó como jefe territorial de la Policía vasca. Los agentes, no obstante, le obligaron a que soplara en el alcoholímetro. Según las fuentes consultadas, en la primera muestra, el mando ofreció una tasa de alcohol en aire de 0,71 miligramos por litro. En la segunda, minutos más tarde, el nivel había ascendido a 0,78. Los patrulleros le detuvieron al instante y, tras bloquear su vehículo, le condujeron a la comisaría de Irún para instruir el atestado por un delito contra la seguridad del tráfico." (*El Correo Español*, 16/04/2010)
>
> [**Malestar en la Ertzaintza por la filtración de una alcoholemia**]
> "El malestar en la Ertzaintza con Ares y su equipo parece que dará un salto más que cualitativo. El motivo es un controvertido control de alcoholemia con resultado positivo realizado al jefe territorial de Gipuzkoa, Xabier Landa –crítico con algunas actuaciones de Interior–, horas después de que fuera destituido al ser acusado de hacer pública una comunicación interna en la que se ordenaba comprobar la presencia de la bandera española y la foto de Patxi López en las dependencias oficiales […].
> Compañeros de Landa censuran que se haya filtrado su positivo y lo achacan a una venganza, a la vez que apuntan que alguien ordenó esperarle para *cazarle*." (*Diario de Noticias de Álava*, 17/04/2010)

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[227] Features discussed at the "Freelince" section of "Suelta la Olla" radio magazine in *Hala Bedi Irratia*: <http://www.halabedi.org/euskal-herria/17-suelta-la-olla/679-freelince-la-venganza-de-qrudolfq> [Last retrieved: 28/05/2010].

Hence, exposing the *origin of information* contributes with journalistic transparency: it indicates informant's intentions, it provides the audience with better tools to get deeper information, and it works as a retaining wall against biased news.

The News Quality Index awards information openness with one point when the *origin of information* is not only mentioned, but also adequately identified in order to enable deeper research. That would be the case for reference to press conferences or news agency supply. When such identification may not be clear enough, news only gains half point. Finally, omitted origin of information gives no points.

Table No. 69 – Origin of information

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
Mentioned	1
Indirectly identified	0,5
Omitted	0

Source: Author.

ii. Type of sources[228]

Once having appointed how news has arosen, the informational process requires report sources to handle information. The category of *type of sources* focuses on which informants are employed to obtain basic features of news. On the one hand, source research on the field of diversity explicits a basic distinction among documentary, media and personal informers. Documentary sources generally refer to data obtained from archives or documents. Media outlets also become informers when their exclusive report is alluded to. Finally, personal informants are usually classified according to which representativity they offer. For instance, the VAP method distinguishes up to six personal sources: Government, political officials, private officials, experts, personal statements and unattributed informants (Armentia & Caminos, 2003: 107-120; Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 239-259; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 45-46; Hagen, 1995a: 105-113; Pellegrini & Múgica, 2006b: 18-21).

On the other hand, content analysis in accordance with News Quality appoints to attributed or unattributed infomers. Tranparency does not only plead for the origin of information, but also for a critical attitude towards news sources. Accordingly, such a categorization for informants highlights journalistic activity as a social mediator, which

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[228] Several research on **type of sources** has been conducted to assess News Quality: Arnold (2009), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Dernbach (2010), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Maurer (2005), Pellegrini & Múgica (2006b), Puente et al. (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Riesmeyer (2006), Téramo (2006), Schirmer (2001), Vehlow (2006).

returns in terms of trust and credibility (Arnold, 2009: 304-305; Maurer, 2005: 162-163; NYT, 2005: 1-15; Riesmeyer, 2006: 285-305; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 92-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374; Schirmer, 2001: 173-174; Vehlow, 2006: 123-126; Weischenberg, 2001: 138-149).

For instance, news on violence is also likely to conceal sources, in an attempt to presentate facts as real. Furthermore, it promotes soft news. The following extract from the lead of a news item proves that ommitting any information source reveals a false illusion of truth:

> "[**Una madre mata a dos hijos de 3 y 7 años e intoxica a otros dos**]
> Le angustiaba la idea de divorciarse y decidió matar a sus cuatro hijos. Una mujer de la localidad navarra de Mutilva Alta, muy próxima a Pamplona, llevó a cabo ayer un doble crimen que pudo ser cuádruple y que tiñó de incredulidad y de pesar la comarca y el conjunto de la comunidad foral. Mató a sus dos hijos pequeños, de 3 y 7 años, al administrarles una dosis letal de tranquilizantes. También lo intentó, sin éxito, con los mayores, de 12 y 14, a quienes provocó diversos cortes en el cuello. Ella misma trató de quitarse la vida aspirando en el garaje el monóxido de carbono de su propio vehículo. La irrupción en la casa de los servicios policiales y de emergencia a las nueve y cuarto de la mañana evitó estas tres muertes y dio al traste con el trágico plan hurdido por la desesperada mujer." (*El Correo Español*, 07/02/2008)

Owing that the *origin of information* should have been already deliberated at a previous stage, the current classification of sources focuses its attention on the informational relability they provide. Thus, the categorization of informants related to content analysis in the framework of News Quality research is to be applied. However, the classification about informers' diversity has underlined the importance of two sources more reliable than attributed ordinary media actors, such as documentary sources and experts. News coming up from documents proves permanently its evidence. That is the case for the tortures Igor Portu's medical report testified. Basque media got access to such an impartial document.

Picture No. 15 – Pictorial proof of a Document as News Source

Source: *Berria* (08/01/2008).

Picture No. 16 – Transcription of a document employed as news source

Source: *Berria* (08/01/2008).

Considering the origin of information of those reports is to be stated at the previous stage, information supply provided by news agencies, media officers and published news is to be asserted so. Such a categorization explicitly lays aside the fact that other media's report may become work as information sources. In effect, journalistic work exiges further informational deepening of news already published, as well as a particular perspective differing from other media (De Pablos Coello & Mateos Martín, 2004: 352; Fogel, 2002-2003: 20-24; Riesmeyer, 2006: 285-305). That way, at the stage of *origin of information* (previous category) it should be stated that news has arosen on the Internet:

> [**Xabier Silveirak eta Mariasun Landak gaztelaniaz idatzi izanak eztabaida piztu du Interneten**]
> "[…] Koldo Izagirrek euskal literaturaren funtzioaz eta euskal idazleen lanbideaz eztabaida piztu du, non eta eztabaidak, orain, pizten dren ez-tokian: sarean. *Le train express Durkheim-Castejon* artikuluan, Mariasun Landaren *Festa aldameneko gelan* (Erein) eta Xabier Silveiraren *A las ocho en el Bule* (Txalaparta) liburuen argitalpenak piztutako «harridurak» bildu ditu Izagirrek, eta <u>bazka.info gune digitalean idatzi</u>." (08/01/2008, *Berria*)

Then, journalistic work will consist in compiling different arguments and points of view. Those are to be register at the stage of *type of sources*:

> [**Xabier Silveirak eta Mariasun Landak gaztelaniaz idatzi izanak eztabaida piztu du Interneten**]
> "[…] <u>Silveirak</u> berak erantzun zion Izagirreri, *Gara*-ko bere zutabean. Sutan zela."
> "[…] <u>Juan Luis Zabalak</u> Izagirreren arrangura bera agertzen du *Berria*ko bere blogean (*berria.info/blogak/zabala*)."
> "[…] <u>Hasier Etxeberriak</u> ere kezka izango zuen eskuan dardar, *alua.mundua.com* bere blogean hau idatzi zuenean […]."
> "[…] <u>Lander Garrok</u> segida eman dio sesioari, *bazka.com* gunean bertan, Silveiraren argudioekin bat egiteko." (08/01/2008, *Berria*)

Similarly, when journalists are present at a given event, it is considered only to be valued at the stage of origin of information. Although they report on the basis of eyewitnesses, several journalists like Arantza Urretabizkaia state that "reporting consists in not believing what we are seeing" (*Euskadi Irratia*, 2010/04/05). Hence, even for those cases where a reporter is present, news sources are in charge of explaining the keys of such an event. All in all, journalism is a matter of becoming an efficient mediator between citizens and the society they are living in.

Nevertheless, the presence of a reporter can not ignore the fact that news is covered according to information sources. In effect, correspondents may only report on the social atmosphere, according to their own perception:

"**[Irakeko] Bonbardaketak nolakoak izan ziren?**

[Joseba Iriondo]: «Oso gogorrak. Hiru egunez egon ziren minutu eta erdiro bonba bat botatzen. Hiru egunetan 3.000 bonba bota zituzten. Tona bateko bonbak bata bestearen atzetik. <u>Gauak egin genituen hotela dar-dar batean zegoela, baina bonba hotsik entzun gabe, 30-40 kilometrora ari zirelako botatzen</u>. Eta pentsa dardara zenbaterainokoa zen, sarrailan zintzilik zeuden giltzek ere klin-klin hotsa ateratzen bazuten!

Bonbardaketa gehienak zehatzak izan ziren. Baina %10ek huts egin zuten eta haiek herritarrak hil zituzten.»" (Eizagirre & Eizagirre, 2003: 15)

For the rest, correspondents follow other media outlets, interview local authorities. Eyewitness helps to focus on new approaches closer to reality, but it doesn't constitute an information source in itself.

"**Zuen inguruan ibili ziren kazetari denek izan zuten informatzeko jarrera bera?**

[Joseba Iriondo]: «Badirudi, han kazetari pila geundela, baina irudi hori distortsionatuta dago. Bagdad bonbardatu zutenean 300 kazetari bakarrik geunden, eta haietatik 30etik gora Espainiako estatukoak. Estatubatuar gutxi zeuden, *CNN* kateko inor ez zegoen... <u>Ingalaterrako *BBC* han zegoen, eta kate horren informazioa izan zen guretzat sinisgarriena.</u>»

[…] **Irudi asko grabatzea debekatu zizuen Irakeko gobernuak.**

[Joseba Iriondo]: «Ez zegoen ez leku publikorik, zubirik, ministeriorik, eraikuntza ofizialik eta hiritarrik grabatzerik. Biktimak eta haien sufrimendua besterik ezin zen grabatu. Egia zen sufrimendu hori dena, baina <u>erakutsi ezin genuen aldea ere hor zegoen</u>. Grabatu ezin genuenez, ikusitakoa kontatu egiten genuen. <u>Irratian entzundakoekin, han kontatzen zigutenarekin eta amerikarrek esandakoarekin erdibideko bertsio bat</u>, ahalik eta zintzoena egiten saiatu ginen. Ez genuen hanka gehiegi sartu. Iraken inork ez zuen eman «scoop» edo lehen berririk, <u>gutxi gorabehera denek zekitena kontatzen genuen, ageri-agerikoa zena</u>.»" (Eizagirre & Eizagirre, 2003: 15)

News coverage on Haiti earthquake of 2010 was highly criticised, because reporting dealt with operational questions, such as journalists being expelled from the airport. As a matter of fact, live news reporting obtructed humanitary actions in Haiti. Furthermore, correspondents' information was not based on local reporting. Instead, it corresponded with the geographical delimitation of such an airport:

[Periodistas… ¿o niños de papá?]

"¿Puede la AECID (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional y Desarrollo) llevar a más de veinte periodistas dentro de un avión de emergencias? Sí. <u>¿Puede un periodista ponerse a llorar cagado de miedo nada más poner un pie en Puerto Príncipe al verse rodeado de negros?</u> Sí, y ¿puede el ministro de Exteriores buscarles casa a todos los periodistas para que trabajen con «plena seguridad» cuando sólo ayer hubo tres réplicas y ni la policía ha sido capaz hasta ahora de tomar el control de las calles? Sí, y no sólo eso si no que <u>Juan Pablo De La Iglesia, secretario de Estado para Iberoamérica, tuvo que perder un día entero</u> en cumplir la orden del ministro, en medio de un desastre de estas dimensiones. <u>Y además de todo eso incluyan ustedes a una estrella de la televisión nacional [Pedro Piqueras, *Telecinco*] convertida en la mayor mosca cojonera de cuantos han pasado por ahí.</u>

El jueves por la noche, junto a muchos otros informadores de todo el mundo, llegó la orden de los marines de EEUU para que la prensa abandonara las instalaciones del aeropuerto de Puerto Príncipe, que los periodistas habían tomado como base de operaciones para realizar su trabajo. En los últimos días en el aeropuerto desembarcaron miles de efectivos estadounidenses cargados hasta los

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dientes, los aviones militares aterrizaban cada pocos minutos y el material de emergencia corría de forma frenética por la pista pero <u>paseando alegremente en medio de ese desmadre aparece siempre algún periodista. Y fumando.</u>

[…] Pero los periodistas no tienen toda la culpa no, si no que la tiene un paternalismo estúpido que hace que un señor de Moncloa tenga que aterrizar para ver si estamos bien. […] Pero no, <u>muchos periodistas preferían vivir bajo el cobijo de la gallina de la AECID antes que enfrentarse solos a la una ciudad destrozada</u> de la que lo desconocen todo." (*El Mundo*, 22/01/2010)[229]

Along with documentary sources, personal informants will be classified according to the following subcategories: experts, attributed sources (identified by name and charge), partly attributed sources (indirectly identified) and non-attributed sources (off the record and unattributed informants). When a news item is based on several sources, the highest-scored one will be taken into account. Actually, this classification of sources differs from that of diversity. On the one side, it is argued than several sources may not imply different points of view. Accordingly, instead of paying attention to the amount of sources employed, the number of perspectives will be later considered (*number of perspectives*). On the other, source diversity is not ranked, because it results difficult to be assigned any score in terms of News Quality. However, it is taken into account as long as it is reflected in relation to deepth of news (*completeness*). Therefore, when several sources are employed to cover news events, it will be valued if only they contribute with different perspectives and deeper information.

In sum, documentary sources are the highest scored, since they denote journalistic activity and intentionality. Personal informants gain 0,75 points when they are experts in such a field, who expose an academical perspective of the event. Attributed sources identified by name and position are better ranked than others, because they exhibit clues for later deepening. When personal sources are only partly identified, it is hardly difficult to get independent information from other media, but it still denotes keeping a distance from news event. Then, it achieves 0,25 points. Finally, non-attributed sources obtain no points, since their employment is explicitly rejected by scholars and restricted to extremely relevant cases (thus, to be assessed at the stage of *relevance*).

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[229] *El Mundo* <http://www.elmundo.es/america/2010/01/22/noticias/1264138528.html> [Last retrieved: 26/01/2010]. Features discussed at the "Freelince" section of "Suelta la Olla" radio magazine in *Hala Bedi Irratia*: <http://www.halabedi.org/araba-home-othermenu-10/17-suelta-la-olla/566-freelance-iperiodistas-o-nins-de-papa> [Last retrieved: 20/06/2010].

Table No. 70 – Type of sources

Type of Source	0-1 scale
Documentary sources	1
Personal sources	
* Experts	0,75
* Attributed sources identified by name and position	0,5
* Partly attributed sources (indirectly identified)	0,25
* Non-attributed sources (Off the record, unattributed information)	0

Source: Author.

iii. Degree of factualness[230]

Scholars object journalistic activity based on statements. Event reporting can effectively assure the adequate separation of information and opinion. Therefore, news arosen from events or form conducted investigation will be double ranked than "statement journalism" (CAF & FNPI, 2004: 31; Fogel, 2002-2003: 24; Gomis, 2008: 77-78; Schirmer, 2001: 94; Vera et al., 2004c: 41-42).

Moreover, the *degree of factualness* appears related to other indicators, such as *type of sources*. For instance, a personal informer commenting a past event will obtain one point: 0,5 (attributed source identified by name and position) + 0,5 (statements). Off-the-record information revealed by non-attributed sources reporting an event will achieve equal score: 0 (non-attributed sources) + 1 (event). Other standards will also define that news' quality features (*currency*, *interest*, etc...).

Furthermore, a new "shrinking phenomenon" has shaken event coverage habits: the extent to which news deals with future speculations not comparable to analysis on consequences (for instance, international leaders' agenda advance) than already occurred events. Advance news (information coming up from agenda schedule) is frequent in the Sports section:

> "Kiroletan, Gijonen dago *Gaur Egun*eko arreta nagusia […]: Realak jokatuko du gaur […]." (*Etb1*, 22/03/2008)

Recently, governmental and international agenda, in addition to cultural event programming, have become news themselves:

> "Ordu t'erdi barru hasiko da Parisen EBeko eta Mediterraneoko itsas-ertzeko goi-bilera […]." (*Euskadi Irratia*, 13/07/2008)
> "Euskal Herriko Bertsozale elkarteak antolatuta, datorren larunbatean Bertso Eguna izango da Donostian […]." (*Euskadi Irratia*, 22/01/2008)

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[230] Indicators on the **degree of factualness** have been employed by the following scholars: De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Maurer (2005), Schirmer (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Téramo (2006b), and Vehlow (2006).

Neiger has classified the level of speculation as "a function of two components: the scope of time involved and the sources on which journalists base their stories" (Neiger, 2007: 310-321). The combination of both components has raised four speculation types, disposed according to the level of speculation they imply:

> "1.- **Predictable Future** (short term or/and solid sources such as measurements and time schedules).
> 2.- **Informed Assessment** (short/medium term or/and reliable sources).
> 3.- **Speculative Assessment** (medium/long term or/and sources of interest; journalists' own interpretations; unreliable sources, e.g. 'the man in the street').
> 4.- **Conjectured Future** (uncertain future and sources of interest/'worst case scenarios')." (Neiger, 2007: 313-314)

Future speculations will be codified as a single category, since the level of speculation may already be measured at the following stage (*currency*). Speculations will obtain no points. News items based on events, on the contrary, achieve the highest score, that is, one point. Reporting based on statements, finally, gets half point.

Table No. 71 – Degree of Factualness

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
Events	1
Statements	0,5
Speculations and conjectures	0

Source: Author.

iv. Currency[231]

Currency or timeliness refers to the closeness of acquaintance or date of an event and the coverage of such an event. Currency has been classified as permanent, recent and deferred. 'Permanent (or latent) currency' designates events related to topics of prevalent regularity, because of their particularly high social value. 'Recent currency' refers to the period of time which goes by from the event to its reporting. 'Deferred currency', finally, alludes to the frequency of events whose main elements extend over time. Therefore, permanent and deferred currency types interact in relation with other indicators, such as *relevance* (for the former) and *degree of factualness* (for the latter). Consequently, German research on News Quality has focused on recent quality, that is to say, the period of time between the event and its reporting (Armentia & Caminos, 1998: 119-120; Moreno Cano, 2009: 177; Pöttker, 2000: 22-26; Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002: 148-151; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-

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[231] The following research has considered the question of **currency**: Arnold (2009), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Dernbach (2010), Fahr (2001), Hagen (1995a), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Puente et al. (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b), Trebbe et al. (2008), and Vehlow (2006).

Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374; Schirmer, 2001: 127-128; Weber & Rager, 1994: 10-11).

As a result of future speculation news, the categories of recent currency are to be applied not only to past events, but also to the future. Hence, recent currency expresses the period of time going by from the event to the reporting, and from the reporting to the event too:

> "Hauteskunde kanpainan bete-betean sartzeko ordu gutxi falta dira […].", *Etb1* (21/02/2008):
> > Today ……………………………………………………………… 1 point
> "Txina [Olinpiar Jokoak]: Hiru egun besterik ez.", *Etb1* (05/08/2008):
> > 2-7 days ……………………………………………………… 0,5 points

Hence, internal codification of *currency* will remain as follows. Immediate currency achieves the higher score. Later, recent information (2-7 days) achieves half point. Finally, a week-old events only obtain 0,25 points, whereas news supply without specific date is not rated.

Table No. 72 – Currency

Recent currency	0-1 scale
Immediate: "yesterday", "today", "tomorrow"	1
2-7 days	0,5
More than a week	0,25
No specified date	0

Source: Author.

v. Relevance[232]

Relevance is generally designated as news' main feature. In addition, valuable news "must deal with significant matters of current concern". The term of usefulness has arisen to appoint a determinate information supply, which provides the interpretation key to understand "deferred consequences of current events". Therefore, the appropriate explanation of events' magnitude and subsequent effects is inherent to useful news. Preconditions for usefulness are a great deal of interest, as well as an adequate correlation between factual character or news and their currency. First of all, all definitions of news include the *significance* attribute. It has been quantitatively measured as the number of people that will face the consequences of such current news. Secondly, the *prominence* of current news does not lay on mere novelty. Instead, it requests a "correlation with the level of factualness". As a result, the concept of useful

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[232] **Relevance**, resulting from the combination of prominence and significance, has been analysed in the following studies: De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Dernbach (2010), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Hagen (1995b), Puente et al. (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Schirmer (2001), and Téramo (2006b).

news goes further than hard news, since the latter does not stress the require of deferred consequences (Arnold, 2006: 421-424; Bowman, 2006: 628-643; CAF & FNPI, 2005b: 84; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 27; CAF & FNPI, 2003: 52-53; Gardner et al., 2002: 158; Gomis, 2008: 125-134; Graber, 2003: 146; Herzog et al, 2006: 399-413; McLeod, 2000: 16; McQuail, 1992: 197-200; Mezger, 2005: 73; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 17-19, 50-51; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Scheuer, 2008: 28-32; Schirmer, 2001: 97-99; Schwer, 2006: 350-351; Schwiesau & Ohler, 2003: 13-22).

Therefore, *relevance* constitutes a relational concept: it is due to a determine situation resulting from action on other issues. Accordingly, Schatz and Schulz distinguish two interconnected assessment levels of assessment: the potency of news values and the social segments involved. On the one side, the potency of news values denoting relevance is disposed as qualitatively measurable. They classify six news values as relevance suppliers. First of all, real or potential risk relies on the probability of occurrence. For instance, Schatz and Schulz consider that "the risk of a major meteor impact on Earth is less relevant than a reactor accident with the same potential for damage, if the latter exhibits a higher probability of occurrence". Secondly, the effect of intensity plays an amplifier role of every news value. The more intense it is the more relevant for selection such information turns. Thirdly, centrality to values or physical existence observes a multiplier effect when actors' prominent status is involved. That would be the case of the divergent relevance of reporting an assassination attempt on the Pope or on an unknown individual. Fourthly, protagonist's intention evaluates the voluntary nature of running the risk presented as a result. A pedestrian deceased in an accident is judged more relevant than the inebriated driver also died in the same accident. Fifthly, geographical or emotional proximity tends to consider more relevant events occurring abroad when nationals are involved. Finally, irreversibility or durability of effects alludes to event's impact on time. AIDS is thought to more relevant than cholera, because the latter is a treatable disease.

On the other side, Schatz and Schulz also consider the number of affected people. Accordingly, social segments are pondered following the abstraction degree of social construction. The first level is integrated by the total amount of individuals. The second stage includes social segments, institutions and subsystems on main issues. Last level consists of society as totality (Hagen, 1995a: 70-105; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 146; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Schirmer, 2001: 128-129; Tsfati et al., 2006: 162-163).

Nonetheless, News Quality research conducted by Fahr, Maurer and Vehlow has not pondered relevance according to Schatz and Schulz. Instead, they have considered importance in relation with quality newspapers consonance and convergence. That is to say, their works dealing with broadcasting news found well considered print media's salience a measuring tool to enable television news' ratings. However, it has been proved that topic convergence among media constitutes a feature of tabloidization, also affecting reference newspapers. As a matter of fact, Weischenberg has evidenced the relation between topic's relevance and its effects, regardless of the news outlet, in an attempt to attest sensationalism (Fahr, 2001: 46-57; Früh, 2001: 89-104; Hagen, 1995b: 162-177; Liebermann, 2008: 19-52; Maurer, 2005: 218-228; Vehlow, 2006: 30-36; Weischenberg, 2001: 44-49; 135-136; Weischenberg, 1995: 334-336).

Therefore, scholars have highlighted the two-fold composition of *relevance*, consisted of prominence and significance. On the one hand, *prominence* or weight is assessed on the basis of the impact involving news values to enter into media's agenda, as recent research has corroborated. Accordingly, news items can be classified in relation with social usefulness. On the other hand, the *significance* of news is measured in relation to the number of affected people, under the consideration of service or usefulness (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Social Media[233]; Baudenbacher, 2004: 15-49; Fahr, 2001: 100-107; Fretwurst, 2008: 114-118; Hagen, 1995a: 70-105, 270-272; Hagen, 1995b: 158-172; McQuail, 1992: 198-200; Rasche, 2008: 9-132; Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007: 62-63; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374).

Consequently, for methodological purposes, prominence has been identified with "intensity of news values", whereas significance has been equalized to "the number of affected people". Later works on classifications of news values according to social responsibility differ from such an approach (De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 50-122; Fahr, 2001: 100-107; Gutiérrez Coba, 2006: 37-54; Puente et al., 2001: 116-120; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-109; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 696-701; Schirmer, 2001: 128-129; Téramo, 2006b: 17-70).

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[233] Arbeitsgemeinschaft Social Media: <http://ag-sm.de> [Last retrieved: 15/06/2010].

The question of news values arose in 1922, when Lippman formulated such a concept as the result of a combination of the features of the event attributed to journalistic judgement. Thus, news values are the result of journalistic judgement about the relevance of news factors, which are defined as "the relative impact of characteristics of news stories or events. Östgaard established in 1965 the European research tradition of news values on the basis of Lippman's theory. Accordingly, news factors related to political and economical aspects were found to be critical on the continent. Östgaard established three conditions selected events were likely to meet: simplification, identification and sensationalism. First of all, 'simplification' referred to the preference for simply constructed messages rather than confusing events. Secondly, 'identification' alluded to geographical, cultural and temporal proximity. Finally, 'sensationalism' addressed to dramatic and emotionally charged events, such as conflicts and catastrophes. Nevertheless, the fundamental problem of news value research consists in the fact that their significance cannot be proved, since there is no chance to compare them with those present in unreported events. That is why, in terms of *relevance*, news factors categorization is classified according to their intensity in news. Furthermore, the theory on news values has only been applied to explain the length and place that news reports take in the media, because it is assumed that there is a linear relationship between the intensity of news factors and the newsworthiness of news stories (Bourdieu, 2006: 18-27; Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006: 25-33; Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007: 11-78; Schulz, 2008: 87-99). Although the news value research has documented a more defined raking of news factors since 1965, the basic categorization by Östegaard still remains applicable:

Table No. 73 – Development of News Values since 1965 (Europe)

Östgaard (1965)	Galtung & Ruge (1965)	Schulz (1976)	Staab (1990)	Eilder (1997)	Ruhrmann et al. (2003); Maier, Ruhrmann & Klietsch (2006)
Identification: Status of the originating nation (State)	Elite nations (States)	National centrality	Status of the originating nation (State)	Not applicable	Status of the originating nation (State)
		New: Regional centrality	Status of the originating region	Place status	Place status
Identification: Spatial, cultural or temporal proximity	* Significance: cultural proximity, ethnocentrism	* Spatial proximity * Political proximity * Cultural proximity * Ethnocentrism	* Spatial proximity * Political proximity * Cultural proximity * New: Economical proximity	Not applicable	* German engagement * Spatial proximity * Political proximity * Cultural proximity * Economical proximity
	Frequency / Duration	* Duration * Topic	* Originating topics * Topic's context	Originating topics	Originating topics
Identification: Influence	Elite personalities	* Personal influence * Prominence	* Institutional influence * Personal influence * Prominence	* Influence * Prominence	* Influence * Prominence
Identification: Personalization	Personalization	Personalization	Personalization	Personalization	Personalization
			New: Factualness	Factualness	Factualness
	* Significance: Relevance	Relevance	Range	Range	Range
	* Surprise: Unpredictability Rarity	Surprise	Surprise	Surprise	Surprise
		New: Success	* Real benefit / Success * Potential benefit / Success	Benefit	* Positive consequences / Benefit / Success
Sensationalism: Damage	Negativism	Damage	* Real damage / Failure * Potential damage / Failure	Damage	* Negative consequences / Damage / Failure
Sensationalism: Conflict		* Conflict * Criminality	* Controversy * Aggression * Demonstration	Controversy	* Difference of opinion / Controversy * Demonstration
Sensationalism: Emotions				* Emotions * New: Sexuality / Eroticism	* Display of emotions * Sexuality / Eroticism * Visuality
"Revoked values"					
Simplification	* Clarity * Threshold value: 1.) absolute intensity 2.) increasing intensity * Consonance: 1.) Predictability 2.) Expectation fulfilment * Continuity * Composition / Variation	Structure			
Number of values in each classification					
3	12	18	22	13	22

Source: Ruhrmann & Göbbel (2007: 13)[234].

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[234] My translation from German.

Recent research appoints that selection of news in the framework of the news making process must include other methodological approaches, since systematic content analysis published news stories has been evidenced not to be able to deeply exhibit the undelying forces of new factors. First of all, content anaylisis has been complemented with surveys and semi-structured deep interviews to professionals, in order to reconstruct news values. Secondly, extended discourse analysis has been applied to analyse news values, on the assumption that news factors are consequences (rather than causes) of journalistic selection decisions. Thirdly, the combination of systematic content analysis and framing studies has analysed "the dynamics of the interaction of themes, selection criteria and its changes during key events". Equally, it may help to understand better the reception of corresponding frames. Lastly, news factors and their connection to *relevance* have been assigned to criticise "the increasingly robust non-political, and personalized human touch-based reporting" (Fretwurst, 2008: 112-144; Lorenz, 2009: 86-148; Meier, 2007: 191-255; Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007: 11-78; Ruß-Mohl, 2003: 126-139). Accordingly, news values research moved towards social responsibility of media, that is to say, *usefulness*:

> "The more that news has such features [human interest, personalization or other entertainment], the more it may be thought to be lacking in 'informational value', and thus unlikely to be relevant to information needs, however immediately *interesting* it may be to the audiences." (McQuail, 1992: 200)

Fretwurst's recent Doctoral Thesis has introduced a new systematization of news factors, according to their usefulness, in order to measure relevance. It is asserted that *relevance* is the result of the interaction of three elements: news factors, levels of relevance (in the sense of significance: social segments involved) and intensity (high, medium or low). Such a systematization of news factors distinguishes between two types of story features: those of representation and those related to the event.

Chart No. 45 – Systematization of News Factors, according to *Relevance*

News factors

Representation features — **Event features** — **Indicators** — Prominence / Influence / Superlative

Mediation (simplification) / Illustrations / Personalization

Time reference / Currency / Prolongation / * surprise / * continuity

"important"

Service information (traffic, weather) — Individual / * damage / * benefit

Social relevance — **Individual relevance** — Threat / * break of law / * criminality / * violence / * catastrophes

Value — Potential dismay — Identification — Diversion

Social / * damage / * benefit — Controversy / Conflict / * war / * legal attack — Proximity / * spatial / * cultural — Conseq. / Range / Risk — Everyday life: / * people / * animals / * technique — Voyeurism / *fate / *eroticism — Sensation / Curiosity

"interesting"

Sources: Fretwurst (2008: 113)[235].

On the one hand, *representation features* allude to news factors in the framework of news supply. Accordingly, news stories may arise because of the characteristics of mediation or time reference. Mediation stems from professional provision of news reports. Accordingly, the news stories provided by news agencies or media officers tend to highlight principal factors such as illustrations or personification of actors, regardless of the social participation keys contained in the information they provide:

> "Obamak euli bat hil du, elkarrizketa batean zegoela." (*Etb1*, 16/06/2009)
> "Obama 'asesina' en directo a la mosca de la tele." (*El País*, 17/06/2009)
> "Obama's White House is a no-fly zone." (*The Guardian*, 17/06/2009)

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[235] My translation from German.

**Picture No. 17 – Barack Obama, President of the USA,
catches a fly during an interview**

Sources: *El País*[236] (17/06/2009).

Similarly, time reference compiles those news stories deriving from previous ones. Thus, those factors allude to currency or prolongation in time.

On the other hand, *event features* are classified according to their social significance. First of all, *individual relevance* deals with interesting, threatening or important news stories. Interesting reports lead to factors such as identification or diversion. Threat alludes to breaking of law, as well as dramatic situations. Importart news values are assigned to service information and individual damage. Secondly, *social relevance* compiles those traditional news factors, such as value and potential dismay. Whereas value considers social damage and benefit, in addittion to controversy, potential dismay becomes central to proximity and consequences. There is another category with no social especification, named *indicators*, which acts as a bridge between individual and social relevance. As a matter of fact, it is assumed that the same news factor may be judged in different way according to its status, because *relevance* does not rely on topic classification. Relevance is assessed according to the news values consistent with information treatment. For instance, the report of a similar event can denote diverse relevance, in line with information treatment. That would be the case of the filming of an advertisement in Iruñea, where two raing cars were presented at the traditional running of the bulls[237]:

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[236] *El País* <http://www.elpais.com/videos/internacional/Obama/asesina/directo/mosca/tele/elpe-puint/20090617elpepuint_4/Ves/> [Last retrieved: 19/06/2010].

[237] 28/06/2008, for broadcasting news and 29/06/2008, for print reports.

"Goitibeheras y F1, sprint entre dos modelos de Iruñea": *Gara* focuses on Indicators (such as influence on social model).

"Trabarik ez autoei: 1Formulako bi autok entzierroaren bidea egin dute" (*Berria*) and "Los «toros rojos» rugen en la Estafeta" (*Diario Vasco*): Relevance is related to curiosity ("Interesting" individual relevance).

"Lehen entzierroa: Gaur adarkadarik ez" (*Etb1*), "Primer encierro: Rápido, limpio y sin atropellos" (*Etb2*), "Toros de 700 caballos" (*Telecinco*), and "La F1 arrasa en Pamplona" (*Diario de Navarra*) drew attention to illustrations (Representation).

As a consequence, Fretwurst's system results much more complete than other indicators earlier employed. Schirmer, for example, only measured significance, whereas Fahr paid attention to "scope and weight". Equally, VAP only assesses "promixity" and "consecuences" (De La Torre & Téramo, 2004: 50-122; Fahr, 2001: 100-107; Fretwurst, 2008: 114-118; Gutiérrez Coba , 2006: 37-54; Hagen 1995a: 70-105; Maurer, 2005: 104-108; Puente et al., 2003-2004: 103-109; Puente et al., 2001: 116-120; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 698; Schirmer, 2001: 71-72; Téramo, 2006b: 17-70; Vehlow, 2006: 30-36; Weischenberg, 2001: 31). Furthermore, the present measurement of relevance shapes better for McQuail's definition:

"The 'larger' the event (or topic), the greater the number of affected, the more *immediate* its impact (timeliness) and the 'closer' to home (culturally or geographically), the more *significance* it has and therefore the more *relevance*." (McQuail, 1992: 200)

As a result, relevance will consist of a unique assessment indicator which gathers both attributes of significance and prominence. Hence, internal codification of the relevance will distinguish five levels. First of all, social relevance will achieve one point. Secondly, indicators will obtain 0,75 points. Thirdly, individual relevance considered "important" will be awarded with half point. Fourthly, other individual relevance cases (such as threat and "interesting") will get 0,25 points. Finally, reporting on representation values will entail no points.

Table No. 74 – News Factors Classification, according to *Relevance*

News values, according to relevance				0-1 scale
EVENT VALUES	Social relevance	Potential dismay	Proximity (spatial, cultural)	1
			Consequences, range, risk	
		Value	Social damage – social benefit	
			Controversy, conflict (war, legal attack)	
	Indicators	Prominence, influence, superlative		0,75
	Individual relevance	"Important"	Service information (traffic, weather)	0,5
			Individual damage – individual benefit	
		Threat: break of law (criminality, violence), catastrophes, tragedies		0,25
		"Interesting"	Identification (Everyday life: people, animals, technique)	
			Diversion: voyeurism (fate, eroticism) – sensation, curiosity	
REPRE-SENTA-TION	Time reference	Currency		0
		Prolongation: surprise, continuity		
	Mediation (simplification)	Illustrations		
		Personification		

Source: Author, based on Fretwurst (2008: 112-139).

b.2.2. Elaboration process

Selected news items are completed and shaped at the stage of elaboration. It denotes journalist's intervention and contributions. Accordingly, three indicators rate the quality of news elaboration (*accuracy, completeness* and *number of perspectives*). Moreover, the last two indicators deal with journalistic languages. To that extent, *adequacy of additional informational elements* and *appropriate use of language* will not only rate their degree of accomplishment, but also shape the overall score, since they may deduct points for mispractice cases.

i. Accuracy[238]

Accuracy, also called internal consistency, examines headline's correspondence with news report. Headline's traditional function was to anticipate the news item. However, some scholars consider that in an information overload *Network society*, headlines should summarize the news report, so that citizens could obtain the highest amount of information at the lowest expense of time (Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 143-159; Gomis, 2008: 83-84; Román Álvarez, 2004: 59-61; Schirmer, 2001: 100-114).

Concise synopses are the highest scored headlines, over classical anticipatory ones, on behalf of news usefulness. Then, amplifying headlines obtain half point,

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[238] Previous research on **accuracy** has been conducted by the following scholars: Fahr (2001), Meyer (2004a), Schirmer (2001), and Vehlow (2006).

despite they may incite tabloidization in the long term, because they still remain more real and, thus, informative than ambiguous and misleading ones.

Table No. 75 – Accuracy

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
Headlines summarizes or anticipates the news item	1
Headline amplifies a characteristic of news item	0,5
Headline results ambiguous, irrelevant or misleading, and it does not coincide with news item	0

Source: Author.

For instance, some newspapers informed about the strike held the previous day in the Basque Health Service[239] as follows:

> "La huelga de Osakidetza tuvo una incidencia más reducida al no participar las enfermeras", *Diario Vasco*:
> It summarizes the news item .……………………………………… 1 point
> "Osakidetzak dio beharginen %15ek egin dutela greba, aurrekoan egin zutenen erdiek", *Berria*:
> It amplifies a characteristic of news item .………………………… 0,5 points
> "El acuerdo en Osakidetza, más cerca tras una huelga descafeinada", *El Correo Español*:
> It does not coincide with news item, because it reports no reference to such an agreement .……………………………………………………… 0 points

Similarly, soft news may be detected at this point (Gomis, 2008: 83-84; Marrone, 2009: 77-84; Román Álvarez, 2004b: 59-61). Newspapers explained the kidnapping of some Basque shippers[240] in the following terms:

> "«Bahitzaileek ez gaituzte jo, baina tratu laidogarria jaso dugu»", *Berria*:
> It summarizes the news item .……………………………………… 1 point
> "El regreso a casa pone fin a la pesadilla del «Playa de Bakio»", *Gara*:
> It summarizes the news item .……………………………………… 1 point
> "«Creíamos que nos iban a matar», confiesan los pescadores", *El Correo Español*:
> It amplifies a characteristic of news item .………………………… 0,5 points
> "«Nos amenazaban y el último día creíamos que nos iban a matar»", *Diario Vasco*:
> It amplifies a characteristic of news item .………………………… 0,5 points

Moreover, television commercial interruptions are thought to amplify the tendency towards subsequent news tabloidization process, in order to retain viewers during the pause (Gomis, 2008: 83-84; Marrone, 2009: 77-84; Román Álvarez, 2004b: 59-61). As a result, it leads to misleading headlines, such as those of a former Minister who left politics and accepted a managerial position in a private company[241]:

> "Zaplana: Politikatik Telefonicara", *Etb1*:
> It summarizes the news item .……………………………………… 1 point
> "Zaplana: De lo público a lo privado", *Etb2*:
> It results ambiguous ...……………………………………………… 0,5 points

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[239] 22/02/2008.

[240] 30/04/2008.

[241] 29/04/2008.

"Cambio de «banda»", *Telecinco*:
    Misleading headline ..……………………………………………… 0 points

Finally, *accuracy* constitutes a filter against news interpretation, instead of presentation of facts. The following examples offer the same information amount, but differ in the communication of features[242]:

"PSE-EEko zinegotzi ohi bat hil du ETAk kanpainako azken egunean, Arrasaten", *Berria*:
    It summarizes the news item ……………………………………… 1 point
"ETA asesina a un socialista para sabotear las elecciones", *El Correo Español*:
    It amplifies a characteristic of news item ..………………………… 0,5 points

ii. Completeness[243]

Crosby conceived the term *completeness* in the managerial environment and assigned it to providing success keys to customer, further than client satisfaction. Then, he interpreted such a pattern also in the context of news supply. Accordingly, the audience must be offered the key to interpret news:

"In sum, one of the great intellectual and moral responsibilities of journalists is to keep us all reminded that today's news grows out of yesterday's, perhaps even out of many thousands of yesterdays." (Shriver, 1989: 129)

Later, communication scholars have insisted in the relevance of exhibiting news' consequences. Therefore, classical 5W's (*what, who, when, where* and *how*) are regarded as elemental. Hence, answers for the 7W's are required (*why* and *from where*), so that information could effectively reduce complexity of reality (Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 182-188; Brandl, 2004: 53-54; CAF & FNPI, 2004: 17-25; CAF & FNPI, 2003: 7-11; Chomsky & Ramonet, 2005: 77-80; Crosby, 1994: 20-21, 143-144; De Fontcuberta, 2006: 31-35; De Pablos Coello & Mateos Martín, 2004: 359; Hagen, 1995a: 80-98; Martín Serrano, 2004: 57; Schirmer, 2001: 124-127, 173-174; Tsfati et al., 2006: 162-163; Weber & Rager, 1994: 4-7). Whereas the fifth question refers to *how*, European media find it also elemental to explain *why*. For instance, "Rerum cognoscere causas" is the slogan of German *Taggespiegel*:

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[242] 08/03/2008.
[243] The following researchers have paid attenttion to **completeness** in the framework of News Quality: Brandl (2004), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Hagen (1995a), Maurer (2005), Schirmer (2001), and Vehlow (2005).

Picture No. 18 – *Der Tagesspiegel*

Source: *Der Tagesspiegel*[244].

Providing 7W's must be the informative goal of every news item, especially if they are the main stories of the day, news reports exposing all facts will achieve one point. Supplying essential 5W's or 6W's (let it be *how* or *why*) is considered basic, since it merely describes the event, and then it obtains half score. Lower information supply than explanation to traditional 5W's (four or less) entails no newsworthiness. At the same time, it may imply tabloidization.

Table No. 76 – Completeness

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
7W's	1
5W's or 6W's	0,5
Four or less of the 5W's	0

Source: Author.

Let us explain the internal codification of *completeness* with some examples:

a.) 7W's (*who, what, when, where, how, why* and *from where*) ………………… 1 point

[**Babes neurriak kendu dizkietela salatu dute genero indarkeriaren biktimek**]
    "Acovidem genero indarkeriaren biktimen elkarteak [*who*] salatu du biktimak babes neurririk gabe uzten ari direla. Aurkeztu dituzten datuen arabera, Gipuzkoan [*where*] bost emakumek zuten bizkartzaina iaz. Ia argudiorik eman gabe Eusko Jaurlaritzako Herrizaingo Sailak hiru emakumeri bizkartzaina kendu diela jakinarazi du [*what*].
    Esther Antero Acovidemeko presidenteak eta Sonia Franco idazkariak egin zuten salaketa [*how*] atzo [*when*]. Emakumeek berriro erasotuak izateko duten arriskua baloratzeko erabiltzen den sistema zalantzan jarri zuten […].
    Bi emakumeri urtarrilaren 31n kendu zieten babesa, hirugarrenari otsailaren 9an [*from where*]: «Bizkartzaina kendu dieten hiru emakumeen egoera ez da aldatu, mehatxupean daude, baina argudio berberak eman dizkiete, eta kasuak oso ezberdinak dira» […].
    Bizkartzainik gabe gelditu da Sonia Franco bera. Haren bikote ohiari 27 hilabeteko kartzela zigorra ezarri zioten. Urtebete egon zen, eta orain 500 metroko urruntze agindua du 2011. urte arte. Franco bizkartzainik gabe beldurrez bizi da berriro: «Denbora guztian atzera begira nabil eta sakelekoa eskuan dudala». Ertzaintzak bikote ohia Errioxan bizi zela esan zion, baina Donostian ikusten du berak. Poliziaren informazioaz fidatu ezin duela uste du [*why*].
    Herrizaingo Sailaren erantzuna
    […] Egun, Araban, Bizkaian eta Gipuzkoan hamabost emakumek dute bizkartzaina, Herrizaingo Sailak jakinarazi duenez. Kopurua handituz doala nabarmendu du, 2004an lau emakumek baitzuten babes hori [*from where*]. Arabako emakumeek 9,43 puntu eman dizkiote zerbitzuari, Bizkaikoek 8,16 eta Gipuzkoakoek 8,49, Jaurlaritzak egindako inkesten emaitzen arabera.", *Berria* (22/02/2008)

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[244] Der Tagesspiegel: <www.tagesspiegel.de> [Last retrieved: 28/05/2010].

b.) 4W's (It lacks *when*) ………….…………………………………… 0 points

"–[Aurkezleak] <u>Tratu txarren kontrako Gipuzkoako elkarteak</u> [*who*] salaketa egin du berriz <u>Gipuzkoako lurraldean</u> [*where*] <u>bizkartzaina zeramaten bost emakumeetatik hiruri kendu egin dio babes hori Herrizaingo Sailak</u> [*what*] eta kezkatuta daude.

–[Kazetariak] Kezkatuta daude <u>berriro ere babesik gabe daudelako urruntze agindua etengabe hausten duten erasogileetatik</u> [*why*]. Kexu diote erakundeek emakumeei tratu txarrak eta erasoak salatzeko eskatzen dietela, baina gero babes gabe uzten dituztela. Acovidem Genero Indarkeriaren kontrako Gipuzkoako elkarteak dio ez direla aldatu bizkartzaina jartzeko Herrizaingo Sailak aintzat hartu zituen baldintzak […]. Acovidemen ustez, emakumeek bizkartzaina eraman behar dute ustezko gaizkilea epaitu arte, arriskuak dirauen arte edota urruntze-agindua indarrean dagoen bitartean. Genero indarkerian auzitu duten emakumeak nekatuta daude, Herrizaingo Sailak ematen dien tratuaz, beraien salaketak ez zituztelako aintzat hartzen, ezta bizkartzainek egiten dituzten txostenak ere, eta bizkartzaina kentzea eskatzen dutenean, bizkartzainarekin gehiegizko dependentzia ez ote zaien sortu erantzun izan dietelako. Politikoen aldean bizkartzaina lortzea askozaz ere gehiago kostatzen zaiela diote eta askozaz ere gutxiago galtzea. Herrizaingo Sailak erabaki honetan atzera egin dezan dagoeneko <u>kexuak aurkeztu dituzte Emakunden, Arartekoaren bulegoan, Donostiako Udalean eta Herrizaingo Sailean</u> [*how*]. Azken honek ez die erantzun oraindik.", *Euskadi Irratia* (21/02/2008)

iii. Number of perspectives[245]

The research on the number of lines of reasoning as a measurement for balance has been discarded since it constitutes a labour-intense research and tends to be ambiguous in result. Accordingly, the *number of different perspectives* shapes for the conception of giving voice to all the sides involved. Moreover, it results an improved assessment indicator, rather than number of news sources, because it also shares a qualitative approach (Fabbro, 2006: 57-59, 101-102; Farré, 2005: 14-15; Gunter, 1997: 54-70; Gutiérrez Lozano, 2005: 11-19; McQuail, 1992: 71-73, 223-236; Rausell & Rausell, 2002: 115-116; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374; Scheuer, 2008: 27-28; Schwiesau & Ohler, 2003: 30-42; Tuchman, 2000: 130-132).

Consequently, when media exhibit a unique side, they are assumed not to accomplish their social mediation duty, since it constitutes informing on behalf of protagonists. Two points of view are commonly accepted, despite they imply simplification of reality. Therefore, News Quality pleads for offering enough elements to the audience, in order to promote participation and social discussion. Accordingly, three perspectives are commonly required for excellent media performance (CAF &

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[245] The following scholars have taken into consideration the **number of perspectives**: Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Maurer (2005), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b) and Vehlow (2006).

FNPI, 2004: 71-78; Fabbro, 2006: 57-59, 101-102; Farré, 2005: 14-15; Gutiérrez Lozano, 2005: 11-19; Navasky, 1989: 115-116; Overholser, 2004: 53; Scheuer, 2008: 27-28).

However, the employment of several sources may not exhibit so many perspectives. For instance, both informants give the same point of view about the Socialist Party:

> "EAJk eta EEk alderdi sozialistarekin batzar berri bat egitea onartu dute", *Etb1* (11/01/1991).
> "Lankidetza sendotu dute UPNk eta PSNk, 4.508 milioi euroko inbertsio plan batekin", *Berria* (15/04/2008).

Not only both sides must be reflected, but also their argumentation is to be explained, regardless of their rejection to explain their position, because it denotes their posture:

> [**Aminatu Haidar: «Laster izango gara aske»**]
> "[…] <u>Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapateroren gobernuak, baina, ez du adierazpenik egin nahi izan</u> Espainiaren kolonia izandakoaren [Saharako Errepublikaren] geroari buruz. Izan ere, aspaldian egin behar zuten Mendebaldeko Saharan lurraldearen etorkizunari buruzko erreferenduma, baina gaur arte Marokok ez du onartzen autonomia ez den ezer saharrarrentzat. Hala, Madrilek bitartekari lanetan aritu behar luke, NBEren arabera, potentzia kolonizatzailea izan zelako bere garaian. Aldiz, Rabatengana gerturatu da azken urteetan Espainiako Gobernua, eta baztertu egin ditu saharrarren aldarrikapenak. Horren erakusle, Madril eta Parisen bitartekaritzarekin, Europako Batasuna eta Marokoren artean lehen aldiz egindako goi bilera. Horiek hala, <u>SEADek gaitzetsi egin du Espainiak Rabaten politiken aurrean izandako erantzuna</u>. «Paradoxikoa da Haidarren auzia amaitzeko <u>Marokoko Gobernuak Mendebaldeko Sahararen gainean duen kontrola berretsi izana Espainiak</u>».", *Berria* (19/12/2009)

Such an explanation must be supplied by another actor. When the reporter offers another point of view based on no source, it is not taken into account as another side of the matter, since reporter cannot get involved in facts. In effect, that implies a critical position towards reporting and, therefore, it is rated at the social engagement stage, but it exhibits no other arguments.

> "Ormazabalek lokian zuen tiroa ez du Atutxaren [Barne sailburuaren] azalpenak argitu", *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (06/09/1991).

Hence, two perspectives of events are required to provide the audience with enough arguments to interprete news:

> [**Argindarra gora: %11,3 garestitzea proposatu du Energia Batzordeak**]"
> "<u>Energia Batzordeak</u> argindarraren prezioa %11 garestitzeko proposatu dio Espainiako Gobernuari. Orain Industria Ministerioak erabaki beharko du zer egin, alegia proposamen hori onartu ala ez. Hala ere, <u>Kontsumitzaileen Elkarteek</u> ez dute uste Gobernuak proposamena dagoen horretan onartuko duenik eta igoera %4koa edo %5ekoa izango dela uste dute.

[…] <u>Kontsumitzaileen Elkarteek</u> […] euren hitzetan, gehiegizkoa da igoera eta Energia Batzordeak badaki hori. Energia konpainien handinahiaren beste pausu bat dela esan dute. Eta eurek zenbat irabazten duten kontuan hartuta, ez dela zilegi energiaren garestitzea herritarrek ordaindu behar izatea.

Elektrizitatea sortzea garestitu egin dela dio <u>Energia Batzordeak</u>. Hortaz, herritarren fakturetan energiaren balio erreala agertzea nahi dute […].", *Etb1* (14/05/2008)

In sum, two confronting sides' pattern achieves half point, notwithstanding it implies a better performance than one-side reporting, which does not contribute to social discussion. Consequently, the greater amount of perspectives included, the better it is scored, in order to reward news elaboration.

Table No. 77 – Number of perspectives

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
Three perspectives	1
Two perspectives	0,5
One perspective	0,25
One perspective (no line of reasoning)	0

Source: Author.

iv. Adequacy of additional informational elements[246]

News report consists of a commonly speaking language and additional informational elements. Both together communicate a given event. Moreover, additional informational elements are employed in order to reduce complexity. Accordingly, all previous indicators of the News Quality Index (assessing the selection process –*origin of informacion, type of sources, degree of factualness, currency,* and *relevance*–, as well as those standards measuring the elaboration process –*accuracy, completeness,* and *number of perspectives*–) rely on the additional informational elements, in the same way as they depend on language. Furthermore, additional informational elements constitute significance features, since relevance scales promote them (i.e. Budd). Media Quality research has analysed several aspects of them, such as quality of presentation of those elements (light, for broadcasting; tone, for radio; or photography, for newspapers). Nevertheless, in terms of News Quality, the evaluation of the *adequacy of additional informational elements* is assumed to be measured, albeit their technical support. As a matter of fact, news reporting conveys that journalistic activity is over the medium. From such a cross-media perspective, the evaluation of the *adequacy of informational*

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[246] Previous research on the **adequacy of additional informational elements** has been conducted by the following academics: De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Fahr (2001), Grüll (2009), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Maurer (2005), Meyer (2004a), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Puente & Porath (2007), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b), Trebbe et al. (2008), and Vehlow (2006).

elements must imply no disadvantage to the channels supplying extra features (Armentia & Caminos, 2009: 79-80; Neurberger, 2004: 37-38; García Nebreda & Perales Albert, 1992: 144-146; López Téllez & Cuenca García, 2005: 8-21; Marrone, 2009: 106-122; Puente & Porath, 2007: 55-65; Scholz, 2006: 82-95; Schult & Buchholz, 2002: 11-16; Sevilla, 2002: 135-164; Trebbe et al, 2008: 51-87).

Additional informational elements differ for every media type. Television displays images and original sounds of the event or statements, whereas radio only reproduces the latter and newspapers, images. However, the three of them provide information about facts, which has been judged as "adequate" or not. Therefore, such a provision will be assessed as "very significant", "significant", "filler", "meaningless", or "meaningless and technically medriocre" (Maurer, 2005: 163-164; Meyer, 2004b: 129-131; Schirmer, 2001: 103-114; Vehlow, 2006: 135-141).

The *adequacy of additional informational elements* is believed to act in proportion of the number of W's they answer. Scholars unanimously agree that additional informational elements cannot express more than 5W's. Hence, the scope of informational dimensions is reduced to such an amount (Grüll, 2009: 51-92; Puente & Porath, 2007: 55-65; Sevilla, 2002: 135-164; Trebbe et al, 2008: 51-87).

First of all, additional informational elements exhibiting the answer of four or five questions are considered "highly significant", since they report the facts in themselves. Then, those additional informational elements obtain one point.

Picture No. 19 – Boy rescued from insight locked Safe in Turkey

Source: Video by *Etb1* (16/12/2008).

[**Ume bat harrapatuta geratu da kutxa gotor baten barruan Istanbulen**]
    "Ez da Houdini magoaren ikuskizunetako bat. Turkian suhiltzaileek eskubete lan egin behar izan dute kutxa bat zabaltzeko. Xerrak, mailuak eta tenaza erraldoiak behar izan dituzte, kontserba lata balitz bezala, kutxa irekitzeko. Eta barruan aurkitu duten harribitxia hauxe: Sihan Sebik (?), zortzi urteko mutikoa, zaratarekin eta kanpoan aurkitu duenarekin ikaratuta. Lagunekin denda baten

aurrean jolasean ari zirela kutxa aurkitu zuten. Bertan sartu eta atera ezinik geratu zen. Kutxaren jabea, asteburu pasa joana zen eta inork ez zuen kutxa irekitzeko klaberik. Erreskatean aritu ziren suhiltzaileek musu artean hartu zuten mutikoa. Ez dakigu gurasoen erreakzinoa zein izan zen. Sihanek (?) ez du osasun-arazorik; sustoa, hori bai, galanta."

That video is evaluated as "highly significant additional informational element" and, accordingly, it achieves one point. In fact, that visual report answers four of the 5W's: *what* [a rescue], *who* [firemen], *where* [readable on their clothes], and *how* [by cutting the iron safe with a saw]. The rest of indicators of the News Quality Index will rate other features of such a report.

Commonly best ranked additional informational elements are graphs. On the one hand, they are employed on television:

Picture No. 20 – Super Tuesday Poll (USA) by *Etb1*
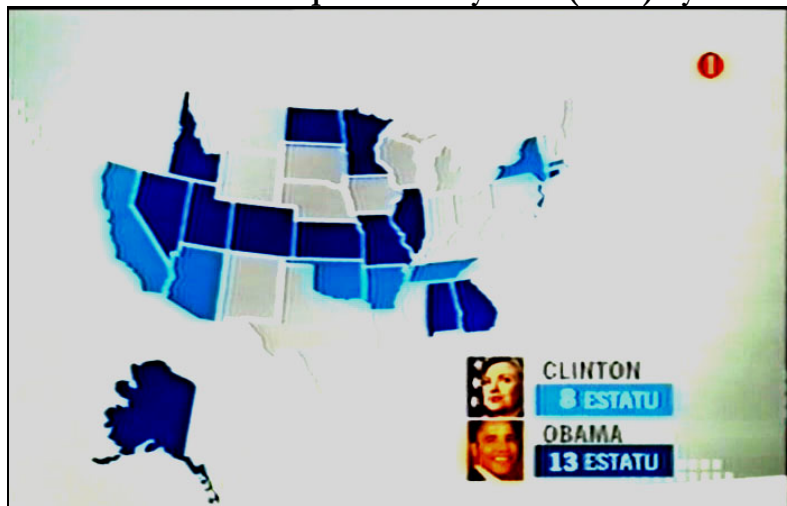
Source: [**Clinton, Obama ala McCain: Zein izango da Etxe Zuriko jabe berria?**], *Etb1* (06/02/2008).

Again, assigned as "highly significant additional informational element", such a graph obtains one poin. It explains four of the 5W's: *what* [amount of delegates and number of states], *who* [Clinton, Obama or the Republican Party], *where* [which State], and *how* [by becoming the most voting candidate in each State].

On the other hand, graphs are also found in newspapers reports:

Picture No. 21 – Super Tuesday Poll (USA) by *Berria*
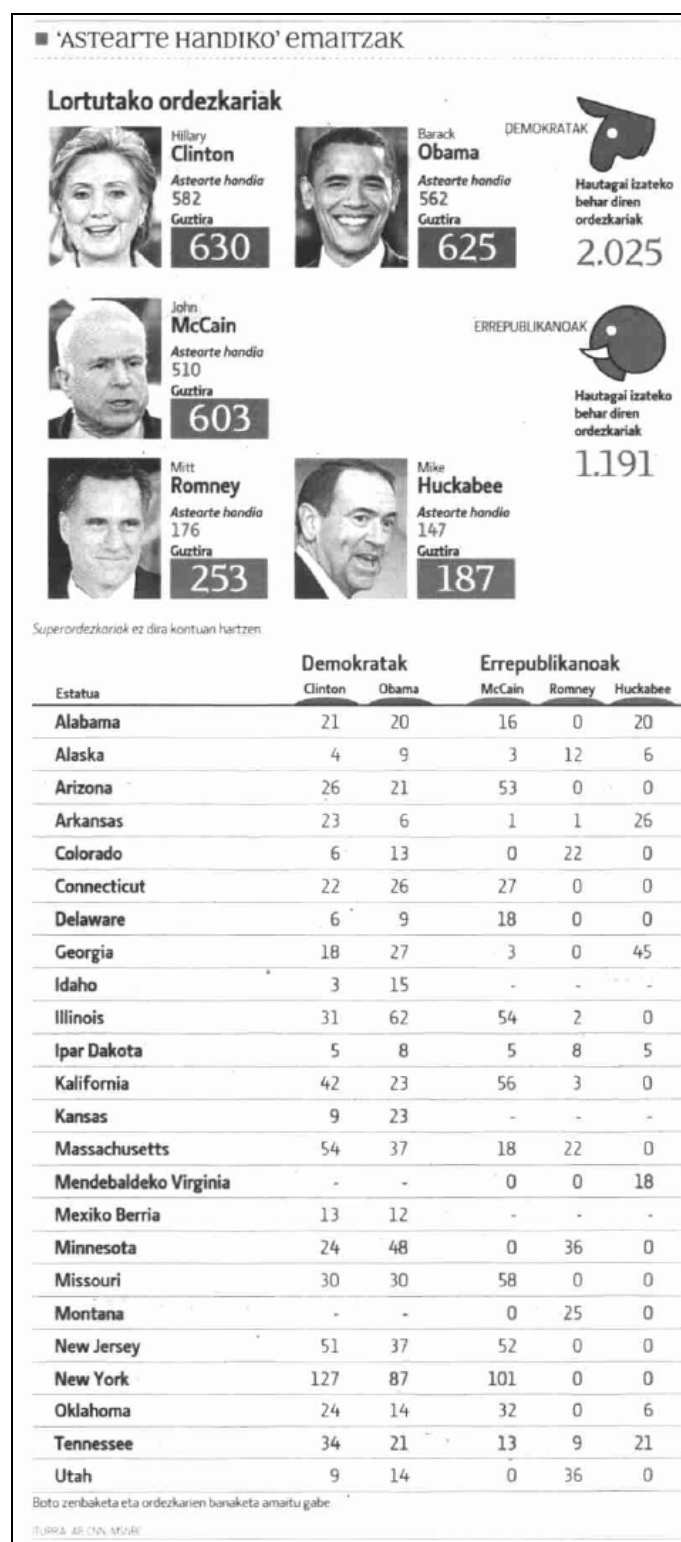
Source: [**«Astearte Handiak» ez du Obama eta Clintonen arteko lehia erabaki**], *Berria* (07/02/2008).

Once again, that graph is evaluated as "highly significant additional informational element" with one point. It resolves four of the 5W's: *what* [total amount

of delegates during the voting campaing], *who* [Clinton, Obama and the candidates of the Republican Party], *where* [every State], and *when* [after Super Tuesday].

Secondly, significant features are those able to answer two or three W's, awarded with half point:

Picture No. 22 – Free-Tibet Protesters extinguish the Olympic Flame

Source: [**Olinpiar Jokoetako zuzia itzali dute Parisen Txinaren aurkako protestek**], *Berria* (07/04/2008).

Such a photograph, labelled as "significant additional informational element", displays two or three W's: *what* [extinction of the Olympic Games], *who* [free Tibet protesters], and *where* [France?].

Thirdly, additional explanatory elements exhibiting a unique W answer merely assign a key to identification. Thus, they are considered "filler", because they contribute with no additional information. Accordingly, they obtain no points.

Picture No. 23 – Amuriza publishes his last work on the Internet

Source: [**Amurizaren lana, Interneten**], *Berria* (27/11/2008).

Such a photograph only identifies a person, then, it uniquely answers one W: *who* [Xabier Amuriza]. It is considered "filler".

Radio statements are assessed under the same evaluation system. The more W's reports contribute to answer by themselves, the higher they are scored. For instance, radio broadcasting acts as witnesses of reality and it reproduces sounds of social life:

> "Onartuta geratu da, pleno monografikoan, kontsultarako lege-proposamena eusko legebiltzarrean. Izaskun Bilbaok [Legebiltzarreko lehendakariak] jakinarazi du bozketako emaitza 13:15ean: «Emaitza hau izan da: guztira, 74: ezezkoak, 33; zazpi, abstentzio; eta baiezkoak, 34. Beraz, onetsi egin da 'Bakea eta normalizazio politikora iristeko prozesu bat irekitzeari buruz EAE herritarren iritzia eskatzeko herri galdeketa bat deitzeko eta arautzeko lege-egitasmoari buruzko legea'»." (*Euskadi Irratia*, 27/06/2008)

The features exposed by the statement itself result "highly significant", since they answer the 5W's: *who* [Izaskun Bilbao], *what* [the coming into effect of the act], *how* [addresing to the members of the Basque Parliament], *where* [at the Parliament], *why* [amount of votes].

When the statement is previously announced, the reporter summarises it and, thus, the radio statement explains only two or three W's. Consequently, it obtains half point:

> "[**Bertso Eguna**] Bertsolari askok kantatuko dutela bai, baina izenik ez dago karteletan: ez dakigu nortzuk abestuko duten. Erabaki horrek badu zentzua aurtengo Bertso Egunean:
> [Maialen Lujanbio]: «Kontzeptu jeneralarekin bat datorren erabakia, galdera bat plazaratu nahi duena: 'Inporta al du zeinek kantatuko duen?'»." (*Euskadi Irratia*, 22/01/2008)

That report presents the statement and, accordingly, it answers two W's: *who* [Maialen Lujanbio's voice], and *what* [her explanation about the event].

Finally, for those cases where the statement has already become part of the news report, it is considered "filler", since its contribution results redundant:

> "[**Kontsulta lege-proiektua Legebiltzarreko erregistroan da jada** (…)] Izan ere, eskandulugarria egiten zaio Joseba Azkarraga sailburuari, Legebiltzarrak lege-proiektua onartu aurretik, Espainiako Gobernuak jada helegitea iragartzea. Erabat legezkoa da egitasmoa eta, horregatik, helegitea baztertzeko eskatuko dio Jaurlaritzak Zapaterori, agindutakoa betetzen badu. <u>Jarrera horrekin ETAri mezu arriskutsua bidaltzen dio Zapaterok</u>, Azkarragaren ustez, <u>Espainiako Gobernuak ETArekin baino ez duela negoziatuko; sekula ere ez, euskal erakundeekin</u>:
> [Joseba Azkarragak] «Espainiako Gobernuak ETAri oso <u>mezu arriskutsua bidaltzen dio</u>: "Egon lasai, <u>ez dugu inoiz negoziatuko euskal erakundeekin</u> eta lehendakariarekin euskal gizarteak duen erabakitzeko eskubidea. <u>Hori zuekin bakarrik egingo dugu</u>". Hauxe da Zapaterok <u>bere erabakiarekin</u> zabaltzen duen mezu ikaragarria»." (*Euskadi Irratia*, 29/05/2008)

Such a statement merely identifies the owner of the voice [*who*]: Joseba Azkarraga, the Basque Minister of Justice. Reporter has repeated his own words to inform on the topic.

Moreover, research has penalised the inadequate employment of additional informational elements. The News Quality Index will also follow such a tendency, because improper features have a great impact on News Quality. Hence, those meaningless informational elements will deduct half point or even one point, if they are technically mediocre too. Negative score aims to fight tabloidization, since it filters pointless additional informational elements, on behalf of excellence in reporting: they do contribute with the answers to any of the 7W's.

Scholars consider inquiries to the neighbours in cases for violence to be a clear feature of tabloidization, provided they are unaware of the facts involved in events. As a result, their perspective can only imply unfounded opinions. For instance, the news report about two minors who had killed a girl friend in Catalonia was supported by the following [video] statement:

> "Los chicos que le han hecho eso son españoles, son de aquí del pueblo… y dicen que son, que eran buena gente." (*Telecinco*, 02/11/2008)

It supplies no further data, except for the identification of that neighbour himself. However, as long as he is not part of the event, his groundless statements cannot shape the reporting. In fact, they denote xenophobia ["son españoles"] and it also causes the audience to doubt about police inquiries ["dicen que son, que eran buena gente"].

Similarly, additional informational elements to supply further information about rape cases usually focus on the victim, although reporting deals with the break of law and such criminals. Furthermore, they tend to concern for one W: that of *how*. For instance, when reporting about the arrestment of two rape criminals, *Deia* displayed on the front page the position in which the woman was found after assault.

**Picture No. 24 – Meaningless Additional Informational Elements
may lead to Sensationalism**

Source: *Deia* (07/06/2009).

Nevertheless, negative score to filter meaningless additional informational elements does not deal with moral judgements. Such a lack of informational contribution is graphically expressed in sport news' conjectures about the next football match, for example:

> "«–¡Jo, con una ilusión tremenda! Y creo que empataremos.»
> «–Nire ustez, Real Unionek irabaziko duela. Ta ez dakit. Zaila izango da, baina…»
> «–Ba, nik uste dut, irabazteko zaila, baina, bueno, zerbait egingo dute, agian enpatatuko dutela edo horrela, baina irabazteko ilusioarekin bai, agian ez dugu ezer lortzen, baina, bueno, joaten gara ilusioarekin»." (*Etb1*, 11/11/2008)

Researchers are concerned with the trend to inquiry anonymous individual about their particular opinion on trivial events to other major reporting sections, such as Politics or Society. Groundless reactions to regulations that are not in force yet do not provide further arguments. On the contrary, they promote social tension on questions that have not occurred. As long as anonymous individuals cannot hold a grounded opinion yet (because there is no available information about such an issue or event until it happens), that kind of reporting creates fictional social tension:

> "**[«Si no quieres ponerle primero mi apellido a mi hijo vamos a tener un problema»]**
> -¿Pero no es la tradición llevar siempre el apellido del padre y saber de dónde vengo, mis raíces? Si me ponen otro apellido, ¿cómo sé de dónde vengo? Esto es muy confuso, se queja él.
> Al momento, replica Beatriz, su pareja:
> -A mí me parece muy bien porque el apellido de la mujer se pierde.
> -No se pierde. El de tu hermano va prevaleciendo, rebate Jorge.
> -¿Y si no tienes hermanos?
> -Entonces, vamos a tener un problema. Si ella no quiere ponerle mi apellido, haré uno para ponerle el mío. Mi apellido es Peña que queda de los últimos. Ése va a desaparecer. Empezaré a dejar genes pero ya, bromea Jorge." (El Mundo, 05/11/2010)

To conclude, the *adequacy of additional informational elements* regulates the proper employment of audiovisual features. The adequacy of support elements evaluates the complementary value of illustrations, visual and audio features to communicate better. As a result, news reports with no support elements seem not to consider those front pages news items as the more important stories of the day. Accordingly, shortage of adequate resources is penalised at every level.

However, exclusivity is out of this score. Therefore, archive material may be highly significant to report, as long as it is clearly stated that those are not current images. News agencies audivisual supply is also appreciated. Furthermore, their employment has evidenced the impact of media performance's intentionality. For instance, The National Press Club (Washington) awarded *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*'s front page covering the attacks in New York of the 09/11 as the third most impressive front page in the world. Obviously, most of those media, as well as the rest of the entire world, handled international news agencies' audiovisual elements:

Picture No. 25 – *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*'s Darkest Page on American History
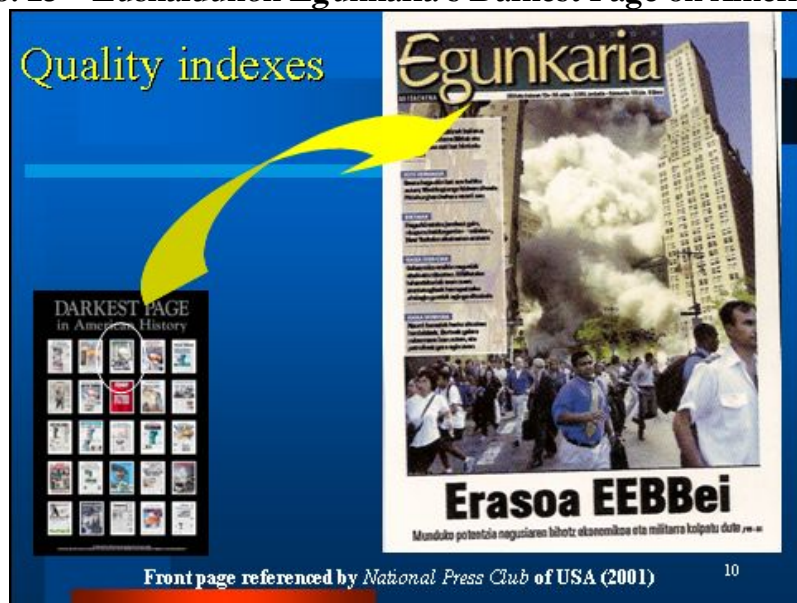
Source: Argazkiak.org [Last retrieved: 15/01/2011]

Table No. 78 – Adequacy of Additional Information Elements

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale
High significant (4-5W)	1
Significant (2-3W)	0,5
Filler (1W)	0
Meaningless	-0,5
Meaningless and technically mediocre	-1

Source: Author.

v. Appropriate use of language[247]

Language plays a crucial role in journalism. It is not only required to be accurate, but also to maintain a proper register. Research on the use of language long ago refused readability formulas and basic quantitative assessment. Instead, overall evaluation has given raised to framing studies, which also focus on semantic intentionality. However, recent News Quality methodologies, such as VAP, analyse the adequacy of tone according to attribution verbs and adjectives. Nevertheless, semantic connotation of adjectives' placement in romance languages has been stressed. In fact, such an appraisal does not become convenient for the Basque language's characteristics, amongst others (Bodle, 1996: 672-686; Entman, 2007: 163-171; Kuhle, ?: 32-33; Montesi, 2006: 117-286; Moreno Cano, 2009: 238-239; Pöttker, 2000: 22-26; Puente et al., 2001: 116-120;

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[247] **Use of language** has been taken into account by the following academics: Bodle (1996), Craig (1999), De La Torre & Téramo (2004), Fahr (2001), Gutiérrez Coba (2006), Hagen (1995a), Maurer (2005), Meyer (2004b), Puente et al. (2001), Puente et al. (2003-2004), Schirmer (2001), Téramo (2006b), and Vehlow (2006).

Pütz, 1994: 21-25; Schenk & Frala, 1993: 10-11; Téramo, 2006b: 17-70; Weischenberg, 2001: 150-176).

Therefore, Wallisch have appointed some directions for the assessment of the *appropriate use of language* on behalf of News Quality: right style, amusement with language richness, in addition to formal correctness of grammar and the standard language. Basque scholars have already established three levels of language quality. First of all, *suitability* includes Wallisch's suggestions, as well as the competence for specific register considerations. Secondly, g*enuineness* alludes to native speaker's instinct, which enhances speech itself. Finally, *correctness* is settled at the lowest stage. It entails the precise accomplishment of standard language's grammar and orthographical norms. Such a system may effectively assess any language in terms of its adequacy for journalistic register (Camps, 1991: 58; Euskararen Aholku Batzordea, 2004: 19-29; Garzia, 2005: 365-369; Mendiguren Elizegi, 1996: 589-592; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 91-101; Sarasua, 1996: 189-201; Schirmer, 2001: 115-123; Wallisch, 138-141).

Consequently, Basque cientific communication will contribute to the appraisal of News Quality with an international categorisation for the *appropriate use of language*. In fact, *genuiness* alludes to journalistic register, whereas Wallisch's pleads for an adequation towards higher language skills are considered under the categorization of *suitability*. That way, the *appropriate use of language* measures also the adequacy of the employed tone. Notwithstanding news narration implies informing according to journalistic register, little consideration for suitable register (v.gr., symplist or sensationalist reporting style) is discarded and, thus, they remain at the lowest stage of assessment, that of correct language:

> "[**Mendebaldeko herriak, ados; Errusia, haserre; eta musulmanak, zatituta**]
> […] Israel <u>pozik</u> agertu da EEBBek [Sudanen eta Afganistanen] egindako erasoekin, baina, aldi berean, palestinarrak bezalaxe, arduratuta Ekialde Erdiko gatazkan izan dezakeen eraginagatik, eta mendeku gisa litekeena delako berak jasotzea kontrako erasoak." (*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, 22/08/1998)

> "[**Día de gansos: <u>Ambientazo</u> en Lekeitio**]" (*Etb2*, 05/09/2008)

However, *correctness* may differ from one language to others, because grammar and orthographical norms vary. In relation with the Basque language, genuine language in terms of communication is believed to pay attention to original forms, laying aside Spanish or French sentence structures, such as: "desberdin" for "hainbat" or "zenbait", and "beranduago" for "geroago". Moreover, numbers up to eleven (those consisting of

less than three sylabes) are not to be written in figures. However, those aspects will not be considered for the historical sample, because some of those guidelines may have not been agreed at that time. Accordingly, essential features will only be taken into account, i.e. name declination, verb concordance, and no odd amount of comas between subject and verb (Arrarats, 2005: 40-41; Gutiérrez Paz & Fernández Astobiza, 2005: 19-20, 43-55; Larrañaga, 2005: 43-44, 65-67; Palazio, 1991: 105-114; Sarasua, 1996; Wallisch, 138-141; Weischenberg, 2001: 150-176).

Furthermore, errors are castigated, because they affect the news report as a whole. Accordingly, every ortographical and grammar mistake will deduct 0,1 point. When they occupy especial places (headline, standfirst, subhead, kicker, pull-out-quote, nutgraph, sidebar, caption...), each of them will imply decrease by 0,2 points of the overall score (Fogel, 2002-2003: 29; Meyer, 2004b: 83-108; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 91-101; Ruß-Mohl, 2004).

Picture No. 26 – Ortographical and grammar errors

Source: *Berria* (23/03/2008).

Such an example lacks a final point between both sentences ["Hendaiako Gaztelu Zahar plazan(.) Ondoren Bazkaria"] and "Bazkaria" is wrongly expressed in capital letters [sic: *bazkaria*]. Moreover, it could be argued that a coma after "Ondoren" is required. Therefore, such a pull-out-quote will deduct, at least, 0,4-0,6 points (2 or 3 x -0,2) from the general assessment of that news item.

The internal codification of this indicator for the News Quality Index respects scholars' graduation about suitability of register. Moreover, no orthographical error or grammar error is tolerated. On the contrary, they entail lower rating of overall assessment. The distinction between the appropriate register and errors allows to bring attention to the aspect of the *appropriate use of language* which is lower rated. As a matter of fact, errors may conceal the effort towards genuine and suitable languages.

Table No. 79 – Appropriate Use of Language: Register and Errors

Performance accomplishment	0-1 scale	Errors	Negative score
Suitable language	1	Orthographical and grammar errors (headline, standfirst, subhead, kicker, pull-out-quote, nutgraph, sidebar, caption…)	-0,2 (each and every error)
Genuine language	0,5	Orthographical and grammar errors in reporting	-0,1 (each and every error)
Correct language	0		

Source: Author.

As a consequence, the News Quality Index awards excellence with ten points. However, five points indicate the minimun rate of adequate news report, derived from the conception of news. Accordingly, the News Quality Index states a five points' score represents ordinary news stories. It consists in attributed statements to an identified personal source (whose reporting origin has been indirectly mentioned) about an event, which had occurred less than a week ago or it is taking place in a week, dealing with important matters (i.e. service information). Regular media highlight one aspect in headlines, provide basic 5W's, present two perspectives, offer significant additional informational elements (displaying two of the 5W's) and employ genuine language. Lower rates denote faulty accomplishment of media's information supply.

c. Social Quality: Social Engagement

Social Quality measures the extent to which media performance accomplish its duty of social and cultural domain. On the one side, media form the public sphere, as settled by established authorities, in order to preserve social order. However, McQuail acknowledges media's task to promote challenge alternatives for social organization. On the other side, media shape linguistic and identitary attributes of the audience they serve. As a result, Social Quality is believed to act as a limit towards positivism of professional supremacy of media performance (Fahr, 2001: 10-195; Maurer, 2005: 85-285; McQuail, 2010: 203-206; Schatz & Schulz, 1992: 708-710; Vehlow, 2006: 25-154).

Consequently, social engagement in terms of media performance's Social Quality is assessed according to a key element: that of information handling. Therefore, media performance towards such a news report can show a positive, neutral or negative position (CAF & FNPI, 2003: 51-52; Hagen, 1995a: 125-128; McQuail, 1992: 150-170; Rössler, 2007: 488-490).

As a matter of fact, the selection of news itself denotes partiality towards events. However, media performance may support such events or adopt a belligerant position against injustice. For instance, a positive informational attitude towards politicians' statements may result in propaganda. Accordingly, media aware of their watchdog role do not assume politicians' statements as truthful:

> "[**Herri-galdeketa: Tramitazioa hasi da**]
> […] Telebista saio batean egin ditu adierazpen hauek Zapaterok. Ibarretxeri uda aurretik batzar bat egiteko deituko diola iragarri du presidenteak. Hitz egin arren, baina, Zapaterok dio ez duela onartuko joko-arauak apurtzea, gero eta euskal herritar gutxiagok babesten <u>omen</u> duten egitasmoa aurrera ateratzeko." *Etb1* (29/05/2008)

In effect, some arguments may be groundless. Especial issues, such as torture, demand to refute futile arguments:

> "[**Las detenciones de Mondragón llevan a hallar un zulo en Huesca; Igor Portu ingresa en la UCI por las lesiones producidas en su detención**]
> El ministro del Interior […] <u>garantizó</u> que en todo el procedimiento «<u>se ha cumplido escrupulosamente la legislación antiterrorista</u>»." *Diario de Navarra* (08/01/2008)

As a matter of fact, four polices offices of the Spanish Civil War were condemmed for those tortures to Igor Portu, arrested under solitary confinement as stated by the Anteterrorist legislation[248].

Similarly, social engagement pleads for linguistic and identitary features for the audience media serve. They may differ from legal order (i.e. stateless nations). Accordingly, a neutral position towards the official language may imply the retroceso, support of the own language:

> "Gurean elebitasuna ez da kulturbitasuna, eta elebitasun horrek ez du ezertarako balio. Bai, balio du: erdal identitate dominantea dagoenean uzteko, eta euskaldunik ez sortzeko behintzat balio du." (Odriozola, 1999)

As a result, social engagement is believed to be a consequence of media conduct. Let it be a conscious editorial decision or the effect of journalistic routines, social engagement interprets Content Quality in the light of social commitment.

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[248] *Berria* (31/12/2010).

d. *Albisteen Kalitate-Eredua* (LABURPENA)

Hedabideen kalitateari buruzko ikerketa sakabanatuek zenbait kontzepturen nahasmena ekarri zuten. Horregatik, Albisteen Kalitatearen atala gainerako kalitate-adieretatik bereiztu behar izan dugu. Are gehiago, albisteen kalitatearen berezko eremua definitu dugu, hainbat hizkuntzatako komunitate zientifikoen ekarpenetan oinarrituz. Baina tesi hau ez da biltze lana izatera mugatu. Hortaz, albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko metodoa ere proposatu nahi dugu. Izan ere, euskaratik gainerako komunitate zientifikoei ekarpen txikia izatea lorpen handia litzateke. Tesi honek nazioartean erabilgarria izan daitekeen metodoa proposatzea du helburu, albisteen kalitatearen ikerketan beste urrats bat egiteko. Horretarako, euskarazko hedabideetako albisteak metodo horren arabera aztertuko ditugu.

Albisteen kalitatea eduki analisiaren bitartez ikertu izan da. Proposatutako Albisteen Kalitate-Ereduak hiru alde aztertuko ditu: formatua, edukia eta gizarte-atxikimendua. Horrela, aurreko ikerkuntzan atzemandako irizpideak Nazioarteko Kalitate-Mugimenduarekin bat datozen printzipioen arabera sailkatuko ditugu. Horrenbestez, metodoak irizpide kuantitatiboak eta kualitatiboak izango ditu.

80. Taula – Albisteen Kalitate-Ereduaren osagaiak

Dimentsioak	Kategoria nagusiak	Adierazleak
Formatu-kalitatea	*Kalitate teknikoa*	Hutsegite handiak
		Hutsegite txikiak
	Aurkezpen-kalitatea	Akats estetikoak
		Akats funtzionalak
Eduki-kalitatea	*Aniztasuna*	Gaiak
		Protagonistak
		Sorterria
	Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea	Informazioaren jatorria
		Albiste-iturri motak
		Gertaeraren egitate-maila
		Gaurkotasuna
		Adierazgarritasuna
		Zehaztasuna
		Osotasuna
		Ikuspegi-kopurua
		Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna
		Hizkuntza: hizkera eta akatsak
Gizarte-kalitatea	*Atxikimendua*	Aldeko jarrera, neutroa edo aurkakoa

Iturria: Egilea.

Lehenengo eta behin, *formatu-kalitatea* guztirako bikaintasunaren oinarria da. Izan ere, albiste akastunak identifikatzen ditu. Formatu-kalitateak bi adiera biltzen ditu: kalitate teknikoa eta aurkezpen-kalitatea. Lehenengoak albisteen igorpenean eragina

duten faktoreak antzematen ditu. *Kalitate teknikoa*ren hutsegite handiek albistea ulertzeko oinarrizko zati bat trabatzen duten bitartean, hutsegite txikiek berria jarraitzeko ezaugarrietan ez dute eragin handiegirik. *Aurkezpen-kalitatea*k, ordea, informazioa hedabidearen euskarriaren betekizunetara egokitzeko akatsak detektatzen ditu. Horregatik, aurkezpen-kalitateak akats estetikoak eta akats funtzionalak bereizten ditu. Alde batetik, akats estetikoek hedabideak aukeratutako diseinuan informazioa txertatzeko eskakizunaren araberako hutsegiteak identifikatzen dituzte.

81. Taula – Akats estetikoen operazionalizazioa

Hedabide-mota	Akats estetikoak
Egunkaria	* Tituluetan eta tartekietan zurigune larregi egotea.
	* Argazki-oinak erdiraino idatzita ez egotea.
	* Paragrafoaren amaierako lerroan hitz bakarra egotea.
	* Lerro solteak ("alargunak" edota "umezurtzak").
Telebista	* Ahotsa ez dator hedatutako irudiarekin bat.
	* Tituluek duten tartea baino gehiago hartzen dute.
Irratia	* Albisteei irakurrita iriztea.

Iturria: Egilea, honako autoreen lanetan oinarrituta: Alden (2005: 15-67), Bucher & Barth (2003: 238-239), Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Lallana (2000: 60-61), Meyer (2004a: 83-108), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189) eta Wallisch (1995: 99-104).

Beste aldetik, ohartu gabeko ezustekoek albistearen ulergarritasuna trabatzen dute. Akats funtzionalek lapsus horiek zehazten dituzte. Idatzizkoak badira, *lapsus clavis* izena hartzen dute. Ahozkera-akatsak *lapsus linguae* dira.

82. Taula – Akats funtzionalen operazionalizazioa

Hedabide-mota	Akats funtzionalen kategorizazioa
Egunkaria	* Lapsus clavis
Telebista	* Lapsus linguae
	* Lapsus clavis
Irratia	* Lapsus linguae

Iturria: Egilea, honako autoreen lanetan oinarrituta: Alden (2005: 15-67), Kolodzy (2006: 91-213), Meyer (2004a: 83-108), Ruß-Mohl (2003a: 170-189) eta Wallisch (1995: 99-104).

Formatu-kalitatearen bi aldeak (kalitate teknikoa eta aurkezpen-kalitatea) honako formula hau aplikatuta zenbatuko dira:

$$\text{Okerren indizea} = \frac{\text{Hutsen maiztasuna}}{\text{Hutsetarako aukera}}$$

*Hutsen maiztasuna*k epe jakin batean emandako huts-kopurua azaltzen du. *Hutsetarako aukera*k, ostera, epe horretan izandako albiste guztien kopurua kontuan hartzen du. Helburua okerren indizeak zero (0) baliotik albait gertueneko emaitzak adieraztea litzateke.

Bigarrenik, *eduki-kalitatea*ren dimentsioak informazioaren ezaugarriei erreparatzen die. Hortaz, edukia aztertzeko adierazle kualitatiboak eta kuantitatiboak erabiliko ditugu. Adierazle kualitatiboek *aniztasuna* neurtuko dute. Hiru aniztasun-mota aurreikusi ditugu: gai-aniztasuna, protagonista-moten aniztasuna eta sorterriaren araberako aniztasuna.

83. Taula – Gai-Aniztasunaren operazionalizazioa

Saila	Gaiak	
Politika	1.- Udala 2.- Aldundia 3.- Jaurlaritza (EAE edo Nafarroa) 4.- Alderdi politikoak 5.- Euskal gatazka 6.- Espainiako Gobernua 7.- Frantziako Gobernua	8.- Europar Batasuna 9.- AEB 10.- Nazioarteko erakundeak 11.- Gatazka politikoak 12.- Guda 13.- Bestelakoak
Ekonomia	1.- Lana 2.- Nekazaritza eta abeltzantza 3.- Arrantza 4.- Enpresa pribatua	5.- Zerbitzuak (3. sektorea) 6.- Banketxeak eta Finantzak 7.- Nazioarteko ekonomia 8.- Bestelakoak
Gizartea	1.- Gizarte taldeak 2.- Elkartasuna, karitatea 3.- Etxebizitza 4.- Herri lanak 5.- Trafikoa 6.- Hezkuntza 7.- Osasuna 8.- Ekologia eta ingurugiroa	9.- Aisialdia, bidaiatzea 10.- Tradizioa (gizarte bizitza) 11.- Gizarte zibila 12.- Lege-hausteak 13.- Natur hondamendiak 14.- Istripuak 15.- Bestelakoak
Kultura	1.- Antzerkia 2.- Musika 3.- Dantza 4.- Marrazketa 5.- Eskultura 6.- Artisautza 7.- Arte ondarea 8.- Gastronomia 9.- Bertsolaritza	10.- Literatura 11.- Zinema 12.- Hedabideak 13.- Hedabidea bera 14.- Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua 15.- Argazkigintza 16.- Euskara 17.- Zientzia 18.- Bestelakoak
Kirolak	1.- Futbola 2.- Atletismoa 3.- Eskubaloia 4.- Saskibaloia 5.- Igeriketa 6.- Arraunketa 7.- Txirrindularitza 8.- Herri kirolak 9.- Ehiza	10.- Eskia 11.- Pelota 12.- Mendia 13.- Duatloia, Triatloia 14.- Xakea 15.- Judoa 16.- Rugbya 17.- Automobilismoa 18.- Bestelakoak
Eguraldia		
Gainerakoak		

Iturria: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149) eta Camacho Markina (2003: 40-44).

84. Taula – Protagonista-Moten Aniztasunaren Operazionalizazioa

Saila	Aktore nagusiak	Saila	Aktore nagusiak
Politika	1.- Aginteko alderdi politikoak 　1.1.- EAJ (EAJ-EA, EB) 　1.2.- PSOE-EE 　1.3.- Ezker Abertzalea 　1.4.- PP/UPN 　1.5.- Ez dago 2.- Oposizioko alderdi politikoak 　2.1.- EAJ 　2.2.- PSOE-EE 　2.3.- Ezker Abertzalea 　2.4.- PP/UPN 　2.5.- EA 　2.6.- EB/IU 　2.7.- ETA 　2.8.- Herritar ezezagunak 　2.9.- Bat ere ez	**Gizartea**	1.- Barne Saila edo Ministerioa, Ertzaintza edo Poliziak 2.- Estatuko ordezkariak eta funtziona-rioak (epaileak, gizarte langileak, nazioarteko erakundeak etab.) 3.- Euskara Elkarteak 4.- Gizarte taldeak edo segmentua 5.- Herritar ezezagunak 6.- Lege-hauslea 7.- Bat ere ez
		Kultura	1.- Artisten edo Zientzialarien elkarteak 2.- Kultura edo Zientzia sustatzaileak 3.-. Artistak edo zientzialariak 4.- Herritar ezezagunak 5.- Bat ere ez
		Kirolak	1.- Zuzendaritza 2.- Entrenatzailea 3.- Kirolariak 4.- Herritar ezezagunak 5.- Bat ere ez
Ekonomia	1.- Enpresaria 2.- Sindikatuak 3.- Langileak 4.- Herritar ezezagunak 5.- Bat ere ez	**Eguraldia**	1.- Adituak 2.- Herritar ezezagunak 3.- Bat ere ez
		Gainerakoak	———————

Iturria: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149), Camacho Markina (2003: 31-34), Mugak[249] eta Ramirez de la Piscina & Agirreazaldegi (2010: 27-30).

85. Taula – Sorterriaren araberako Aniztasunaren Operazionalizazioa

Eremuak	Lekuak	Eremuak	Lekuak
Tokian tokikoa	1.- Araba 2.- Bizkaia 3.- Gipuzkoa 4.- Lapurdi 5.- Nafarroa-Garaia 6.- Nafarroa-Beherea 7.- Zuberoa	**Estaturik gabeko nazioak**	1.- Kataluinia 2.- Galiza 3.- Irlanda
		Europa	1.- Europar Batasuna eta horren kideak 2.- Ekialdeko Europa
		Nazioartea	1.- Nazio Batuen Erakundea (NBE) 2.- NATO
Euskal Herria	1.- Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (EAE) 2.- Nafarroa 3.- Hegoaldea 4.- Iparraldea 5.- Euskal Herria	**Amerikak**	1.- AEB 2.- Hego Amerika
		Asia	1.- Israel 2.- Palestina 3.- Txina 4.- Irak 5.- Soviet Batasuneko kide-ohiak
Estatuak	1.- Espainia	**Afrika**	
	2.- Frantzia	**Ozeania**	

Iturria: Aiestaran (2007: 116-149), Camacho Markina (2003: 30-31), Mugak[250] eta Ramirez de la Piscina & Agirreazaldegi (2010: 27-30).

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[249] Mugak: Aniztasunaren Behatokia <www.mugak.eu> [Azken bisita: 2010/04/16].

[250] Mugak (op. cit.).

Eduki-kalitatea aztertzeko adierazle kuantitatiboek, aldiz, *Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea* osatuko dute. Adierazle bakoitzak gehienez puntu bat esleituko du. Horrela, guztirako bikaintasuna 0-10 balioen artekoa izango da. Sistema horrek, gainera, adierazle bakoitzaren egikaritza-maila azaltzen du. Beraz, adierazleek kalitatearen banakako azterketa ahalbidetzen dute. Adierazleok albistegintzaren bi aldiak ere kontuan izaten dituzte. Horrela, lehenengo bost adierazleek hautaketa prozesua aztertuko dute eta azken bostek, ordea, garapena ikertuko dute.

Lehenengo adierazlea *informazioaren jatorria* da. Horrek albistea zelan sortu den azaltzeko eskatzen du. Izan ere, informazioan sakondu nahi duen hartzaileari horretarako gakoak eskaini behar dizkio albisteak, Sare-Gizartearen aroko ezaugarriei erantzuteko.

86. Taula – Informazioaren Jatorria

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
Aipatua	1
Zeharka aipatua	0,5
Ezkutatua	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, *albiste-iturri motek* albisteak jasotzen duen gertaeraren berri ematen dute. Iturriok dokumentuak izan daitezke edo pertsonak. Bigarren kasu horretan, adituez gain, iturriak identifikatuta agertzen diren edo ez ebazten duen irizpideak puntuen esleipena gidatuko du.

87. Taula – Albiste-iturri motak

Albiste-iturri motak	0-1 eskala
Dokumentua	1
Iturri pertsonalak	
* Adituak	0,75
* Izen-abizenekin eta karguarekin identifikatutako iturriak	0,5
* Zeharka identifikatutako iturriak	0,25
* Identifikatu bako iturriak (Off the record, informazio sekretua)	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, *gertaeraren egitate-mailak* albistegaia gertakizuna, adierazpenak edo espekulazioa den bereizten du.

88. Taula – Gertaeraren egitate-maila

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
Gertakizuna	1
Adierazpenak	0,5
Espekulazioak eta usteak	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Laugarrenik, hedabideak albistea ematen duenetik albistegai den gertakizuna jazo arteko denbora neurtzen du *gaurkotasunak*.

89. Taula – Gaurkotasuna

Oraintsuko gaurkotasuna	0-1 eskala
Berehalakoa: "atzo", "gaur", "bihar"	1
2-7 egun	0,5
Astebete baino gehiago	0,25
Zehazgabea	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Bosgarrenik, *adierazgarritasuna* albistegarritasuna eta ardura (albisteak zenbat lagunengan eragina duen) batzen dituen adierazlea da. Horretarako, Fretwurst-en Doktorego Tesiak proposatutako sistematizazioa oinarri izan dugu.

46. Irudia – Adierazgarritasunaren araberako albistegaien sistematizazioa
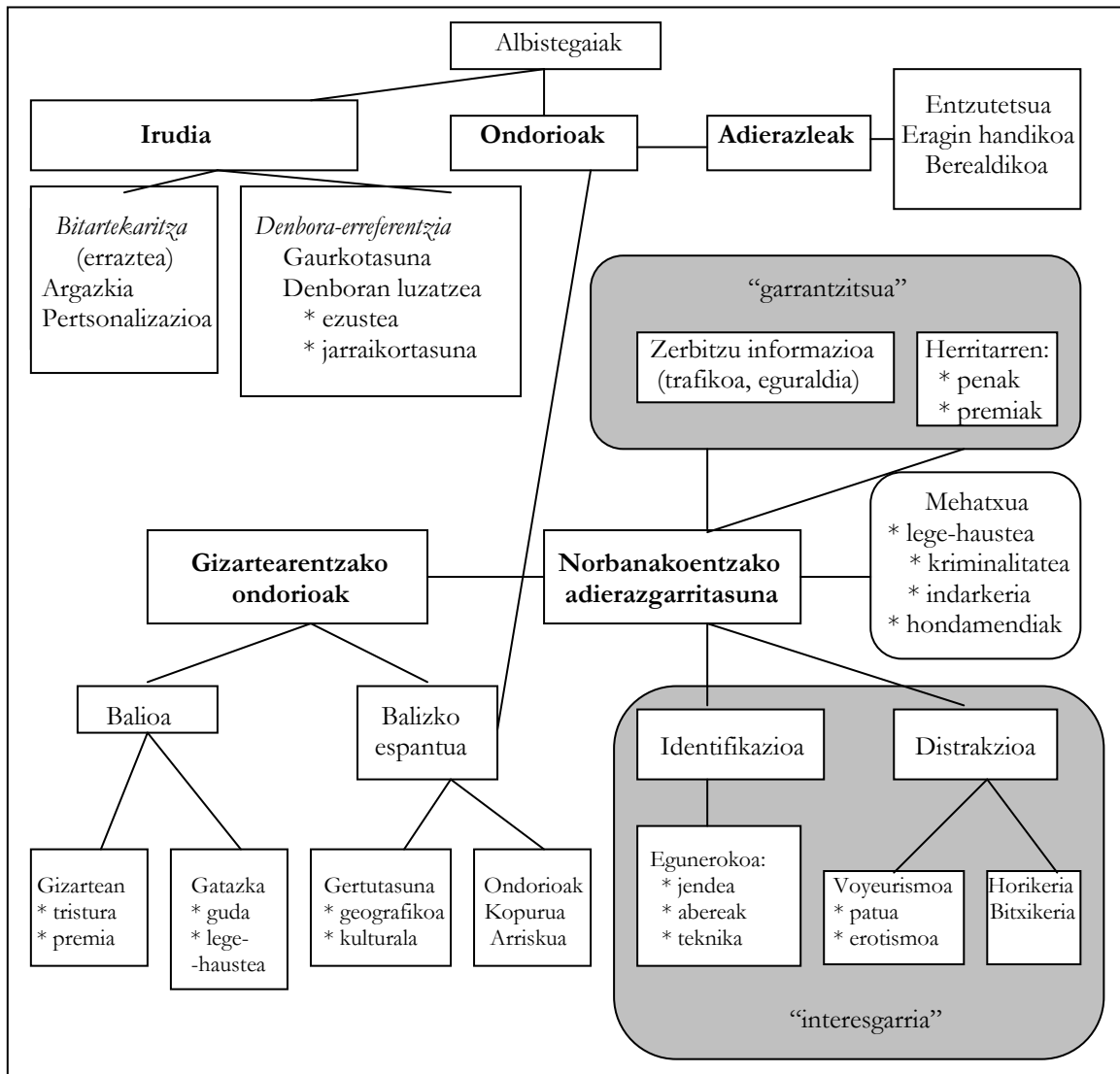
Iturria: Fretwurst (2008: 113)[251].

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[251] Egileak alemanieratik itzulia.

Horrela, *adierazgarritasuna* neurtzeko sistemak berak albistegarritasuna eta ardura kontuan izaten ditu. Horren arabera, puntuak esleituko ditu.

90. Taula – Albistegaien sailkapena, adierazgarritasunaren arabera

Albistegaiak, adierazgarritasunaren arabera				0-1 eskala
GERTAERA	Gizartearentzako ondorioak	Balizko espantua	Gertutasuna (geografikoa, kulturala)	1
			Ondorioak, kopurua, arriskua	
		Balioa	Gizartean: tristura – premia	
			Gatazka (guda, lege-haustea)	
	Adierazleak	Entzutetsua, eragin handikoa, berealdikoa		0,75
	Norbanakoentzako adierazgarritasuna	"Garrantzitsua"	Zerbitzu-informazioa (trafikoa, eguraldia)	0,5
			Herritarren penak eta premiak	
		Mehatxua: lege-haustea (kriminalitatea, indarkeria), hondamendiak, tragediak		0,25
		"Interesgarria"	Identifikazioa (Egunerokoa: jendea, abereak, teknika)	
			Distrakzioa: voyeurismoa (patua, erotismoa) – Horikeria, bitxikeria	
IRUDIA	Denbora-erreferentzia	Gaurkotasuna		0
		Denboran luzatzea: ezustea, jarraikortasuna		
	Bitartekaritza (erraztea)	Argazkia		
		Pertsonifikazioa		

Iturria: Egilea, honakoan oinarrituta: Fretwurst (2008: 112-139).

Seigarrenik, *zehaztasunak* titulua eta albistea aurrez aurre ipintzen ditu. Ondorioz, tituluak albistea laburtzen duen, alde bat bakarrik nabarmentzen duen edo engainagarria izan daitekeen ebazten du.

91. Taula – Zehaztasuna

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
Tituluak albistea laburtzen edo aurreratzen du	1
Tituluak albistearen alde bat edo ezaugarri bat nabarmentzen du	0,5
Titulua anbiguoa, hutsala edo engainagarria da, eta ez dator albistearen edukiarekin bat	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Zazpigarrenik, *osotasunak* kazetaritzaren oinarrizko bost W-galderen erantzunak eskatzen ditu (nork, zer, noiz, non, zelan edota zergatik).

92. Taula – Osotasuna

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
7W	1
5W edo 6W	0,5
Lau W edo gutxiago	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Zortzigarrenik, *ikuspegi-kopuruak* informazioa interpretatzeko gakoak ematea du helburu. Horretarako, gutxienez bi ikuspegiren argudioak eskaintzeari ezinbestekoa deritzogu.

93. Taula – Ikuspegi-kopurua

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
Hiru ikuspegi	1
Bi ikuspegi	0,5
Ikuspegi bakarra, baina arrazoitua	0,25
Ikuspegi bakarra, arrazoitu barik	0

Iturria: Egilea.

Bederatzigarrenik, *informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna* osagai horiek eskaintzen duten aparteko informazioarekin lotuta dago. Gainera, informazio-elementu horiek albistearekin bat ez datozenean, puntu negatiboak esleitzea aurreikusten du, irudi-hizkerak ere albiste osoan eragina duelako. Are gehiago, albistea osatzen duten elementu horiek teknikoki eskasak direnean, puntuazio orokorrari puntu osoa kenduko diote.

94. Taula – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna

Egikaritza-maila	0-1 eskala
Oso esanguratsuak (4-5W)	1
Esanguratsuak (2-3W)	0,5
Betelana (1W)	0
Bat ere esanguratsuak	-0,5
Bat ere esanguratsuak eta teknikoki eskasak	-1

Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, *hizkuntzaren erabilerak* bi aspektu aztertuko ditu. Alde batetik, erabilitako hizkera zuzena, jatorra edo egokia den ebatziko du. Azken hori, egokia alegia, kazetaritza-hizkera litzateke. Bestetik, hizkuntza akatsek ere puntu negatiboak ekarriko dituzte. Hortaz, albiste osoari eragingo diote. Testuan agertzen den ortografia edo gramatika akats bakoitzeko 0,1 puntu kenduko zaio albiste horren puntuazioari. Akatsa tituluan, goitituluan, azpitituluan, tartekian, leihoetan, zintan, zatiduraren tituluan edota argazki oinean agertuz gero, 0,2 puntu kenduko dizkio albisteari.

95. Taula – Hizkuntzaren erabilera: Hizkera eta akatsak

Hizkera	0-1 eskala	Akatsak	Puntu negatiboak
Egokia	1	Ortografia eta gramatika akatsak (tituluan, goitituluan, azpitituluan, tartekian, leihoetan, zintan, zatiduraren tituluan, argazki oinean…)	-0,2 (akats bakoitzeko)
Jatorra	0,5	Ortografia eta gramatika akatsak testuan	-0,1 (akats bakoitzeko)
Zuzena	0		

Iturria: Egilea.

Beraz, Kalitate-Indizeak guztira 0-10 bitarteko puntuazioa esleituko du. Horrenbestez, bost puntu lortzen dituen berriak albiste arruntzat hartuko da. Izan ere,

bost puntu esleitzeko albistearen oinarrizko ezaugarriak baino ez ditu azaldu behar, hala nola zeharka aipatutako informazioaren jatorria duen iturri pertsonal identifikatu batek aurreko astean gertatu zen edo hurrengoan jazoko den gertaerari buruz emandako adierazpen "garrantzitsua" (esaterako, zerbitzu informazioa). Ondoren, kazetaritza-jarduerak albiste horren alde bat tituluan nabarmentzen du, oinarrizko 5Wei erantzuten die, bi ikuspegi aurkezten ditu, informazio-elementu gehigarri esanguratsuak dakartza eta hizkera jatorra darabil. Hortik hamar punturainoko aldea kalitatean hobetzeko tartea izango litzateke.

Amaitzeko, formatu-kalitatearekin eta eduki-kalitatearekin batera, *gizarte-kalitateak* hedabidearen ekimena eta komunitatearekiko atxikimendua adierazten ditu. Gizarte-atxikimenduak hedabideak informazioarekiko duen jarrera (aldekoa edo positiboa, neutroa eta aurkakoa edo negatiboa) aztertzen du. Hortaz, gizarte-kalitateak eduki-kalitatearen datuak hedabideen eginkizun sozialen arabera interpretatuko ditu.

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3. METODOLOGIA

"La teoría es el objetivo, no el vehículo de la ciencia social"
Jorge Lora Cam eta Carlos Mallorquín Suzarte (2008),
Investigación: Miseria del método en Ciencias Sociales

Albisteen kalitateari buruzko diskurtsoa bi ardatzen inguruan egituratu da: zenbait komunitate zientifikotako ekarpenak eta kazetaritza ulertzeko modua, hain zuzen. Alde batetik, Eskandinaviako egileak bidegileak izan baziren ere, ondoren kalitatearen eztabaida eremu anglosaxoian garatu zen. Azkenik, Alemaniak diskurtso bateratua osatu du eta, horrela, ikerketarako gako praktikoak eskaini ditu. Beste aldetik, kalitatearen kontzepzioak alde ekonomikoa gainditu eta kazetaritza-jardueran bertan zentratzeak produktuaren beraren ezaugarriak aztertzea ahalbidetu du. Beraz, Kalitate-Kontrolerako oinarriak finkatu dituzte, hau da, kalitatea neurtzeko bidea produktu amaitua ikuskatzea da. Horren emaitzek kalitatea bermatzeko zantzuak emango dituzte, geroagoko lanaren nondik norakoak aurreratuz. Izan ere, Kalitate-Kontrolaren eginkizuna produktuak "aurretik ezarririko eskakizunak" betetzen dituela ebaztean datza. Kalitatearen Ziurtatzeak, ordea, bikaintasuna kontrolatu baino, "fabrikatu" egiten dela dio. Horregatik, bigarren horrek Kalitate-Kontrolean atzemandako okerrak zuzentzeko prozedurak garatzen ditu (De Domingo, 2000: 8; Euskalit, 2004: 29-37).

Lan honetan albisteen kalitatea hartzailearen ikuspegitik aztertzeko sistema osotua proposatu dugu. Hortaz, eduki-analisia albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko metodo egiaztatua da, beste komunitate zientifikoetako egileek erabilitako Kalitate-Kontrolerako adierazleen arabera euskarazko albisteak aztertuko ditugulako. Produktu amaitu bezala, albisteek nazioarteko kalitatearen adierak ezartzen dituen neurriak betetzen ote dituzten aztertuko dugu (Del Valle, 2005: 1-7; Grönlund, 2002: 227-231; Ishikawa, 1985: 54; Lloréns Montes, 1996: 17-40).

3.1. LAGINKETA

Hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko eduki-analisia erabiliko dugu, irizpide kualitatiboak eta kuantitatiboak aztertuz. Metodo horrek "datu uholdean ematen diren eredu sendoak identifikatzeko eta azaltzeko" balio du. Erabiliko dugun eduki-analisiaren kategoriak hainbat egilek egiaztatutako adierazleak izango dira,

2.1.5 kapituluan zehaztutakoari jarraituz. Atal horretan bertan kategorien operazionalizazioa ere azaldu dugu. Beraz, sail honetan ikerketaren laginketa eta metodoaren fidagarritasuna azalduko ditugu (Juaristi Larrinaga, 2003: 32-34, 215-228; Priest, 2010: 83-94; Zabaleta Urkiola, 1997: 179-190, 213-223).

Eduki-analisiaren bidez aztertu beharreko hedabideek osatzen duten unibertsoaren tamaina dela-eta, zorizko lagin sistematikoa aplikatuko diogu. Horrela, "Hasiera-puntu aleatoriotik hasiz eta aldiro n_{tarte} erabiliz, n_1 lagina osatu" nahi izan dugu. Bi ikerketa bereizi ditugu: ikerketa diakronikoa (*Etb1*en sorreratik 2007ra bitartekoa) eta ikerketa sinkronikoa (hainbat hedabideren 2008ko emanaldiak). Hortaz, telebistako albistegien lagina osatzeko erabiltzen den "hileka estratifikatua" edo egunkarien azterketarako "aste konposatua" izeneko teknika aplikatu diegu (Zabaleta Urkiola, 1997: 163-164; 190-205).

3.1.1. UNIBERTSOA

Eduki-analisia hainbat hedabidek plazaratutako albisteak neurtzeko eta bat egiteko metodoa da, informazioari erreparatzen diolako eta ez hura argitaratu duen euskarriari. Hortaz, irratiko, telebistako eta egunkariko albisteak alderatzeko tresna eraginkorra da.

a. Euskarazko hedabideak

Lan honetan, euskal komunitatearen zati geografikorik handiena hartzen duten hiru euskarritako hedabiderik zabalduenak aztertuko ditugu: *Euskadi Irratia, Euskal Telebista* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*. Lehenengo eta behin, EiTB taldeko bi hedabideak euskaraz zabaldutako ikus-entzunezko hedabide nagusiak dira. Horregatik, euren arteko alderaketa bien baliabide albait bertsuenetan oinarritu dadin, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Euskal Telebista*k partekatzen duten albistegi-ordutegia hartuko dugu. Gainera, egunean bertan sortu, aukeratu eta landutako albisteak tratatzeko kazetari-senaren erakuslerik nabarmena 'Gaur Egun 1' albistegia da, eguerdikoa delako. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek berriak aireratzen dituen ordu bereko *Euskadi Irratiko* albistegia hautatu dugu (14:00etakoa, hain zuzen). Bigarrenik, euskarazko idatzizko prentsak biharamunean informatu ohi duenez, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* egunkariaren albisteak EiTB taldeko hedabideen albisteak aztertu eta hurrengo eguneko zenbakia aukeratu dugu.

a.1. *Euskadi Irratia*

Euskal Irrati Telebista (EiTB) sortzeko legearen lehen ondorioa *Euskadi Irratia* bera izan zen. Euskarazko irratiak 1982ko azaroaren 21ean lehen emanaldia aireratu zuen. Hortaz, EiTB eratzeko araudiak irratiaren helburuak zehaztu zituen[253]. Egileek xedeok hiru kategoriatan sailkatu ohi dituzte. Lehenengo eta behin, EiTBren jardunak "euskararen eta euskal kulturaren sustapena eta zabalkundea" ditu helburu. Bigarrenik, EiTBk "euskal herritarrek informazioa jasotzeko eta parte-hartze politikorako" daukaten eskubidea bermatzeko eskatu zuen 1982ko Legeak. Hirugarrenik, EiTB "euskal hezkuntza-sistemaren lagungarri" izateko eginkizuna egotzi zion (Alkorta eta Zuberogoitia, 2009: 135-137; Gutierrez Paz, 2002: 72-78).

Euskaraz jarduten duten irratietatik lur-eremurik zabalena hartzen duena *Euskadi Irratia* da. Horrenbestez, hasieran EAEn bakarrik zabaltzen zen. Nafarroara oso seinale ahula heltzen zen, ez zen etxean irratia entzuteko bestekoa. Horregatik, Iruñerriko Komunikabideak elkartearen ekimenez, 1984tik aurrera *Euskadi Irratia*ren seinalea hartu eta beste frekuentzia batera eramaten zuten, eskualde horretako etxeetan artez jaso zezaten. Horren haritik, Iruñerriko Komunikabideak elkarteak Nafarroako berriak bilduko lituzkeen albistegia 1988an emititzen hasi zen, *Euskalerria Irratia*ren lehen urratsa izan zen. Orain, alderantziz, *Euskalerria Irratia*ren emanaldirik ez dagoenean, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin deskonexioa egiten dute. Dena den, Nafarroan ez da oraindik *Euskadi Irratia* taxuz zabaltzen. Alde batetik, seinalea urrunetik datorrenez, oso ahul heltzen delako. Bestetik, seinale horrek hartzen zuen lekua, Nafarroako Gobernuak gerora hainbatetan banatu dituen frekuentziek eskuratu dute. Are gehiago,

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[253] "3. art.: Autonomia Erkidegoaren jabetzapeko gizarte-adierazpideen jardunak honako oinarri-irizpide hauek izango ditu:

a.) Berriemanketen gauzak direneantxe ikustea, egiatasuna eta alderdikeriarik eza.

b.) Berriemanketa eta iritziaren arteko zehazketa eta bereizketa, azken honek adierazten dutenak nor diren hertsiki eskatuz. Merkataritza-berriemanketak erabilkera zehatz eta berezi bera eskatuko du hertsiki.

c.) Berdintasun-sortarauarekiko, politika, erlijio, gizarte, kultura eta linguistika-aniztasunarekiko begirunea.

d.) Orotariko inteesaren alde, Autonomia-Estatutuan eta Konstituzioan onartutako elkarbizitzaren herri-balioen aldezpen eta sustapena.

e.) Konstituzioak eta Autonomia-Estatutuak onartzen dituzten eskubideekiko begirunea.

f.) Pertsona ohorearekiko, izen onarekiko begirunea eta, bereziki, urkotasun eta berariazko irudirako eskubidearekikoa.

g.) Gazteriaren eta haurtzaroaren babesa.

h.) Kulturaren eta euskararen sustapena, euskara erabiltzearen xedeetarako, oinarrizko egitarau-sortarauak ezarriz, orotariko eskaintza mailan Autonomia Erkidegoan euskaraz irrati-telebistazko emankizunen oreka beharra kontuan izanik." ("Euskal Irrati Telebista" Herri Erakundea sortzeko maiatzaren 20ko 5/1982ko Legea).

Ipar Euskal Herrian ere ez da herri guztietara heltzen. Lapurdi eta Nafarroa-Behereko zati bat baino ez ditu hartzen (Oronos, Etxezaharreta eta Arbelbide, 2008: 188-189; Tubia, 1-6).

Martxan ipini eta hamar urtera, 1992an alegia, *Euskadi Irratia*k 100.000 entzule izateko helburua lortu zuen. Dena den, hortik aurrera ez du entzule berririk hasierako hamarkadan izandako proportzioan erakarri. Izan ere, 2010eko datuek *Euskadi Irratia*ri 107.000 entzule aintzatesten zioten[254]. Are okerrago, 2002ko datuek 71.000 entzule baino ez zituzten zenbatzen eta 2008koek, 89.000[255]. Hala ere, CIESen datuek ez dituzte Ipar Euskal Herriko entzuleak kontuan hartzen (Otermin eta Díez Unzueta, 2006: 162-167; SEI, 2004: 120).

*Euskadi Irrati*ko entzuleen soslaiari dagokionez, generoen arteko oreka badago, irratia jarraitzen dutenen artean %48,8 gizonak baitira eta %51,2, ostera, emakumeak. Orokorreko irratia izateko, entzuleria gaztea du, jarraitzaile gehienak 26-45 urte bitartekoak direlako. Gainera, gizarte-egituraren goi-mailan kokatzen dira. Gehien-gehienen bizilekua 50.000 biztanle baino gutxiago dituzten herriak dira (%79,1), baina hiriburuetan ere asko entzuten da. Are gehiago, horrelakoetan *Etb1*ek baino lau bider hartzaile gehiago ditu. Irratia ahozkotasunean oinarritzen denez, uste daitekeenaren aurka, entzuleen %80k euskaraz ulertzen dute eta, are gehiago, euskaraz irakurtzeko eta idazteko gai ere badira (CIES, 2008).

a.2. *Etb1*

Euskadi Irratia bezala, EiTB sortzeko 1982ko legeak *Euskal Telebista*ren jarduna arautzen du. Horrenbestez, EAEko telebista publikoa 1982ko abenduaren 31n aireratu zen lehenengoz. Dena den, 1983ko udara arte ez zen Arabako, Bizkaiko eta Gipuzkoako herri guztietara heldu. Are gehiago, Nafarroara ez zen heltzen. Horregatik, Atarrabiako Paz Ziganda ikastolako gurasoen ekimenez, 1986ko otsailaren 28an Aralarko Done Mikelen santutegiko kaperau Inozentzio Aierbek Iruñerrira *Euskal Telebista*ren seinalea zabalduko zukeen errepikagailua santutegiko eremuan bertan kokatzea baimendu zuen, "euskararen onerako zelako". Gaur egun ere, Nafarroako Gobernuak *Euskal Telebista* Lurreko Telebista Digitaletik (LTD) kanpo utzi du. Horrenbestez, seinale analogikoa baino ez da heltzen. Are okerrago, umeentzako

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[254] Prentsan argitaratutakoaren arabera (*Berria*: "*Gaztea*k 123.000 entzule ditu eta *Euskadi Irratia*k 107.000, CIESen arabera", 2010/05/20).

[255] *Berria*: "Iazko entzule kopurua ia bikoiztu egin dute *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Gaztea*k" (2008/04/30).

programazioa *Etb1*etik LTDko *Etb3*ra aldatzean, Nafarroako umeek ez dute telebistan euskarazko eskaintzarik. Ipar Euskal Herrian, azkenik, *Euskal Telebista*ren seinalea Lapurdiko kostaldera hasieratik heltzen bazen ere, Euskararen Sostengurako sindikatuaren ekimenez zenbait errepikagailu ipintzeko dirua bildu zen. Horregatik, Iparraldean *Etb1*ek *Euskadi Irratia*k baino eremua handiagoa hartzen du. Dena den, LTDk etorkizun hurbilean Iparraldean *Etb1* ikusi ahal izatea kolokan ipini du (Alkorta eta Zuberogoitia, 2009: 124-135; Urteaga, 2005: 323-336).

Euskal Telebista sortu berria euskaraz eta gazteleraz aritzen zen. Horrenbestez, 1983ko otsailaren 1eko 21:00etan lehen albistegi formatuko saioa aireratu zen, urtarriletik bertatik informatzen hasi arren. Hizkuntza hauturik ez zuen orduko *Euskal Telebista*k egin, baina 1983ko abenduaren 19an gaztelera hutsezko albistegia abiatzeak hizkuntzaren araberako bi kateen bereizketarako oinarriak zehaztu zituen. Hortaz, 1986ko maiatzaren 31n *Etb2* gaztelera hutsez emititzeko katea martxan ipini zuten, euskaraz aritzen zen *Etb1* EAEko telebista publikoaren "osagarri" moduan. Hala ere, albistegietarako talde bakarra osatu zuten. Hortaz, kazetari berak albistea euskaraz eta gazteleraz landu behar du (Alkorta eta Zuberogoitia, 2009: 124-135; Garmendia, 2005: ; Martín Sabarís, 1999; Otermin eta Díez Unzueta, 2006: 102-109; Zupiria, 2005: 217-226). Gaztelerazko kateak ikusle gehiago dituenez, horren merkatu-estrategia gailendu dela kritikatu izan diote *Euskal Telebista*ri:

> "[…] La posibilidad de «ensayar» en un primer informativo (en euskara, con poca audiencia) los contenidos del segundo (con una audiencia mucho mayor al ser en castellano). Este «ensayo» permite además una censura previa, ya que el redactor jefe o editor permanece atento a los vídeos en euskara, ordenando las correcciones oportunas a los periodistas que en esos momentos están editando las noticias en castellano." (Martín Sabarís, 1999: 18)

Are gehiago, *Etb*ren gaztelaniarekiko mendekotasun horrek euskal gizartea islatzeari bizkarra eman diola deritzote. Horrenbestez, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Etb1*ek, bereziki, identitatean "pot" egin izana leporatu diote. Aldi berean, *Etb*ko kazetarien *xenofilia* ("auto-konplexudunaren gaitza") "endemikoa" izatera heldu ei da (Alkorta eta Zuberogoitia, 2009: 124-135; Arana Arrieta, 1995: 127-157; Garmendia, 2005: 23-27; Martín Sabarís, 1999; Zupiria, 2005: 217-226).

*Etb1*en ikusle datuak oso aspaldikoak dira, *Euskal Telebista*ren bi kateek batutako ikus-entzule kopurua baino ez dutelako zabaltzen. Horrenbestez, Hego Euskal Herrian 2002an 204.000 ikusle zituen eta Iparraldean, 2005eko datuen arabera, 76.000

euskaldunetatik 42.000k aurreko egunean *Etb1* ordu erdiz ikusi egin zuten (SEI, 2004: 133; Urteaga, 2005: 323-336)

Ikusleen soslaiari dagokionez, emakumezkoak nagusitzen dira (%60,5). Gainera, ikusle gehienak 45 urtetik aurreragokoak dira. Are gehiago, 65tik aurrekoen kopurua guztirako %47koa da eta 45-64ra bitartekoena, %31,5ekoa. Gizarte-maila ertaineko kideak dira eta haietatik %64,1 50.000 biztanle baino gutxiago dituzten herrietan bizi dira. Euskararen mailari erreparatuta, ahozkotasuna gailentzen da (Sofres, 2008).

a.3. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*

Euskaldunon Egunkaria gizarte eragileen ekimenez eta Eusko Jaurlaritzaren babes ekonomikorik gabe sortutako euskarazko kazeta izan zen. Lehen zenbakia 1990eko abenduaren 6an kaleratu zuen. Egunkaria Sortzen promotora osatuko zuketen lagunek "euskaldun guztion egunkaria" antolatzeko ildo editorialaren hamaika ezaugarri adostu zituzten 1989ko abenduaren 10ean (Zalakain 1993: 193-277; Zalakain, 1992: 462-606). Ordutik aurrera, *oinarriak* izena hartu zuten:

> "**1. Euskaltzalea**: «Euskaltzaletasunak emango dio egunkaria kalean jartzearen saio honi lehenengo eta funtsezko oinarria. Bera baita saioaren arrazoia. Herri honek beste egunkari bat behar izatearen arrazoia euskara hutsez egunkaririk ez izatean baitago. Euskaldunok badugu euskarazko eguneroko prentsa izateko eskubidea. Eta herri honek badu bere hizkuntzaren normalizaziorako bidean euskarazko egunkariaren beharra. Euskaltzaletasun horrek bultzatzen gaitu proiektu hau euskal kulturarekin konprometitua ikustera. <u>Herri honek behar duen proiektu nazionalean euskal kulturaren berreraikuntzak funtsezko papera bete behar baitu.</u>»
> **2. Nazionala**: «<u>Lurraldetasuna</u>ren aldetik nazionala izateari ere funtsezkoa deritzogu. Gure herriak gaur egun nozitzen duen <u>zatiketa administratiboaren gainetik</u> bai hizkuntz edo kultur beharren aldetik eta baita ere <u>zerbitzu informatiboaren aldetik herri honek batzea izan behar baitu helburu.</u>»
> **3. Baterakoia**: «Baterakoia izan behar du saio honek. Setakerien gainetik egunkariaren alde elkar daitezkeen <u>indar guztiak behar baititugu batu</u>. Nahikoa lan izango baitu berez euskarazko egunkari batek, euskarak egun nozitzen duen egoerarengatik, bere funtzio soziala betetzeko, <u>gure arteko tirabiretan etorkizuna oztopatzen ibili gabe ere.</u>»
> **4. Zabala**: «Zabala izan behar du saio honetatik irtengo den egunkariak. <u>Astakeria litzateke, egun, euskal irakurlegoaren osotasunera zuzentzen ez den egunkari bat argitaratzea</u>. Ahalik eta irakurlego horretako esparru handienak aurkitu behar du egunkari horretan bere egunkaria. Alde horretatik, funtsezkoa da ez begi bistatik kentzea <u>euskal irakurlegoarengan aurki daitekeen etenik nagusiena gaurko instituzioen onarpena ala aldaketa defendatzen dutenen artekoa dela</u>. Saio honek oinarrizko batasun joera bat mantenduz, muga horiek gainditzera jo beharko du denok <u>Euskal Herriarentzat nahi dugun burujabetzaren mesedetan</u>.»
> **5. Alderdi politikoekiko independentea**: «Independentea izan behar du saio editorial honek. <u>Independentea erakunde politikoetatik</u>. Bere lan arloa ez baita hori. Eta hasi baino lehenagotik aitortzen dugu gure ustean <u>lotura politikoak beste helburuak betetzeko oztopo gertatuko liratekeela</u>. Bere eginbide editorialak ezarritako irizpideetan libre aurkitu behar du saio honek.»
> **6. Erdal hedabideekiko independentea**: «Independentea erdarazko beste medioetatik. Garrantzizkoa iruditzen baitzaigu errealitateak berak jarriko dizkion mugei gehiago ez eranstea. <u>Jakina da erdal medioek beren helburu nagusira makurtzen</u>

dituztela beren bitartekoak. Elebakar definitzen den proiektu hau ezin daiteke beste helburuen pean mugitzen diren interesetan korapilatu. Diglosiak soberan sufritu araziko digu, proiektua bera egitura diglosiko batera lotzeko.»

7. Ez instituzionala: «Administrazioaren aldetik kontrolak beharrezkoak dira, instituzioen diru-laguntzaren arabera. Diru horiek publikoak izaten baitira, kontrol publikoa zilegi da. Halaz ere, iruditzen zaigu beharrezko diren diru publiko horiek ez diotela instituzioetako arduradunei beste motako kontrolik ezartzeko eskubiderik ematen. Arlo editorialari begira gorago definitu den askatasun beharrak puntu honetan ere instituzioetatik etor daitekeen kontroletik kanpo geratzea eskatze du.»

8. Diruz lagundua: «Hala ere, proiektu hau definitzerakoan argi daukagu instituzioetatik bakarrik etor daitekeen diru laguntza beharrezkoa dela. Alde horretatik eskatzen diegu instituzioen arduradunei lagun dezatela euskarazko eguneroko prentsa. Arlo horretatik etor daitezkeen kontrol behar guztiei aurre egitea uka ezinezko behar bat dela irizten diogu.»

9. Militantea: «Diru-laguntzak lortuta ere, proiektu honek bertan parte hartzen dugun guztion militante joeran izango du bere etorkizunerako garantia. Euskararen egoerak ez dio baldintza normalizatu batzuen mesedea eskaintzen euskararen aldeko proiektuetan sartuta dabilenari.»

10. Profesionala: «Profesionala behar du bai egunkariak baita ere proiektu editorial – enpresarial– guztiak. Kalitatea helburu baino oinarrizko beharra du horrelako proiektu batek eta kalitatearen aldeko grinak saio honen izaera mugatu beharko du. Etorkizuna horrek erabakiko baitu.»

11. Berria: «Euskal Prentsaren urrats berri hau, batetik, ez da posible izango ez bada gaur dagoen errealitatean oinarritzen. Alde horretatik, laguntza guztiak onuragarriak dira. Baina, bestetik, ezin proiektu berriak beti dakarten arriskuan jarri jadanik hainbeste nekez lortu diren errealitateak. Horregatik, proiektu hau berria izatea ere ezaugarri berezitzat hartzen dugu. Indar berriz proiektu berrietan apustu egiteko garaiak baititugu hauek.» "(Zalakain, 1993: 223-230; Zalakain, 1992: 513-524)

Espainiako Auzitegi Nazionaleko Juan del Olmo epailearen aginduz, 2003ko otsailaren 20an 300 guardia zibilek zenbait egoitza eta etxebizitza miatu zuten. *Egunkaria* itxi egin zuten, galarazi. Gainera, hamar lagun atxilotu zituzten. Den-denek "tratu txarrak eta torturak jaso izana" salatu zuten. Are gehiago, Martin Ugalde bera auzipetu zuten. Handik zazpi urtera, den-denak absolbitu zituzten: errugabeak ziren eta, beraz, inoiz ere ez zen *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* ixteko arrazoirik egon[256]. Hortaz, 2003ko otsailaren 21ean kaleratutako euskarazko egunkariak *Egunero* zuen izena. Azkenik, 2003ko ekainaren 21ean proiektu berria plazaratu zuten: *Berria*, hain zuzen (Agirre, 2004; Alkorta eta Zuberogoitia, 2009: 150-161; Zalakain, 2003; Zalakain 1993: 193-277; Zalakain, 1992: 462-606).

Euskaldunon Egunkaria utzi aurreko urtean, 2002an alegia, 14.396 ale saltzen zituen. Orduko prentsa txandakatzearen indizea 3,2koa zela kontuan izanik, kazetak 46.067 irakurle inguru zituen. *Berriak*, gainera, kopuru hori hobetu zuen. Horrela,

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[256] Egunkaria aurrera: <www.egunkaria.info> eta Egunkaria auzia: <www.berria.info/egunkaria> [Azken bisita: 2010/12/15].

2008an 18.000 ale saltzen zituen[257]. Horrenbestez, 57.600 irakurle aintzatesten zitzaizkion (Ramirez de la Piscina et al, 2010: 19-25; SEI, 2004: 96).

*Berria*ren irakurleen soslaiak, azkenik, genero aldetik alde handiegirik erakusten ez badu ere, gizonek emakumeek baino gehiago kontsumitzen duten euskarazko hedabidea da. Egunkaria erosten duten gehienak adin ertainekoak dira: 46-55 urte bitartekoek guztirako %27,4 osatzen dute; 36-45 urte bitartekoek, %26,3; eta 26-35 urte bitartekoek, %23,8. Erosle gehienak euskal gune trinkoetan bizi dira: %59, Gipuzkoan eta %24, Bizkaian. Erosleek ikasketa maila altua dute eta batez besteko hizkuntza gaitasuna baino altuagoa agertzen dute (Aztiker, 2007).

b. Ikerketa aldiak

Hiru hedabideok definituta ditugunean, bakoitzaren azterketa denbora-tarterik handienean zabaldu nahi izan dugu: sorreratik gaur egunera arte, alegia. Horrek bi ikerketa-tarte bereiztu ditu: alde batetik, hedabide bakoitzaren sorrera unetik 2007ra bitartekoa (ikerketa diakronikoa) eta, bestetik, 2008ko emanaldiak (ikerketa sinkronikoa). Ikerketa diakronikoa aztertzeko, beraz, hedabide bakoitza sortu zen unetik plazaratutako albisteen jarraipena egin nahi izan dugu. *Euskadi Irratia*ren albistegien artxiborik ez dagoenez, ikerketa diakronikoak gainerako bi hedabideak baino ezin izango ditu aztertu: *Euskal Telebista* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*. Dena den, bi hedabideon ibilbidearen azterketari funtsezko deritzogu, ikerketa sinkronikoaren emaitzak hobeto ulertzeko datu baliagarriak eman ditzakeelako. Are gehiago, ikerketa diakronikoak hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteen kalitatearen norabidea ere azaltzen du.

b.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak hedabideak sortu zirenetik 2007ra bitartean aztertuko ditu. Telebistaren artxiboa, baina, ezin daiteke Euskal Filmategian kontsultatu. Bertan, 1983tik hona *Euskal Telebista*k aireratutako albistegi eta saio guztien zintak gordetzen dira, etxeko VHS formatuan. Horiek, baina, ezin daitezke oraindik kontsultatu, katalogatu eta ordenatu barik daudelako; aurreragoko tesiek ere topatutako traba

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[257] *Berria*: "Ez dago apustu estrategikorik?", 2008/07/16.

berberak izan arren, oraindik ez diete konponbiderik bilatu[258]. Horregatik, *Euskal Telebistako* albistegiak EiTBko artxiboan kontsultatu behar izan ditugu. Horretarako hitzarmenik ez zegoenez, *Etb*ko arduradunek gure lana errazteko euren esku zegoen guztia egin dute. Albistegien artxiboa kontsultatzeko tarifa merkatua aplikatuta, EiTBko baliabide guztiak eskaini dizkigute. Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearen Hemeroteka zerbitzuan, azkenik, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria – Egunero – Berria* egunkarien ale guztiak kontsultatu ahal izan ditugu (paperean, 'pdf' formatuan edo Hemeroteka Plus aplikazioaren bitartez).

Euskarazko hedabideen inguruko lehenengo lana denez, azalean edo titularretan agertzen diren albisteak bakarrik kontuan hartu ditugu, hedabideotako berririk landuenak direlakoan. Gainera, hainbat hedabidetako albisteak alderatzeko tresna eraginkorra izan da. Hortaz, EiTBko artxiboa langileen beharrizanak asetzera bideratuta dago eta, beraz, ikerketarako funtsezkoak diren datuak ez ditu gordetzen, albistegiko titularrak, adibidez. Hori dela-eta, *Euskal Telebista*ko albistegien lagin diakronikoa hiru epetan banatu behar izan dugu. Lehenengo eta behin, 1983tik 1989ra bitartean, EiTBko artxiboak ez zituen eguneko albistegien eduki osoa gordetzen. Beraz, sasoi horretan artxibatutako funts guztiak aztertu ditugu. Gainera, euskarazko eta erdarazko albistegiak zeuden eta biek artxibo bakarra osatzen zuten. Bigarrenik, 1990tik aurrera albistegiko eduki osoa gordetzen hasi arren, 1990-2002 epeko eskaletak galdu dira. Horregatik, artxibatutako albiste guztien artetik titularretan zeintzuk azaldu ziren jakiterik ez dago. Beraz, bigarren epe horretako azterketak sail bakoitzaren albisterik garrantzitsuenari erreparatu dio. EiTBko artxiboan, baina, 2003ra arte 'Gaur Egun 2' artxibatu ohi dute, edukiaren zati handia eguerdiko albistegiarekin partekatzen duelako. Horregatik, ikerketa diakronikoaren zati handi bat 2. edizio horretan oinarritu behar izan dugu. Dena den, alderatzeko ordu bereko irratiko albistegirik izan ez dugunez, ikerketa diakronikoan 'Gaur Egun 2' aztertu izanak ez dio lanari eragin. Azkenik, 2003tik aurrerako artxiboak albisteak ez ezik, eskaletak ere gorde dituenez, titularretan agertutako berriak bakarrik aztertu ditugu. Gainera, 2007tik aurrerako artxiboko funtsak

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[258] "[…] No podemos dejar de referirnos a una situación que ha condicionado sobremanera el proceso de recogida y análisis de información documental de los vídeos seleccionados por la falta de ordenación del material videográfico de *Etb* en que se encuentra la sede de la Filmoteca Vasca de San Sebastián. El desbarajuste reinante entre cajas superpuestas y amontonadas, con cincuenta o cien vídeos cada una de ellas, ha hecho que los empleados de la Filmoteca y quien escribe estas líneas hayan padecido lastimosas e infructuosas horas de búsqueda entre un desbarajuste de inmensas cajas desordenadas." (Larrañaga Zubizarreta, 2004: 25)

digitalizatuta egon direnez, lana erraztu digute. *Euskal Telebista*ko albistegiak aztertzeko modu horrek *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* kazetaren ikerketa ere baldintzatu du. Beraz, ondoren ikerketa diakronikoaren epeen ezaugarriak azalduko ditugu.

b.1.1. *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenak (1983-1989)

Euskal Telebista lehenengoz 1982ko abenduaren 31n aireratu zenetik, EiTBko artxiboan gorde diren albistegietako funtsak aztertu ditugu. Albiste horiek, baina, ez dira berri osotuak eta, sarritan, ez dute albiste egiturarik. Izan ere, albiste-elementuak baino ez dira (irudiak eta adierazpenak, batez ere). Horregatik, epe horretako albisteen inguruko ikerketak datu gutxi batzuk bakarrik lortu ahal izan ditu: albistearen gaia, protagonistak, sorterria eta gertakizun jakin batean edo adierazpenetan oinarritu ote den. Beraz, eduki-kalitatearen alde bat bakarrik aztertu ahal izan dugu (aniztasuna eta Kalitate-Indizearen adierazle bat: gertaeraren egitate-maila).

b.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren bi ereduak (1990-2002)

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren lehen zenbakia 1990eko abenduaren 6an kaleratu zen. Horrela, ekimen publikokoa ez zen euskarazko kazetaritzaren beste eredu bat martxan ipini zen. Horrenbestez, telebista publikoak eta gizarte ekimenez sortutako kazetak euskarazko kazetaritzaren bi eredu ekarri zituzten, baina haien artean konbergentziarik egon ote zen aztertuko dugu. Hala ere, urte horietako *Euskal Telebista*ko albistegien eskaletarik lortzerik ez dagoenez, aztertutako eguneko albisteak saileko berririk garrantzitsuenak izan dira, hau da, sail bakoitzean aurrena aireratutako berria. Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan bi hedabideotako datuak jaso ditugu. Horretarako, zazpi sail bereiztu ditugu, *Egunkaria*ren egituran oinarriturik. Telebistan ez ditu denak beti azaltzen, sail orokorrak gaiak eguneko informazio uholdearen arabera antolatzen dituelako. Horrenbestez, *Egunkaria*ren egitura finkoagoa zen, honakoa alegia: Politika, Gizartea, Ekonomia, Estatuak (Espainia eta Frantzia), Nazioartea, Kultura eta Kirolak. Gainera, eguneko lehen albistea ere aztertu dugu. *Egunkaria*ren kasuan, eguneko albisterik garrantzitsuenak sailen bateko lehen berria ere izaten zen. Horrelakorik gertatu ez denean, zenbaki berezien karietara (1998ko abenduaren 27ko 'Bai Euskarari' kanpainak ez zuen azalean beste albisterik), sailen bereizketa praktikoagoa suertatu da.

b.1.3. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Azken epe honetan *Euskal Telebista*ren albistegien eredua eta *Berria*ren nortasuna dagoeneko definituta zeuden. Hortaz, bi hedabideotako sendotze-prozesua izan dela esan daiteke. Epe horretan, 'Gaur Egun'-eko titularretako eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren azaleko albisteen ikerketa gauzatu ahal izan dugu. Horregatik, euskarazko kazetaritzaren bi ereduen ezaugarriak atzemateko ikerketa diakronikoaren zatia da.

Dena den, 2003ko otsailaren 20an Espainiako Auzitegi Nazionalak *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* itxi zuenez, haren ondorengo izan den *Berria* kazetaren zenbakiak ere aztertu ditugu.

b.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa sinkronikoa esan diogu 2008ko emanaldiak ikertu dituen tarteari, gertu-gertutik jarraitu nahi izan ditugu-eta. Euskarazko hiru hedabideotako albisteak aztertu ditugu, haiek plazaratzeko euskarria traba izan barik: *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Berria*. Horretarako, *Euskadi Irrati*ko eta *Etb1*eko albistegiak grabatu ditugu. *Berria*ren zenbakiak EHUko Hemerotekan lortu ditugu. Euskarazko hedabideotako albisteen kalitatea aztertu ez ezik, orduko datuen arabera, euskal herritarrok gehien kontsumitzen zituzten Euskal Herriko gainerako hizkuntza komunitateetako hedabideekin ere alderatu nahi izan ditugu hiru hedabideok. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabide bakoitza euskarri bereko Euskal Herriko beste zenbait euskarazko eta erdarazko hedabiderekin alderatu dugu (Arana, 2004; Nor, 2010; SEI, 2004; Urteaga, 2005).

b.2.1. Irratia

EiTB taldeko kide izanda, Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoan zabaltzekoa da *Euskadi Irratia*. Hala ere, Nafarroa eta Ipar Euskal Herriko zenbait lekutaraino ere heltzen da. Hortaz, bi eremu administratibo horietan emititzen diren euskarazko hedabideekin alderatu dugu. Nafarroan, eremurik zabalena hartzen duen *Euskalerria Irratia*rekin eta, Iparraldean, ekimen pribatuko *Euskal Irratiak* eta jabetza publikoko *France Bleu* irratiekin alderatu ditugu *Euskadi Irratia*ren albistegiak (SEI, 2004: 118-130).

Azkenik, alderaketarako aukeratu ditugun erdarazko irratiak Hegoaldean gehien entzuten direnak dira: EiTBko *Radio Euskadi* (EAE) eta Espainiako Sogecable Taldeko *Cadena Ser* (ib.).

96. Taula – Euskal herritarrek gehien kontsumitzen dituzten irratiak (2003)

Hedabidea	Lurralde-eremua	Merkatu-kuota
Cadena Ser	Hegoaldea	%20,4
Radio Euskadi	Hegoaldea	%17,9
France Bleu	Iparraldea	%16,1
Euskal Irratiak	Iparraldea	%5,9
Euskadi Irratia	**Hegoaldea**	**%4,9**
Euskalerria Irratia	Nafarroa	———

Iturriak: Arana Arrieta (2004: 248- 253)[259].

Biztanle euskaldunekiko merkatu-kuota altuagoa erakusten dute ikerketa sinkronikoan ikertuko ditugun hiru hedabideek:

97. Taula – Euskaldunek gehien kontsumitzen dituzten euskarazko irratiak, haien zabalkunde-eremuarekiko (2002)

Hedabidea	Lurralde-eremua	Merkatu-kuota
Euskal Irratiak	Iparraldea	%57,9
Euskalerria Irratia	Nafarroa	%52,3
Euskadi Irratia	**Hegoaldea**	**%12,9**

Iturriak: SEI (2004: 127-130).

b.2.2. Telebista

Ikuspegi geografikotik, *Gaur Egun* euskarazko telebista albistegirik zabalduena da, tokian tokiko telebistak ugalduz joan arren, euren albistegiak eremu txikiagoan emititzen direlako. Hortaz, *Etb1*eko albisteak Iparraldeko *France 3*ren euskarazko emanaldiarekin bakarrik alderatu dugu. Gainera, biak ekimen publikoko telebistak dira.

Aldaketarako erdal hedabideetako unibertsoa, ordea, zabalagoa izan da. Hegoaldean gehien jarraitzen ziren albistegiak EiTBko *Teleberri 1* eta Espainiako *Informativos Telecinco* ziren. Iparraldean, ordea, *TF1* katea ikusiena zen eta, albistegiak Internet bidez ikus daitekeenez, kate horixe ere aukeratu dugu (SEI, 2004: 132-148).

98. Taula – Euskal herritarrek gehien kontsumitzen dituzten telebistak (2003)

Hedabidea	Lurralde-eremua	Merkatu-kuota
France 3 (euskarazko albistegia)	Iparraldea	%61,2
TF1	Iparraldea	%28,3
Informativos Telecinco	EAE	%24,2
Teleberri 1	EAE	%18
Gaur Egun 1	**EAE**	**%6,2**

Iturriak: Arana Arrieta (2004: 44-48)[260].

*Etb1*en hartzaile potentzialak beste bi aldagairen arabera ere kalkula daitezke. Alde batetik, aurreko egunean Hego Euskal Herrian telebista ikusi zutenetatik %17,2k

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[259] Katearen programazio osoaren audientzia kuota islatzen du (Arana, 2004: 248-253).
[260] Katearen programazio osoaren audientzia kuota islatzen du (Arana, 2004: 44-48).

Etb1 aukeratu zuten. Bestetik, euskaldunok bakarrik kontuan izanik, *Etb1*eko merkatu-kuota %32,8koa da. Dena den, katearen datuak dira eta ez, albistegienak. Gainera, euskaldunek gehien ikusten duten albistegia *Etb2*ko gaztelerazko *Teleberri* dela egiaztatzen dute ikus-entzuleen datuek (Elustondo, 2004: 18-19; SEI, 2004: 132-138).

b.2.3. Prentsa idatzia

Idatzizko prentsari dagokiola, herrialdekako erdal egunkariak irakurrienak ziren: *Diario de Navarra* (Nafarroa), *Diario Vasco* (Gipuzkoa), *El Correo Español* (Araba eta Bizkaia) eta *Sud Ouest* (Iparraldea)[261]. Azken hiruak Vocento taldekoak izan arren, haien arteko ezberdintasunak zabaltzen diren herrialdeei lotuta agertzen dira. Horregatik, herrialdeetan nagusi izan ez arren, Euskal Herriari buruzko bestelako ikuspegia zabaltzen duten beste egunkari ezagunak ere kontuan hartu nahi izan ditugu, hala nola, *Diario de Noticias* (Arabako edizioa), *Gara* (Bizkaia eta Gipuzkoa) eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque* (Iparraldea).

Ikus dezagun, guztirako merkatuaren arabera, euskarazko hedabideek eta erdarazkoek duten lekua:

99. Taula – Euskal herritarrek gehien kontsumitzen dituzten egunkariak (2002)

Hedabidea	Lurralde-eremua	Merkatu-kuota
Diario Vasco	Gipuzkoa	%68,2
Diario de Navarra	Nafarroa	%66,9
El Correo Español	Araba eta Bizkaia	%58,8
El Periódico de Álava[262]	Araba	%14,9
Gara	Hegoaldea	%11,4
Le Journal du Pays Basque	Iparraldea	%9,5
Euskaldunon Egunkaria	**Euskal Herria**	**%3,1**

Iturriak: SEI (2004: 93-107).

Euskaraz irakurtzeko gai direnek osatzen duten merkatu potentziala kontuan izanik, *Egunkaria* %12,5eko kuota zuen. Are gehiago, biztanleria euskaldunarekiko *Egunkaria*ren irakurle-tasak ez du Hego Euskal Herriko herrialdeen arteko alderik azaltzen. Horrenbestez, Bizkaiak merkatu-kuotarik altuena du (%14,1), Nafarroak ondoren %13,5eko kuota agertzen du, Arabak jarraian %11,5eko kuota du eta

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[261] *Sud Ouest* aztertu nahi izan dugu, Iparraldean %84,4ko merkatu-kuota duelako, baina ez da EHUko hemerotekan jasotzen. Beraz, baztertu behar izan dugu (SEI, 2004: 93-107).

[262] *Diario de Noticias*en daturik ez dago, 2002an oraindik kaleratzen ez zelako. *El Periódico de Álava*n akzionista moduan parte hartzen zuen Zeroa Multimediak *Diario de Noticias* abian ipini zuenez, antzeko merkatu-kuota lortzeko helburua zuela ondorioztada daiteke.

Gipuzkoak azkenik %11,2ko kuota agertzen du. Ipar Euskal Herriko daturik ez dago (SEI: 2004, 93-107).

Laburbilduz, euskarazko tokiko hedabideek merkatu-kuotarik altuenak agertzen zituzten. Gainera, lan honetan aztertuko ditugun tokiko hedabide horiek euskara ofiziala ez den eremuan jarduten dute. Hortaz, *France 3*ko euskarazko albistegia bere hartzaile potentzialen %61,2rengana heltzen da; *Euskal Irratiak,* %57,9rengana; eta *Euskalerria Irratia*, %52,3rengana. Eremu zabalagoak lantzen dituzten hiru hedabideek, ordea, merkatu euskaldunaren kuotarik txikiena dute. Are gehiago, *Etb1*ek kuotarik altuena agertzen badu ere (%32,8), albistegietako ikus-entzuleen kopuruari buruzko daturik ez dago. Gako bakarrak euskaldunek *Etb2*ko erdarazko *Teleberri* ikusten dutela dio. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k antzeko kuota azaltzen dute (2002ko datuak): %12,9, lehenengoak eta %12,5, bigarrenak. Horrenbestez, hartzaile berriengana heltzeko bidean, kalitatea giltza izan daiteke.

3.2.1. LAGINA

Euskarazko albisteen kalitatea aztertzeko ikerlan honek unibertso zabala hartu du. Alde batetik, ikerketa diakronikoak bi hedabideren albisteak sorrera unetik 2007ra bitartean aztertu ditu (*Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*). Bestetik, ikerketa sinkronikoak, euskarazko hiru hedabiderik zabalduenez gain, haien kalitatea ebazteko beste hamabost hedabideren albisteak ere kontuan izan ditu (bost irrati, lau telebista eta sei egunkari). Horregatik, euskarazko hiru hedabideak (*Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*) Albisteen Kalitate-Ereduaren arabera aztertuko ditugu (formatu-kalitatea, eduki-kalitatea eta gizarte-kalitatea). Gainerako hamabost hedabideen kasuan, laginketa osatzen duten egunetako emanaldietan euskarazko hirurekin bat datozen berriei Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea aplikatuko diegu.

Horretarako, ikerketarako lagina aste konposatuaren bidez osatuko dugu, denbora-tarte handian izandako hedabideon ibilbidea aztergai dugulako (Juaristi Larrinaga, 2003: 65-76; Zabaleta Urkiola, 1997: 190-205).

Lanaren bolumen handia kontuan izanda, lagina osatzeko arazo ugari topatu dugu. Egunkarien azterketa aurrera eramateko arazorik ez dugu izan, EHUko Hemeroteka zerbitzuan gordetzen direlako (*Sud Ouest* kenduta). Ikus-entzunezko

emanaldien laginak, ordea, zailtasun asko ekarri digu. Lehenengo eta behin, esan bezala, *Euskal Telebista*ren emanaldi guzti-guztiak Euskal Filmategian daude. Hala ere, oraindik ezin dira kontsultatu, antolatu barik daudelako. Bigarrenik, *Etb*ko albisteak kontsultatu ahal izateko EiTBrekin hitzarmenik ez zegoenez, Manu Castillaren eta, ondoren, Patxi Arratibelen baimenari esker artxiboa arakatu ahal izan dugu, horretarako tarifa merkatua ordainduz. Hirugarrenik, EiTBko artxiboak ez ditu 2002ra bitarteko eskaletarik gorde. Laugarrenik, gordetako albisteak kazetarien lanaren arabera antolatuta daude. Beraz, eskaletarik ez duten albiste batzuen editatu bako irudiak bakarrik gordetzen dira. Bosgarrenik, *Euskadi Irratia*k ez du albistegien soinu-artxiborik. Hortaz, azken sei hilabeteko emanaldiak baino ez dituzte gordetzen. Ondoren, horiek ere ezabatzen dituzte. Seigarrenik, aurreko zergati horien guztiengatik, ikerketa sinkronikoa osatzen duten emanaldiak grabatzeko aparteko esfortzua egin behar izan dugu. Izan ere, zerbaitek kale eginez gero (hutsegite teknikoak, elurretako argindarraren zerbitzu murriztua, programazio-aldaketa...), egun horretako emanaldiak ordeztu behar izango genituzkeen. Horrek, baina, laginaren hasierako diseinua tarte horretan aldatuko zukeen.

a. Ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina

Hedabideon sorrera unetik hasita, urteko hiru eguneko lagina osatu dugu, aste konposatuaren laginketa-teknikari jarraituz. *Euskadi Irratia*ren lehen emanaldia 1982an izan arren, horren artxiborik ez dagoenez, *Euskal Telebista*ko lehen albistegiaren aireratzea aintzat hartu dugu. Horrela, 1983ko urtarrilaren 3tik aurrera, lau hilerik behingo maiztasunarekin, astegunak osatzen joan gara. Gainera, EiTBko artxiboan dauden funtsen arabera, hiru epe bereiztu behar izan ditugu.

EiTBko artxiboak gorde ez dituen albistegiak ordezteko, hurrengo asteko astegun bereko eguna aukeratu behar izan dugu (adib.: 1995/05/10, 1997/10/05, 2000/02/11, 2007/09/21). *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren aleak telebista emanaldien hurrengo egunekoak dira. Hortaz, *Etb1*en albistegiaren eguna aldatuz gero, kazetarena ere aldatzen zen. Gainera, astelehenetan zenbakirik ez zegoenez, *Etb1*eko domekako albistegia kontuan izan dugu.

Guztira, honakoak dira ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina osatu duten *Gaur Egun*eko emanaldiak, hiru epetan bereiztuta (*Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren aleak *Gaur Egun*eko emanaldien hurrengo egunekoak izaten ziren):

100. Taula – Ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina osatzen duten emanaldiak (1983-1989)

Etb1			
1983ko urtarrilak 3	1985eko martxoak 17	1986ko abenduak 26	1988ko ekainak 28
1983ko maiatzak 10	1985eko uztailak 22	1987ko urtarrilak 19	1988ko urriak 5
1983ko irailak 21	1985eko azaroak 5	1987ko maiatzak 2	1989ko martxoak 5
1984ko otsailak 23	1986ko apirilak 9	1987ko irailak 13	1989ko uztailak 21
1984ko ekainak 1	1986ko abuztuak 21	1988ko otsailak 11	1989ko azaroak 26
1984ko urriak 13			

Iturria: Egilea.

101. Taula – Ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina osatzen duten emanaldiak (1990-2002)

Etb1			
1990eko apirilak 25	1993ko uztailak 3	1996ko urriak 13	2000ko otsailak 18
1990eko abuztuak 13	1993ko azaroak 17	1997ko martxoak 17	2000ko ekainak 28
1990eko abenduak 18	1994ko apirilak 17	1997ko uztailak 22	2000ko urriak 5
1991ko urtarrilak 11	1994ko abuztuak 22	1997ko azaroak 12	2001eko martxoak 5
1991ko maiatzak 18	1994ko abenduak 10	1998ko apirilak 9	2001eko uztailak 21
1991ko irailak 5	1995eko urtarrilak 3	1998ko abuztuak 21	2001eko azaroak 25
1992ko otsailak 3	1995eko maiatzak 17	1998ko abenduak 26	2002ko apirilak 25
1992ko ekainak 9	1995eko irailak 21	1999ko urtarrilak 19	2002ko abuztuak 13
1992ko urriak 25	1996ko otsailak 23	1999ko maiatzak 9	2002ko abenduak 18
1993ko martxoak 25	1996ko ekainak 1	1999ko irailak 13	

Iturria: Egilea.

102. Taula – Ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina osatzen duten emanaldiak (2003-2007)

Etb1			
2003ko urtarrilak 11	2004ko ekainak 9	2005eko azaroak 17	2007ko urtarrilak 3
2003ko maiatzak 18	2004ko urriak 25	2006ko apirilak 17	2007ko maiatzak 10
2003ko irailak 5	2005eko martxoak 25	2006ko abuztuak 22	2007ko irailak 28
2004ko otsailak 3	2005eko uztailak 2	2006ko abenduak 10	

Iturria: Egilea.

Denetara, aztertutako 75 telebista albistegiek 423 berri aireratu zituzten. Ikerketa diakronikoa osatzen duten *Egunkaria/Berria*ren 54 aleek 343 albiste plazaratu zituzten. Izan ere, *Euskal Telebista* zazpi-zortzi urte lehenago sortu zen.

b. Ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagina

Hiru euskarazko hedabide nagusiak aztertzeko lagina antolatzeko, 2008. urtea oinarri hartu dugu. Orduan, hedabideon emaitzak zuzenean grabatu genituen. Gainera, beste hedabideekin ere alderatzeko helburua genuenez, ikerketa sakona izan behar zuen. Horregatik, ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagina aste konposatuaren laginketa-teknikan oinarritu dugu. Lagina osatzeko egunak aukeratzeko maiztasuna (n[1]), kasu honetan,

hamabost egunekoa izan da. Hortaz, lagina egituratzeko lehen eguna 2008ko urtarrileko lehen astelehen abila izan zen.

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagina osatzeko zailtasun handiak topatu ditugula azaldu behar da. Alde batetik, alderaketarako hedabideek 14:00etatik gertuen zituzten emanaldiak aukeratu ditugu. Horregatik, aldi berean aireratzen ziren albistegiak grabatzeko behar beste dispositibo izan ez dugunez, zenbait erakunderen azpiegitura erabili izan dugu (UEUko Markeskoa jauregia, kasu) eta hainbat adiskideren laguntza ere izan dugu (Ianire Cubero). Bestetik, zuzenean grabatu beharreko emanaldiak ziren legez, Interneteko zerbitzuak kale eginez gero, egun horretako emanaldia grabatu barik geratzen zen. Hainbatetan, bideoa zela-eta edo bestelako hutsegite teknikoengatik, kale egindako egun hori konpontzeko hasierako laginaren eguna aldatu behar izan dugu. Egunkariak aztertzeko EHUko Hemeroteka zerbitzuak, ordea, behar izan ditugun zenbaki guztiak gordeta zituen. Hortaz, EiTBko artxiboak eragindako aldaketak EHUko Hemerotekaren funtzionamendu egokiari esker zuzendu ahal izan ditugu.

**103. Taula – Ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagineko
ikus-entzunezko emanaldien ordutegia**

Katea	Ordutegia
Irratiak	
Euskalerria Irratia	Goizean (09:00) grabatzeko eskatu (Mikel Bujanda)
France Bleu	12:06
Euskal Irratiak	12:30 (12:00, igandeetan)
Cadena Ser	13:00
Euskadi Irratia	**14:00**
Radio Euskadi	14:00
Telebistak	
TF1	13:00
Gaur Egun 1	**14:00**
Teleberri 1	15:00
Informativos Telecinco	15:00
France 3	Allande Boutinen bitartez

Iturria: Egilea.

Lehenengo eta behin, goizean goiz, *Euskalerria Irrati*ra deitzen genuen, egun horretako eguerdiko albistegia gordetzeko eskatuz, irratiaren artxiboan sailkatzen ez ziren egunak grabatu gabe geratzen zirelako. Hortaz, tesi honetarako materiala biltzeko aukera hori Mikel Bujanda zuzendariaren mesede pertsonala izan da. Gainera, grabatu ahal izan dituzten emanaldiak CDtan eman dizkigute.

Bigarrenik, 12:06an *France Bleu* Internet bidez zuzenean grabatzen genuen. Interneterako sarbide egokirik ez zegoenean, hurrengo egunean web-orrian albisteen gaiak eta tituluak egoten ziren. Ondoren, 12:30ean *Gure Irratia*k Internet bidez zuzenean

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ematen zuen *Euskal Irratiek* partekatutako albistegia grabatzen genuen. Web-orriak arazoak eman zituenez, entzun ezin izaten zenean, erredakziora mezu elektroniko bat idatzi eta Pepe Aizpuruk egun horretako albisteen gaiak bidaltzen zituen. Segidan, 13:00etan, *Cadena Ser* irratiko emanaldia zuzenean grabatzen genuen. Horrek kale eginez gero, irratiak berandura arte web-orrian mantentzen zuen emanaldia izaten zen. Orduan, *TF1*eko albistegiaren lotura ere gordetzen genuen. Amaitutakoan, 14:00etako *Euskadi Irrati*ko eta *Radio Euskadi*ko emanaldiak grabatzeko bi dispositibo martxan ipintzen genituen. Hasieran, *Radio Euskadi*ren albistegiak zuzenean grabatu barik, Internet bidezko emanaldien uste ona izan genuen, baina sarritan eguneratu barik zeuden. Beraz, *Euskadi Irratia* grabatzeko unean bertan bigarren dispositibo bat ipini behar izan genuen. Ordurako, *Gaur Egun 1* grabatuko zukeen hirugarren dispositiboa programatuta eduki behar izaten genuen. Gainera, badaezpadako kasuetarako, hedabide guztien web-orri gaurkotuak gordetzen genituen, aurreko dispositiboren batek kale eginez gero, eguneko titulurik garrantzitsuenen berri emango zukeen euskarria izateko.

Azkenik, 15:00etan, *Informativos Telecinco*ren emanaldia grabatzeko dispositiboak martxan egon behar izaten zuen. Aldi berean emititzen ari zen *Teleberri 1*en grabaketa lagun baten kontura egin genuen (Ianire Cubero). *Radio Euskadi*ren web-orriko albistegia eguneratu barik zegoela sasoiz konturatu ahal izan garenean, 15:00etako albistegia bigarren dispositibo batekin grabatzen ahalegindu gara. Amaitzeko, *France 3* telebistako euskarazko albistegiaren gaiak Allande Boutin kazetariak posta elektronikoz bidali dizkigu.

Hala ere, aurreikusi ezin izan ditugun bi gertakizunek osatutako laginean eragina izan dute. Lehenengo eta behin, kirol emanaldiek telebistetako programazioa aldatu izanaren ondorioz, egun horretako albistegia luzatzen edo laburtzen bazuten, etxean egon ezean, programatuta zegoen dispositiboak ezin izaten zuen hori osorik grabatu[263]. Batez ere, zuzeneko kirol emankizunek *Informativos Telecinco*ren ordutegian eragina izaten zuen. Etxean egon ezin izan dugun egun horietan, gainera, irratien albistegien Internet bidezko zerbitzuan oinarritu behar izan dugu. Bestetik, *TF1* katearen eguneko albisteen lotura gorde arren, horien iraungitasun-epea horren laburra izan da, non albisteak ezin izan ditugula kontsultatu. Horregatik, berrien bertsio idatzia baino ezin izan dugu kontsultatu. Grabatutako artxibo guztiak antolatzeko, VHS zintak DVD formatura

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[263] Horregatik, 2008ko ekainaren 13ko grabaketak kale egin zuen eta, ekainean bi emanaldi aztertu ahal izateko, ekainaren 27ko albistegiak aztertu behar izan ditugu.

pasatzen genituen. Internetetik zuzenean grabatutako soinu-artxiboak, Audacity programaren bitartez, 'mp3' formatuan gorde ahal izan ditugu, albait lekurik txikien okupa dezaten.

Egunkarien zenbakiak EHUko Hemerotekan lortu ditugu. Horrenbestez, *Berria* astelehenetan kaleratzen ez denez, biharamuneko zenbakia aztertu dugu. *Le Journal du Pays Basque* kazetarekin antzera jokatu behar izan dugu, ez baita igande eta astelehenetan argitaratzen. Alderatzeko gainerako hedabideei dagokienez, ostera, igandeko emanaldia (*Euskadi Irratia* zein *Etb1*) eta astelehenetako zenbakia (erdarazko egunkariak) kontuan izan ditugu.

Honakoak dira ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagina osatu duten egunak (egunkarien kasuan, hurrengo eguna kontuan izan dugu):

104. Taula – Ikerketa sinkronikoaren lagina osatu duten egunak

Ikus-entzunezkoak			
Urtarrilak 7	Apirilak 14	Uztailak 21	Azaroak 2
Urtarrilak 22	Apirilak 29	Abuztuak 5	Urriak 27
Otsailak 6	Maiatzak 14	Abuztuak 20	Azaroak 11
Otsailak 21	Maiatzak 29	Irailak 18	Azaroak 26
Martxoak 7	Ekainak 27	Irailak 25	Abenduak 19
Martxoak 22	Ekainak 28	Irailak 5	Abenduak 13
Apirilak 6	Uztailak 13	Urriak 4	

Iturria: Egilea.

Guztira, 27 egunek osatutako lagina aztertuko du ikerketa sinkronikoak. Epe horretan *Euskadi Irratia*k 228 albiste aireratu zituen; *Etb1*ek, 194; eta *Berria*k, azkenik, 160. Hiru hedabide horietako berrien kalitatea EAEz gaindiko eskualdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin eta Euskal Herrian gehien jarraitzen ziren erdarazko hedabideekin alderatu dugu. Alderaketak Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen adierazleak baino ez ditu neurtu, Kalitate-Ereduaren elementu kualitatiboek (aniztasunak eta gizarte-kalitateak, esaterako) hedabidea bere osotasunean aztertzen dutelako. Azken batean, alderaketarako hedabideek euskarazko hiruekin partekatzen dituzten albisteak baino ez ditugu kontuan izan. Horretarako, baina, laginak zehaztutako egun guztietako emanaldiak aztertu behar izan ditugu. Herrialdeko irrati batzuek, gainera, ez dute asteburuetan albistegirik emititzen eta horixe ere kontuan hartu behar izan dugu.

Laburbilduz, euskarazko hiru hedabideak Albiste Kalitate-Ereduaren arabera aztertu ditugu. Ikerketa diakronikoa 766 albistek osatu dute eta 582k, sinkronikoa.

Azken horretarako, gainera, beste hamabost hedabidetako 581 albisteri ere Kalitate-Indizea aplikatu diegu, euskarazko hedabideetako berriak alderatzeko.

105. Taula – Lagina osatu duten hedabideak eta albisteen kopurua

Ikerketa aldiak	Aztertutako hedabideak (Albisteen Kalitate-Eredua)	Aztertutako hedabideak (Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea)	Aztertutako albiste kopurua
Ikerketa diakronikoa	*Etb1* (1983-2007)		423
	Euskaldunon Egunkaria (1990-2002) eta *Berria* (2003-2007)		343
	Ikerketa diakronikoa .... guztira		**766**
Ikerketa sinkronikoa	**Irratiak**		**345**
	Euskadi Irratia (2008)		228
	*Euskadi Irrati*ko 2008ko lagineko albistegaiekin bat etorritako berriak	*Euskalerria Irratia*	14
		Euskal Irratiak	14
		France Bleu	8
		Radio Euskadi	51
		Cadena Ser	30
	Telebistak		**456**
	Etb1 (2008)		194
	*Etb1*eko 2008ko lagineko albistegaiekin bat etorritako berriak	*Etb2*	186
		France 3	5
		Informativos Telecinco	48
		TF1	23
	Egunkariak		**362**
	Berria (2008)		160
	*Berria*ko 2008ko lagineko albistegaiekin bat etorritako berriak	*Diario Vasco*	40
		Diario de Navarra	28
		Diario de Noticias de Álava	33
		El Correo Español	34
		Gara	50
		Le Journal du Pays Basque	17
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa .... guztira		**1.163**
GUZTIRA	**6**	**15**	**1.929**

Iturria: Egilea.

3.1.3. ANALISI-UNITATEA

Azterlan honetako analisi-unitatea albistea da, hedabide bakoitzaren ibilbidean duen eragina neurtzeaz gain, hedabideen arteko konbergentziaren berri ere ematen duelako. Gainera, albiste-multzoen arabera (direla egunak, hilabeteak edo urteak), hedabideon informazio-zerbitzuetan aldaketarik edo inflexio punturik egon ote den identifika daiteke. Hortaz, ikerlan honetan analisi-unitatea eta neurketa-unitatea bat da, albiste bakoitzak bere fitxa duelako (Juaristi Larrinaga, 2004: 221-227; Priest, 2010: 83-94; Zabaleta Urkiola, 2002: 205-213)

Euskarazko albisteak aztertzeko lehen hurbilpena denez, lehen orrian edo titularretan agertzen diren albisteak kontuan hartuko ditugu, landuenak direlakoan.

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Hortaz, lehen orriko edo titularretako berriak azaltzen dituzten albiste osoari erreparatuko diogu.

Hala ere, *Euskadi Irratia*ren 14:00etako albistegiaren azken zatia (zerbitzu atala) beren-beregi alboratu dugu, albiste-aurrerapenean agertzen ez diren gaiak izaten direlako (errepideetako egoera eta eguraldia). Izan ere, informazio hori ez dator albiste ezaugarriekin bat. Era berean, *Gaur Egun 1*eko eguraldi-iragarpena ez dugu kontuan izan, albistegi ondorengo atal berezitua delako. Guztira, saioaren hasierako irudiak, ahoz aurkeztutako gaiak eta titularretan agertzen diren berriak aztertu ditugu. Azkenik, *Berria*ren kasuan, azal osoa kontuan hartu dugu.

3.2. BALIAGARRITASUNA

Baliagarritasunak erabiliko den metodoaren kategoriak ondo definituta daudela egiaztatzen du. Hortaz, metodoa erabilgarria edo eraginkorra ote den zehazten du. Era berean, kodelariaren gaitasuna ere ziurtatzen du.

3.2.1. PROBAKO IKERKETA

Albisteen kalitatearen eremura hurbiltzeko, Ikasketa Aurreratuen Diploma, hau da, nahikotasun ikertzailearen egiaztagiria lortzeko "Euskarazko tokiko hedabideen kalitatea" ikerlana EHUko Zientzia eta Gizarte Komunikazioaren Fakultatean 2006ko azaroaren 14an aurkeztu genuen. Tokiko albisteak aztertzeko metodoa VAP sisteman oinarrituta zegoen eta beste bi aldagai gehitu genizkion: maketazio-arauen betetzea eta hizkuntzaren erabilera. Hortaz, ikerlan esploratzaile hartan erabilitako eduki-analisiak ez zituen albisteen kalitateari eragiten dioten azken bi faktore horiek metodoan bertan integratu. Horregatik, maketazio-akatsek eta hizkuntzaren erabilerak ezin zezaketen albisteen kalitatearekin zuzeneko harremanik erakutsi. Gainera, VAP metodoan oinarritutako eduki-analisiaren kategoriek ez zuten informazioaren albistegarritasuna kontuan hartzen (De La Torre eta Téramo, 2004: 50-122).

Hortaz, nazioarteko kalitatearen diskurtsoak metodo horretan antzemandako metodologia-gabezia horiek gainditurik zituen. Alde batetik, bikaintasunari bide emateko akatsik gabeko produktuaren kontzepzioak maketazio-akatsak eta albisteen kalitatea lotu ditu. Bestetik, albisteen kalitatea McQuailen "media performance" kontzeptutik ondorioztatzen denez, hura neurtzeko eduki-analisiaren kategoriak aldez aurretik definituta daude eta, gainera, zenbait ikerlarik hainbatetan erabilitakoak dira. Ildo

horretan, hizkuntzaren erabilera egokiaren gaineko ebazpena zenbait egilek ezinbestekotzat jo arren, komunitate zientifiko euskaldunaren ekarpena izan da.

Dena den, ikerlariek albistegarritasuna metodoan txertatzeko premia gero eta argiagotzat hartu arren, autoreek ez dute adierazle bateraturik erabili. Horregatik, lan honetan proposatzen den eduki-analisiaren kategoriak egituratzen hasi ginenean, albistegarritasunaren ñabardurak kontuan hartuko lituzken adierazlea identifikatzen ahalegindu ginen. Eredu anglosaxoiak informazio jakin bat albiste bihurtzeko hurrengo faktoreak seinalatzen ditu: polemikoa, erabilgarria, espektakulua, subjektuaren garrantzia, interes orokorra, geroagoko garapena, egungoa, berritasuna etab. Horrenbestez, metodoaren adierazleak zehazteko egindako zenbait proba gauzatu genuen. Horretarako, zoriz aukeratutako egunetako albisteak adierazleok aplikatzen genizkien. Besteak beste, 2007ko ekainaren 23an aztertutako 'Gaur Egun 1'-eko titularrek eta hurrengo eguneko *Berria*ren azaleko albisteek albistegarritasunaren kategoria tradizional horiek euskarazko hedabideetan zer proportziotan ematen ziren erakutsi zuten. Gainera, zenbait egilek ikus-entzunezko hedabideen eta idatzizko prentsaren azterketa metodo berarekin gauzatu dute (Kepplinger eta Ehmig, 2006: 25-33; McQuail, 1992: 197-200; Ramírez de la Piscina, 1998: 25-30; Scheufele eta Tewksbury, 2007: 9-19; Semetko eta Valkenburg, 2000: 93-103).

6. Grafikoa – *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko informazioaren albistegaiak (2007/06/23)

	Polemika	Erabilgarri-tasuna	Espekta-kulua	Subjektua	Interes orokorra	Geroagoko garapena	Gaurko-tasuna	Berritasuna	Beste-lakoak
■ Etb1	0	12	28	57	0	0	0	0	0
▢ Berria	29	12	0	13	0	13	14	0	14
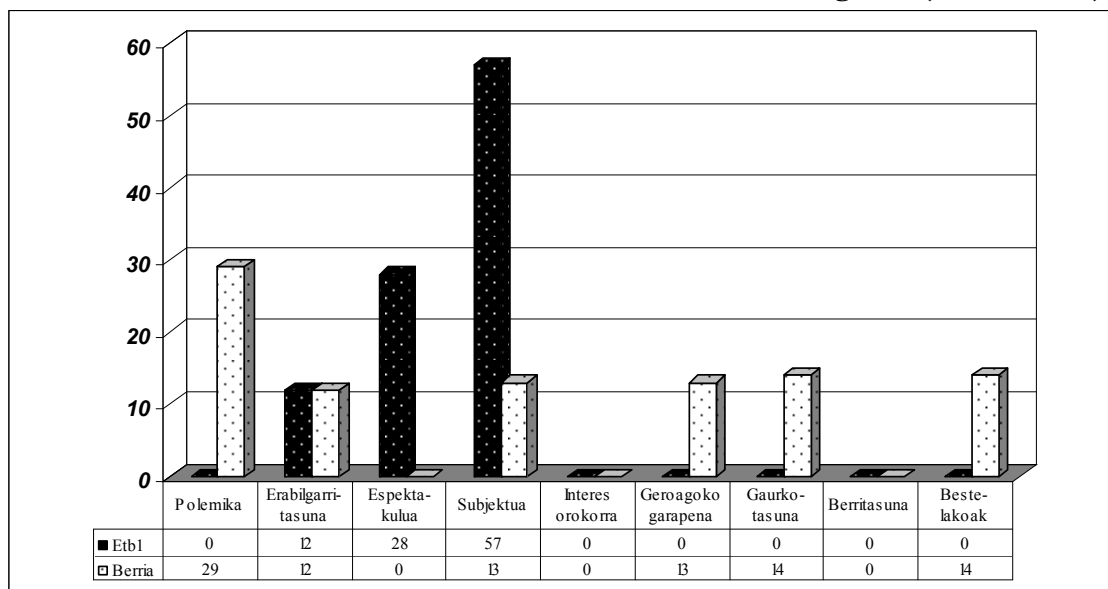
Iturria: Egilea.

Hala ere, sistema horrek ez du iker-galderak erantzuteko biderik ematen. Izan ere, emaitzek ez dute argitzen zergatik *Etb1*ek espektakulua hobetsi duen eta *Berria*k gai

polemikoei tarte handiagoa eman dien. Hedabide-motaren araberako mendekotasun-joerarik erakusten al du horrek? Era berean, subjektuaren garrantziaren araberako albisteak agertzeak ez du berez zehazten hedabideen jabetza publiko ala pribatuaren ondorioa izan ote daitekeen. Horregatik, alde horiek neurtzen dituzten adierazleen probak emaitza onargarriak eman zituenez, horiei eustea erabaki genuen. Esaterako, subjektuaren garrantziak duen tartea albistearen protagonista zehaztuz neurtu dugu.

Informazioaren albistegarritasuna kalitatearen ikuspegitik neurtu nahi izan duten egileek adierazgarritasun ("relevance") kontzeptuarekin lotu dute, baina gabezia metodologikoak ekarri zituen, ezin baitzen objektibotasunaren doktrinatik eratorri. Horregatik, esangura ("significance") kontzeptuarekin osatu zen. Hau da, bi adierazle berezituek albistegaia eta informazioaren eragina neurtu zituzten. Hortaz, Fretwurstek albistegaiak eta haien eragin maila elkartzen dituen kategorizazioa ikerlan honen helburuei hobeto aplika zekiolakoan, haren doktorego tesian proposatutako eredu horri sistematikoagoa iritzi genion, afektatu-kopuruaren garrantzia barneratzen duelako (Baudenbacher, 2004: 15-49; Fahr, 2001: 100-107; Fretwurst, 2008: 112-139; Hagen, 1995a: 70-105, 270-272; Hagen, 1995b: 158-172; Rasche, 2008: 9-132; Ruhrmann eta Göbbel, 2007: 62-63; Ruß-Mohl, 1994c: 96-97; Ruß-Mohl, 2002: 107; Ruß-Mohl, 2003a: 334-336; Ruß-Mohl, 2005: 374).

Metodoa osatze aldera, aukeratutako kategorien baliagarritasuna egiaztatzeko probako ikerketa gauzatu genuen. Horretarako, lagin osoaren %5eko azpilagina kodifikatu genuen. Datuak jaso ahala, metodoa fintzen joan ginen. Aurreikusi gabeko egoera berriei egokitzen zitzaien akats eta aniztasun kategorien kodifikatzaile berriak sortu genituen. Era berean, informazio-ekimenaren kontzeptua birdefinitu genuen eta praktikari hobeto aplika dakiokeen jatorri aipatuaren kategoria sortu genuen. Ikuspegi kopuruei esleitutako puntuak ere moldatu genituen, hiru ikuspegidun albisteari bikaintasuna aitortuz eta ez, ohikotasuna.

3.2.2. FIDAGARRITASUN PROBA

Metodoa finkatutakoan, horren barne-operalizazioa ziurtatu behar genuen. Holstiren fidagarritasun probak kodelarien gaitasuna egiaztatzen du. Datuak kodelari bakar batek jasotzen dituenean, beharrezkotzat hartzen ez den proba dugu. Dena den, ikerlan esploratzaileetan metodoaren beraren baliagarritasuna egiaztatu behar izaten da. Horregatik, behin lehenengo proban antzemandako hutsegiteak konpondutakoan,

baliagarritasuna bera egiaztatzeko 2. probako ikerketa gauzatu genuen (Früh, 2001: 60-63, 177-185; Lora Cam eta Mallorquín Suzarte, 2008: 43-50, 84-93; Schrimer, 2001: 75-76; Trebbe et al., 2008: 44-49; Priest, 2010: 90-92).

Laginaren %5eko azpilagina birritan kodifikatu genuen, bi saioen artean hiru asteko tartea utziz. Ondoren, emaitzei fidagarritasun-formula aplikatu genien:

$$\text{Fidagarritasuna} = \frac{2\,M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Kasu horretan, *M*-k bi kodifikazioetan bat datozen kodifikazio-erabakien kopurua azaltzen du. N_1-ek, ordea, lehenengo kodifikazioan jasotako kodifikazio-erabakien kopurua agertzen du eta N_2-k, azkenik, bigarren aldian bildutakoen kopurua. Adituek %90etik gorako fidagarritasun-portzentajeari egoki deritzote (Früh, 2001: 60-63; Schrimer, 2001: 75-76; Zabaleta Urkiola, 1997: 226).

Holstiren formula albisteen kalitatearen metodoari aplikatzean, batez besteko %94,53ko baliagarritasuna erakutsi du. Metodoa osatzen duten lau atalek, gainera, %90eko eskakizuna gainditu dute. Formatu-kalitatea neurtzen duten adierazleek %98,46ko fidagarritasuna lortu dute. Bigarrenik, eduki-kalitatearen lehen osagaia (aniztasuna) neurtzeko adierazleak %91,645eko baliora heldu dira. Kontuan hartu behar da, gainera, sorterriaren inguruko aldagaiak puntuaziorik altuena lortu duela, aurretik horrela formulatuta erabili izan ez den kategoria bada ere. Ildo beretik, eduki-kalitatearen alde kuantitatiboa ebaluatzen duen Kalitate-Indizeari berari %90,56eko baliagarritasuna aintzatetsi dio Holstiren formulak. Baliagarritasun-probak albisteen kalitatea eduki-analisiaren bitartez neurtzeari eraginkortasuna aitortu dio, aurreragoko doktorego tesietan erabilitako aniztasunaren atala osatzen dituzten lehen bi kategoriei (gaia eta protagonistak identifikatzen dituztenei, hain zuen) adinako fidagarritasuna aintzatetsi baitio. Azkenik, hedabidearen gizarte-ekimenaren berri ematen duen kategoriak %97,45eko sinesgarritasuna du.

3.3. *METHODOLOGY* (Summary)

Scholars from several scientific communities (i.e. Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, German, and South American researchers) have analysed News Quality from different approaches. Those lines of investigation aim to measure News Quality. Our methodological proposal intends to contribute to that research, regarding News Quality

as a final product, whose elaboration remains out of their reach. Moreover, news aspires to provide information so that citizens can effectively participate in decision-making processes referring to society. Accordingly, content analysis has been employed to assess News Quality, because it contributes to identifying tendencies out of thorough assessment. Moreover, the News Quality Scheme combines quantitative and qualitative criteria already employed, as explained in Chapter 2.1.5. Such an analysis also enables cross-media evaluation for radio, television and written news.

3.3.1. SAMPLING DESIGN

Basque media are classified according to the geographic area they informatively cover. Therefore, *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* are the most expanded media, because they can be followed nearly in the entire Basque Country. Then, *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* constitute the sampling frame for the present work.

First of all, *Euskadi Irratia* was founded in 1982. It became the first public radio station in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Its commitments, as stated by law, correspond with the promotion of the Basque language and culture; the right of Basque citizens to be informed, so that they can effectively participate in politics; and becoming a supplementary support for the Basque educational system. Moreover, social initiatives managed to reach its signal in Navarre (1984) and in some areas of the Northern Basque Country (France).

Secondly, *Euskal Telebista* (*Etb*) was established on the 31st December 1982, as the public television of the Basque Autonomous Community. Thus, it is to achieve the same goals as *Euskadi Irratia*. In concordance with administrative restrictions, it was not broadcast in Navarre and Northern Basque Country. However, due to social initiatives, it has been watched in Navarre since 1986 and in more areas of the Northern Basque Country than *Euskadi Irratia*. However, the regulation of Digital Terrestrial Television blocks reception out of the Basque Autonomous Community.

Early *Euskal Telebista* was broadcast in Basque and Spanish without distinction. However, a complete Spanish channel was created in 1986 (*Etb2*). Accordingly, *Etb1* remains as the only Basque television station. Nevertheless, both channels share news service. Therefore, news is broadcast first in *Etb1* and immediately afterwards, in *Etb2*.

It has been criticised since Basque perspective is dissolved in the market logic of *Etb2*, which aims to compete against Spanish media.

Finally, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* was published in 1990. Such a newspaper was socially promoted as a Basqueness-rooted communication project. Accordingly, it was explicitly stated that administrative borders were to be informatively solved in order to reflect the all-inclusive Basque community. The Spanish Special Court for Terrorism Affairs closed it down in 2003, under the consideration that *Egunkaria*'s aims were similar to those of ETA. Nevertheless, seven years later, it was evidenced that no relation could be established between *Egunkaria* and ETA. Hence, there had been no reason for such a penal procedure. However, by the time of the resolution, *Berria* had been already launched in 2003, five months after *Egunkaria*'s closing. It was in charge of continuing *Egunkaria*'s labour, after a short transition period, where *Egunero* had been published.

The present work will distinguish two research periods where research will be conducted. On the one hand, the diachronic study will collect data from the first broadcast or publication of every Basque media outlet until 2007. However, no programmes of *Euskadi Irratia* can be found in any archive. Accordingly, the diachronic study will only analyse *Etb1* since 1983 and *Egunkaria* since 1990 (*Berria* since 2003). On the other hand, synchronic study will be conducted during 2008. As it may lack the same elements as the diachronic study, the recording of television and radio news will be compulsory required. Moreover, as the synchronic study aims to compare Basque media to other media in French and Spanish, those are also to be recorded. The news reports included in those media will only be evaluated if they coincide with the news items of the Basque media. Furthermore, those coincident news reports will only be analysed according to the News Quality Index. To that extent, the sampling framing of the synchronic study will consider the following media:

Table No. 106 – Sampling Framing:
Evaluated coincident news reports of Basque, French and Spanish Media

Medium type	Media	Description
Radio	*Euskalerria Irratia*	Basque radio station, which broadcasts in Iruñea-Pamplona (Navarre).
	Euskal Irratiak	Three Basque radio stations (*Gure Irratia, Irulegiko Irratia* and *Xiberoko Botza*), which broadcast in the Northern Basque Country
	France Bleu	Basque radio station, belonging to the French Public Broadcasting Corporation, which broadcasts in the Northern Basque Country.
	Radio Euskadi	Spanish radio station, belonging to the Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation, which broadcasts in the Basque Autonomous Community.
	Cadena Ser	Spanish private radio station, broadcasting in Spain. It is the most followed Spanish radio station in the Basque Country.
Television	*Etb2*	Spanish television channel, belonging to the Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation, which broadcasts in the Basque Autonomous Community.
	France 3	Basque television channel, belonging to the French Public Broadcasting Corporation, which broadcasts in the Northern Basque Country.
	Telecinco	Spanish private television channel, broadcasting in Spain. It is the most followed Spanish television channel in the Basque Country.
	Tf1	French private television channel, broadcasting in France. It is the most followed French private television channel in the Basque Country.
Newspapers	*Diario Vasco*	Regional newspaper, written in Spanish, published in Gipuzkoa.
	Diario de Navarra	Conservative newspaper, written in Spanish, published in Navarre.
	Diario de Notices de Álava	Regional newspaper, written in Spanish, published in Araba.
	El Correo Español	Regional newspaper, written in Spanish, published in Bizkaia.
	Gara	Left nationalist newspaper, written in Spanish (an a little of Basque), published in the Southern Basque Country (Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre)
	Le Journal du Pays Basque	Left nationalist newspaper, written in French (an a little of Basque), published in the Northern Basque Country

Source: Author.

The present work will collect data from a sample out of the sampling frame, following the systematic random sample research technique of "constructed week". Then, the sampling frequency for the diachronic study will be of four months, so that three days every year could be selected. Accordingly, the first day of emission or publication of every media outlet will be chosen. Then, the following weekday of the next week in four months will be selected. All in all, the diachronic study will compile 75 days for *Etb1* (1983-2007) and 54 for *Egunkaria/Berria* (1990-2007). The sample for

print media corresponds with the following day of the sample for broadcasting media, so that news originated in the same day can effectively be compared.

Table No. 107 – Sample for the diachronic study (1983-2007)

Etb1			
3rd January 1983	21st July 1989	21st September 1995	25th April 2002
10th May 1983	26th November 1989	23rd February 1996	13th August 2002
21st September 1983	25th April 1990	1st June 1996	18th December 2002
23rd February 1984	13th August 1990	13th October 1996	11th January 2003
1st June 1984	18th December 1990	17th March 1997	18th May 2003
13th October 1984	11th January 1991	22nd July 1997	5th September 2003
17th March 1985	18th May 1991	12th November 1997	3rd February 2004
22nd July 1985	5th September 1991	9th April 1998	9th June 2004
5th August 1985	3rd February 1992	21st August 1998	25th October 2004
9th April 1986	9th June 1992	26th December 1998	25th March 2005
21st August 1986	25th October 1992	19th January 1999	2nd July 2005
26th December 1986	25th March 1993	9th May 1999	17th November 2005
19th January 1987	3rd July 1993	13th September 1999	17th April 2006
2nd May 1987	17th November 1993	18th February 2000	22nd August 2006
13th September 1987	17th April 1994	28th June 2000	10th December 2006
11th February 1988	22nd August 1994	5th October 2000	3rd January 2007
28th June 1988	10th December 1994	5th March 2001	10th May 2007
5th October 1988	3rd January 1995	21st July 2001	28th September 2007
5th March 1989	17th May 1995	25th November 2001	

Source: Author.

Equally, the sampling frequency for the synchronic study will be of two weeks. As a result, 27 days in 2008 will be selected. Several media will be analysed: not only the three Basque media, but also another fifteen more to compare them with the former. Accordingly, the sample for the synchronic study will take into consideration those fifteen media, as long as their news items coincide with those published by the three Basque media. All in all, it is not intended to conduct a comparative study among media outlets. Our aim is to find out how many news reports result convergent in relation to Basque media. For such a purpose, news will be assessed according to the News Quality Index, so that Basque media's News Quality could be compared and, thus, better evaluated in the framework of a diglosic society. Similarly, those convergent news reports will only assess excellence in reporting those topics in two different media outlets. Consequently, no comparison among media outlets can be established relying on that data, since it is only relative to the assessed Basque media's news coverage. Hence, the news assessment of other media out of the sampling frame of the present work does not rank them in line with News Quality. In fact, it only appoints better performance in reporting convergent news in the Basque media and each and every other media outlet compared to them conducting individual assessment.

Table No. 108 – Sample for the synchronic study (2008)

Broadcasting media			
7th January	14th April	21st July	27th October
22nd January	29th April	5th August	2nd November
6th February	14th Mai	20th August	11th November
21st February	29th Mai	5th September	26th November
7th March	27th June	18th September	13th December
22nd March	28th June	25th September	19th December
6th April	13th July	4th October	

Source: Author.

Content analysis will consider news from radio and television main stories as selected following the constructed week, in addition to news on the newspaper's front page, as research item unity. For the present work, a total of 1,929 news reports have been analysed: 766 for the diachronic study, 582 for the synchronic study of Basque media, and 581 for the comparison of those with other media in the Basque Country.

Table No. 109 – Analysed media and their amount of items

Research periods	Analysed media (News Quality Scheme)	Analysed media (News Quality Index)	Amount of items
Diachronic study	*Etb1* (1983-2007)		423
	Euskaldunon Egunkaria (1990-2002) and *Berria* (2003-2007)		343
	Diachronic study .... total		**766**
Synchronic study	**Radio**		**345**
	Euskadi Irratia (2008)		228
	News reports coinciding with those of *Euskadi Irratia*	*Euskalerria Irratia*	14
		Euskal Irratiak	14
		France Bleu	8
		Radio Euskadi	51
		Cadena Ser	30
	Television		**456**
	Etb1 (2008)		194
	News reports coinciding with those of *Etb1*	*Etb2*	186
		France 3	5
		Telecinco	48
		TF1	23
	Newspapers		**362**
	Berria (2008)		160
	News reports coinciding with those of *Berria*	*Diario Vasco*	40
		Diario de Navarra	28
		Diario de Noticias de Álava	33
		El Correo Español	34
		Gara	50
		Le Journal du Pays Basque	17
	Synchronic study .... total		**1.163**
TOTAL	**6**	**15**	**1.929**

Source: Author.

3.3.2. RELIABILITY

The News Quality Scheme is grounded on international research and, especially, German scholars' contributions. Accordingly, a first pilot study was conducted in order to delimit the methodological considerations of those standards integrating the Scheme. As a result, some of them were simplified.

A second pilot study was employed to check the internal consistency of the News Quality Scheme, according to Holsti's reliability test. Notwithstanding a single coder would be in charge of collecting all data, Holsti's reliability test was required to ensure the effectiveness and the success of an exploratory work, in order to validate the measurement instrument. This second pilot study implied coding twice 5% the entire sample within an interval of three weeks. Then, those results were confronted, applying Holsti's reliability formula:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2\,M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where *M* is the number of coding decisions on which two codifications coincide, and N_1 and N_2 are the total number of coding decisions for the first and the second codifications, respectively.

Scores over %90 are demanded for any methodology to be considered reliable. In the case of the present work, the three dimensions of the News Quality Scheme obtained an average result of %94.53. Acknowledging Formal Quality and Social Quality revealed the best scores (%98.46 an %97.45), both aspects of Content Quality also gave better results than required. On the one hand, diversity showed a result of %91.645. On the other, the News Quality Index, which consists of ten standards, achieved %90.56.

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4. IKERKETAREN EMAITZAK

"Malgré tout, ce que je dis sera perçu comme une critique;
réaction qui est aussi une manière de se défendre contre l'analyse."
Pierre Bourdieu (2006), *Sur la télévision*

Kapitulu honetan *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* euskarazko hiru hedabideen albisteak azaldutako metodologiaren arabera aztertuko ditugu. Hortaz, Albisteen Kalitate-Ereduak hiru maila neurtuko ditu. Lehenengo eta behin, formatu-kalitateak albisteetan eman daitezkeen akatsak detektatzen ditu. Formatu-kalitateak alde teknikoari eta aurkezpenari erreparatuko die. Bigarrenik, eduki-kalitatea ebaluatzeko aniztasuna kontuan izango dugu eta Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak berriei zerotik hamarrerako puntuazioa esleituko die. Gainera, Indizearen araberako neurketa horren emaitzak EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako euskarazko hedabideekin eta Euskal Herrian gehien jarraitzen diren erdarazko hedabideekin alderatuko dugu. Azkenik, gizarte-kalitateak hedabidearen atxikimendu soziala baloratuko du. Ikerlan hori aurrera eramateko, bi ikerketa aldi nagusi bereiztuko ditugu: diakronikoa (sorrera unetik 2007ra bitartekoa) eta sinkronikoa (2008ko emanaldiak).

Eduki-kalitatearen bi osagaiek (aniztasunak eta Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak) datu kopuru handia eskaintzen dute. Horrenbestez, haiei dagokien ataletan luze eta zabal erakutsiko ditugu. Hala ere, adierazleak elkarrekin aztertzeak datu uholde horretatik ondoriozta daitezkeen joerak identifikatuko ditu. Horregatik, bi atalen ostean datu soilak ulertzeko laburbilduma gehitu dugu. Beraz, aniztasunaren eta Kalitate-Indizearen emaitzak azken atal horietan osatuen agertuko dira.

4.1. FORMATU-KALITATEA (*Formal Quality*)

Formatu-kalitateak albisteak jasotzean eman daitezkeen akatsak detektatzen ditu. Hortaz, albisteen hornidura (kalitate teknikoa) eta haien agertzea (aurkezpen kalitatea) aztertzen ditu.

109. Taula – Formatu-Kalitatearen akatsen azalpena

Kategoria nagusiak	Akats motak	Adibideak
Kalitate teknikoa	Hutsegite handiak	Seinalerik ez heltzea
	Hutsegite txikiak	Soinu-interferentziak (ikus-entzunezkoetan) edota tinta orbanak (idatzizkoetan)
Aurkezpen-kalitatea	Akats estetikoak	Idazketa-diseinuaren arauen urraketa, irudia kontakizunarekin bat etortzea (bideoa eta audioa, alegia) edota soinuaren tonu-aldaketa handiak
	Akats funtzionalak	*Lapsus clavis*-ak

Iturria: Egilea.

Okerren indizea kalkulatzeko honako formula erabiltzen da:

$$\text{Okerren indizea} = \frac{\text{Hutsen maiztasuna}}{\text{Hutsetarako aukera}}$$

*Hutsen maiztasuna*k epe jakin batean emandako huts-kopurua azaltzen du. *Hutsetarako aukera*k, ordea, epe horretan izandako albiste guztien kopurua kontuan hartzen du. Helburua okerren indizeak zero (0) baliotik albait gertueneko emaitzak adieraztea litzateke. Ondoren, akatsak dituzten eta, beraz, berregin beharko liratekeen albisteen portzentajea azaltzen da.

4.1.1. KALITATE TEKNIKOA (*Technical Quality*)

*Kalitate teknikoa*k seinalea ondo jasotzen ote den neurtzen du. Horregatik, hutsegite handiak eta txikiak bereizten ditu. Lehenengoek albistea ulertzeko oinarrizko zati bat, gutxienez, trabatzen dute; hala nola, ikus-entzunezkoen seinalea etetea. Hutsegite txikiek, ordea, akats teknikoak agertu arren, berriaren nondik norakoak aditzeko ezaugarrietan ez dute eragin handiegirik. Esaterako, soinu-interferentziak hutsegite txikiak lirateke.

a. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Euskarazko bi hedabideotako artxiboa artatu dugu. Alde batetik, *Euskal Telebista*ren albistegien kalitate teknikoa 1990etik aurrerako ikerketa aldian bakarrik aztertu ahal izan dugu, horren aurreko albisteen egitura ez baita artxiboan editatuta agertzen. Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoaren laginak 1990etik 2007ra bitarteko albistegiak kontuan hartu ditu.

Hutsegite handiei dagokionez, ikerketa diakronikoa osatzen duten telebistako 321 analisi-unitateetatik bakarrean albistea bera aditzea ezinezkoa suertatu zen. Izan ere,

albistea erdaraz editatuta zegoen. Horregatik, *Etb1*en hutsegite handiei dagokionez, okerren indizea 0,003koa da. Horrek albisteen %0,3 berregin beharko ziratekeela adierazten du.

Hutsegite txikiek, aldiz, soinu-arazoekin zerikusia zuten: kazetariaren ahotsaren eta musika edo giro-hotsen nahasketak eragindakoak ziren, batik bat. Guztira, 1990etik 2007ra bitartean sei hutsegite txiki atzeman dira. Beraz, okerren indizea 0,0187koa izan zen, hots, albisteen %1,87 berriro editatu beharko ziratekeen. Gainera, hutsegite gehienak (bost, hain zuzen) astegunetan eman ziren eta asteburuan, ostera, bakarra. Akats gehien-gehienak ere 2004tik 2006rako epean kontzentratu ziren.

Kalitate teknikoa hutsegite handien eta txikien kopuruaren arabera ebaluatzen da. Izan ere, emaitzak zenbat eta zero (0) baliotik hurrago, orduan eta kalitate tekniko altuagoa dute albisteek. Horrenbestez, bi adierazleek guztirako hutsegiteen kopurua gehitzen dute. **Ikerketa diakronikoko *Euskal Telebista*ren kalitate teknikoa 0,0218koa zen. Hortaz, albisteen %2,18 berregin behar izango zituzketen**.

Beste aldetik, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren artxibo osoa arakatuta, ez dugu aztertutako 343 albisteetan hutsegite teknikorik aurkitu. Horregatik, kazetaren oker teknikoen indizea zero balioaren bestekoa izan zen. Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoko ***Euskaldunon Egunkariaren/Berria*ren kalitate teknikoak zero-hutsen helburua bete zuen**.

b. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Bigarren ikerketa aldiak 2008ko euskarazko hiru hedabideren albisteak aztertu ditu: *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Berria*. Lehenengo eta behin, *Euskadi Irratia*ren 2008ko hornidurak bi hutsegite handi izan zituen, Interneteko emisioari dagokionez. Hortaz, 2008ko martxoaren 22ko albistegia ezin izan zen entzun. Gainera, eskegita zegoen albiste-emanaldia martxoaren 11koa zen. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*ren albistegiaren batez besteko kopurua aintzat harturik, egun horretako 9,5 albistek hutsegite handiak agertu zituztela zenbatu dugu. Bigarren hutsegite handia 2008ko abuztuaren 20ko albistegian gertatu zen, albiste oso bat entzuterik ez zelako egon. Nabarmentzekoa da bi egunok oporraldiekin zerikusia dutela. Lehena, martxokoa, Aste Santuko larunbata zen eta bigarrena, astelehena izan arren, abuztuan gertatu zen. Horretaz gain, Interneteko web-orria eguneratzeko prozesuak zuzenean entzuten ari zen *Euskadi Irratia*ren

emanaldia bost minuturik behin eteten zuen. Horregatik, beste bi albisteren igorpena trabatu zuen 2008ko azaroaren 26an. Beraz, *Euskadi Irratia*ren hutsegite handien indizea 0,0524koa da. Horrenbestez, albisteen %5,24 ez ziren hartzaileengana heldu.

Hutsegite txikiak, ostera, 25 izan dira eta hamabost egunetan bildu dira. Horregatik, ia kasuen erdian, okerrik zegoen egunean, bat baino gehiago egoteko joera nabaria agertu zuen *Euskadi Irratia*k. Dena den, hutsik gehien-gehienak (%76) eta okerrak izan dituzten egun gehienak (%80) ez dira asteburuan eman. Baina, oporraldia kontuan hartzen badugu, hutsegite txikien %24 abuztuan eman zirela egiazta daiteke edo, uda osoko okerrak zenbatuz gero, uztailetik irailera bitarteko hutsegite txikiak urte osoan gertatutakoen %40 izan ziren. Beraz, *Euskadi Irratia*ren 2008ko guztirako hutsegite txikien indizea 0,1096ko da. Horrenbestez, aireratutako albisteen %10,96 akastunak ziren.

7. Grafikoa – Hutsegite txikiak (%):
Euskadi Irratia (2008)
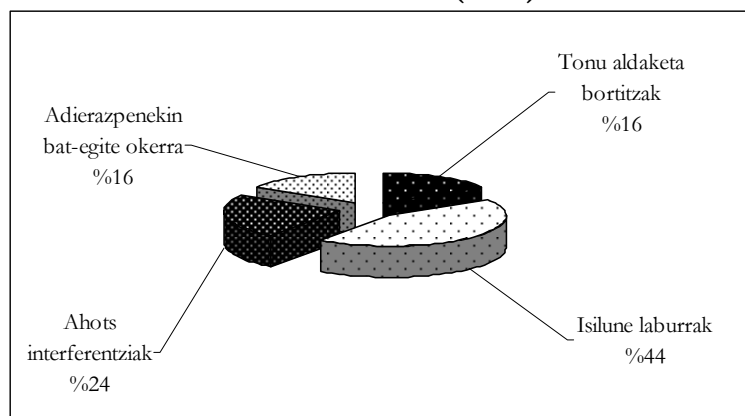
Iturria: Egilea.

Hutsegite handiak eta txikiak batuta, *Euskadi Irratia*ren kalitate teknikoa 0,1446ekoa zela ondorioztatzen da. Beraz, **2008an aireratutako albisteen %14,46 berriro ekoitzi beharko zituzkeen**.

Bigarrenik, *Euskal Telebista*k 2008ko ikerketa aldian ez zuen hutsegite handirik agertu. Hortaz, okerren indizea hutsaren bestekoa izan zen. Hutsegite txikiak, baina, hamabi izan ziren eta, okerren indizearen arabera, horrek 0,0619ko balioa ematen du. Beraz, albisteen %6,19k edizio okerrak zituzten. Hutsegite handirik egon ez zenez, **_Etb1_eko kalitate teknikoak albisteen %6,19 zuzentzeko eskatzen zuen**.

Gainera, hamabi hutsegite txiki horiek zazpi egunetan bakarrik eman ziren. Horregatik, hutsik izan zen egunetan okerren bat baino gehiago eman zen, guztirako kasuen %57,14 osatzen dute-eta. Okerrak agertu zituzten egunak, ordea, astegunak izan ziren gehienbat eta hutsen bi herenak batu zituzten. Hortaz, okerrik gehien izan zuen egunik ez zen asteburuan eman. Dena den, hutsak urtarriletik uztailera bitartean bakarrik agertu ziren eta azken hilabete horrek, gainera, hutsegite txiki guztien herena bildu zuen.

*Euskal Telebista*ren hutsegite txiki gehienek soinu interferentziak agertzen zituzten eta irudi okerra igortzea (pantaila beltza, adibidez) hutsegiterik ohikoena zen. Azkenik, elementu grafikoen erabilera okerra (irudian oraindik agertzen ez den lagun baten izena proiektatzea, esaterako) kontuan hartu beharreko elementua zen.

8. Grafikoa – Hutsegite txikiak (%):
Etb1 **(2008)**
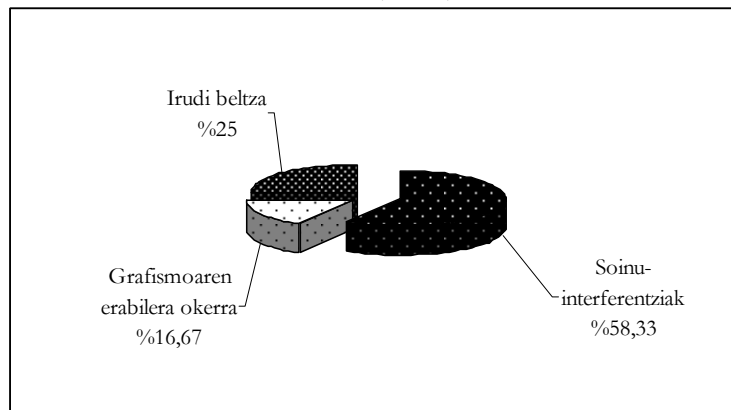
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, *Berria*k ez zuen 2008ko ikerketa aldian ere hutsegite teknikorik azaldu. Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoaren antzera, **kazetaren kalitate teknikoa erabatekoa izan zen**, okerren indizea hutsaren bestekoa zelako. Horrenbestez, albisteen igorpenean *Berria*k ez zuen akatsik izan.

4.1.2. AURKEZPEN-KALITATEA (*Presentation Quality*)

Formatu-kalitatearen bigarren zatia aurkezpen kalitateak osatzen du. Horrek informazioa hedabidearen euskarriaren betekizunetara egokitzeko akatsak detektatzen ditu. Horregatik, *aurkezpen-kalitateak* "huts praktikoak" egiaztatzen dituela esaten da.

Aurkezpen-kalitateak bi motatako okerrak identifikatzen ditu: akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak. Lehenengoek informazioa hedabideak berak finkatutako diseinu eskakizunetara egokitzeko arreta aztertzen dute. Diseinuak ulergarritasunarekin duen

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loturagatik, akats estetikoek informazioaren igorpen bera traba dezaketela ulertzen da. Akats estetikoak sailkatzeko hiru kategoria daude: idazketa-diseinua, irudia eta soinua. Hortaz, kazetei lehenengo taldeko okerrak bakarrik aplikagarriak izango zaizkie eta irratigintzan soinu-akatsek baino ez dute eraginik izango. Telebistan, baina, hiru kategoriak ematen dira.

Akats funtzionalek, aldiz, kazetariaren ezustekoek albistearen adigarritasuna eragozten dute eta lapsus-ekin lotuta agertzen dira. Ahozkotasunari lotutako *lapsus linguae* delakoen antzera, idatzizko hedabideetako informazioak *lapsus clavis* saihestea du helburu. *Lapsus calami* idatzitako ezusteko baten ondoriozko hutsegitea den arren, eskuz idatzitakoari erreferentzia egiten dion legez, teklatu bidez idatzitako ezustekoak izendatzeko *lapsus clavis* esamoldea erabiltzen da.

a. Ikerketa diakronikoa

*Euskal Telebista*ren 1983tik 1989ra bitarteko albisteen akats estetikoak aztertzea ezinezkoa izan denez, ikerketa diakronikoaren lagina 1990etik aurrerako albistegiek osatu dute. Hala ere, EiTBren artxiboko 2002ra arte albisteek ez dute titulurik gorde eta, beraz, bigarren talde horretako zatikako azterketa bakarrik gauzatu ahal izan dugu. Azkenik, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko albisteen aurkezpen-kalitatearen elementu guztiak aztertu ahal izan ditugu. Horregatik, idazketaren kategorian ematen diren akats estetikoak azken epe horretan bakarrik aztertu ahal izan ditugu. Dena den, 2004ko azken hiruhilabetekora arteko idazketa-diseinua malguagoa zenez, ordura arteko albisteetako titularrak lerro bakarrean agertzen ziren eta aztertutako ikerketa aldiko albisteek ez zuten akatsik agertu. Alta, 2004ko urritik aurrera, berrien tituluek bi lerroko formatua hartu zuten. Lehenengo lerroa hitz bakarreko titularra izaten zen eta bigarrenak aurreko lerroa osatzeko esaldia aurkezten zuen. Horregatik, ordutik aurrera, idazketa-diseinu zorrotzago horretan informazioa emateak egunero-egunero akats estetikoak eragin zituen. Albisteen erdiak baino gehiagok ez zuen tituluaren eta azpitituluaren arteko proportzioa gorde edota diseinu-arauak apurtu zituen, azpitituluari bigarren lerro bat gehituz eta, guztira, hiru lerroko titula osatuz. Horrenbestez, idazketa-diseinu berria onartu zenetik, akats horien indizea 0,629koa izan zen. Dena den, aztertutako ikerketa aldiak 2003tik aurrerakoak kontuan hartzen zituenez, *Etb1*eko albistegien idazketa-akatsen indizeak 0,4146ko balioa ematen du. Albisteen tituluen %41,46 berregin beharko zitezkeen.

27. Argazkia – *Etb1*eko albisteen titulu eta azpitituluen luzera

Iturria: *Etb1* (2008/11/11).

Hedabideak berak zehaztutako diseinu-arauak ez errespetatzearen ondorioz, irakurgarritasuna bera oztopa daiteke. Izan ere, diseinuak informazioa ondoen helaraztea du helburu.

28. Argazkia – *Etb1*eko albisteen diseinu-arauen urraketa: Irakurketa trabatu

Iturria: *Etb1* (2008/09/25).

Telebistaren kasuan, gainera, irakurketa luzeek irudi- eta soinu-hizkeren jarraipen egokia trabatzen dute. Diseinu-arauen urraketak (titulu luzeegiek, esaterako) irudia ere traba dezake.

29. Argazkia – *Etb1*eko albisteen diseinu-arauen urraketa: Irudia trabatu

Iturria: *Etb1* (2008/07/13).

Are okerrago, zenbait albistek tituluen eredua bera urratzen zuen. Esaterako, *Etb1*eko titulu labur nagusiak atzealde urdinean azaldu beharko zukeen, atzealde beltza lekuaren zehaztapenak egiteko erabiltzen baitzen. Hala ere, datu hori ez dugu kontuan izan, prentsa idatzian topa daitezkeen bestelako urraketak (hitzen arteko neurria zabaltzea, esaterako) antzeman ezin zitezkeelako.

Bigarrenik, irudiaren kategoriak albistearen bi kanalak (audioa eta bideoa, alegia) bat etortzen ote diren aztertzen du. Horrela ez denean, ikusleak arreta galtzeko probabilitate handiagoa erakusten du. Hala ere, irudien erabilera okerra *Etb1*ek sarrien agertzen zuen akats estetikoa zen. Hortaz, audioak zabaltzen zuen mezua ez zen bideoan oinarritzen. Irudien erabilera oker horrek, baina, ez zegokion bideo-baliabide eskasiari. Ikerketa diakronikoaren funtsak EiTBko artxiboan kontsultatu ditugunez, ez dugu horiek grabatzeko baimenik izan. Horregatik, ohiko irudi-akatsak azaltzeko, 2008ko adibide bat ekarriko dugu.

110. Taula – *Etb1*eko albisteen irudi-akatsen ohiko kategoria

Bideoa[264]	Audioa	Beharrezko bideoak
Juan Mari Atutxaren lehen planoa.	***"Oraingoan, gainera, Gorenak berak ez du aplikatuko Botin kasuan erabilitako irizpidea eta…***	* Auzitegi Gorenak epaituko ez zukeela jakin ondoren Botin bankari ezagunak agertutako aldartea azaltzen zuten irudiak ("Artxiboko irudiak" direla zehaztuz).
Juan Mari Atutxa, Kontxi Bilbao eta Izaskun Bilbao auzigelara sartzen dira eta, Atutxa azkena denez, kamerak bere lepoa enfokatzen du.	***…akusazio popularra soilik egonda ere aurrera jo du auziak…***	* Akusazio popularra egikaritu zuen Manos Limpias sindikatua identifikatzeko irudiak.
Auzimahaia (epaileak), fiskala, abokatuak eta mekanografistak agertzen dira.	***…Epaiketarekin batera ezagutuko dugu datozen egunetan…***	(Bideo-baliabide egokiak darabiltzate.)
Abokatu bat (ez dago jakiterik akusatuen defendatzailea ala akusazio popularraren ordezkaria den) aulkia mahaira gerturatzen agertzen da, baina traba egiten dion zerbait kentzera altxatzen da eta, horixe askatzean, jesarri egiten da.	***…zigorra zehatz, baina inhabilitazioa eta isuna ezarriko dizkie Gorenak Atutxari, Bilbaori eta Knörri."***	* Epaileak edo akusatuak identifikatzeko irudiak. * Epaiketaren irudiak.

Iturria: Egilea.

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[264] *Etb1* (2008/01/22).

Horrela, 1990etik aurrerako ikerketa aldian, urteko hiru aleetatik bitan gutxienez irudi-akats estetiko horixe ematen zen. Daturik onenak 1991 eta 1995. urteetakoak izan ziren. Lehenengoan, ez zen irudi akastun albisterik aurkitu eta, bigarrenean, aztertutako hiru albistegietatik bakarrean eman ziren. Teknologiak irudien trataera arindu duen sasoian, *Etb1*en irudi-akatsen kopurua ez zen gutxitu, alderantziz: 1990eko hamarkadaren lehen bost urteek okerren indizerik txikiena lortu zuten (0,153). Ondoren, hurrengo urteetan, gero eta gehiago izan ziren. Hortaz, laginarekin bat egite aldera, 1996tik 2002ra bitarteko albistegien okerren indizea 0,2koa izan zen eta 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko albisteek 0,3ko okerren indizea lortu zuten. Hala ere, 2007an joera hori zuzentze bidean hasi zitekeela antzeman zitekeen. Guztira, irudi akatsen indizea 0,243koa izan zen, hau da, albisteen %24,3k irudikapenari lotutako okerrak agertu zituzten.

9. Grafikoa – Irudi-akats estetikoak (%):
***Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**
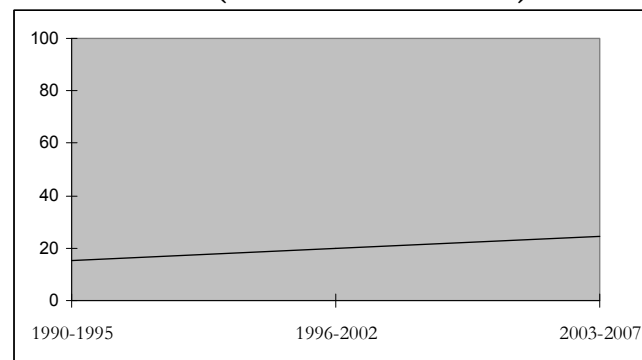
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebistari aplikatzen zaion akats estetikoen azken kategoriak soinu-ezaugarriak aztertzen ditu. Albistearen berri ematen duen hizkerak kontakizuna jarraitzeko entzulearen arreta egoki bideratu behar du. Horregatik, albiste irakurriek ez dute berri kontatuek lortzen duten aditasuna eurenagatzen. Horrenbestez, lehenengoak soinu-okertzat hartzen dira. *Etb1*eko albisteen soinu-akatsak ez ziren aurreko bi kategoriak bezainbatean agertzen. Dena den, irudi-akatsen atalean bereiztu ditugun epeak oinarri hartzen baditugu, 2001etik aurrera akats kopurua nabarmen handitu zen. Izan ere, 1990etik 1995era bitarteko albisteen soinu-akatsen indizea 0,27koa zen eta 1996-2000 tarteko berriena, ordea, 0,166koa izan zen (1996tik 2000ra bitartekoa, gainera, zeroren bestekoa da). Akatsok gutxitzeko joera hori, aldiz, 2001ean hautsi egin zen eta etengabe hazten hasi zen. Horrela, 2001etik 2007ra bitarteko albisteen soinu-okerren indizea

0,0666koa izan zen. Aztertutako ikerketa aldi osoari aplikatuta, *Etb1*eko albisteen soinu-akatsen indizeak 0,0463ko balioa erakusten du. Horrenbestez, ikerketa diakronikoko albisteen %4,63k audio arazoak agertu zituzten.

10. Grafikoa –Soinu-akats estetikoak (%):
_Etb1_eko (ikerketa diakronikoa)

Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*eko albisteen aurkezpen-kalitatearen azterketak alde estetikoaren hiru kategoriak batera ematen ez zirela erakutsi du. Alde batetik, 2004ko urritik aurrerako albiste ia denek ez zuten idazketa-diseinuaren araurik betetzen eta gainerako beste bi akats estetikoen kategoriekin zerikusirik ez zuen aldagaia da. Bestetik, soinu-akats estetikoak agertzen zituzten albisteek ez zuten irudi-akatsik ere izan beharrik. Horrelakorik, kasuen herenean baino ez zen gertatzen. Ondorioz, aurkezpen-kalitatearen alde estetikoaren kategoriek akats berezituak seinalatzen zituzten eta, gainera, albiste akastunen kopurua biderkatu egiten zuten, albiste berak ez zituelako akats-tipologia denak zertan izan. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*eko albisteek agertzen zituzten akats estetikoen guztirako indizea 0,3271koa izan zen. Datu horrek albisteen %32,71 berregin beharko ziratekeela adierazi nahi du. Gainera, idazketa-akatsak 2003-2007ko tartean baino ez ziren eman. Horregatik, *Etb1*ek gero eta idazketa- zein irudi-akats gehiago agertu zituen. Beraz, soinu-akatsak gutxitzen baino ez zuen asmatu.

11. Grafikoa – Akats estetikoak (%):
***Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-1995	1996-2002	2003-2007
■ Idazketa	0	0	41,46
□ Irudia	15,3	20	30
▨ Soinua	27	16,66	6,66
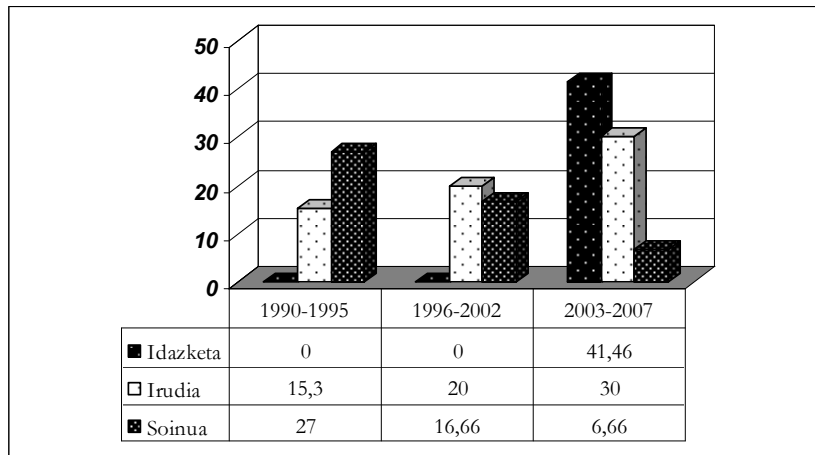
Iturria: Egilea.

Alde funtzionalari dagokionez, *Euskal Telebista*ko albisteen azterketan zortzi *lapsus linguae* eta *lapsus clavis* bakarra aurkitu genituen. *Lapsus linguae* gehienak zuzeneko emanaldietan ematen ziren eta, horregatik, 2005etik hona sarriagotan agertzen ziren, aurreko horiek maizago erabiltzearen ondorioz. Akats funtzionalen indizea, beraz, 0,014koa da. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ek ikerketa diakronikoan aireratutako albisteen %1,4k akats funtzionalik zuten.

Aurkezpen-kalitateak, beraz, akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak biltzen ditu. Gainera, ez dira zertan albiste berean eman eta, horrexegatik, guztirako okerren indizea 0,3427koa da. Hortaz, aurkezpen-kalitatearen ebaluaketak *Etb1*eko albisteen %34,27ak berregiteko eskatuko zukeen.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren aurkezpen-kalitateak, azkenik, kazetari alde estetikoan kategoria bakarreko akatsak aplika dakizkioke zehazten du: idazketa-diseinuaren ingurukoak, hain zuzen. Idatzizko prentsak zaindu beharreko diseinu-arauen artean, garrantzitsuenek titulua, tartekia eta argazki oina hizkiz betetzeko eta zuriunerik ez uzteko eskatzen dute. Era berean, hitz bakarreko lerroak zein lerro umezurtz eta alargunak galarazita daude. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*k plazaratutako albisterik gehien-gehienek akats estetikorik agertzen zuten. Horien indizeak 0,9388eko balioa ematen du, hau da, albisteen %93,88ek akats estetikoek agertu zituzten. Horren arabera, berrien %5 baino ez zen akatsgabea. Dena den, kazetaren ibilbidearen epeak kontuan hartzen baditugu (*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren hiruna bosturtekoak, *Egunero* eta *Berria*), akats estetikoak gutxitzeko joera proiektua egonkortzearekin bat datorrela ikus

daiteke. Hortaz, akats estetikoen indizea lehenengoz 1996tik 2000ra bitartean gutxitzen hasi zen. Ondoren, 2001etik 2003ra bitartean hasierako urteetan baino akats estetiko gehiago agertu zituen. Urte horretan, gainera, *Egunkaria* itxi eta modu prekarioan kaleratutako *Egunero*k lan-baldintza horiek akats estetikoen ugalketa eragin zuten. Horregatik, *Berria* proiektua finkatzearekin batera, akatsok zuzentzeko joera berria abiatu zuen kazetak eta, oro har, *Egunkaria*ren 1990tik 1995erako emaitzak hobetu egin ditu. Dena den, oraindik akats estetikoen kopurua oso altua da.

12. Grafikoa – Akats estetikoak (%):
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**
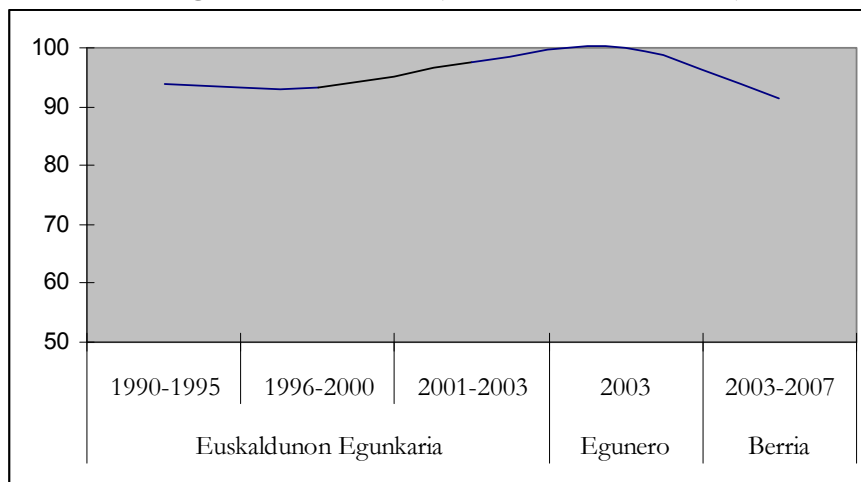
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainera, akats estetiko bat baino gehiago zituzten albisteak gero eta gehiago ziren. Esaterako, 1990-1995eko epean zenbait akats zuten albisteak guztirako %70,31 ziren bitartean, *Berria*ren sasoian %72 izatera heldu ziren. Akats bakarra zegoenean, gehien errepikatutakoak tartekiak zein tituluak hitzekin ez betetzea eta hitz bakarreko esaldiak osatzea ziren (gehienetan, gainera, hitz erdiko esaldiak izaten ziren). Hortaz, tituluaren diseinua gero eta gutxiago zaindu zen, argazki oinaren akatsak baino ez baitziren nabarmen gutxitu.

30. Argazkia – *Berria*ren akats estetikoen adibidea

Iturria: *Berria,* 2005/06/10 (17. or.).

Aurkezpen-kalitatearen bigarren osagarriak izandako *lapsus clavis*ak zehazten ditu. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren/*Berria*ren albisteek agertutako *lapsus clavis*en kopurua

nabarmen gutxitu zen, ia-ia desagertzeraino. Horrenbestez, ikerketa diakroniko osoaren akats funtzionalen indizea 0,0991koa izan zen. Beraz, albisteen %9,91 berriro idatzi beharko ziratekeen.

13. Grafikoa – Akats funtzionalak (%):
***E.Egunkaria* eta *Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**
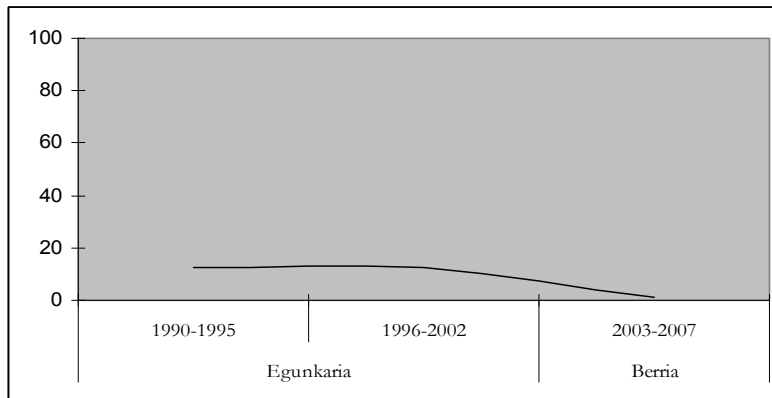
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskaldunon Egunkaria/*Berria*k azaldutako *lapsus clavis*-ak errepikatzen diren hitzak ("baina ez da *izan* nahikoa *izan*", 1990/12/18) edo ezabatu ez diren sinonimoak ("*adieraziesan* zuen Buesak", 1992/10/27) izaten ziren.

31. Argazkia – *Lapsus clavis*: Egiaztatu bako testuak

Eskuinetik ezkerrera, Tomas Aragues, Gotzon Aulestia eta Rafael Castro.   EDURNE KOCH
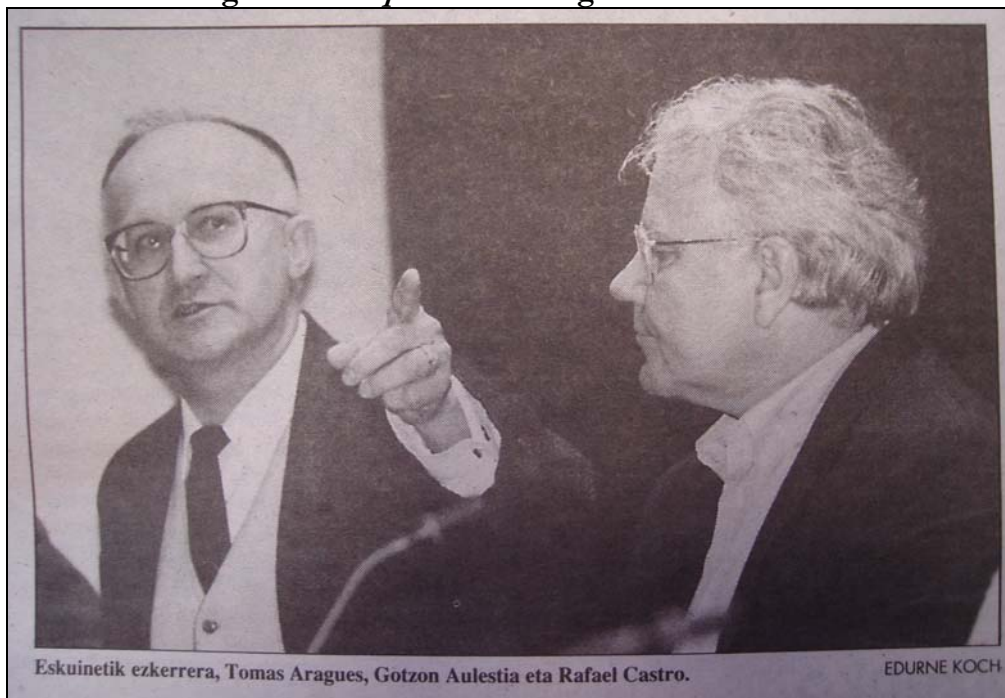
Iturria: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (1995/05/18).

Azkenik, adiera aldatzen zuten ezusteko errakuntzak ere bazeuden, hala nola politikari batek "*esna*" zituen adierazpenen berri ematea (2006/08/23). Errepikatzen diren hitzen *lapsus clavis*-ak oraindik ageriagokoak dira:

32. Argazkia – *Lapsus clavis*: López Arriortuaren "dokumentu sakratuak"
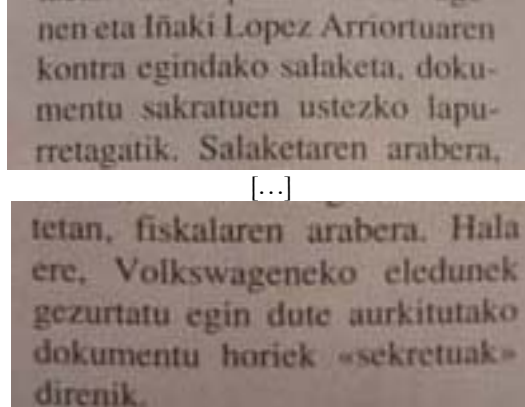
Iturria: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria,* 1993/07/04.

Guztirako aurkezpen-kalitateak akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak zenbatzen ditu. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k akats estetikoen kopuru horren altua izan zuenez, akats funtzionalak gehienetan akats estetikorik zuten albisteetan ematen ziren. Horrenbestez, **aurkezpen-kalitatea ebaluatzen duten okerren indizea 0,9446koa zen**, hots, *Egunkaria*ren/*Berria*ren %94,46 albiste akastunak ziren.

b. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa sinkronikoa osatzen duen laginak 2008ko hiru hedabideetako albisteak aztertu ditu: *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Berria*. Irratiaren akats estetikoek ahotsaren adierazkortasuna ebazten dute. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia*ren sei albistek idatzizko erregistroarekiko mendekotasun nabarmena zuten, hau da, entzuleek "lehen kolpean" ulertzeko zailak ziren. Grabatutako berriak ziren eta ez dago oporraldien edo jaiegunen arabera sailkatzerik. Akats estetikoen indizea, beraz, 0,0263koa izan zen, *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteen %2,63k akats estetikoak baitzituzten.

Akats funtzionalei dagokienez, ordea, *Euskadi Irrati*ko ia albistegi guztiek *lapsus linguae*ren bat zuen berria izan zuten. Ikerketa aldia osatzen duten bi egunetan baino ez zuten akatsik gabeko albisterik plazaratu. Gainerakoetan, zenbait akats funtzionaldun albisteak aireratu zuten. Irratiaren akats funtzionalek zuzeneko emisioarekin lotura handia zuten eta, guztira, 0,228ko balioa osatu zuten, hots, albisteen %22,8.

14. Grafikoa – Akats funtzionalak:
***Euskadi Irratia* (2008)**
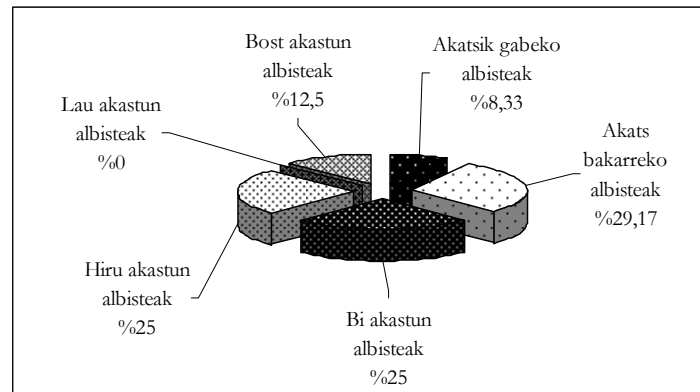
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteen aurkezpen-kalitateak akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak batu zituen. Guztirako **aurkezpen-kalitate mailako okerren indizea 0,25ekoa izan** zen. Horregatik, albisteen %25 berregin beharko ziratekeen.

Aurkezpen-kalitatearen lehenengo osagarriak (akats estetikoek alegia) 2008ko *Euskal Telebista*n bi joera agertu zituen. Alde batetik, ikerketa diakronikoarekin alderatuta, irudi- eta soinu-akats kopurua nabarmen jaitsi zen. Irudi-akats estetikoen indizea 0,1855ekoa izan zen (%18,55), ikerketa aldi diakronikoaren azken epearen balioa 0,3koa zen bitartean (%30). Hala ere, ez zuen inoizko daturik baxuena lortu, 1990etik 1995era bitarteko irudi akatsen indizea 0,153koa baitzen (%15,3). Jaitsiera hori, dena den, berri-emaileen zuzeneko konexioei tarte handiagoa eskaini izanaren ondorioa izan zen. Adibidez, 2008ko irailaren 25eko *Gaur Egun 1*eko titularretako albisteen %60 berri-emaileen zuzeneko emanaldietan oinarritu zen. Hortaz, kazetarien ekimenez sortzen ez ziren albisteen irudi-akats estetikoak saihesteko aukerak gutxituz konponbidea bilatu ahal izan zitzaion. Beste era batera ere, aurkezleak laburbildutako irudirik gabeko albisteak emateko joera sumatu ahal izan zen (2008ko urriaren 27ko albistegia horren adibide dugu, titularretan agertutako berrien %40 aurkezleak berak landu baitzituen). Horrelakoetan, berriak irrati-albiste moduko trataera izaten zuen. Ildo beretik, joera berriek soinu-akats estetikoen 2008ko bilakaeran ere eragina izan zuten, hau da, 2003tik 2007rako epean bikoiztu ziren soinu-akatsen kopurua murriztuz joan zen, aurreko urteetako markak hobetu arte. Guztira, 2008an soinu-akatsek 0,01546ko balioa lortu zuten (%1,54).

Beste aldetik, baina, akats estetikoen hirugarren motari dagokionez, aurreko ikerketa aldiko azken epean baino ematen ez ziren idazketa-akats estetikoek sekulako garrantzia erakutsi zuten. Horien indizea 0,4072rainokoa izan zen, hau da, ia albisteen erdia (%40,72) berregiteko eskatzen zuen adierazle horrek.

Gainera, aurkezpen-kalitatearen alde estetikoaren hiru kategoriek aldagai independenteen antzera jarduten dutenez, albiste akastunak biderkatu ziren. Hortaz, irudi- eta soinu-akatsen indizea jaitsi arren, idazketa-oker kopuru altua kontuan izanda, **Etb1eko 2008ko berrietatik %53,09 akastunak izan ziren** eta, beraz, berregin beharko ziratekeen (0,5309ko okerren indizea).

15. Grafikoa – Akats estetikoak (%):
Etb1 (2008)
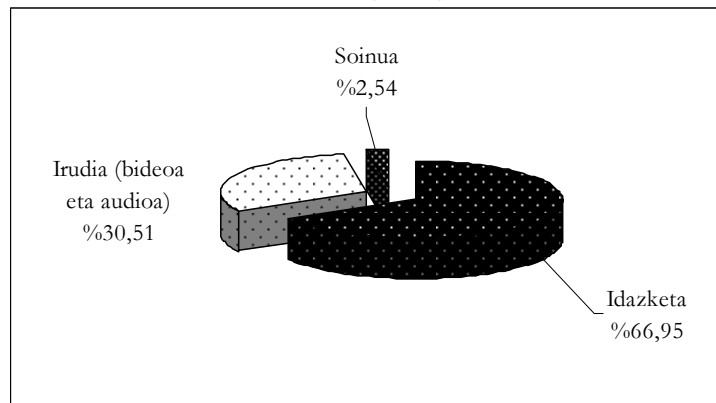
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*eko albisteek, ordea, akats funtzionalak gero eta sarriagotan agertu zituzten. Hortaz, ikerketa diakroniko osoak erakutsi zuen akats funtzionalen indizea 0,14koa bazen ere, 2008ko laginean 0,0567eko balioa hartu zuen (berregin beharreko albisteen kopurua, beraz, %5,67koa zatekeen).

Gainera, aurkezpen-kalitatearen alde funtzionaleko akatsek eta alde estetikoko kategoriek ere aldagai independente moduan jarduten zuten. Hau da, irudi- edota soinu-akatsak agertzen zituzten albisteetatik batek baino ez zuen *lapsus linguae* azaldu, hots, guztiaren %5ek. Era berean, idazketa-akatsak zituzten albiste batek ere ez zuen *lapsus clavis*ik erakutsi. Hortaz, guztirako albiste akastunen kopurua, berriro ere, biderkatu egin zen. **Etb1eko 2008ko albisteen aurkezpen-kalitatea neurtzen dituen akats estetikoen eta funtzionalen indizea 0,5825ekoa izan zen**. Ondorioz, albisteen bi herenak (%58,25) akastunak ziren.

33. Argazkia – *Etb1*eko *lapsus clavis*-en adibidea (2008)

Iturria: *Etb1* (2008/04/29).

Azkenik, *Berria*k 2008an agertu zituen akats estetikoen indizea pixka bat jaitsi zen: 0,9388tik 0,9312ra (%93,12). Dena den, joera hori ez dator hamazortzi urteren bilakaera teknologikoarekin bat. Gainera, akats estetikoak zituzten albisteen kopurua gutxitu arren, akats bat baino gehiago zituzten berriak inoiz baino gehiago izan ziren: albiste akastunen %75, hain zuzen. Hortaz, aurreko ikerketa aldiarekin alderatuz gero, 2008ko datuek bi akats zuzendu zirela erakutsi zuten: tartekiak eta hitz bakarreko lerroak. Hala ere, tartekietan azaltzen ziren akatsen kopuru altua hasierako urteetako *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren diseinuaren zorroztasunari egotzi izan diote. Beraz, hobekuntza bakarra hitz bakarreko lerroak gero eta gutxiagotan azaltzea litzateke, lerro algurunen kopurua bikoiztu bazen ere. Adibide moduan, zutabe bat eta erdiko zuriunea duen titulua ekarri dugu, zuzenketa erraza zuelakoan ("EAEko galdeketaren legea", esaterako). Gainera, azpitituluak ere akats estetiko bera agertzen du:

34. Argazkia – *Berria*ren akats estetikoak: azalean ez, baina barruan bai

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Joxe Austin Arrieta

«Idazleak ez du kontrolatzen bere mundua: azkenean 'bulldozer'-ak gidatzen zaitu zu, zuk hura gidatu beharrean»

Azken 40 urteetako bere ekintza hori, xumea itxuraz. Keinu lako liburu luze eta konplexuetan genetikoa edo nolabait marraztu-

Iturria: *Berria* (2008/04/15, 1. eta 44. or.).

*Berria*n agertzen ziren albisteen akats funtzionalek, amaitzeko, ikerketa diakronikoan agertutako balioaren ia bikoitza lortu zuten. Hortaz, 2008ko ikerketako okerren indizea 0,1625ekoa izan zen: *Berria*k plazaratutako albisteen %16,25 berridatzi behar izan zatekeen.

35. Argazkia – *Berria*ren akats funtzionalak: Irakurgarritasuna trabatu

ziren. Hamar minutu behar izan zituen epaimahaiak 224 botoa botoak zenbatzeko. Roberto Jime-

Iturria: *Berria,* 2008/06/29 (9. or.).

*Berria*k 2008an izandako akats estetikoen kopurua horren altua izan zenez, akats funtzionalak zituzten albisteek akats estetikorik ere agertzen zuten. Horrenbestez, ikerketa diakronikoan gertatu zenaren aurka, oraingoan aurkezpen-kalitatea ebaluatzen duten okerrek ez zuten akatsen kopurua biderkatu. Beraz, **2008ko ikerketan *Berria*k azaldutako albisteen okerren indizea 0,9312koa izan zen**, hots, akats estetikoen bestekoa. Horrek ia albiste den-denak berriro idatzi beharko ziratekeela adierazi nahi du.

Laburbilduz, hiru hedabideek agertu ohi dituzten formatu-akatsen kontzientzia hartu arte ezin daitezke zuzendu. Hortaz, lan honek lehenengo erradiografia ateratzea du helburu. Honelakoa izan da *Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k agertu dituzten akatsen kategorien portzentajea:

111. Taula – Formatu-Kalitatea: Berregin beharreko albisteen portzentajea

		Euskadi Irratia	Etb1	E.Egunkaria/Berria
KALITATE TEKNIKOA	**Hutsegite handiak**			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	%0,3	0
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	%5,24	0	0
	Hutsegite txikiak			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	%1,87	0
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	%10,96	%6,19	0
	GUZTIRA			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	**%1,87**	**0**
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	**%14,46**	**%6,19**	**0**
AURKEZPEN-KALITATEA	**Akats estetikoak**			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	%32,71	%93,88
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	%2,63	%53,09	%93,12
	Akats funtzionalak			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	%1,4	%9,91
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	%22,8	%5,67	%16,25
	GUZTIRA			
	Ikerketa diakronikoa	———	**%34,27**	**%94,46**
	Ikerketa sinkronikoa	**%25**	**%58,25**	**%93,12**

Iturria: Egilea.

Formatu-kalitatearen lehen urratsak, kalitate teknikoak alegia, ikus-entzunezko hedabideei batik bat eragiten diela ikusi dugu. Gainera, *Euskadi Irratia*ren 2008ko laginaren ikerketaren zati bat Internet bidez jarraitu genuenez, horrexek agertzen du hutsegite kopururik altuena. Telebistari dagokionez, baina, ikerketa diakronikoarekin alderatuta, hutsegite txikiak seikoiztea ezin zaio bakarrik ikerketa sinkronikoaren zorroztasunari egotzi. Gainera, okerrak urtearen lehen zazpi hilean soil-soilik eman ziren. Ikus-entzunezko hedabideek ikerketa sinkronikoan zuzeneko erreportaje asko eskaini izana zuten komunean. Horrek hutsegite txikiak areagotu izana azal dezake. Dena den, kazetaritza estilo hori garapen teknologikoak bideratutakoa eta erraztua izan den neurrian, EiTBk egungo telebistagintzaren eta irratigintzaren ezaugarriei egoki moldatzen asmatu ez ote duen ebatzi beharko litzateke.

Formatu-kalitatearen bigarren osagarriak, aurkezpen-kalitateak, akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak zehazten ditu. *Etb1*eko albisteek gero eta akats estetiko gehiago agertzen zituzten. Datu kezkagarria da, albisteen erdiari eragiten baitzion. Hortaz, idazketa-diseinu errespetatzen ez zituzten berrien kopurua horren altua izen zen. Aldi berean, irudi-akatsek editatutako bideoekiko gero eta gehiago izaten jarraitzen zuten. Hala ere, kazetarien zuzeneko konexio ugariek datu hori lausotu zuten. Gainera, bideo-

eta audio-hizkerak bat ez datozenean, akatsok saihesteko, kazetariaren zuzeneko irudia erabiltzean AEBetako kazetaritzaren ezaugarri nagusia euskarazko kazetaritzara ekarri dute, Europako eredua baztertuz. Hala ere, kazetariaren zuzeneko irudiaren teknika inoiz baino sarriagotan erabili arren, irudi-akatsen kopuruak ez zion gero eta altuagoa izateari etsi. Horrenbestez, soinu-akatsak konpontzen baino ez du asmatu *Etb1*ek bere 25 urteko ibilbidean. Berriro ere, kazetaritza-jarduna ez da garapen teknologikoaren proportzioan eta abiaduran hobetu. *Berria*k ere horixe egiaztatu du. Akats estetikoak pixka bat hobetu bazituen ere, ia albiste guztien idazketa-diseinua berregin beharko zukeen. Gainera, ikerketa sinkronikoko akats funtzionalak zituzten albisteek idazketa-diseinu okerrak ere zituztenez, *Berria*ren aurkezpen-kalitatearen guztirako indizeak aurreko epean baino txikiagoak dira. Dena den, akats funtzionalak gero eta gehiago ziren. Ildo horretatik, ikerketa diakronikoko kopurua ia biderkatzeraino heldu zen. Are gehiago, *Berria*k agertutako *lapsus clavis*en kopuru hori 1990eko *Euskaldunon Egunkari* sortu berriaren bestekoa zen. Nahiz eta telebistak, prentsaren aldean, akats estetikoen hiru kategoria zaindu behar, *Etb1*ek *Berria*k baino ardura handiagoa erakutsi zuela azpimarratzekoa da. Akats funtzionalekin antzera jardun zuen *Etb1*ek eta gainerako bi hedabideek baino oker gutxiago azaldu zituen.

Formatu-kalitatearen alde teknikoan eta aurkezpen mailan izandako okerrak zuzentzeko eskatzen du Kalitatearen Kontrolak. Hornidura eta itxura desegokiek hartzaile potentzialak uxa ditzakete, atal honetan aurkitutako okerrek edukiari buruzko aurreiritzietan ere eragiten dutelako. Gainera, formatu-kalitatea osatzen duten kategoriek aldagai independenteak izaten dira eta, horrexegatik, albiste akastunen kopurua etengabe, atal batetik bestera, gehituz doa. Honenbestekoak dira euskarazko hedabideok formatu-betekizunak errespetatuz plazaratutako albisteen portzentajea:

112. Taula – Formatu-Kalitatea: Akatsik gabeko albisteen portzentajea

	Euskadi Irratia	*Etb1*	*Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*
Ikerketa diakronikoa	_____	%64,8	%5,54
Ikerketa sinkronikoa	%62,9	%38,66	%6,88

Iturria: Egilea.

Formatu-kalitatearen azterketatik ondoriozta daitekeenez, teknikoki mailarik baxuena agertu duen *Euskadi Irratia*k gainerako bi hedabideotako kazetaritza-jardunaren

utzikeriatzat uler daitezkeen ezaugarriak hobeto zaintzen asmatu du, hots, akats estetikoak. Aurkezpen-kalitatearen alde estetikoak mugatzerik txikiena eskatzen dion hedabidea dela kontuan izanda, *Euskadi Irratia*ren informazioaren hornidura egokia izanez gero (web-orria albistegi bakoitzean hiru aldiz eguneratzen zen), aurkezpen zuzena hobetzeko akats funtzionalei baino ez lizkioke erreparatu beharko. Era berean, *Etb1*ek aireraturiko akatsik gabeko albisteen kopurua ia erdira mugatu zuela azpimarratzekoa da.

Bi ikerketa aldietan *Berria*k izandako hobekuntza hutsala suertatu zen, oraindik albisteen %93,12k akats estetikoak azaltzen zituzten-eta. Hiru hedabideek partekatzen zuten ezaugarriak albiste bakoitzaren prestakuntzan hainbat lagunen parte-hartzea nabarmentzen zuen. Adibidez, aurkezlea (ikus-entzunezkoen kasuan), kazetaria bera, ezaugarri grafikoen arduraduna (diseinatzailea) eta kameralaria edo argazkilaria. Horregatik, aurkezleak edo lehen orriko albisteen arduradunak landutako berrien gainean lan egiten duen legez, kazetariak berak albistearen alde guztien ardura izan beharko luke, berriari trataera osatuagoa emateko. Etorkizun hurbilak hainbat hedabidetan arituko den kazetaria helburu duenez, teknologiak errazten duen neurrian, kazetaritza-jardunaren kontrola kazetariak berak gauzatu beharko luke. Horrela, berak landutako albistearen aurkezpen-kalitateari ere informazio-etekin handiagoa atera ahal izango liezaioke.

Euskarazko hedabideen formatu-kalitatearen azterketak egiaztatu du, egindako akatsen kontzientzia bereganatu ezean, akatsok zuzentzeko estrategia eraginkorrik garatu ez eta, gainera, lan-dinamikan integra daitezkeela. Izan ere, lan-taldearen osaketan eragin zuzena duten oporraldiek eta asteburuek, esaterako, ez dute formatu-kalitatearekin lotura zuzenik erakutsi. Hau da, langile gutxiago aritzen diren epeetan formatu-kalitatearen aurkezpenari lotutako akatsek ez zuten okerrera egin. Hala ere, hutsegite teknikoak (kazetariaren jardunetik kanpo daudenak alegia, seinalearen igorpena, batez ere) asteburuekin eta oporraldiekin areagotzen ziren.

4.2. EDUKI-KALITATEA (*Content Quality*)

Eduki-kalitateak albisteen kalitatea neurtzeko atal tradizionalak biltzen ditu. Alde batetik, aniztasuna adierazle kualitatiboen bitartez ebaluatzen da, honakoak alegia: gaia, protagonistak eta sorterria. Bestetik, albisteek igortzen duten kazetaritza-informazioa neurtzeko aldagai kuantitatiboak erabili izan ohi dira. Horiek, gainera, Kalitate-Indizea osatzen dute.

4.2.1. ANIZTASUNA (*Diversity*)

Islatze-aniztasunak pluralismoaren printzipioa du oinarri. Hortaz, zenbait elementuren arteko oreka bilatzea du helburu. Elementuon ezaugarriei dagokienez, ez dira aldagai kualitatiboek aztertu beharrekoak. Alderantziz, gaien, protagonisten eta sorterriaren aniztasun zabala bermatzea berez kalitatearekin parekatu izan da.

Euskarazko hedabideak haien sorreratik 2007ra bitartean aztertzen dituen ikerketa sinkronikoak hedabideen ezaugarriak eta jarraitu zituzten kazetaritza-ereduaren nondik norakoak azalduko ditu. Ikerketa diakronikoak, berriz, 2008ko albisteak aztertu ez ezik, Euskal Herriko gainerako hedabideen ezaugarriekin ere alderatuko ditu. Alde batetik, EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideak (*Euskalerria Irratia, Gure Irratia, France Bleu* edo *France 3*) eta Euskal Herrian gehien jarraitzen diren hamaika erdarazko hedabideak (*Radio Euskadi, Cadena Ser, Etb2, Telecinco, Tf1, Diario Vasco, Diario de Navarra, Diario de Noticias de Álava, El Correo Español, Gara* eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque*) kontuan izan ditugu. Bestetik, Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideak taldeka sailkatu behar izan ditugu, agertzen dituzten ezaugarrien arabera. Horrela, abertzale politikoak, instituzionalak eta erregionalistak bereiztu ditugu. Lehenengo biak Gutiérrez Paz-en doktorego tesiak zehaztutako kategoriak dira (1998: 135-164, 561-572). Horrenbestez, abertzale politikoak Euskal Herriko "ikuspegi nazionala" lehenesteaz gain, borroka armatuaren erabilerarekiko kritikoak agertzen ez diren erdarazko hedabideak dira (*Gara* eta *Le Journal*, esaterako). Instituzionalek, ordea, borroka armatuaren aurkako jarrera argia azaldu ez ezik, erakundeen jardunari ere men egiten dioten hedabideak dira. EAEko Legebiltzarrarekin duten erabateko loturarengatik, *Radio Euskadi* eta *Etb2* hedabide instituzionaltzat jo ditugu. Azkenik, egunkari erregionalistek zabaltzen diren herrialdearen tokikotasuna nortasuntzat hartzen dituzten hedabideak dira, hala nola *El Correo Español, Diario Vasco, Diario de Noticias de Álava,* eta *Diario de Navarra.*

a. Gaia (*Topic diversity*)

Hartzaile potentzialengana heltzeko gakoa albistegiko titularrek eta egunkariaren lehen orriek dute. Horien banaketak hedabidearekiko alde bateko edo besteko iritzia sortuko dute. Horregatik, gaien aniztasuna zenbait publiko segmentutara heltzeko estrategia ohi da. Berez, aniztasunak gai guztien inguruko informazioa bermatuko luke. Ondorioz, gaien arteko oreka ahalegin horren erakuslea da. Are gehiago, albistegiko titularren eta egunkariaren lehen orriko albisteen azterketak hedabideon kazetaritza-jarduerraren bilakaera azal dezake.

a.1. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Atal honetan artxiboko albisteak aztertuko ditugu. Lehenengo eta behin, *Euskal Telebista*ren sorrerako urteei erreparatuko diegu. Bigarrenik, 1990-2002 bitarteko azterketak bi kazetaritza-ereduen ezaugarriak agertuko ditu. Azkenik, 2003-2007 bitarteko atalean albistegiko titularrak eta egunkariko lehen orriko albisteak aztertuko ditugu.

a.1.1. *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenak (1983-1989)

*Euskal Telebista*ren sasoi honetako albistegia bitan bananduta zegoen. Alde batetik, informazio orokorra lantzen zen eta, bestetik, kirolak. Izan ere, Kirol sailak aparteko erredakzioa eta artxiboa ditu. Horregatik, epealdi horretan aztertutako laginean kirolek albiste guztien herena hartzen zuten.

16. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb* (1983-1989)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak	Egur.
■ Etb	31,37	8,82	14,72	8,82	36,27	0
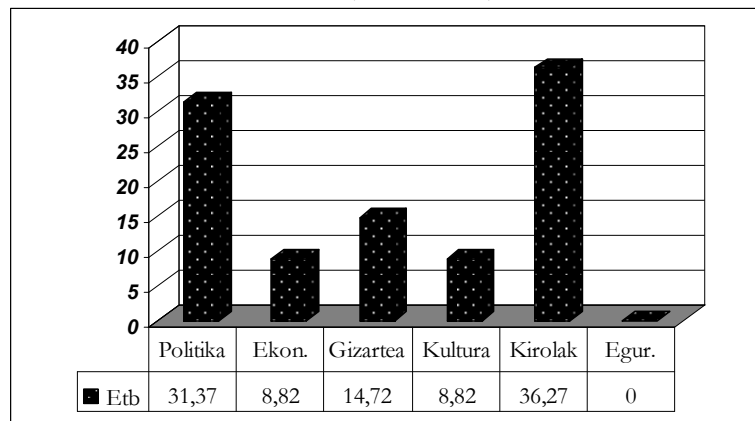
Iturria: Egilea.

Lehenengo eta behin, politika gaiek albistegi orokorreko tarterik handiena hartzen zuten. Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko telebista izanda, horixe zuen albisteen iturburu nagusia. Are zehatzago, politika instituzionala (Jaurlaritza zein alderdi politikoak) eta euskal gatazka gairik ohikoenak ziren.

17. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb*ko Politika saila (1983-1989)**

	Tokikoa	Politika instituz.	Gatazka	Estatuak	EB	Nazioart.
■ Etb	3,13	37,51	31,25	9,37	9,37	9,37
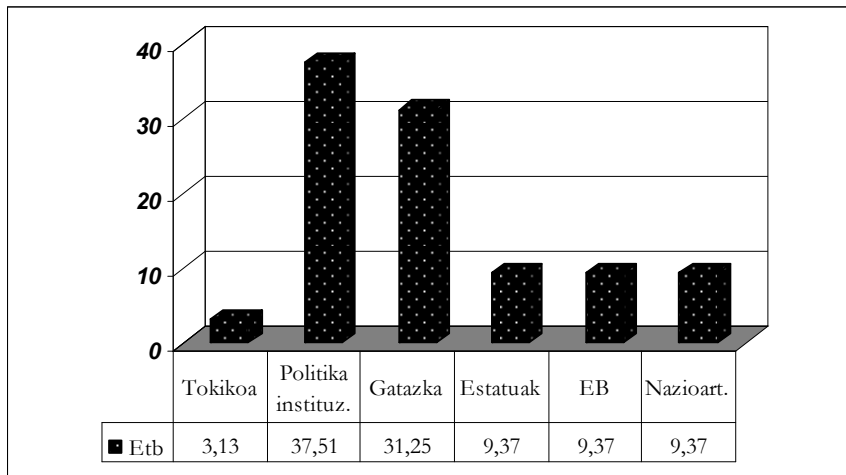
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoari erreferentzia egiten zioten bi gai horien artean, gainera, gatazkak Jaurlaritzaren beraren jarduerek baino oihartzun handiagoa zuen. Hortaz, *Euskal Telebista*k proiektatzen zuen irudi politikoak hiru oinarri zituen eta albisteen herena hartzen zuten: euskal gatazka, Hego Euskal Herriko administrazioak, eta EAEz gaindiko politika.

*Euskal Telebista*n 1983tik 1989ra bitartean euskal gatazkaren auziaren alde armatua bakarrik islatzen zen. Ondoren, Euskal Herriko administrazioen jarduerek tokiko informazioa, Jaurlaritzaren erabakiak eta alderdi politikoen gorabeherak biltzen zituzten. Azkenik, EAEz gaindiko albisteek hiru taldetan sailka daitezke eta berri guztien %9,37na hartzen zuten: Espainia nahiz Frantziako Gobernuek, Europar Batasunak eta nazioarteko politikak. Espainia eta Frantziako Gobernuen aritzeak Euskal Herrian zuen eraginaren berri ematen zuen *Etb*k, horiei buruzko albisteak aireratzean. Europar Batasunaren gaia 1988an lehenengoz azaldu arren, EAEn izango zituen ondorio ekonomikoek (inbertsioek, batez ere) motibatutako albiste-kopuru altua ekarri zuen. Amaitzeko, nazioarteko albisteen bi herenak gudei buruzko berriak ziren eta heren bat, gatazka politikoen ingurukoak. Hortaz, nazioarteko erakundeei buruzko informaziorik ez zen lehentasunez zabaltzen, ez eta AEBetako albisterik.

Bigarrenik, *Euskal Telebista*k hamarkada honetako lan-gatazkei sakon erreparatu zien. Horregatik, Ekonomia saileko albisteen %66,67k lan-merkatuaren nondik norakoen berri ematen zuten. Ondoren, enpresa jakinetako administraritzaren eta langileen arteko liskarrek ekonomia albisteen herena hartzen zuten. Hortaz, nekazaritza, arrantza eta finantzak ez ziren albistegiko lehen berria izan.

18. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb*ko Ekonomia saila (1983-1989)**

	Lana	Nekazar.	Arrantza	Finantza	Enpresa
Etb	66,67	0	0	0	33,33
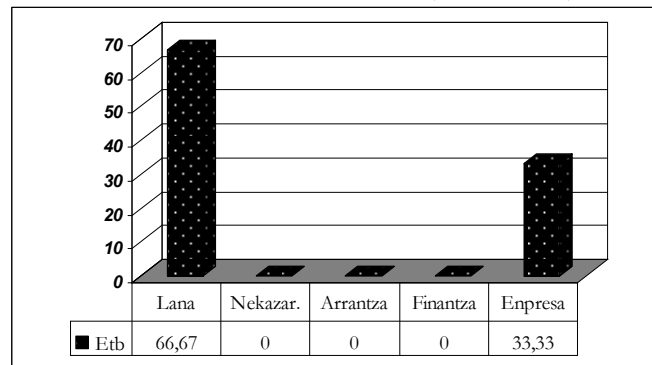
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, Gizarte saileko albisteek gizataldeari eragiten zizkioten gaiak aurkezten zituzten, batik bat. Horrela, gizarte gaiak hiru taldetan sailkatu ohi dira, herritarren talde bizitzari egiten dioten ekarpenean oinarrituta: informazio sendoa, erabilgarria eta arina. Albiste sendoak (*hard news*) herritarrak informatuta egoteko beharrezko datuak ematen dituzten berriak dira. Oro har, hezkuntza, osasuna, ingurunea, elkartasuna eta gizarte zibila kategoriak hartzen dituzte. Albiste erabilgarriak zerbitzu-informazioarekin edo praktikotasunarekin lotu izan dira. Horrenbestez, herri lanen, trafikoaren, ohituren eta aisialdirako aukeren berri ematen dute. Albiste arinek (*soft news*) jakin-mina pizten duten berriak dira, baina gizarte taldearen egituran gutxien eragiten dute, ez baitute gizarte zibilaren parte-hartzerako gakorik azaltzen. Alderantziz, gertakizunen irudi estatikoa baino ez dute agertzen. Esaterako, indarkeriaren, natur hondamendien eta istripuen berri ematen dute[265]. Bizitza pribatua albistegai duten albisteak ere arinak dira, baina euskarazko hedabideek horrelakorik agertu ez dutenez, ez dugu halakorik kodifikatu (Tuchman, 1997: 176-189).

*Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenetan, jardun sozialaren inguruko hausnarketaren ondoriozko berriek (elkartasuna, hezkuntza, osasuna, ingurunea eta gizarte zibila

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[265] Alemaniako egileek "Katastrophenjournalismus" izena ere eman diote (Weischenberg, 2001: 268-270).

kategorietakoek alegia) albiste guztien hiru laurdenak hartzen zituzten. Horrenbestez, albiste sendoen erabateko nagusitasuna onartuta zegoen. Ondoren, informazio erabilgarria zetorren. Guztira, gizarte bizitzaren isla izan zitezkeen berrien erdia euskal jaien ingurukoak ziren. Azkenik, informazio arina %6,6koa zen. Azpimarragarria azaltzen zen indarkeriak elementu salatzailea zuela: Espainiako segurtasun indarretako kide batek, motibazio politikorik gabe, eragindako istiluei buruzko berria[266], esaterako.

19. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb*ko Gizarte saila (1983-1989)**
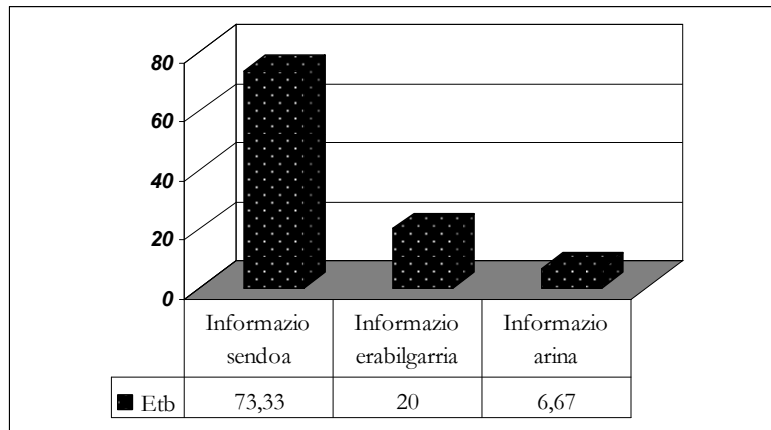
Iturria: Egilea.

Laugarrenik, Kultura sailean diziplina ugariren inguruko albisteak zabaltzen zituen *Etb*k: dantza, marrazketa eta eskultura (azken hori erakustaldiekin lotuta agertzen zen). Gainera, telebistak eginkizun dibulgatibo argia agertzen zuen, zientziari tarte zabala eskaintzen baitzion. Ondorioz, Kultura saileko albisteen erdiak kultur maila jasoa islatzen zuen. Bestetik, *Etb*k sasoi hartan sortzen ari ziren erdal hedabideei arreta handia eskaintzen zien[267]. Euskarazko hedabideen inguruan, ordea, "Euskal prentsaren eguna"[268] landu zuen. Kontuan hartzekoa da aztertutako epean *Euskal Telebista*k elebitan jarduten zuela (1986ra arte ez zen *Etb2* sortu) eta haren emanaldiek, beraz, hizkuntzarekiko zehaztugabetasun hori islatu zuten. Hots, erdarazko hedabideei, esaterako, Euskarazko Komunikazio Esparru osatzen zuten tokian tokiko hedabideei baino leku handiagoa egiten zien. Are gehiago, euskara hizpide zuen berri bat ere ez zen Kultura saileko eguneko lehen albistea izan.

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[266] 1984/06/01.
[267] Hala nola *Telenavarra*ri (1984/06/01) eta Bilboko *Onda 3* zelakoari (1989/05/03).
[268] 1989/11/26.

20. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb*ko Kultura saila (1983-1989)**

	Arte-Diziplinak	Zientzia	Euskara	Erdal hedab.	Eusk. hedab.
■ Etb	44,45	11,11	0	33,33	11,11
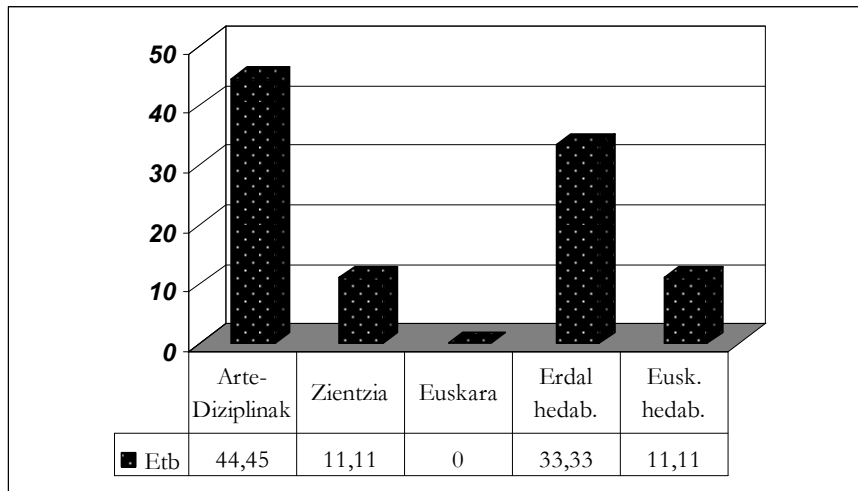
Iturria: Egilea.

Bosgarrenik, Kirol saileko albisteek futbola eta txirrindularitza neurri berean lantzen zuten. Bien artean, kirol berrien erdia baino gehiago biltzen zuten. Albiste guztien %10,81ek bakarrik euskal kulturari lotutako kirolak islatzen zituzten: herri kirolak, pilota eta arraunketa, kasu. Hortaz, jarraitzaile urriagoko diziplinek oro har euskal kirolek baino tarte zabalagoa zuten. Izan ere, atletismoak, saskibaloiak, eskubaloiak, automobilismoak, tenisak, golfak, judoak, duatloiak… albiste guztien laurdena osatzen zuten, kirolei eskainitako erredakzio berezituaren egiturak trataera sakon horretan eragin zuzena zuelako.

21. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb*ko Kirol saila (1983-1989)**

	Futbola	Txirrin-dularitz	Atlet.	Herri kirolak	Pilota	Arraun-keta	Saskib.	Autom.	Best.
■ Etb	29,73	29,73	10,81	5,41	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,7	13,52
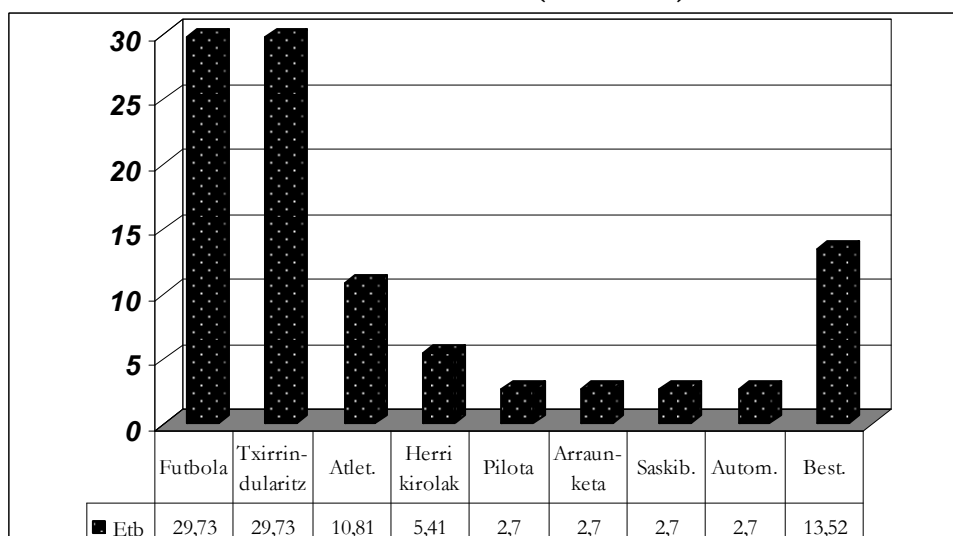
Iturria: Egilea.

Hitz gutxitan, Euskal Autonomia Erkidegorako telebista bezala sortu zen *Etb*. Horregatik, sorrera-urteetako Politika sailak tokian tokiko eta EAEko Administrazioari tarterik handiena eskaintzen zion, euskal gatazkak baino garrantzia handiagoa baitzuen. Era berean, Espainiako eta Frantziako gobernuen informazio instituzionala, nahiz Europar Batasuneko albisteak, EAEn eragina zuten neurrian ematen zituen *Euskal Telebista*k. Azkenik, nazioarteko politikari lekurik txikiena egiten zion. Ekonomia eta Gizarte sailek orduko gizartea islatzen zuten: *Etb*k hamarkada horretako lan-gatazken berri eman eta sortzen ari zen EAEko gizarte oinarriei buruzko informazio sendoa (osasuna, hezkuntza etab.) zabaltzen zuen. Azkenik, kultura eta kirol diziplinei buruzko albisteen aniztasuna ere sasoi honetako *Etb*ren ezaugarri bihurtu zen.

a.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren bi ereduak (1990-2002)

Euskal Telebista eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* oso sorrera ezberdineko komunikazio--proiektuak izan arren, gai sendoek hartutako tarte handian bat zetozen. Hortaz, Politikak eta Ekonomiak albisterik gehien biltzen zituzten. Gainera, bi sail horiek epe honetan nabarmen sendotu ziren. Ildo beretik, bi hedabideok ez zieten eguraldiaren gorabeherei oraindik albiste itxurako tarterik egiten. Dena den, *Etb1*ek gizarte gaiei arreta handiagoa eskaintzen zien eta *Egunkariak*, ordea, kultura eta kirol berriei.

22. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizart.	Kult.	Kirol.	Egur.
■ Etb1	38,96	14,72	29,44	9,96	6,93	0
□ Egunkaria	40,18	18,75	8,93	17,86	14,29	0
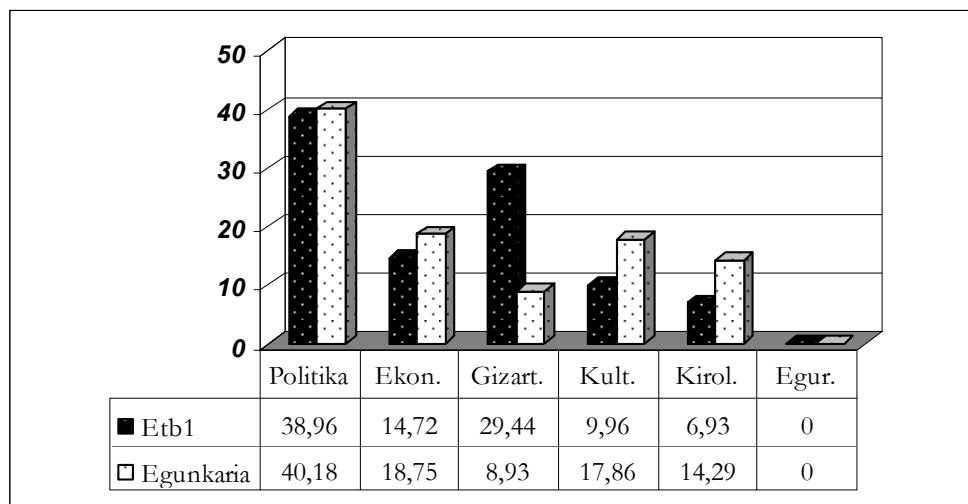
Iturria: Egilea.

Bi hedabideok asteburuetan informazio politikoa arintzen zuten. Alde batetik, ekonomiari buruzko albisteak erdira jaisten zituen *Etb1*ek. Aldi berean, asteburuko albistegietako berrien %38,46 gizarte gaietan oinarritzen ziren. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k

politikaren oinarrizkotasunari eusten zion, ekonomia albisteak heren batean jaitsi eta gizarte gaiak ugaritzen bazituen ere. Gainera, kultur informazioa ere bietan sendotzen zuen. Bestetik, asteburuko kirol-tartea telebistan *Egunkaria*n baino zabalagoa zen eta, alderantziz, kazetaren astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian aste osoko kirol albiste kopururik altuena eskaintzen zuen.

Udako oporraldiei zegokienez, *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k joera berezituak erakusten zituzten. Alde batetik, *Euskal Telebista*k sail sendoen lekua (Politika, Ekonomia eta Kultura) txikitzearen ondorioz, gizarte gaiek eta kirol albisteek heren banako gehikuntza izaten zuten. Bestetik, *Egunkaria*k uztailean eta abuztuan kontrako bidea hartzen zuela erakusten dute datuek. Hots, udan lehen orriko Politika eta Ekonomia sailen tartea handiagoa zen, euskal gatazkari eta lanari buruzko informazio-horniduraren maiztasunean etenik ez zegoelako. Era berean, oporraldietan gizarte, kultura eta kirol albisteak gero eta urriagoak ziren eta, hala ere, ez zuten informazio arinagorik ekartzen. Esaterako, gizarte albisteetan natur hondamendiek eta istripuek hartzen zuten tartea urtean zehar udan baino bost bider handiagoa zen. Horregatik, sailik saileko albisteen nolakotasuna aztertuko dugu, bi hedabideon jarduexaren ezaugarriak aztertzeko.

Lehenengo eta behin, Politikari dagokionez, *Etb1*ek aurreko epealdiaren aldean berri politikoen sailkapenen arteko proportzioa nabarmen aldatu zuen. Alde batetik, euskal gatazkak informazioaren herena osatzen jarraitu arren, arreta-gunerik garrantzitsuena bihurtu zen eta, horren ondorioz, Euskal Herriko politika (tokiko administrazioak, Jaurlaritza eta alderdiak) erdira jaitsi zen. Aurreko epealdian, albiste politikoen %40,64 zen bitartean, 1990etik 2002ra bitartean %17,77 baino ez zuen osatzen. Espainiako Gobernuari buruzko berriak, aldiz, bikoiztu zituen: %6,24tik %13,33 izatera pasatu ziren. Frantziatik zetorren informazio instituzionala horren arabera gutxitu zen (%3,13tik %1,11ra). Beste aldetik, nazioarteko politikaren inguruko albisteen kopurua hirukoiztu egin zuen *Etb1*ek. Horien erdia, gainera, munduko guden inguruko informazioa izaten zen.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k plazaratzen zuen informazio politikoa egitura horixe agertzen zuen. Izan ere, nazioarteko informazioak albiste politikoen ia erdia hartzen zuen. Ondoren, berri gehien biltzen zituen bigarren gaia euskal gatazka zen. Azkenik, Hego Euskal Herriko administrazioetako albisteek Estatuen informazioak baino tarte

txikiagoa zuten. Hau da, gero eta gertuagoko jarduera politikoak (tokiko erakundeek, aldundiek eta Jaurlaritzek) Frantziako eta Espainiako gobernuen informazio instituzionalak baino arreta gutxiago izaten zuen. *Egunkariak* Espainiari eta Frantziari buruzko albisteak 2-1eko proportzioan ematen zituen. *Etb1*ek 1983tik 1989ra alde horri eutsi izan bazion ere, bigarren epealdi honetan nabarmen aldatu zuen eta, azkenik, Espainiaren eta Frantziaren inguruko informazioa 1996etik aurrera 12-1eko neurrian eskaintzen zuen.

23. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
_Etb1_eko eta _E.Egunkaria_ko Politika saila (1990-2002)

	Tokikoa	Politika instituz.	Gatazka	Estatuak	EB	Mundua
■ Etb1	1,11	16,66	35,56	14,45	1,11	31,11
□ Egunkaria	2,08	9,38	26,04	17,7	1,04	43,76
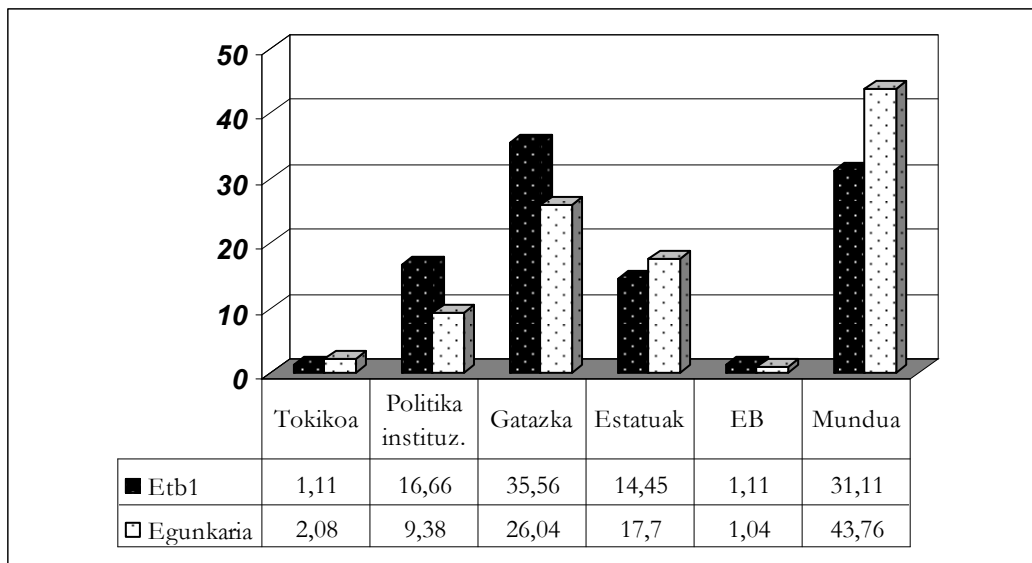
Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, Ekonomia *Egunkaria*rentzat Politika osteko gai garrantzitsuena zen. Hortaz, bi hedabideek lanari buruzko informazio orokorrean eskainitako tartean bat etorri arren, *Egunkaria*n leku handiagoa hartzen zuen. Ondoren kazetak enpresa albisteei arreta jartzen zion bitartean, telebistan kontsumo gaiei lehentasuna ematen hasi zitzaien (zerbitzuak kategoriari, hain zuen). Gero, nekazaritzari eta arrantzari buruzko albisteak zeuden. *Etb1*ek bigarren horren inguruan informazio-kopuru altua garatzen zuen, antxoaren eta hegaluzearen denboraldiak iragartzen baitzituen. Amaitzeko, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* finantza eta nazioarteko ekonomia gertuenetik jarraitzen zituen hedabidea zen.

24. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Ekonomia saila (1990-2002)**

	Lana	Nekaz./ Abeltz.	Arrantza	Zerb.	Enpresa	Finantza	Nazioart
■ Etb1	38,24	5,88	14,71	20,59	11,76	5,88	2,94
▢ Egunkaria	31,58	7,89	5,26	7,89	26,32	7,89	10,53
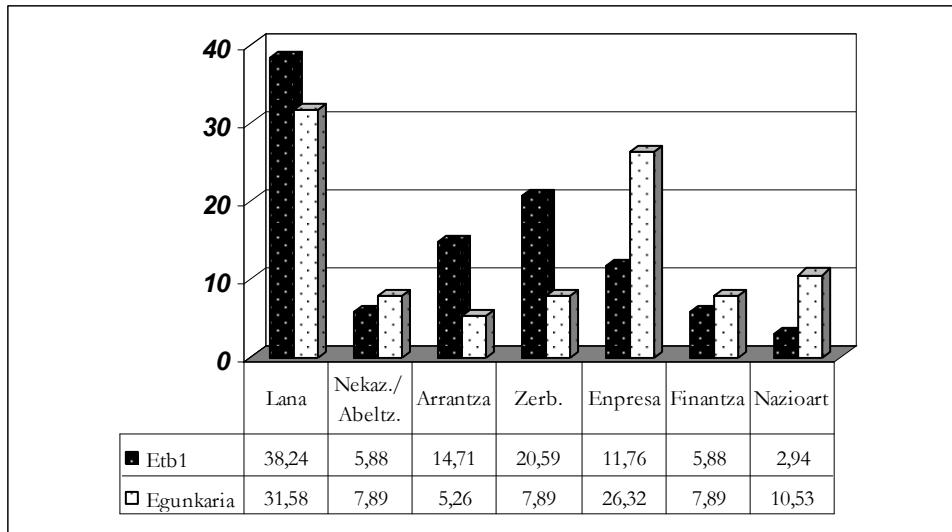
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, telebistan bigarren postuan agertzen ziren gizarte gaiak ditugu. Sail horretako informazio sendoak gizarte-ereduan eragiten zuten kategoriak biltzen zituen (hezkuntza, osasuna, ingurunea, elkartasuna eta gizarte zibila). Gizarte gaietako albiste sendoak lantzeko *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k *Etb1*ek baino askoz ere ardura handiagoa erakutsi zuen 1990etik 2002ra bitartean. Are gehiago, praktikotasuna ekar zezakeen informazio erabilgarria gehituz gero (herri lanak, trafikoa, ohiturak eta aisialdia), kazetak plazaratutako hiru laurdenak hartzen zituzten albisteak ziren. Hortaz, informazio arinaren kategoria klasikoek (indarkeriak, natur hondamendiek eta istripuek) telebistan oihartzun handiagoa zuten eta informazio sendoaren besteko albiste-kopurua eskaintzen zuen *Etb1*ek.

25. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Gizarte saila (1990-2002)**

	Informazio sendoa	Informazio erabilgarria	Informazio arina
■ Etb1	42,65	17,64	39,71
▢ Egunkaria	58,62	17,24	24,14
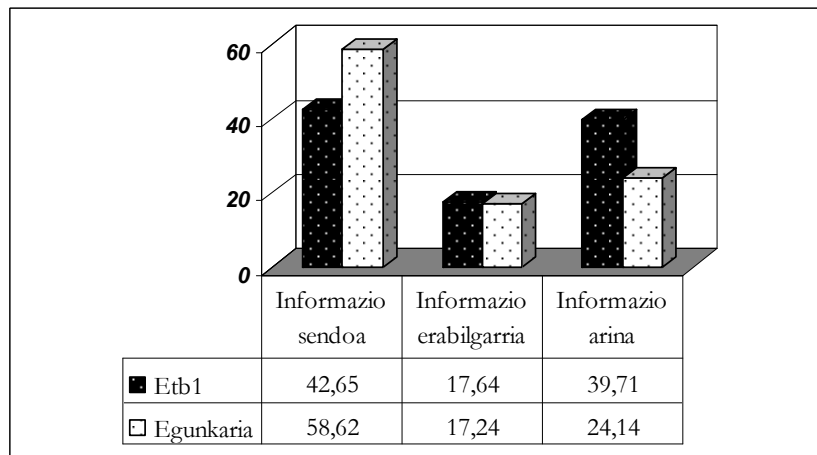
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*k eduki arineko albisteei Gizarte saileko %40 inguru eskaintzen zien. Asteburuetan, gainera, kopurua %60koa izaten zen. Oporraldietan ere, gizarte gaien erdia baino gehiago indarkeriari, natur hondamendiei eta istripuei buruzkoa izaten zen. Informazio arinaren presentziaren urtemuga 1996an finka daiteke. Horrenbestez, 1990tik 1995era bitartean, asteburuko gizarte gaiak ugaritzean, informazio arina heren batean bakarrik gehitzen zen eta, oporraldietan, albisteen erdia izateraino heltzen zen. Geroago, ostera, 1996tik aurrera, telebistak indarkeriaren tartea mantendu arren, istripuei eskainitako arreta hirukoiztu zuen. Gainera, albiste sendoen kopuru nominala bikoiztu bazuen ere, informazio arinak hartzen zuen tartea oraindik handiagoa zen.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k ez zuen hasieran albiste arinik agertu. Telebistak erakutsitako joera berean, aldiz, 1996tik aurrera, informazio arinak gizarte gaien herena hartzen zuen. Tarte horren %70 istripuei buruzko berriak ziren, hots, *Egunkaria*ko Gizarte saileko guztirako informazioaren laurdena ezbeharren inguruko albisteek osatzen zuten. Dena den, *Etb1*eko Gizarte sailaren tarte osoa *Egunkaria*renaren hirukoitza zen. Horregatik, telebistaren informazio arinak kazetarena baino neurri horren araberako proiekzio handiagoa zuen.

Laugarrenik, kultur albisteek *Egunkaria*n telebistan baino tarte bikoitza zuten. Biek arte diziplina klasikoei lekurik handiena egiten bazieten ere, *Etb1*ek musika lehenesten zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k hainbat diziplinatako informazioa lantzen zuen. Musika eta zineaz gain, antzerkiak, dantzak, eskulturak eta literaturak ere tokia izaten zuten. Kazetak bertako kultura ere kontuan izaten zuen, hala nola bertsolaritza eta artisautza. Gainera, euskarari, euskarazko hedabideei eta zientziari eskainitako tarteen neurrian ere bat zetozen *Etb1* eta *Egunkaria*. Hala ere, aurrerago aipatutako proportzioa kontuan izanda, kazetak arlo horietako albiste kopuru bikoitza plazaratzen zuen. Azkenik, Kultura saileko informazioa lantzeko bi era aurkeztu zituzten. *Egunkaria*k, alde batetik, euskal kulturaren inguruko gogoetak bildu zituen[269]. Telebistak, bestetik, arte kudeaketari buruzko berriak eta kultur agenda hobetsi zituen[270]. Azken bi kategoria horiek *Etb1*en kultur informazioaren laurdena osatzen zuten.

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[269] "Koldobika Jauregi: «Nire burua kritiko samar ikusten dudan bitartean, sano nago»" (1999/05/11) eta "JosAnton Artze: «Gizakiaren espresabide guztiek dute bata bestearekin harremana»" (2000/10/06).

[270] "Gasteizko Musika Bideo Lehiaketaren 8. edizioa" (1993/07/03) eta "Venezuelako tenore Aquiles Machadoren kontzertua, Donostiako Musika Hamabostaldian" (1998/08/21) [Egileak *Etb1*eko artxiboko 1983tik 2002ra bitarteko albisteak itzuli behar izan ditu, artxiboan gazteleraz bakarrik identifikatzen direlako].

26. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Kultura saila (1990-2002)**

	Arte-Dizipl.	Zientzia	Euskara	Hedab.	Gogoeta	Kudeak.	Agenda
■ Etb1	43,49	4,35	21,74	8,7	0	14,48	7,24
□ Egunkaria	60,78	3,92	21,57	7,84	5,89	0	0
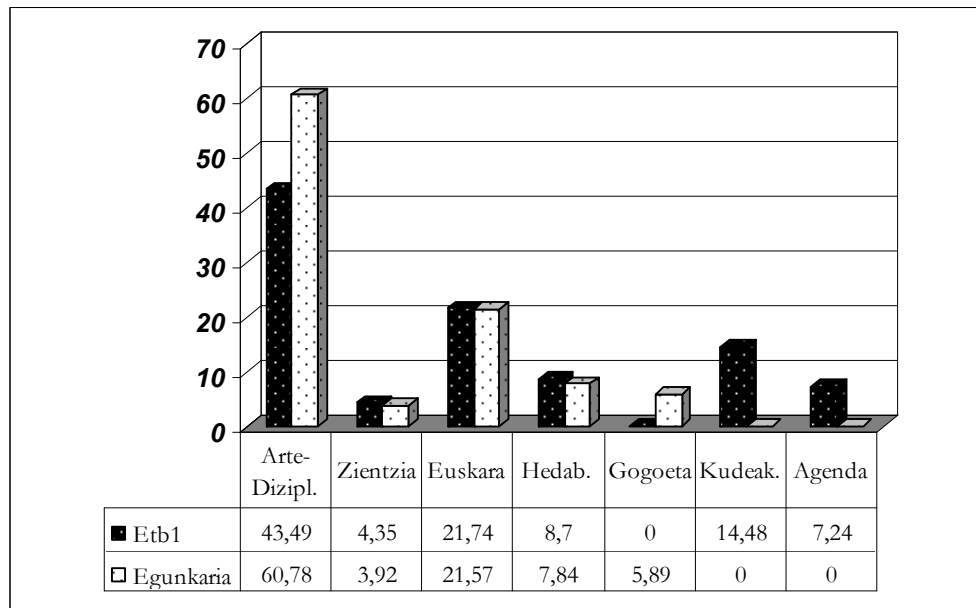
Iturria: Egilea.

Bosgarrenik, kirol informazioari ere *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k *Etb1*en leku bikoitza eskaintzen zion. Biek futbola eta txirrindularitza nabarmen hobesten zituzten. *Egunkaria*k astelehenean kaleratzen ez zuen astearteko zenbakian futbolari buruzko albisterik gehien agertzen zituen. Asteburuetan, ordea, txirrindularitza goraipatzen zuen. *Euskal Telebista*k, aldiz, kirol diziplina anitzagoen berri eman ez ezik, jarraitzaile urriagoko kirol horiei ere *Egunkaria*k baino leku handiagoa egiten zien. Gainera, kirol albisterik gehienak astegunetan aireratzen zituen.

27. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Kirol saila (1990-2002)**

	Futbola	Txirrind.	Mendia	Autom.	Tenisa	Xakea
■ Etb1	56,25	25	0	6,25	6,25	6,25
□ Egunkaria	62,86	25,7	2,86	2,86	0	0
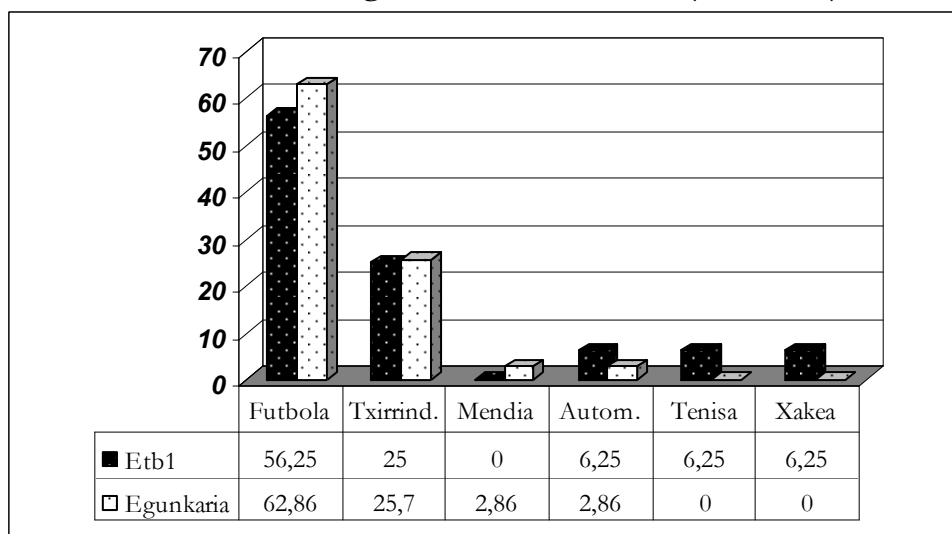
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskal Telebista eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* euskaraz informatzeko bi kontzepzioren ondorioz sortutako hedabideak ziren. Kazetaren sorrerak EiTB taldearen eredu hegemonikoa hautsi zuen. Horrenbestez, 1990etik aurrera euskarazko informazioa partekatu zuten. Bi euskarazko kazetaritza ereduen bizikidetzaren lehen hamarkadan (1990-2002) *Etb1*ek aireratutako berri guztien %32 eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren albisteen %22,89 gai bertsuen ingurukoa zen. Gainera, proportzio hori ikerketa sinkronikoaren epe honetan egonkor mantentzen zen. Bi hedabideok nabarmendu zuten albisteen sailkapenaren garrantzian ere bat zetozen. Alde batetik, gehienetan bat etorri zen informazioa Politikari buruzkoa zen, bakoitzak sail horri eskaintzen zion tartearekiko baino proportzio handiagoan, gainera. Ondoren, Ekonomia, Gizartea eta Kirol sailek garrantziaren araberako portzentajea zaindu zuten. Bat egiten zuten albisteen nolakotasunetik, gizarte gaiak *Egunkaria*n leku handiagoa hartzen ari zirela egiaztatu zen. Beste aldetik, euskaratik informatzen zuten bi hedabideak Kultura saileko informazioan gutxienetan bat zetozen.

28. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
Etb1en eta E.Egunkariaren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)
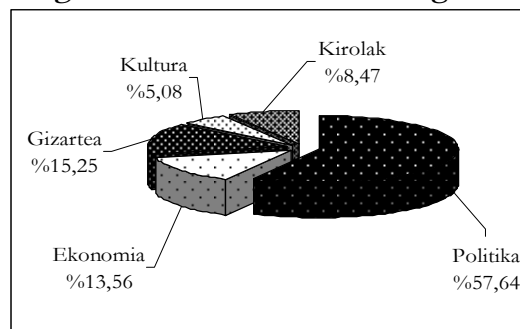
Iturria: Egilea.

Politika gaietan bat zetozen albisteen kopurua informazioaren erdia baino gehiago zen. Albiste politikoen ia erdia, gainera, euskal gatazkaren ingurukoak ziren (%44,11). Horrela, *Etb1*ean eta *Egunkaria*n agertutako albiste berdinen kopuruaren laurdena osatzen zuten. Hala ere, 1996tik 2002ra bitartean, bi hedabideek tarterik handiena informazio horri eskaini arren, euskal gatazkaren inguruan bat egiten zuten albisteak gero eta urriagoak izan ziren. Horrela, haiek agertutako informazioaren arteko dibergentzia gero eta handiagoa izan zen. Ondoren, nazioarteko albisteetan ere parekotasunik handiena azaltzen zuten (informazio politikoaren %32,35, hain zuzen ere). Urteek aurrera egin ahala, gero eta joera sendoagoa zela egiaztatu zen. Dena den, agertutako munduko guden kasuan, bat egiten zuten albisteen kopurua 1996tik aurrera

erdira jaitsi zen eta nazioarteko politikak hartzen zuen tarte handi hori munduko erakundeen eta gatazka politikoen informazioarekin bete zuten. Horregatik, EAEko politikari buruzko gaien konkurrentzia 1996tik aurrera erdikoa izan zen, Espainiako Gobernuaren informazio instituzionalaren gainbeheraren proportzio berean alegia. Urte horretatik aurrera ez zen Frantziako Gobernuari buruz bat zetozen albisterik aurkitu. Gainera, EAEko erakunde politikoen jarduna Jaurlaritzari zegokion informazioan baino ez ziren bi hedabideok bat etortzen.

Ekonomia eta gizarte albisteetan 1996tik aurrerako dibergentzia ondoen ikusi zen. Alde batetik, lan-baldintzen eta lan merkatuaren inguruko informazioaren ordez, zerbitzuen atalak (merkataritza eta kontsumo gaiek, hain zuzen) indar berria hartu zuen. Gizarte sailean, antzera: informazio sendoari buruz bat zetozen albisteek desagertzeko joera nabarmena azaldu zuten bitartean, natur hondamendiei eta istripuei buruzko berrien kopurua bikoiztu zen. Izan ere, bi hedabideok agertzen zuten gizarte albiste berdinen erdia baino gehiago informazio arina zen. Beraz, albiste arinen eta informazioaren esklusibotasunaren arteko aurkako harremana egiazta daiteke.

Kulturan gutxien bat etorritako albiste-kopurua azaldu zen. Hortaz, *Etb1*en eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren 1990etik 2002ra bitarteko berrien artean, euskarari edo euskarazko komunikazio-esparruari buruzko albisteak ez ziren bat etorri. Arte-diziplinei zegokienez, gero eta albiste kopuru gutxiagok bat egin arren, jarraitzaile askotako kultur adierazpenen berriak (musika, esaterako) bi hedabideetan gehien azaltzen ziren.

Azkenik, futbolaren inguruko albisteak kirol horri onartzen zioten proportzioan bat etorri ziren bi hedabideak. Ondoren, txirrindularitzaren bigarren neurri hori ere bere horretan zaindu zuten.

Laburbilduz, aurreko hamarkadarekin alderatuz gero, *Euskal Telebista*k 1990etik 2002ra bitartean joera berriak islatu zituen. Lehenengo eta behin, Euskal Herriko politikak lekua galdu zuen, gatazkaren eta nazioarteko informazioaren alde. Era berean, Espainiako eta, batez ere, Frantziako berri instituzionalak ez ziren jadanik albiste garrantzitsutzat hartzen. Bigarrenik, Gizarte sailak berebiziko presentzia irabazi zuen, albiste arinen tartea gero eta handiagoa zelako. Azkenik, kultura eta kirol gaien aniztasuna aurreko epean baino nabarmen murritzagoa izan zen. Futbolak nagusitasuna bereganatu zuen, txirrindularitza bigarren arreta-gunea zen eta soberako informazio-tarte txikiak gainerako kirolen berri ematen zuen.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k *Etb1*en 1990eko hamarkadako eredu honekin *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenetako kazetaritza-jardunarekin baino ezaugarri gehiago partekatzen zituen. Alde batetik, sorrera-unetik bertatik, kazetaren Politika sailak *Etb1*en egitura bera agertu zuen, hau da, euskal gatazkaren eta nazioarteko informazioaren erabateko nagusitasuna. Ildo horretan, Espainiako eta Frantziako albiste instituzionalek EAEko politikaren tarte bikoitza hartzen zuten. Are gehiago, Euskal Herriko administrazioen inguruko informazioak ez zuen apenas tarterik. Beste aldetik, denboraren joanean *Euskaldunon Egunkaria Etb1*en informazio-eredutik gero eta gertuago zegoen. Hortaz, 1996tik aurrera kazeta eskaintzen hasi zen informazio arina gehienetan *Etb1*eko albisteekin bat zetorren. Gainera, gaien esklusibotasun-mailarik handiena Kultura sailean pilatzen bazuen ere, *Egunkaria*k tarte hori murriztu zuen, *Euskal Telebista*ren informazio-eredutik gero eta hurbilago jartzen zuten gizarte gaien alde.

a.1.3. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren azken epeak 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko albisteak biltzen ditu. Horretarako, albistegietako titularrak eta *Berria* oraintsuko egunkariaren lehen orrian agertutako albisteak kontuan izango ditugu, hau da, hedabideok eguneko albistetzat hartzen zituzten berriak aztertuko ditugu. Hortaz, Politikari lotutako informazioak albistegien erdia hartzen zuen. Ondoren, gizarte gaiek albistegi osoaren laurdena betetzen zuten. Ildo horretatik, *Berria*k telebistaren joerarekin bat egin zuen, hots, ekonomia gaiak alboratu zituen, gizarte arloko albisteei tarte handiagoa egiteko. Dena den, *Berria*k informazio arinaren proportzioari eutsi zion. Amaitzeko, gainerako albisteek azken laurdena osatzen zuten (Kultura eta Kirol sailetakoek, batez ere).

29. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2003-2007)

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak	Egurald.
■ Etb1	36,67	5,56	32,22	12,22	10	3,33
▫ Berria	48,78	4,88	24,39	14,63	7,32	0
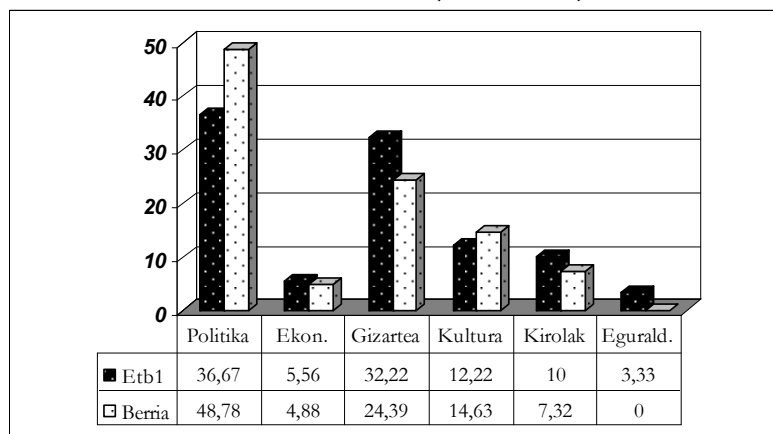
Iturria: Egilea.

Politikak albisteen erdia biltzen zituen saila zen, *Berria*ren kasuan batik bat. *Euskal Telebista*n, ordea, gizarte gaiei eskainitako tartearen parekoa izaten hasi zen. Hortaz, *Etb1*en sorreratik 2003ra bitartean, Gizarte informazioak hartzen zuen lekua bikoiztu egin zen. *Berria*k ere, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren aldean, horren gizarte gaien hirukoitza plazaratzen zuen. Horretarako, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k ekonomia albisteak alboratu zituzten. Politika eta Gizarte sailen dimentsioek kultura eta kirol albisteen lekua zehazten zuten. Gainera, *Etb1*ek lehenengoz eguraldiaren ondorioak titularretako albistegai bihurtu zituen.

Ildo horretatik, asteburuetan telebistak kultura eta kirol berrien astegunetako kopuru bikoitza aireratzen zuen. *Berria*k, ostera, asteburuetan kultura informazio gehiago ematen zuen eta, neurri horretan, kirol albiste gutxiago eskaintzen zuen. Izan ere, *Egunkaria*ren ezaugarrietatik bereiztuz, *Berria*k asteartean plazaratzen zuen astelehen ordezko zenbakian kirolari gero eta tarte txikiagoa egiten zion. Hortaz, asteburuko kazetaren gai nagusiak politika eta kultura ziren bitartean, astearteetan ekonomia eta gizarte albisteek lehentasuna berenganatzen zuten.

Gizarte informazioak telebistan hartzen ari zen tartea gero eta handiagoa zen. Udako oporraldian, gainera, politikari lekua hartzen zion. Aztertutako laginean, uztaileko eta abuztuko *Etb1*eko titular batek ere ez zion politika albiste bati ere erreferentziarik egin. *Euskal Telebista*k udan kultur informazio gutxiago eskaintzen zuela kontuan izanda, gizarte eta kirol gaiek uztaila eta abuztuan tarte bikoitza izaten zuten *Etb1*eko albistegietan. *Berria*k, aldiz, urte osoko sail banaketari eusten zion eta aldaketa bakarrak ekonomia arintzea zekarren. Hortaz, kultur gaiak sendotzen zituen eta kirol albisteak bikoiztu egiten zituen. Dena den, sailik saileko azterketak mugimendu horiek hobeto islatuko ditu.

Lehenengo eta behin, bi hedabideotako Politika sailek gero eta antz handiagoa erakusten zuten. Euskal gatazkak eta nazioarteko politikak informazio osoa hartzen zuten. *Berria*k, esaterako, gatazkaren inguruko albiste kopurua bikoiztu zuen. Nazioarteko politika, ordea, gutxitu zuen. *Etb1*ek kontrakoa egin zuen: gero eta nazioarteko albiste gehiago eskaintzen zituen. Horietariko %80k guden berri ematen zuten. *Berria*k munduko gatazka armatu horien erdiaz informatu zuen arren, AEBetako albisteei telebistak baino tarte handiagoa eman zien. Ondorioz, EAEko politika

jardunari buruzko informazioa erdira jaitsi zen eta Europar Batasuneko albisteak (Espainiakoak eta Frantziakoak barne) hutsaren hurrengoak izan ziren. Guztira, gertueneko politikaren informazioa (tokiko administrazioak nahiz Jaurlaritza) eta horretan eragina zuten erakundeena (Espainiako eta Frantziako gobernuez gain, Europar Batasuna bera) albiste guztien %5ena baino ez zen. AEBetako gobernuaren informazio instituzionalak %5 bereganatu zuen[271]. *Euskal Telebista*k, ostera, ez zuen AEBetako berririk plazaratu, baina nazioarteko politikari buruzko informazioari %20 bakarrik eskaini zion, gainerakoa gudetako irudiek osatzen zutelako.

30. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
_Etb1_eko eta _Berria_ko Politika saila (2003-2007)

	Tokikoa	Politika instituz.	Gatazka	Estatuak	EB	Nazioart.
■ Etb1	0	9,09	45,45	3,03	0	42,42
□ Berria	2,5	2,5	55	2,5	2,5	35
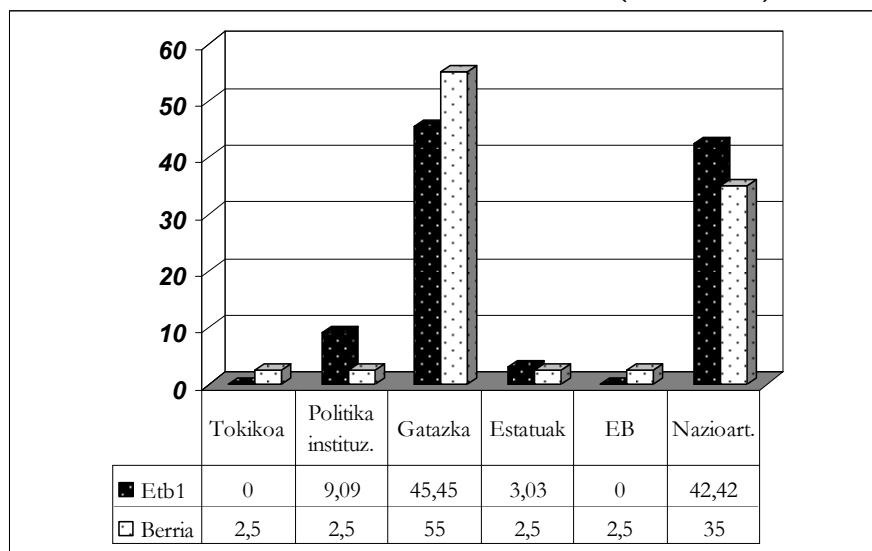
Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, ekonomia albisteak gero eta urriagoak izaten hasi ziren eta, ondorioz, leku txikiagoa hartzen zuten. Aurreko epearekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek aireratutako ekonomia albiste kopurua hiru aldiz txikiagoa izan zen. *Berria*n Ekonomia sailak azaldu zuen gainbehera apalagoa bazen ere, gaien aniztasuna ere dezente murriztu zen. Hortaz, ekonomia informazio gutxiago ez ezik, gero eta albiste kategoria bertsuagoak ere agertzen zituzten bi hedabideok eguneko lehen albisteetan. Kontsumo gaiei erreparatzen zion zerbitzuen atalak albisteen erdia biltzen zuen. Gainerako informazioak, beraz, lan-merkatuaren ezaugarriak eta itsasontzien ekoizpenaren inguruabarrak nahiz arrantza sektorearen egoera azaltzen zituen.

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[271] Ondorioz, EAEko hiru aldundietako Sozietateen gaineko Zergaren eztabaidak (2005/11/18) "Hispanoak, boto-emaile erabakigarriak" (2004/10/26) albistearen agerpen bera erakutsi zuen *Berria*n.

31. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Ekonomia saila (2003-2007)**

	Lana	Arrantza	Zerbitzuak
■ Etb1	20	20	60
□ Berria	50	0	50
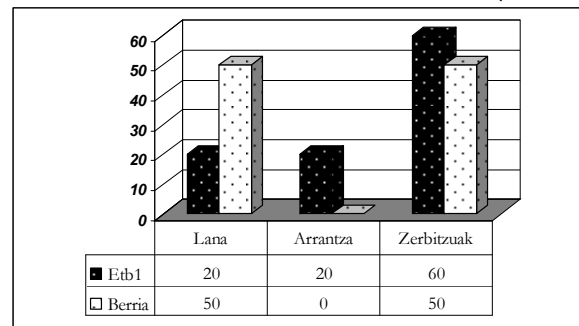
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, gero eta arreta handiagoa hartzen ari zen Gizarte sailak aurreko epean erakutsitako joera nabarmendu zuen. Izan ere, *Etb1*eko gizarte gaiak sorreratik 2003ra hirukoiztu egin ziren eta *Berria*n, bikoiztu. Aldi berean, informazio sendoa gutxitu egin zen. Hezkuntza, osasuna, ingurunea, elkartasuna eta gizarte zibila kategorietako albisteak gero eta urriagoak ziren. Telebistan zuten tartea aurreko ikerketa aldiaren erdira murriztu zen. Hala ere, bi hedabideek informazio erabilgarriaren kopuruari eutsi zioten, hau da, herri lanei, trafikoari, ohiturei eta aisialdiari buruzko albisteen lekua aurreko urteotakoaren bestekoa zen. *Berria*k, gainera, pixka bat indartu zuen atala izan zen. Azkenik, indarkeriari, natur hondamendiei eta istripuei egindako tartea nabarmen handiagoa izan zen. Informazio arin horrek *Etb1*eko gizarte gaien erdia hartu zuen. Eguneroko kazetaritza-jardunaren ondorioa izan zen, proportzioa ez baitzen asteburuetan eta udako oporraldietan aldatzen. *Berria*k, ostera, azalean aurkeztutako albiste arinen kopurua gehitu bazuen ere, ez zuen asteburuetako zenbakietan horrelako informaziorik zabaldu. Are gehiago, astelehen ordezko asteaarteko egunkarian gizarte gai kopuruaren gehikuntzarik handiena eman arren, egun horretan ere ez zion informazio arinari lekurik egiten.

32. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Gizarte saila (2003-2007)**

	Informazio sendoa	Informazio erabilgarria	Informazio arina
■ Etb1	31,03	17,25	51,72
□ Berria	50	25	25
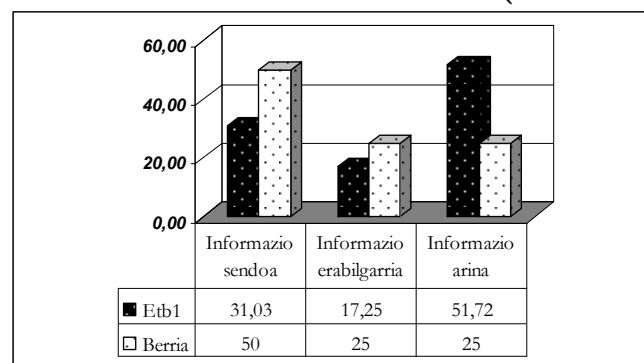
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k informazio sendoari eta arinari egindako tartea alderantzizkoa izan zen. Hau da, telebistak albiste arinak hobesten zituen neurri berean eusten zien egunkariak berri sendoei. Beraz, hedabide motaren arabera, gizarte gaien erdia informazio arina edo sendoa izan zitekeen. Dena den, *Berria*k albiste arinen kopururik altuena udan eskaintzen zuen, gizarte informazioaren %66,67koa baitzen, hots, sasoi bereko telebista-albistegiek baino proportzio altuagoan.

Laugarrenik, kultur informazioak arte-diziplinei lekurik handiena egin arren, gero eta txikiagoa zen, telebistan *Berria*k eskainitako tartearen erdia hartzen baitzuen. Gainera, *Etb1*ek arte-diziplinei buruzko albisteen arteko orekari eutsi zion. Musikak, marrazketak, literaturak eta zineak berri-kopuru bera izan zuten. *Berria*k, ordea, garrantzia bikoiztu ez ezik, hainbat diziplinatako albisteen aniztasunean ere sakontzeko joera azaldu zuen. Hala ere, literaturak eta zineak albisterik gehien biltzen zituzten kategoriak ziren. Aurreko epean ez bezala, *Berria*k ez zuen 2003tik 2007ra bitartean azalean zientzia albisterik agertu. *Etb1*ek azaldutako informazio zientifikoa, ostera, aurrerapen teknologikoak ekarritako ekoizpenen prototipoen aurkezpenei buruzkoa izaten zen[272].

Kultura sailaren bigarren oinarria euskal sorkuntzaren bi adieraren isla zen. Alde batetik, *Euskal Telebista*k euskarari buruzko albisteei tarte handia eskaintzen zien, testuinguru ludikoan bazen ere[273]. *Berria*k, aldiz, euskararen atxikimenduari eutsi arren[274], euskarazko komunikazio-esparrua osatzen zuten hedabideen sistema azpimarratzen zuen[275]. *Etb1*ean agertzen ziren hedabideak, baina, EiTB taldekoak baino ez ziren; *Etb1* bera, sarrienetan[276].

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[272] **Besteak beste**, "Munduaren etorkizunean zeresana izango duen ordenagailua erakutsiko dizuegu. Koffi Anan, NBEko idazkari nagusiari eman diote prototipoa […]" (2005/11/17) eta "Discovery: Bigarrenean bai!" (2006/12/10).
[273] "Ibilaldia Lekeition" (2003/05/18).
[274] Euskara albistegai zituzten berriak, adib.: "Gaztelaniaz bakarrik komunikatuko da EAEko Auzitegi Nagusia udalekin" (1999/09/14).
[275] Euskarazko Komunikazio Esparrua egituratzen zuten hedabideen inguruko albisteak ere: "Sei alderdi politikok gaitzetsi dute *Euskalerria Irratia*ren aurkako epaia" (1995/01/04) eta "Kontseilu Nagusiaren jokoa salatu du *Irulegiko Irratia*k" (1998/04/10).
[276] "Indar biziz dator *Etb1*en programazio berria […]" (2003/09/05) eta "EiTB: 2007rako erronkak" (2007/01/03).

33. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
*Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Kultura saila (2003-2007)

	Arte-Diziplinak	Zientzia	Hedabid.	Euskara
■ Etb1	36,36	18,18	18,18	27,27
□ Berria	58,33	0	25,00	16,67
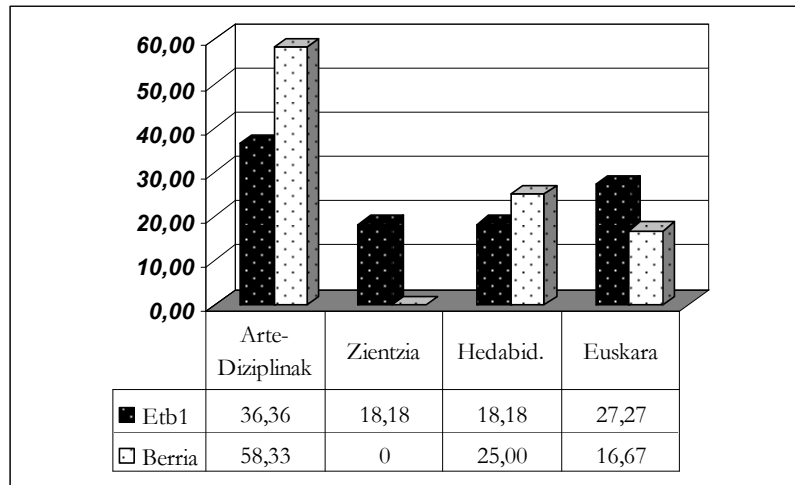
Iturria: Egilea.

Bosgarrenik, kirol albisteei *Etb1*ek *Berria*k baino leku handiagoa egiten zien. Gainera, telebistak azken urteotan gero eta kirol informazio gehiago ematen zuen bitartean, egunkariak kirol berrien tartea txikitu zuen. Dena den, biek kirol albisteei antzeko trataera ematen zieten. Hortaz, kirol diziplinen arteko aniztasuna murriztu egin zen eta polarizazioak futbolari nagusitasuna eman zion. Telebistan, futbolak asteburuetako kirol albisteen %75 hartzen zuen. *Berria*k asteburuetako zenbakian txirrindularitza hobesten bazuen ere, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakiaren lehen orriak futbola zuen kirol albiste bakarra.

Bi hedabideek futbolarekin batera tartekatzen zuten bigarren kirola txirrindularitza izaten zen, baina 2007an saskibaloiak arreta bereganatu zuen. Udan, azkenik, biek futbolari eta txirrindularitzari leku bera egiten zieten.

34. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
*Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Kirol saila (2003-2007)

	Futbola	Txirrind.	Saskibaloia	Besteak
■ Etb1	66,67	11,12	11,11	11,1
□ Berria	66,67	16,67	16,66	0

Iturria: Egilea.

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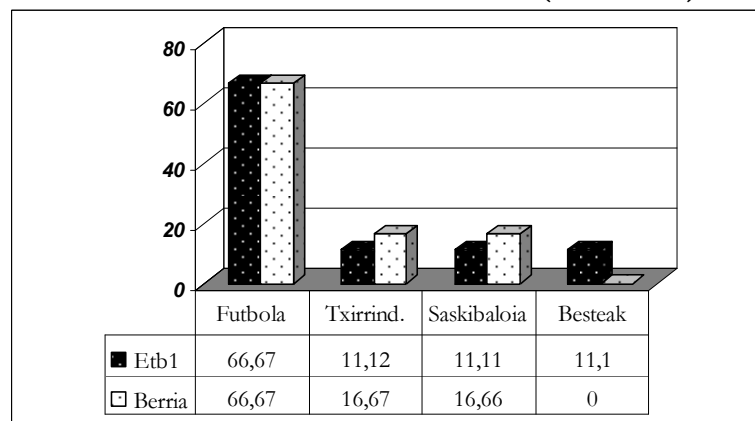
*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k epe honetan plazaratu zituzten albistegai berdinen kopuruak bi informazio-ereduak gero eta berdinagoak izateko bidean ote zebiltzan zalantza dakar. Alde batetik, *Etb1*ek *Berria*rekin gero eta albiste gutxiagotan bat egiten zuen. Oraingoan, berri guztiekiko %26,66tan bat zetorren eta aurreko epean, ordea, %32tan. Bestetik, *Berria*ren albiste gehiago *Etb1*ekin bat zetozen: guztiarekiko %25,53, hain zuzen (aurreko epean, %22,89). Hortaz, *Berria*k esklusibotasunik ematen ez zuten gaiei tarte handiagoa eskaini izanak *Etb1*ekiko konbergentzia azal dezake. Izan ere, bat egin zuten albisteen %30 euskal gatazkari buruzkoak ziren eta %12,5, munduko guden ingurukoak. Ildo beretik, gizarte gaietako informazio sendoak albiste arinen besteko proportzioan agertu zituzten bi hedabideek. Kontuan izatekoa da, ostera, *Berria*k albiste sendoei arinei baino tarte bikoitza egiten ziela. Horregatik, egunkarian argitaratutako informazio arinak *Etb1*ekin bat egiteko probabilitate bikoitza ematen zuen, hots, albiste arinen kopurua eta informazio-esklusibotasuna zeharka proportzionalak ziren. Era berean, gainerako sailetatik bat zetozen albiste guztiak gero eta kategoria urriagokoak ziren. Esaterako, ekonomia gaietatik bat egin zuten albiste denak zerbitzuen kategoriakoak ziren eta Kirol sailean, ostera, Espainiako futbolari buruzkoak. Kulturan ere azaldu zituzten albisteen erdia gehien jarraitutako arte-diziplinaren ingurukoak ziren (zinema, hain zuzen). Beste erdia, jakina, euskararen inguruko albisteek osatu zuten.

35. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
_Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)
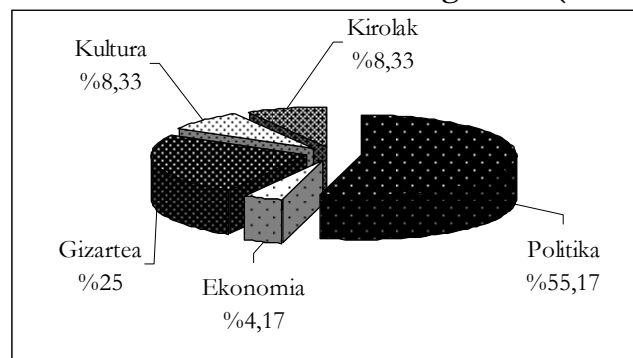
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k islatzen zituzten informazio-ereduek 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko epean antzeko joerak agertu zituzten. Bi hedabideok ekonomia gaiak alboratu zituzten eta Gizarte sailak garrantziaren araberako bigarren postua bereganatu zuen. *Etb1*ek gizarte informazioari Politikaren besteko tartea eskaintzen zion eta *Berria*k, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k baino hiru aldiz handiagokoa. Astelehen ordezko asteartkeo *Berria*ren zenbakiak ere, *Egunkaria*renak ez bezala, kirol albiste gutxiago plazaratzen

zituen eta, ostera, gizarte informazio gehiago. Hala ere, asteburu osteko lehen zenbaki horretan bi kazetak futbolari nagusitasun osoa ematean bat zetozen.

Ikerketa diakronikoak *Etb1* eta *Berria* gero eta antzeko informazio-eredua osatzen ari ziren zehaztuko du. Prozesu hori *Berria*k telebistaren bidea hartu izanaren ondorio zuzena zatekeen. Hortaz, lehen orrian euskal gatazkari, nazioarteko gudei, informazio arinari eta eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioei leku handiagoa egitea zatekeen. Horren aurkako erabaki kontzienteak *Euskal Telebista*ren antzekotasunak alboratu eta informazio-eredu independenteagoa osatzeko giltza eman zezakeen. Ildo beretik, ikusteke dago ia EiTB taldeko *Euskadi Irratia*k telebistaren informazio-eredu hori partekatzen zuen ala euskarazko kazetaritzaren beste bide bat egiteko gakoak eskaintzen zizkion.

36. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (bilakaera):
***Etb1* (ikerketa sinkronikoa)**

	1983-1987	1990-2002	2003-2007
▨ Politika	31,37	38,96	36,67
▨ Ekonomia	8,82	14,72	5,56
▨ Gizartea	14,72	29,44	32,22
▢ Kultura	8,82	9,96	12,22
▣ Kirolak	36,27	6,93	10
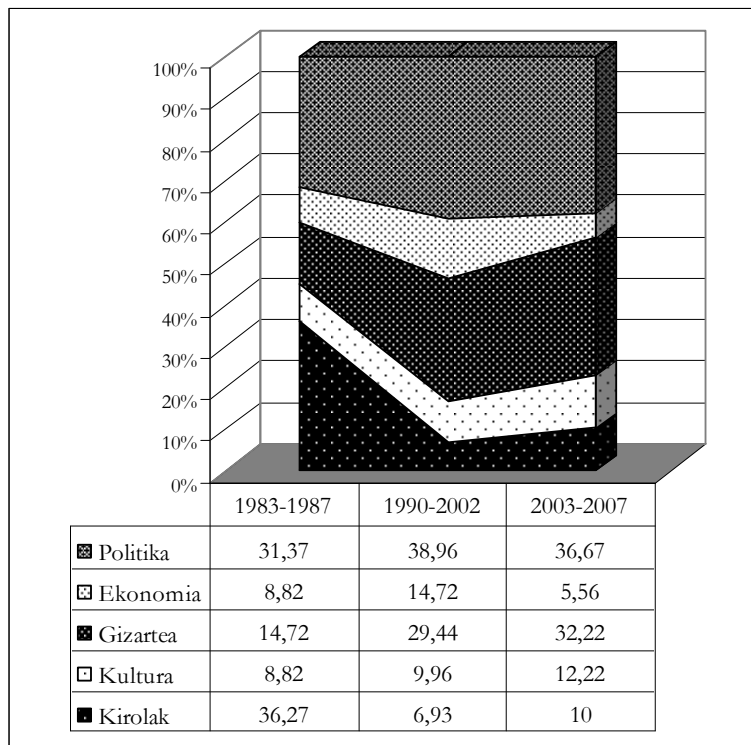
Iturria: Egilea.

37. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (bilakaera):
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa sinkronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
Politika	40,18	48,78
Ekonomia	18,75	4,88
Gizartea	8,93	24,39
Kultura	17,86	14,63
Kirolak	14,29	7,32
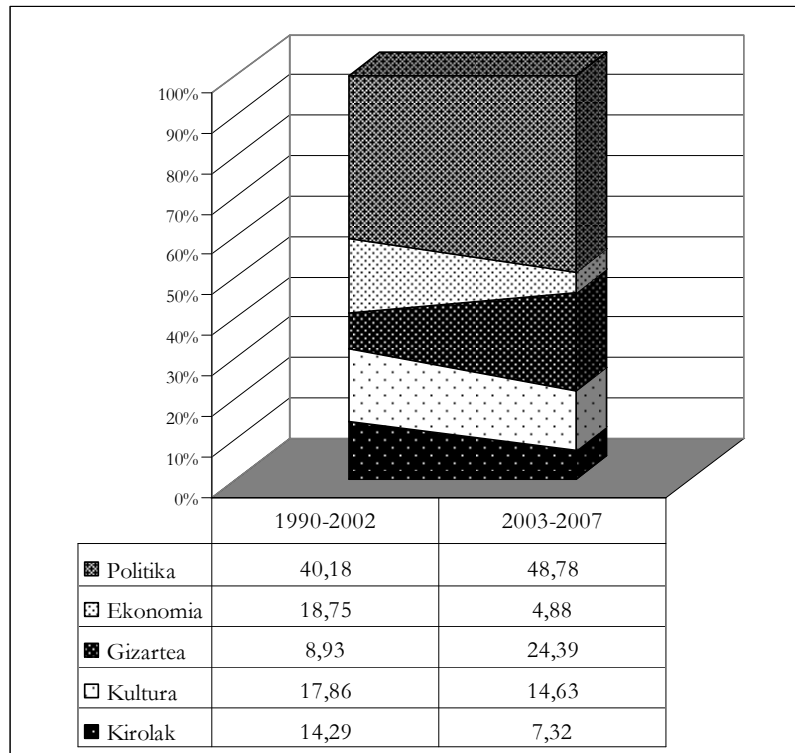
Iturria: Egilea.

a.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta *Berria* aztertzeko denbora-tarterik luzeena 2008ko albistegiek osatzen dute. Horregatik, epe horretan aztertutako albisteen nolakotasunak euskarazko kazetaritza garaikidearen informazio-ereduen ezaugarri berriak zehaztuko ditu.

Hasteko, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k albisteak biltzeko sailkapen klasikoa agertzen zuten. Politikatik hasi eta garrantzirik txikiena kirolei edo eguraldiari eskaintzen zieten. Telebistaren sail-banaketa, ordea, beste era batekoa zen. *Etb1*ek Politika, Ekonomia eta Gizarte ataletako bloke uniformea erakusten zuen. Ondoren, kirolak zetozen eta azkenik, kultura zein eguraldia.

*Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko albiste gehienek politika gaiak biltzen zituzten. Telebistaren kasuan, baina, gizarteak ia politikak beste leku hartzen zuen, aurreko urteotako joerei jarraiki. Ildo beretik, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k gizarte informazioari ekonomiari baino gehiagotan erreparatzen zioten. Horregatik, telebistako asteburuetako albisteek Politika, Ekonomia eta Gizarte sailetako tartea txikitzen zuten. *Berria*k, aldiz, asteburuko zenbakian gizarte gai gehiago plazaratzen zituen. Era berean, udako

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oporraldian egunkariak azalean zeramatzan gizarte albisteen kopurua *Etb1*ena baino altuagoa izaterainokoa zen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, ordea, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan politika gaien pisu erlatiboa sendotzeko joera agertzen zuen.

*Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k, ordea, kulturari eta kirolei emandako proportzioan *Etb1*ek baino antz handiagoa erakusten zuten. Biek kultur gaiak hobesten zituzten. Hala ere, irratiak asteburuetan Kultura eta Kirol sailen neurria politika informazioak hartzen zuen tartearen arabera definitzen zuen. *Berria*k asteburuetako zenbakian kultur eta kirol albiste gutxiago plazaratzen bazituen ere, udako oporraldian nabarmen gehitzen zituen. Are gehiago, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian, kultura gaiak dezente hobesten zituen, kirol informazioaren tartearen kaltetan. Ildo beretik, *Euskal Telebistak* asteburuetan bi sailetako presentzia handitzen bazuen ere, oporraldian kirol albisteak hobesten zituen. Izan ere, kultur berrien garrantziak urte osoan bereganatzen zuen arreta honela laburtzen da: *Etb1*ek kulturari egiten zion lekua eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioek zuten espazioaren bikoitza baino ez zen. Eguraldiak, gainera, kulturak baino leku garrantzitsuagoa hartzen zuen. Are gehiago, kultura ez bezala, eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioak eguneko lehen albistea ere izan ziren[277]. *Berria*k ere lehenengoz eguraldiaren inguruko informazioa, albiste itxurarekin, lehen orrira eraman zuen. Hortaz, joera nagusi horiek sailik sail aztertuko ditugu.

38. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizart.	Kult.	Kirol.	Egur.
■ Euskadi Irratia	42,11	22,81	19,3	12,28	3,51	0
□ Etb1	30,93	22,16	26,8	5,67	11,86	2,58
▨ Berria	41,25	13,75	20,63	16,88	6,88	0,63
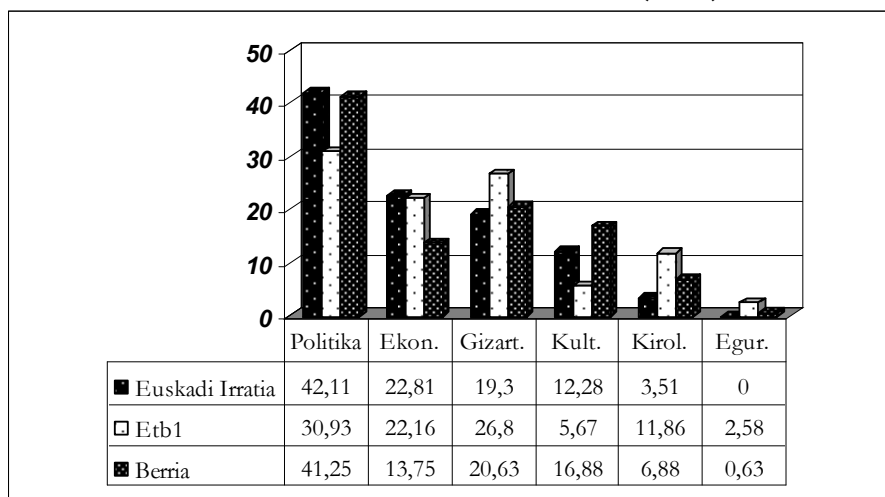
Iturria: Egilea.

Lehenengo eta behin, Politika sailari erreparatuko diogu, albiste kopururik altuen biltzen zuen atala zen-eta. Hiru hedabideotako politikari buruzko informazio gehiena bi

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[277] 2008/11/02, adibidez.

azpiatalek lortzen zuten: euskal gatazkak eta nazioarteko politikak, hain zuzen. Euskal gatazkaren inguruko informazioak Politika saileko lehentasun osoa zuen eta nazioarteko politikarentzako tartearen neurriekin harremanetan agertzen zen, gainerako azpiatalek tarte finkoa zaintzen zutelako.

Hortaz, euskal gatazkaren inguruko albisteek Politika sailaren erdia baino gehiago hartzen zuten eta asteburuetan ere proportzio horri eusten zioten. *Berria*ren asteburuko zenbakien kasuan, gainera, %73,33ko neurria erakusten zuten. Astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakietan, aldiz, egunkariak ohi baino politika albiste gutxiago plazaratzen zuen (%52,63).

Udako oporraldietan, gainera, euskal gatazkak hartzen ez zuen lekua nazioarteko politikak hartzen zuen. *Euskadi Irratia*k gatazkaren berriak erdira jaitsi zituenez, nazioartekoak albisteen %64 bereganatu zuen. *Etb1*ek antzera jokatu zuen: udako politika albisteen %66,66 nazioarteko jarduera politikoari eskaini zion. Azken batean, udako telebistako albiste politikoen laurdena munduko guden ingurukoa zen. *Berria*k alderantzizko joera agertu zuen. Asteburuetan gatazkaren inguruko albiste gehiago plazaratzen zituen bitartean, astelehenean nazioarteko politikari buruzko berriek sail osoaren %36,84 hartzen zuten. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek munduko informazioari eskaintzen zion tartea baino handiagoa izaten zen. Udan ere bi hedabideek gehien sendotzen zuten gaia euskal gatazka zen. Horregatik, gatazkari buruzko informazioak albisteen %71,43 lortzen bazuen, nazioarteko politikak albiste guztien %28,57 baino ez zuen izaten.

Bi kategoria horien nagusitasunak gainerako politika albisteak baztertzea zekarren. Horren haritik, Euskal Herriko informazio administratiboari eta instituzionalari hiru hedabideok egindako lekua %10ekoa izaten zen. *Etb1*ek, adibidez, ez zuen 2008an Jaurlaritzaren jardunaren inguruko albisterik eman, euskal gatazkarekin lotuta ez bazeuden. Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*k EAEko politikari %10,53ko tartea egin zion, AEBetako Gobernuari adinakoa.

*Berria*k ez bezala, EiTB taldeko bi hedabideek tokiko informazio politikoari buruzko albisteak agertu zituzten. *Berria*k, orduan, ez zuen EAEtik gertuagoko informazio politikorik lehen orrian landu, ez eta Euskal Herriko gainerako eremu administratiboetako albisterik agertu ere.

Dena den, *Euskadi Irratia*k tokiko informazioari egindako lekua Espainiako nahiz Frantziako gobernuei eskainitako tartearen erdia zen. *Euskal Telebista*n tokiko politikak Espainiako Gobernuaren informazioaren tartearen herena hartzen zuen.

Hortaz, *Etb1*ek ez zuen Frantziako informazio instituzionalik zabaldu. *Euskadi Irratia*k, aldiz, Espainiari eskaintzen zion albiste kopuruaren erdia Frantziako Gobernuaren gorabeherak azaltzeko erabiltzen zuen. EAEko Administrazioan eragina zuen Europar Batasuneko informazioa hutsal bihurtu zenean, AEBetako politika albisteak neurriz kanpo azaltzen ari ziren. *Euskadi Irratia*n, esaterako, Espainiako Gobernuaren jarduerak hartutako tartea AEBetako politikaren bestekoa izan zen. *Euskal Telebistak* Frantziako gobernuaren berri eman ez zuela kontuan izanda, AEBetako informazio instituzionala eta Espainiakoa 2-1eko proportzioan zabaldu zen. *Berria*k, azkenik, ez zuen Espainiako Gobernuaren informaziorik lehen orrian eman, baina leku horretara AEBetako hauteskunde aurreko prozesuari buruzko bost albiste eraman zituen.

39. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Politika saila (2008)**

	Tokikoa	Politika instituz.	Gatazka	Estatuak	EB	Mundua
■ Euskadi Irratia	3,13	8,33	54,17	6,25	1,04	27,08
□ Etb1	1,67	10	50	5	0	33,33
▨ Berria	0	7,58	62,12	0	1,51	28,79
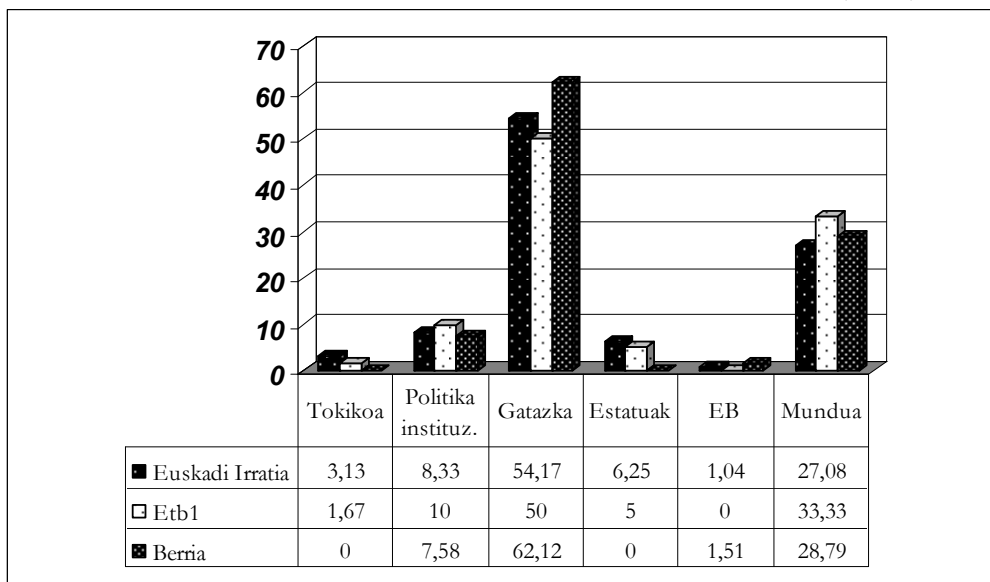
Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, Ekonomia saila antolatzeko hiru era erakutsi zituzten hedabideok, bakoitzak gai jakin batzuk nabarmentzen baitzituen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, esaterako, albistegia hiru zutabe nagusitan oinarritzen zuen: lan-baldintzen inguruko informazioa, arrantzaren gorabeherak eta finantza auziek. Gainera, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan antzera jokatzen zuen. *Etb1*ek, aldiz, zerbitzuei (kontsumo gaiei) erabateko nagusitasuna aintzatesten zien. *Berria*k, azkenik, nazioarteko ekonomia arreta handiz jarraitzen zuen. Ondoren, lan-baldintzen eta zerbitzuen atalak zetozen. Lehenengoak *Euskadi Irrati*ko ereduarekin bat egingo zukeen eta bigarrenak, telebistakoarekin. Horrenbestez, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*ren zenbakiak zerbitzuak, hots, kontsumo albisteak lehenesten zituen eta nazioarteko ekonomiaren informazioaren tarte bikoitza lortzen

zuen. Horregatik, nazioarteko ekonomia gaiak alboratzen zituenean, *Berria*k *Etb1*en informazio-ereduarekin gero eta antz handiagoa hartzen zuen. Are gehiago, *Euskal Telebista*ren bigarren gai nagusia nazioarteko ekonomia zen eta, ondorioz, *Berria*rekin gai nagusi bietan bat egiten zuen. Ondoren, *Etb1*ek enpresa barruko gatazkak azaltzen zituen. Hortaz, lan-istiluek lan-baldintzek baino tarte zabalagoa hartzen zuten. Gainera, zerbitzuei buruzko albisteak asteburuetan ugaritzen ziren bitartean, udan apenas ematen ziren.

*Euskadi Irratia*k hainbat auzi ekonomiko lehenetsi zuen eta bigarren lekua, orduan, enpresa pribatuetako istiluei aintzatetsi zien. Beraz, azken horrek ekonomia gaiak orekatuen aurkeztu zituen. Lan-merkatuaren egoerak, arrantza politikaren neurriek eta finantza ondorioek albistegiaren zatirik handiena (%65,38) hartzen zuten. Ondoren, enpresa pribatuetako gatazkei, zerbitzuei (kontsumo datuei) eta nazioarteko ekonomiari erreparatu zien. Hala ere, gainerako bi hedabideotatik urrunen geratzen zen eredua islatzen zuen.

40. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Ekonomia saila (2008)**

	Lana	Arrantza	Zerb.	Enpr.	Finantz.	Nazioart.
■ Euskadi Irratia	21,15	21,15	11,54	13,46	23,08	9,62
☐ Etb1	11,63	9,3	34,88	16,28	6,98	20,93
▦ Berria	18,18	9,09	18,18	9,09	13,64	31,82
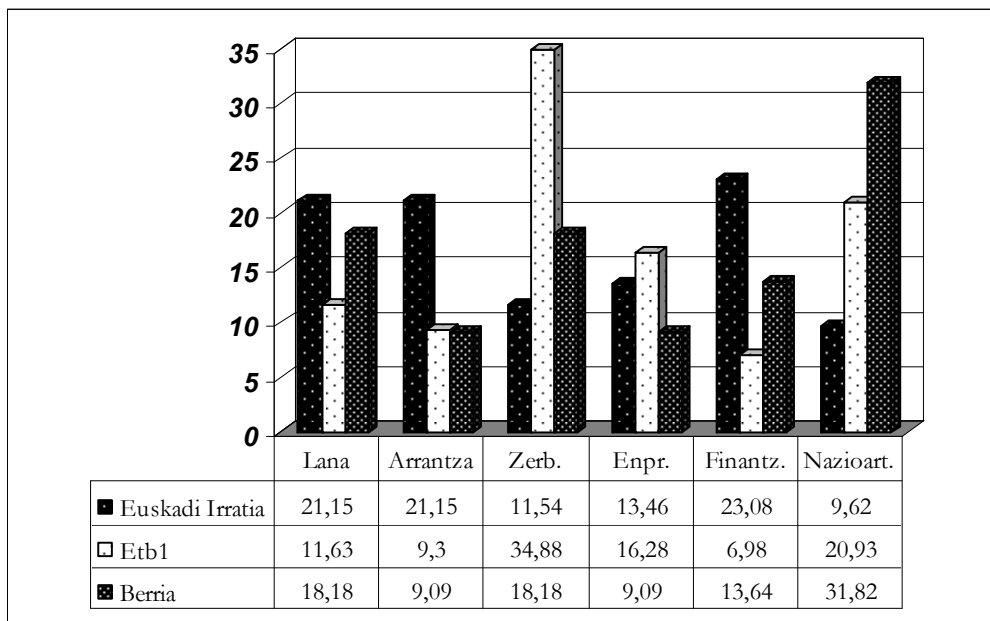
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, euskarazko hedabideetan gizarte gaien %10-15 inguruko kuota finkoa informazio erabilgarriari zegokion. Ondoren, jardun sozialari buruzko hausnarketaren ondoriozko berri sendoen (elkartasuna, hezkuntza, osasuna, ingurunea eta gizarte zibila kategorietakoen alegia) eta informazio arinaren arteko harremanen nolakotasuna agertzen zuten hirurek. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k albiste sendoei leku

handiagoa egiten zieten bitartean, telebistak indarkeria, natur hondamendiak eta istripuak hobesten zituen. Asteburuetan ere azaltzen zuten joera zen, gainera. Are gehiago, informazio sendoa indartzen zuten (*Berria*k bikoiztu ere egiten zuen) eta, horren arabera, albiste arinak gutxitzen zituzten. *Etb1*ek asteburuetan informazio arinaren erdia zabaltzen zuen eta *Berria*k, bi heren gutxiago. Dena den, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*ren lehen orriak *Etb1*ek baino albiste arin gehiago plazaratzen zituen (%62,5). Izan ere, egun horretako zenbakiak azalean agertzen zituen gizarte albisteen erdia baino gehiago istripuei buruzkoak izaten ziren.

Hala ere, hedabideok udan gizarte gaiak lantzeko bestelako joera agertzen zuten. Informazio arina albiste sendo eta erabilgarrien kontura indartu ohi zuten. Lehen orrira istripuei buruzko berri gehien zeramatzan hedabidea *Berria* zen. Horretarako, informazio sendoa erdira gutxitu eta erabilgarria bikoiztu egiten zuen. *Etb1*ek antzeko jokabidea azaldu zuen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, azkenik, informazio arinaren kopurua handitzen ez bazuen ere, albiste arin guztiek indarkeriaren berri bakarrik ematen zuten (udako gizarte gaien %45,45). Hortaz, albiste sendoak indartzeko, informazio erabilgarria desagerrarazten zuen.

41. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Gizarte saila (2008)**

	Informazio sendoa	Informazio erabilgarria	Informazio arina
■ Euskadi Irratia	43,18	11,36	45,45
□ Etb1	28,85	13,46	57,69
▨ Berria	48,48	15,15	36,36
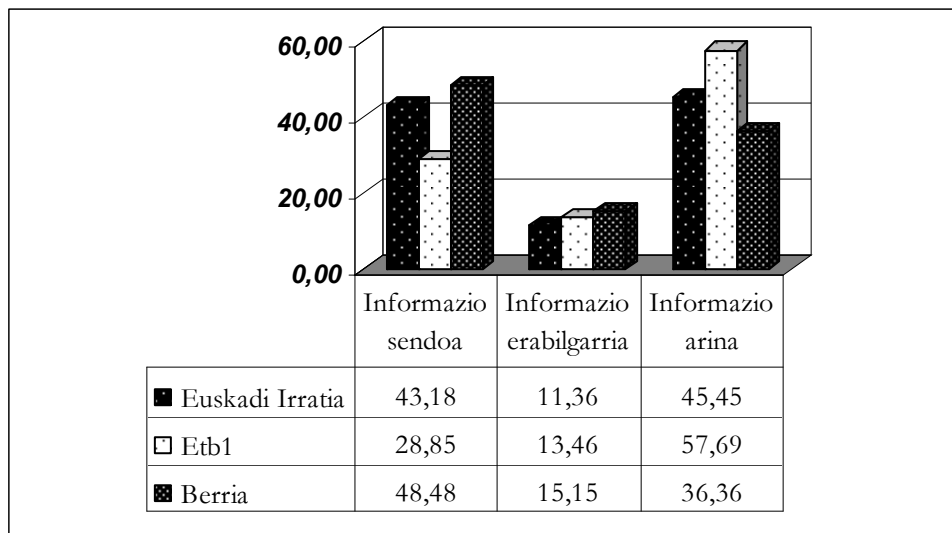
Iturria: Egilea.

Laugarrenik, hiru hedabideak Kultura saileko gaien banaketan bat zetozen. Arte--diziplinek albisterik gehien biltzen zituzten. *Etb1*ek tarterik handiena eskaini arren (asteburuetan eta oporraldietan horiek Kultura sail osoko berriak osatzen zituzten), aniztasunari zegokionez, diziplina gutxiren inguruko albisteak bakarrik zabaltzen zituen eta, gainera, horien erdia zinemari buruzkoak izaten ziren. Horrenbestez, *Euskadi*

*Irratia*k eta, batik bat, *Berria*k arte-diziplina gehiagori erreferentzia egiten zieten albisteak biltzen zituzten. Ondoren, euskararekiko atxikimendurik handiena ere azken bi horiek bakarrik azaltzen zuten[278]. *Etb1*ean euskararen inguruko albisteek Kultur sailaren %9,09 hartzen zuten bitartean, *Euskadi Irratia*k %32,14ko lekua egiten zien eta *Berria*k, %18,52koa. Are gehiago, hizkuntza komunitatearen gainerako kultur jardueren berri ere gehien ematen zuten hedabideak ziren. Esaterako, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k kultur diziplinen artean bertsolaritzari ere tartea egiten zioten[279]. Hedabideei buruzko berrietan, euskarazko komunikazio-esparruari garrantzia handia ematen zioten. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k, adibidez, hedabideen inguruan plazaratzen zituzten albisteek euskarazko komunikazio-esparrua ere hizpide zuten bitartean, *Etb1*eko kategoria horretako berri denek irudi korporatiboa zabaltzen zuten[280]. Gainera, aurreko bi hedabideek baino tarte handiagoa eskaintzen zien. Zientziari egindako leku txikiak, azkenik, museoen kudeaketari buruzko albisteak biltzen zituen.

42. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Kultura saila (2008)**

	Arte-Diziplinak	Zientzia	Hedab.	Euskara
■ Euskadi Irratia	46,43	7,14	14,29	32,14
□ Etb1	72,73	0	18,18	9,09
▨ Berria	70,37	3,70	3,70	18,52
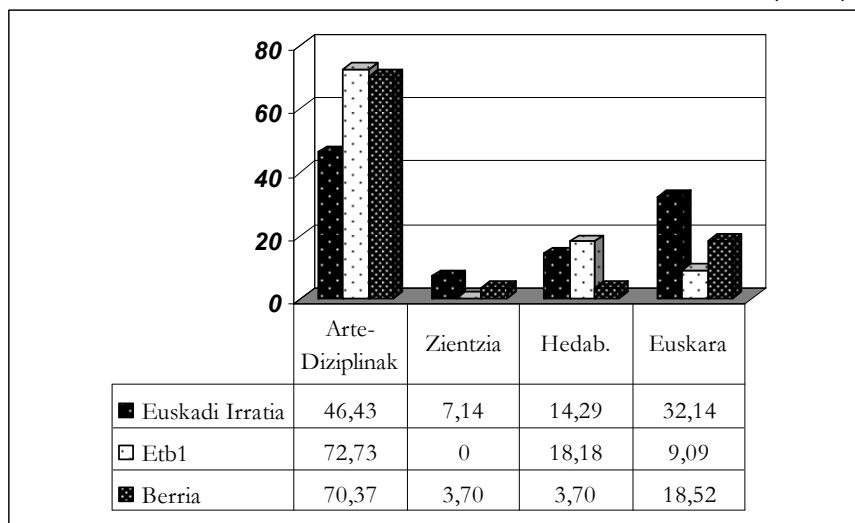
Iturria: Egilea.

Bosgarrenik, Kirol saileko albiste gehienak futbolari buruzkoak ziren. *Etb1*eko kirol informazioaren erdia baino gehiago futbolaren ingurukoa bazen ere, kirol

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[278] "Atxikimendu ugari jaso ditu 'Eskolak euskaldundu' ekimenak [...]" (2008/01/22), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Frantziak ondaretzat jo du euskara, baina ez dio ofizialtasunik aitortuko" (2008/07/22)*, Berria*n.

[279] "Euskal Herriko Bertsozale elkarteak antolatuta, datorren larunbatean Bertso Eguna izango da Donostian [...]" (2008/01/22), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Txapela jokoan: Bizkaiko Bertsolari Txapelketa gaur, BECen" (2008/12/20), *Berria*n.

[280] "Joxe Mari Iriondori eman diote 20. Rikardo Arregi Kazetaritzako Ohorezko Saria [...]" (2008/06/28), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Hamaika Bilbo Telebista urtarrilean hasiko da emititzen" (2008/11/12), *Berria*n. *Etb1*ean, aldiz, "EiTB maratoia: Elkartasun zakua 325 mila euroan da une honetan" (2008/12/19).

diziplinen berririk anitzenak aireratzen zituen hedabidea zen. Aniztasun horrek arraunketa, surf, eski etab. bildu arren, ez zion pilotari lekurik egiten. *Euskadi Irratiak*, ostera, pilota lehenesten zuen eta futbolaren nagusitasuna alboratzen zuen, bigarren postura baztertuz. *Berriak*, azkenik, asteburuetako zenbakietan futbolari buruzko informazioa baino ez zuen lehen orrian agertzen.

Etb1ek eta *Berria*k futbolari jaramonik handiena egin eta gero, txirrindularitzari eta saskibaloiari erreparatzen zieten. Horrenbestez, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*k ez zuen jadanik futbola lehen orrian agertzen, txirrindularitzak (%66,67) eta saskibaloiak (%33,33) aurreko horren astearteetako lekua hartu zuten. Udan gainera, txirrindularitzak jarraipen handien zuen kirola zen. Udako oporraldian ere futbolari gutxi erreparatzen zioten *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k. Are gehiago, Txinan Olinpiar Jokoak ospatu ziren bitartean, bi hedabide horietako kirol albisteek Jokoen inguruan bakarrik informatu zuten. *Euskadi Irratia*k, ordea, pilotaren nagusitasunari eutsi zion.

43. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Kirol saila (2008)**

	Futbola	Txirrind.	Saskib.	Pilota	Olinp.	Besteak
■ Euskadi Irratia	25	12,5	0	37,5	0	25
□ Etb1	52,17	8,7	13,04	0	8,7	17,39
▨ Berria	36,36	18,18	18,18	9,09	9,09	9,1
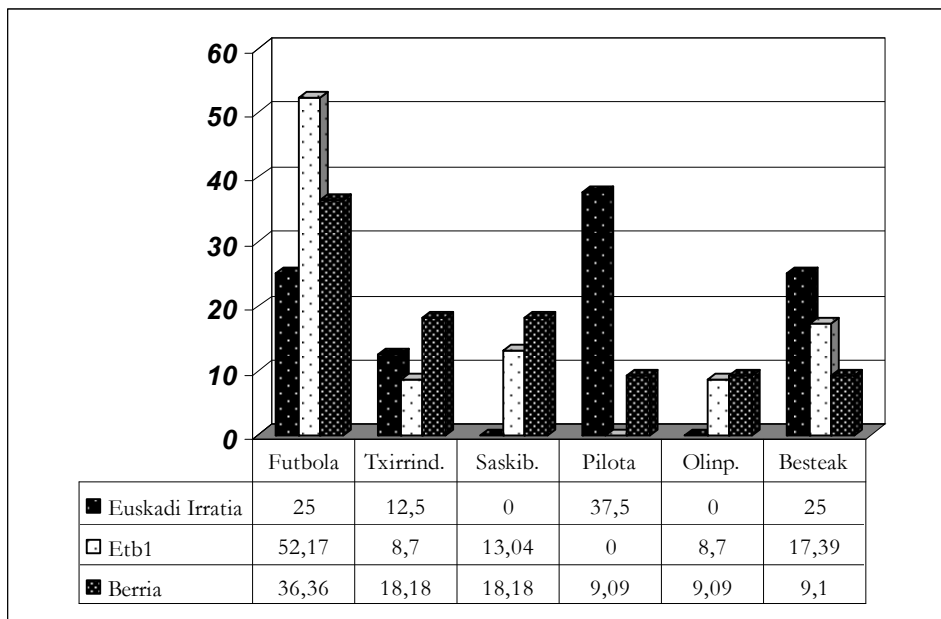
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskadi Irratia*n, *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n bat zetozen albisteen kopuruak hedabideon elkarrekiko konbergentziaren berri ematen zuen. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia* independenteena zen, bere albisteen %35,96 bakarrik gainerako bi hedabideetakoekin bat zetozelako. Politika sailak irratiaren esklusibotasun ratioa mugatzen zuen. *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n bat etorritako albisteen antzeko portzentajea agertzen zuten, Politikaz gain, ekonomia gaietan, kirol informazioan eta eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioetan bat egiten

zutelako. Horrenbestez, *Euskal Telebista*k aireratutako albisteen %44,84 gainerako euskarazko beste bi hedabideetan ere azaltzen ziren eta *Berria*k plazaratutako albisteen %43,75 ere bai.

Hiru hedabideok Politikari lekurik handiena egiten zioten eta sail hori banatzeko irizpideetan ere bat zetozen: euskal gatazkaren agerpen handian eta nazioarteko guden zein gatazken oihartzun handian, batez ere. Horregatik, albistegai bertsuen kopururik altuena agertzen zuen saila ere Politika zen, baina gehienetan bat zetorren informazioa EAEko jardunekoa zen eta, beraz, *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Berria*n euskal gatazka bigarren lekuan geratzen zen. *Etb1*eko albisteei, ostera, gatazkak EAEko politikak baino esklusibotasun txikiagoa zekarkien. Ildo beretik, Europar Batasuneko informazioak eta Espainiako nahiz Frantziako albiste instituzionalek hedabideok bat etortzeko hirugarren lekua zuten. Hortaz, gaien aniztasunari esker hedabideok lortzen zuten esklusibotasun mailarik handiena tokian tokiko administrazioen albisteek eta nazioarteko politika berriek emanikoa zen.

Euskarazko hedabideetan Ekonomia sailak agerpen esanguratsua berreskuratu bazuen ere, hiru hedabideotako albisteak bat etortzeko kontu horrekiko proportzionalak ziren. Horrenbestez, ematen ziren ekonomia albiste gehienak hiru hedabideetan zabaltzen ziren. Gizartean, ostera, berrien konbergentzia sailaren barne-antolaketaren araberakoa zen. Esaterako, beste behin ere, informazio arinak ezelango esklusibotasunik ematen ez zuela egiaztatu zen. Gero eta albiste arin gehiago, orduan eta bat egindako albiste kopuru altuagoa. Dena den, informazio arinak euskarazko hedabideen gizarte gaien erdia hartzen zuen (*Berria*n izan ezik) eta Gizarte atalaren konbergentziaren zergatiak informazio erabilgarrian (ohituretan, adibidez) ere bat etortzen ziren. Gainera, albiste sendorik gehien eskaintzen zuen *Berria*k gainerako hedabideek emandakoarekin bat zetorren informazioa zabaltzeko joera argia erakusten zuen. Beraz, haiek emandako berri arinak ez zituen egunkariak jasotzen.

Kultur albisteei tarterik handiena ere *Berria*k egiten zien. Hala ere, egunkariak lehen orrian plazaratzen zituen kultura albisteek *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Etb1*ean, batik bat, agertzeko probabilitate handiagoa zuten, alderantzizko norabidean ez baitzen berri bat ere identifikatu. Hirurek euskarari eta Euskal Herriko kultur ekimenei (Donostiako Zinemaldiari, esaterako) buruzko informazioan bat egin ohi zuten. Dena den, gutxien bat zetorren informazioa zen. Horregatik, hizkuntzaren eta lekuaren ardatzetara egokitzen ez ziren kultur albisteek euskarazko hedabideen dibergentzia zekarten, hots,

ez ziren gainerakoetan ematen. Adibidez, *Euskadi Irratia*k Madrilgo Rock in Rio jaialdia[281] iragarri zuen eta *Etb1*ek Soljenitsin-en hil-kaperako irudiak[282] zabaldu zituen. Bi adibideok, kultur adierari baino, euskarriari egotz zekizkiokeen hautuak dira. Lehenengoan, ez zen jaialdiaren egitarauaren inguruko daturik zabaldu eta bigarrenean, Soljenitsin-en hileta ekitaldiaren zehaztasunak baino ez ziren eman. Horrenbestez, euskaratik sortzen ez ziren kultur albisteek, hiru hedabideetara zabaltzeko, adierazgarritasun nabaria azaldu behar zuten. Bestela, informazio arintzat har zitezkeen albisteak izan daitezke. Esaterako, Soljenitsin-en heriotzaren berri aurreko egunean eman zuten. Horrek, beraz, ez du esan nahi euskarazko hedabideek nazioarteko kulturari tarterik egiten ez ziotenik. Alderantziz, hiru hedabideetan Euskal Herriz gaindiko kultur gaiak azaltzen ziren, baina kultur albisteen informazioa sendoa zenean bakarrik etortzen ziren hiru hedabideak bat.

Kirol albisteetan *Euskadi Irratia*k independentzia mailarik altuena agertzen zuen, pilotaren nagusitasuna ematen ziolako. Aldi berean, eguraldiaren ondorioei buruzko albisterik zabaltzen ez zuenez, kirol albisteei egindako tartea gainerako hedabideetakoa baino handiagoa zen. *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k, aldiz, azken kirol informazioan eta eguraldiaren ondorioei buruzko albisteetan antzekotasun handia erakusten zuten: bai bi informazio mota horiek hartzen zuten lekuari zegokiola, bai gaiok bi hedabideetan agertzeko azaltzen zuten joera nagusiari zegokiola ere.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideek agertzen zituzten albistegai bertsuen kopuruak bi ardatz azaltzen zituen. Alde batetik, jabetza publikoko hedabideekiko konbergentzia hiruretan guztirako albisteen %30etik gorakoa zen. Bestetik, *Berria*rekiko bat-egiteen kopurua nekez %30ra hel zitekeen. Horrenbestez, euskarazko hiru hedabideek komunikazio eredu publikoarekin konbergentzia handiagoa erakutsi zuten. Dena den, *Euskadi Irratia* hedabiderik independenteena izan zen, guztirako bat-egite metatuaren portzentajerik txikiena agertu zuelako. Izan ere, hedabide publikoekin eta gizarte ekimenez sortutakoarekin bat egindako albistegaiak ez ziren bertsuak. Horregatik, bat-egite metatua oraindik altuagoa zen.

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[281] 2008/06/27.
[282] 2008/08/05.

113. Taula – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

Hedabideak	*Euskadi Irratia*rekiko	*Etb1*ekiko	*Berria*rekiko	Konbergentzia metatua	Esklusibotasun-maila
Euskadi Irratia	—	%29,39	%21,49	**%35,96**	%64,04
Etb1	%36,6	—	%27,84	**%44,84**	%55,16
Berria	%30,63	%32,5	—	**%43,75**	%56,25

Iturria: Egilea.

Hortaz, *Etb1*ean eta *Euskadi Irratia*n ematen ziren albisteetako batzuk *Berria*n ere azaltzen ziren. Ildo beretik, *Berria*n eta *Etb1*ean agertzen ziren beste albiste batzuk aldi berean *Euskadi Irratia*n ere topatzen ziren. Beraz, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k bat egiten zituzten albisteetariko batzuekin bakarrik zetorren bat *Euskadi Irratia*. Izan ere, irrati publikoa hiru hedabideotatik askeena izan zen. Are gehiago, *Etb1*en edukiarekin gehien bat egiten zuen euskarazko hedabidea *Euskadi Irratia* zen (heren bat baino gehiago). Hala ere, *Berria* 2008an *Etb1*ekin irrati publikoarekin baino albiste gehiagotan bat etorri zen.

Horrenbestez, hiru hedabideek komunean zituzten albisteek ez zuten euskararen inguruan informatzen. Beraz, hirurek osatutako euskarazko komunikazio-esparruaren zati horren ezaugarria ez litzateke hizkuntzaren inguruko informazioa izango. Alderantziz, bat egiten ziren berrien erdia Politika saileko albisteak izaten ziren. Are gehiago, ekonomia berriek gizarte gaiek baino konbergentzia handiagoa erakusten zuten. Hortaz, hiru hedabideak elkartzeko kirolek kultur gaiek baino konbergentzia handiagoa (%58,7koa, hain zuzen) egiaztatu zuten.

44. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentziaren nolakotasuna**
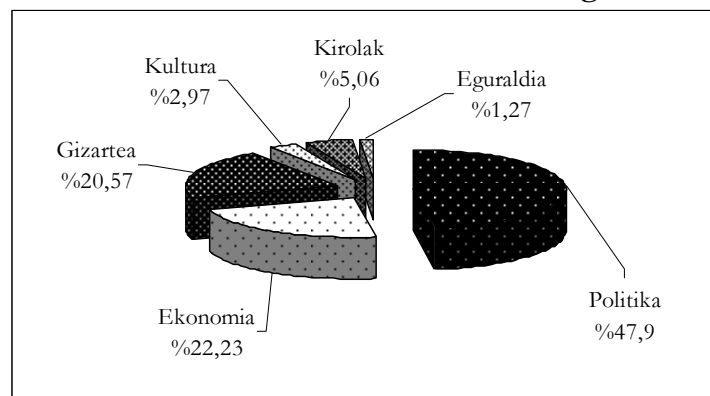
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainerako bi hedabideokin bat egiten zuen *Euskadi Irrati*ko informazioaren portzentajea ez zen asteburuetan eta udan ia aldatzen (%37,14koa eta %35,89koa zen, hurrenez hurren). Asteburuko *Etb1*eko albistegiak, aldiz, gaien dibergentzia handiagoa

erakusten zuen. Aste barruan, informazioaren %44,84 gainerako bidetan agertzen zen eta asteburuetan, %36,73 (Gizarte saila indartu ez ezik, albiste sendo gehiago ere eskaintzen zituelako). Gainera, esan bezala, *Etb1*eko kultur albisteak gehienetan ez zituzten gainerako euskarazko hedabideek jasotzen. *Berria*k, ostera, asteburuetan gai esklusibo gutxiago aurkezten zuen. Asteburuko lehen orriko albisteen erdia gainerako beste bi hedabideetan ere agertzen zen. *Euskal Telebista*ren antzera, asteburuetan *Berria*k gizarte atala gainerako sailen pentzutan indartzen zuen. Hortaz, albiste sendoek sail osoaren %70 hartu eta berri arinen pisua nabarmen jaitsi arren, informazio erabilgarria gehienetan bat etortzen zen. *Berria*k plazaratzen zituen kultur albisteek ere gainerako beste bi hedabideetan agertzeko probabilitate handiagoa zuten eta, horrela, lehen orriko albisteen konbergentzia nabarmen areagotzen zen. Azkenik, eguraldiaren eta denboraleen irudi-ondorioak asteburuko zenbakiko lehen orrian gehiagotan azaltzen ziren. *Etb1*ek horien berri ere ematen zuenez, asteburuko *Berria*k azalean agertzen zituen albisteen erdia euskarazko irratian eta telebistan ere jarrai zitezkeen. Are gehiago, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*k igandeko *Euskadi Irrati*ko eta *Etb1*eko albistegiekin %12ko konbergentzia erakusten zuen. Horrenbestez, honakoak ziren konbergentzia horren zutabeak: AEBetako politika, gizarte gaiak (ohiturak, batik bat) eta kirolak (txirrindularitza, gehienetan).

Udako oporraldian, ostera, *Berria*k gainerako biek baino dibergentzia handiagoa agertzen zuen, haiek egunkariaren lehen orriko albisteen %23 soilik jasotzen baitzuten. *Euskadi Irratia*k urteko portzentajeari eusten zion (%35,89) eta *Euskal Telebista* inoiz baino hedabide konbergenteago bihurtu zen: bere albisteen %61,54 gainerako euskarazko hedabideek ere zabaltzen zituzten berriak ziren. Udako albistegietako Politika saila bi gaien inguruan polarizatuta zegoen: euskal gatazka eta nazioarteko berriak. *Euskadi Irratia*ren eta *Berria*ren kasuan, euskal gatazka konbergentziarik altuena agertzen zuen. *Euskal Telebista*ri esklusibotasunik txikiena EAEko politikak ematen zion. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek ez zuen 2008ko udan horrelako albisterik zabaldu eta Politika saileko albisteen %44,44 euskal gatazkaren ingurukoak izan ziren. Gainerako %55,56 nazioarteko politikaren berri emateko baliatu zuen, urtean eskaintzen zion tartearen bikoitza alegia. Azken horrek hiru hedabideok gutxienetan bat etortzeko aukerarik handiena ematen zuen. Horrenbestez, *Berria*k alderantzizko politika adiera nabarmendu zuen udako oporraldian. Euskal gatazkari Politika saileko informazioaren %71,43 eskaini zion eta soberakina (%28,57), nazioarteko gertakizunei. *Euskadi Irratia*k

nazioarteko informazioaren atala ia bikoiztu bazuen ere, euskal gatazkak tarte erdia baino txikiagoa hartu zuen. Gainera, Espainiako eta Frantziako informazio instituzionala eman zuen hiruretatik bakarra izan zen. Dena den, Politika saila udan arintzeko joera azaldu zuten hirurek eta, horren trukean, gizarte gaiak nabarmen indartu zituzten. Horregatik, *Etb1* konbergenteago agertzen zen eta *Berria*, dibergenteago. Izan ere, telebistak albiste arin gutxiago aireratu arren, informazio erabilgarria hirurek gehien jasotakoa izaten zen. Udako albistegietan, informazio erabilgarria gertuko jaietako egitarauek eta kronikek osatu ohi zuten, hala nola San Fermin eta Ama Zuriaren jaiek. Horregatik, udako *Berria*k albiste arin gehiago plazaratu arren (istripuei leku bikoitza egin zien), ez zekarten informazio erabilgarriaren konbergentzia-maila bera. Gainera, *Etb1*ek kirol tartea sendotu egin zuen, gainerako sailen kontura, eta horiek ere euskarazko hedabideetan gehienetan bat zetozen albisteak izaten ziren.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideek erakusten zuten elkarrekiko konbergentziaren zergatia argitzeko, hedabideok gehien jarraitutako euskarri bereko Euskal Herriko beste hedabideekin ere alderatu ditugu. Lehenengo eta behin, *Euskadi Irratia*ren albisteak EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hiru hedabideek (*Euskalerria Irratia*k, *Gure Irratia*k eta *France Bleu*k) aireratu zituzten berriekin konparatu ditugu. Euskal Herriko beste bi eremu administratiboetan zabaltzen ziren hiru hedabideotako albisteen %15,84, hala ere, bat zetozen. Banakako portzentajeak apalagoak ziren (*Euskalerria Irratia*, %11,96; *Gure Irratia*, %7,95; eta *France Bleu*, %3,72), herrialde bakarrean gauzatutako jardunaren bat-egitea neurtzen zutelako. Horretarako, euskal gatazkaren nagusitasunaz gain, albiste sendoak lantzeko joerak eta euskaratik informatzeko kontzepzioak ere gainerako hedabideetako alderaketan baino konbergentzia handiagoa erakusten zuten Nafarroakoak eta Ipar Euskal Herrikoek. Ondoren, EiTB taldeko erdarazko *Radio Euskadi*rekin euskarazko irratiak bere informazioaren %28,22 bakarrik bat etorri zen. Hortaz, bi irrati independente moduan jarduten zuten eta, *Euskal Telebista* ez bezala, *Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko erredakzio propioa eta berezitua zuen. Gainera, *Radio Euskadi*k gaztelerak definitzen zuen informazio-eremua berezkoa zuen: EAE, hain zuzen. Horrenbestez, hedabide bakoitzaren ezaugarriek euren arteko dibergentzia azaltzen zuten: EAEko politikan gehienetan bat etorri arren, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Radio Euskadi*k ez zuten kultur gai bera behin ere ez agertu. Euskal Herrian gehien jarraitzen zen Espainiako *Cadena Ser*-rekin, ordea, sail guztietan bat etorritako albisteak erakutsi

zituen *Euskadi Irratia*k. Hortaz, azken horrekin bat egindako albisteen portzentajea %13,15ekoa zen.

Beraz, *Radio Euskadi*k daturik altuena erakutsi arren, kultur adiera bera zuten herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideek azaldu zuten portzentajea kualitatiboki esanguratsuagoa da, *Euskadi Irratia*k haien zabaltze-eremuak berezko ez zituelako (Nafarroa eta Ipar Euskal Herria). Horregatik, Politika sailean bat zetozen albisteak ez ziren *Euskadi Irratia*k eremu administratibo horien inguruan zabaldutako informazio politikoaren ingurukoak. Are gehiago, euskaratik EAEra gerturatutako beste eremu administratibo horietako irratiak ziren. Horrela, Lapurdiko *Gure Irratia*k "Zapatero *Gasteiza etortzekoa*"[283] zela iragartzearen adiera euskaratik sortzen da. Horrenbestez, esan bezala, Politika sailak bat egindako albisterik gehien biltzen zituenez, herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin *Euskadi Irratia*k euskal gatazkaren inguruko informazioan konbergentziarik handien azaldu zuen. Espainiako *Ser* irratiak, ordea, gatazkari buruzko albisteetan gutxien bat zetorrena izan zen. Azken horrekin gehien bat etorritako informazioa Espainiako Gobernuaren ingurukoa izan zen eta, batez ere, nazioarteko politikari buruzkoa (AEBetakoa, batik bat). Hortaz, *Radio Euskadi* bi hedabide moten artean kokatzen zen. Alde batetik, ez zion euskal gatazkari herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideek adinako lekurik egiten, baina *Ser*-rek agertutako arreta gainditzen zuen. Bestetik, Espainiako informazioan eta nazioarteko berrietan ere aurreko bien erdiko lekua hartzen zuen *Radio Euskadi*k. Sortzezko zeregin nagusia, beraz, euskal adiera eta erdal mundua gerturatzea ez ezik, EAEko politika instituzionala albait berezkoen egitea ere bazen. Horregatik, Ekonomia sailean ere bi joera horiek antzeman zitezkeen. Izan ere, herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideek gertuko enpresen gorabeherei erreparatzen zizkioten neurrian, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin gero eta konbergenteagoak ziren. Espainiako *Ser* irratia, ordea, nazioarteko ekonomiari buruzko berrietan eta kontsumo gaien inguruan *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat zetorren. *Radio Euskadi*k, beraz, lan-merkatuaren legeria eta arrantza politikak hobestean alderaketaren zatirik handiena lortzen zuen.

Gizarte sailak, ostera, herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideen konbergentziaren nagusitasuna berretsi zuen. Atal horri lekurik txikiena egin arren, albiste sendoekin osatzen zuten eta, beraz, euskarazko hedabideak orduan eta bat egindako informazio-tarterik altuen agertzen zuten. Erdarazko hedabideek, baina, informazio arinari leku handiagoa egiteko joera erakutsi zuten, Gizarte sailaren bi herenak hartzen zizkien-eta.

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[283] 2008/05/14.

Horrenbestez, euskalduntasunak islatu nahi duen komunitatearen berri ematean euskarazko irratiak bat zetozen: EAEz gaindiko eremuetakoak eta *Euskadi Irratia.*

Azken bi sailetan, kultura eta kirol gaietan alegia, *Radio Euskadi*k ez zuen *Euskadi Irratia*k aireratutako albisterik azaldu. Horrenbestez, kulturak Nafarroako eta Ipar Euskal Herriko euskarazko hedabideen gertutasuna agerrarazi zuen. *Cadena Ser*-ren berriak, gainera, hedabideetako entzule-inkestei buruzkoak ziren eta, beraz, bat-egiteak ez zuen *Euskadi Irratia*ren hizkuntza hautua zalantzan ipintzen, ez eta euskal kulturaren adiera erdarara zabaltzen ere. Kiroletan, ostera, *Ser* irratiarekin bat etorritako informazioak nazioarteko kirol-diziplinen berri ematen zuen eta herrialdeetako euskarazko irratiek, ordea, Espainiako futbola zuten hizpide.

45. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
■ EAEtik gaindiko eremuetakoekin	51,72	13,79	20,68	10,36	3,45
□ Abertzale erdaldunekin	63,05	23,91	13,04	0	0
▨ Estatuetakoekin	53,34	23,33	16,67	3,33	3,33
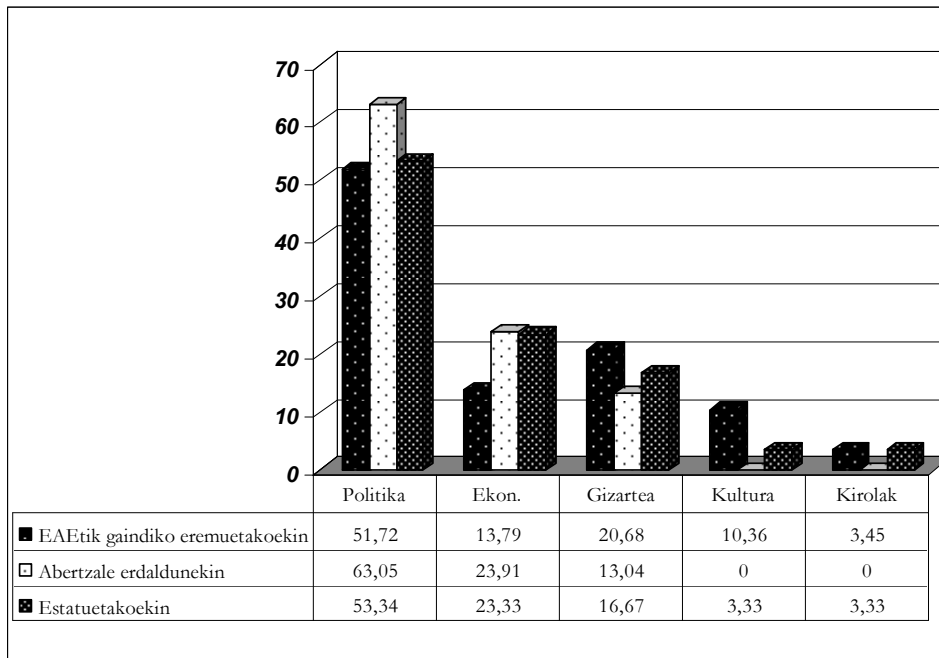
Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, *Etb1*eko albisteak Euskal Herrian gehien ikusitako telebistekin alderatu ditugu. Horretarako, Iparraldean gehien jarraitutako *France 3*ko euskarazko emankizunaz gain, Espainiako eta Frantziako kate pribatuetako albistegiak ere aztertu ditugu. Lehenengoa EAEz gaindiko eremu bateko telebista litzateke eta bigarren taldekoak, ordea, Estatuetako hedabideak. Beraz, Euskal Herriko telebista abertzale erdaldunik ez dago, *Etb2*k EAE arretagunetzat hartzen duen neurrian telebista instituzionala baita. Dena den, EiTBko bi kateek erredakzioa bera partekatzen zuten eta, horregatik, albistegi bera lantzen zuten. Izan ere, *Etb1*eko eta *Etb2*ko titularrak

%95,87tan bat zetozen. Bat egiten ez zuten berriak euskal gatazkari, nazioarteko politikari, gizarteari eta kirolei buruzkoak ziren. Beraz, euskarazko kateak eta erdarazkoak Kultura sail osoan erabateko konbergentzia agertu zuten. Ikusi dugun bezala, gai horietan gainerako euskarazko hedabideetan dibergentziarik handiena agertzen zuen *Etb1*ek. *Etb2*rekin bat etorri ez eta modu esklusiboan zabaltzen zituen albistegiaren %5 horretan ere ez zegoen kultur berririk. Beraz, *Etb1*ek ez zeritzen hizkuntzari eta horretatik eratorritako kulturari *Etb2*rengandik bereizteko ezaugarri. Ondorioz, albiste horiek ez zetozen *Euskadi Irrati*koekin eta *Berria*koekin bat etortzen. Azken batean, *Etb1*ek *Etb2*ren ezaugarrien araberako edukia euskaraz ematen zuen. Horregatik, herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin (*France 3*rekin, kasu honetan) *Etb1*ek erakusten zuen konbergentzia (%5,81etan bakarrik etorri ziren bat) Frantziako *Tf1* kate pribatuko albistegiekin (%12,85) agertzen zuena baino nabarmen txikiagoa zen, erdia alegia. *Tf1*ekin, ostera, euskal gatazkaren inguruko berririk ez, baina kultur gaiak ere partekatzen zituen. Are gehiago, Espainiako *Telecinco* kate pribatuarekin %26,81ko ratioa azaldu zuen eta bi Estatuetako hedabideekiko guztirako konbergentzia metatua %30,72koa zen, hots, hedabide abertzaleen ereduaren araberako portzentajea (*Euskadi Irratia*k *Radio Euskadi*rekin agertzen zuena edo *Berria*k, *Gara*rekin eta *Le Journal*ekin).

Hortaz, irratien azterketan antzeman ditugun bi ereduak telebisten analisian ere errepikatzen ziren. Euskal gatazkari (politikoari nahiz armatuari) zuzendutako arreta handiaren kontura, *France 3 Etb1*ekin gehienetan bat zetorren hedabidea zen. *Telecinco*rekin, aldiz, Espainiako Gobernuaren inguruko informazioan konbergenteen azaltzen zen *Etb1*. Ildo beretik, estatuetako telebistekin nazioarteko albisteetan konbergentziarik handiena erakusten zuen *Euskal Telebista*k, AEBetako berri instituzionalei zegokienez batik bat. Izan ere, Espainiako eta Frantziako albistegietako azpiatal jakin batzuek *Etb1*en informazioa berdintzen zuten, hala nola nazioarteko ekonomiak, Gizarte saileko berri arinek, AEBetako zinemari buruzko albisteek, jarraitzaile ugariko kirol-diziplinek (txirrindularitzak, esaterako) eta eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioek. Hortaz, *France 3*k euskal kulturari eta gertuko kirolei tarte handia egin arren, *Etb1*ek ez zien azpiatal horiei erreparatu.

46. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
***Etb1*ek euskarazko eta erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak	Egurald.
■ EAEtik gaindiko eremuetakoekin	60	20	20	0	0	0
□ Estatuetakoekin	38,18	23,63	30,91	1,82	3,64	1,82
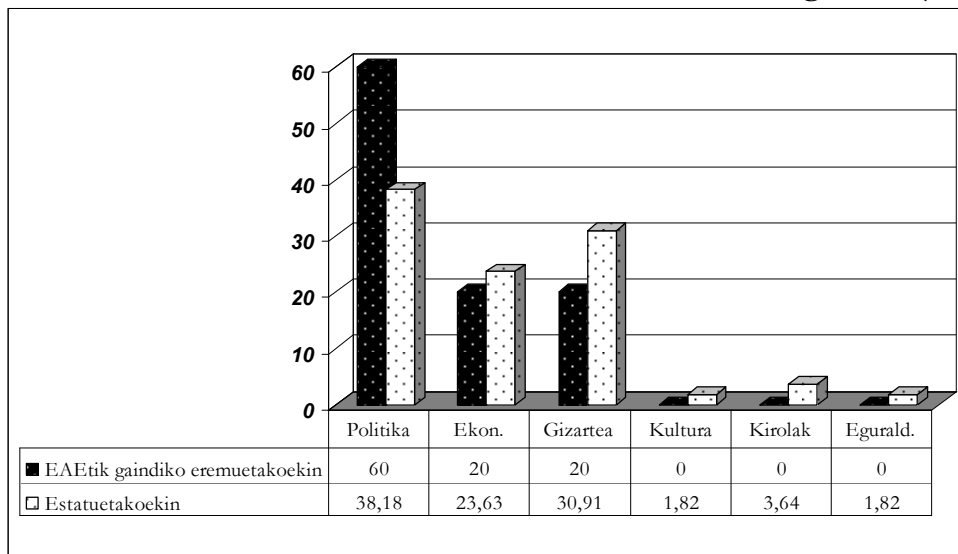
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, *Berria* gertuko egunkariekin alderatu dugu. Alde batetik, egunkari abertzale erdaldunek konbergentzia maila altua erakutsi zuten. *Gara*ren lehen orriko informazioarekin %31,25etan bat etorri zen *Berria* eta *Le Journal*ekin, %10,625etan. Guztira, *Berria*k egunkari abertzaleekin erakutsi zuen konbergentzia metatua %35ekoa izan zen. Beste aldetik, Euskal Herriko egunkari erregionalistekin alderatuta, azken horien talde osoarekin albiste gehiago partekatu zituen *Berria*k (%40,625). Banaka, ordea, *Gara*rekin baino bat-egite txikiagoa erakutsi zuten. Gipuzkoako *Diario Vasco* egunkari erregionalistarik gertukoena izan zen (%25); ondoren, Bizkaiko *El Correo Español* (%21,25) zein *Diario de Noticias de Álava* (%20,625); eta, azkenik, *Diario de Navarra* (%17,5). Horrenbestez, egunkari erregionalistek *Berria*rekin egunkari abertzaleek baino politika albiste bertsu gehiago azaldu zituzten. Dena den, ez ziren tokiko administrazioei buruzko albisteetan bat etorri, ez eta Espainiako nahiz Frantziako berrietan ere ez, EAEko politika instituzionalean baizik.

Egunkari abertzaleek Estatuetako irrati eta telebistek agertutako ezaugarririk hartu zuten, besteak beste, nazioarteko informazioaren garrantzia. Horregatik, atal horretan, *Berria*rekin bat etorri ziren eta, gainera, gehienetan AEBetako politikari buruzko albisteak izan ziren. Herrialdeetako euskarazko egunkaririk ez dagoenez, ezin izan da egiaztatu euskal gatazkaren inguruko informazioaren konbergentzian zer hedabide motak eragiten zuen sendoago: herrialdeetako euskarazko irratiek eta

telebistek edo egunkari abertzaleek (azken horiek erregionalistek baino bat-egite handiagoa erakutsi baitzuten).

Hortik aurrera, aurreko hedabideen azterketan ondorioztatu ahal izan den bezala, egunkari erregionalistek sail jakin batzuetako azpiataletan nabarmentzeko kazetaritza-eredua azaldu zuten. *Berria* kazetaritza-jarduera horretatik gero eta gertuago zegoen. Izan ere, egunkari erregionalisten bat-etortze portzentajerik altuenak azpiatal horietan erakutsi zituen: zerbitzuei edo kontsumoari buruzko albiste ekonomikoetan, Gizarte saileko informazio arinean (esklusibotasunerako aukerak erdira mugatzen zituen) eta kiroletan. Gainera, egunkari abertzaleek euskararen inguruko berriak zabaldu bazituzten ere, egunkari erregionalistek *Berria*k plazaratutako Kultura saileko albiste gehiago azaldu zituzten, arte-diziplina anitzagoak landu baitzituzten, bertsolaritza barne.

47. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
_Berria_k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak	Eguraldia
■ Abertzaleekin	58,93	10,71	14,29	10,71	5,36	0
□ Erregionalistekin	44,62	21,54	13,85	12,31	6,15	1,53
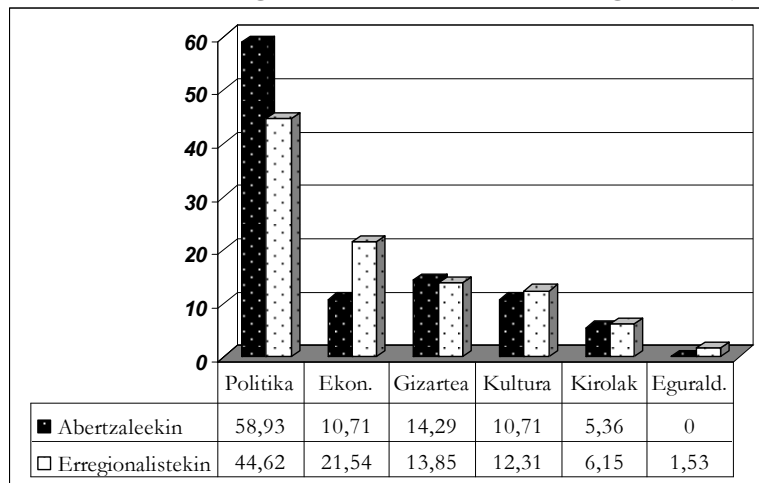
Iturria: Egilea.

Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*ren zenbakiak, azkenik, asteleheneko egunkari erregionalistengandik ere gertuago zegoen. Astearteko zenbakiak gainerako hedabide horietako asteleheneko lehen orriko edukiaren %9,375 agertzen zuen (gizarte gaiak eta kirolak, batik bat). Asteleheneko egunkari abertzaleekin, ostera, %6,875eko konbergentzia agertu zuen astearteko *Berria*k, euskal gatazkari eta AEBetako informazioari buruzko albisteetan batez ere. Horrenbestez, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*ren edukiak euskarazko hedabideetako igandeko albistegiarekin bat egiten zuen portzentajea %12koa zen, hots, egunkari erregionalistena baino altuagoa eta egunkari abertzaleen bikoitza.

*Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Euskal Telebista*ren *eta Berria*ren arteko konbergentziari dagokionez, beraz, bat-egiterik altuena haien artean ematen zela egiaztatu da (*Etb1*ek eta *Etb2*k informazio-zerbitzuak partekatzen zituztenez, haien edukia %95,87an bat etortzen zela kontuan izan barik). Ondoren, hedabide erregionalisten eta abertzaleen zenbait albistetan ere bat etortzen ziren. Gainera, euskarazko gainerako hedabideengandik independenteagoak ziren neurrian, hedabide erregionalisten eta abertzaleen eredutik ere gero eta askeagoak ziren. Horren adibide *Euskadi Irratia* dugu. *Berria*k, aldiz, irratiaren konbergentzia bikoitza agertzen zuen erdarazko egunkariekin. Ildo beretik, erdarazko hedabide erregionalista baten ezaugarriak zituzten edukiak euskaraz ematen zituen *Etb1*ek. Horregatik, estatuetako hedabideen kazetaritza eredua herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideena baino berezkoagoa zuen. Beraz, hedabide erregionalista eta abertzaleen ezaugarriak berenganatu zituzten heinean, *Etb1* eta *Berria* elkarrengandik konbergenteagoak ziren eta *Euskadi Irratia*rekiko, dibergenteagoak. Gainera, hedabide erregionalistek horikeria erakusletzat hartu izan ziren gaiak sarriagotan plazaratzen zituzten. Horren ildotik, erdarazko hedabide instituzionalek estatuetako kazetaritza ereduarekin sarriagotan bat egiten zuten. *Euskal Telebista*k, adibidez, *Etb2*ren eduki bera zuen neurrian, *Telecinco eta Tf1*ekin *Euskadi Irratia*k *Cadena Ser*-rekin agertzen zuen konbergentziaren bikoitza erakusten zuen. Kontuan hartzekoa da *Euskadi Irratia*k *Etb1*ek baino estatuei buruzko informazio instituzional gehiago plazaratu zuela. Beraz, estatuetako kazetaritza ereduarekin bat egiteko gakoa ez zetzan estatuen informazioa barneratzean, mundua ulertzeko haien adieraren mendekoa izatean baizik (hobesten zuten kazetaritza eredua bereganatuz, esaterako).

Erdarazko hedabideekin ez ezik, euskarazko hedabideotako edukiarekiko ere konbergentziarik handiena *Etb1*ek agertu zuen. Udako oporraldian, gainera, hedabideekiko bat-egiteak informazio-mendekotasunik ere azal zezakeen. *Etb1*eko kultur albisteek euskarazko hedabideetan ere agertzeko aukera urriak zituzten. Beraz, *Berria* hedabide erregionalisten eta abertzaleen ezaugarrien albistegaiengandik gertuago agertzen zen neurrian, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia areagotzen zen, *Etb1*ek agertzen zuen erdarazko ereduaren bereizgarriak ere onartzea zekarrelako. Hau da, kirol berriek eta eguraldiaren irudi-albisteek *Berria* eta *Etb1 Euskadi Irrati*tik urruntzen zituzten neurri berean, erdarazko hedabideekin konbergenteagoak bihurtzen zituzten. Horrenbestez, nazioarteko albisteek (AEBetakoek, batik bat) euskarazko

hedabideen arteko dibergentzia handitzen zuten proportzio berean, estatuetako hedabideekiko konbergentzia suspertzen zuten.

Ildo beretik, EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin bat etortzeko giltza ez zen hedabideak eremu administratibo horri zuzendutako arreta, euskaratik sortutako adiera baizik. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*k Nafarroako eta Ipar Euskal Herriko irratiekin Espainiako hedabideekin baino albiste gehiagotan eta sail anitzagokoetan bat egin zuen. *Etb1*ek, ordea, ez zuen *France 3*rekin apenas konbergentziarik agertu. Are gehiago, bat etorritako informazioa, euskaratik abiatuta, Ipar Euskal Herriko telebistak Hegoaldera begira emandako albisteetan suertatu zen. Horrenbestez, *Etb1* ez zen *Etb2* baino euskaldunagoa, bi telebistek zaindu zuten esklusibotasuna ez baitzegokion kultur gai bati ere ez, ez eta euskarazko hedabideek gainerako hedabideetatik bereizten zuen kazetaritza ereduaren ezaugarriei ere ez (euskal gatazka politikoa edo armatua, gizarte informazioa sendoa etab.).

114. Taula – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia (%):
Gainerako hedabideekin duten konbergentzia metatua (2008)

	Euskarazko hedabideekin	EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin	Erdarazko hedabide abertza-leekin	Hedabide abertzale instituzio-nalekin	Hedabide erregiona-listekin	Estatuetako hedabi-deekin
Euskadi Irratia	%35,96	%15,84	–	%28,22	–	%13,15
Etb1	%44,84	%5,81	–	%95,87	–	%30,72
Berria	%43,75	–	%35	–	%40,625	–

Iturria: Egilea.

EiTB taldeko euskarazko irratiak eta telebistak informazio-eredu zeharo ezberdinak erakutsi zituzten, gero eta dibergenteagoak, gainera. *Berria*k, baina, bien ezaugarriak biltzen zituen. Hala ere, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakiak *Etb1*en eredua bete-betean bere egiten zuen: AEBetako informaziorik gehien zabaltzen zuen hedabidea izaten zen, Politika saileko albiste gehienak nazioartekoak ziren, informazio ekonomikoa zerbitzuetara mugatzen zituen eta gizarte gai arin gehiago plazaratzen zituen.

Hala ere, hiru hedabideotan euskarazko kazetaritzaren eredu autozentratuaren ideiaren inguruan bat egiten duten ezaugarriak antzeman daitezke. Lehenengo eta behin, Ekonomia sailaren tamaina euskal gizartearen egoera sozio-ekonomikoarekin lotuta agertzen zen. Kapitalismoaren berezko noizbehinkako krisialdietara egokitzen den tamaina hartu ohi zuen. Horregatik, 80ko hamarkadan (industria-birmoldaketaren

sasoian) eta 2008an (nazioarteko finantza sistemaren gainbeherarekin bat) ekonomia albisteei leku handiagoa egin ez ezik, hiru hedabideek ere informazio bera jaso zuten.

Bigarrenik, zazpi eguneko informazio-normaltasunerako bidean, astelehen ordezko asteArteko *Berria*k egun bateko albiste gabezia asetzeko Espainiako futbolari nagusitasuna kendu eta, lehenengoz, kulturari garrantzia handiagoa eman zion.

Hirugarrenik, nazioarteko jarraitzaile ugariko arte-diziplinez gain, tokiko kulturari tarte handiagoa egiten zieten neurrian, *Euskadi Irratia* eta *Berria* EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin konbergenteagoak ziren eta, aldi berean, erdarazko hedabideetatik (erregionalistak, abertzaleak eta estatuetakoak), askeagoak.

Azkenik, euskarazko hiru hedabideen artean bat zetorren informazioak, euskalduntasunari erreferentzia egiten zion neurrian, konbergentziarako joera handiagoa agertu zuen. Beraz, irratiak eta telebistak hurrengo egunean egunkariak jasotzen zuen informazioaren euskal ezaugarriak hobesten zituzten hedabideok. Horregatik, *Etb1*ek agertutako *Etb2*ko kultur albisterik ez zuen *Berria*k apenas jasotzen. Hala ere, *Berria*k emandako albisteak hurrengo egunean, kontrako norabidean, telebistak ere jasotzen zituen. Esate baterako (azterlanetik kanpo), Renon istripu batean hildako euskal gazte baten bihotza jaso zuen emakumea gaztearen gurasoak bisitatzera etorri ziren, esker ona adieraztera alegia. *Berria*k 2007ko abenduaren 11n horren berri eman zuen eta *Etb1*ek, orduan, aurreko egunean baino, hurrengoan (hots, abenduaren 12an) informatu zuen.

Ondorioz, euskal gatazkak informazio-lehenespena galduko ote duen sasoirik baletor, euskarazko hedabideetako gaien aniztasunak erdarazko hedabideekin bat egitera bidera litzake. Euskarazko hedabideek AEBetako politikari eta gizarte gai arinei tarte handiagoa egingo baliete, euskarazko komunikazio-esparrutik urrundu eta erdarazko hedabideekin bat egingo luketela egiaztatu ahal izan dugu. Jardun politikoaren gakoa herritarren parte-hartzean datzanez, erdarazko hedabideen eduki globalak geureganatzea kaltegarria litzateke, kazetaritza eredu asimilatzailea baitakarte. Ostera, euskarazko hedabideen arteko aniztasunak euskaratik sortutako pluraltasuna islatzeko abagunea du. Hurbileko eremu horretan euskarazko hedabideak erdarazkoekiko dibergenteak direnez, haien nortasun propioari eutsi ahal izango lioketen arloa osatzen du gertutasunak. Bide horrek euskal nortasun anitz sortzeko eta islatzeko ildoa seinalatuko luke. Horretarako, gertuko albisteen irakurketa euskaldun zabala garatu beharko lukete euskarazko hedabideek.

b. Protagonistak (*Diversity of protagonists*)

McQuailek garatutako islatze-aniztasunaren kontzeptutik eratortzen denez, hedabideek albait igorlerik eta hartzailerik gehien islatzea dute eginkizun eta, beraz, helburu ere. Aniztasuna, horrenbestez, mendebaldeko gizarte demokratiko askotarikoekin lotu izan da. Horregatik, zenbait Estatuk edukien araberako legezko kuotak ezarri izan dituzte. Albisteei dagokienez, berrien protagonista aktiboa nor den aztertuko da, hots, zeinen jardunak sortu duen albistea.

b.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Lehenengo ikerketa honetan *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenak (1983-1989), *Egunkaria*ren sorrerarekin abiatu ziren euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002) eta horien sendotzea (2003-2007) aztertuko ditugu. Horrela, bakoitzaren ezaugarriak ezagutu eta kazetaritza joerak identifikatu ahal izango ditugu.

b.1.1. *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenak (1983-1989)

Azterketaren emaitzak modu grafikoan azaldu ahal izateko, hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteetako protagonistak gizartean duten eginkizunaren arabera sailkatu ditugu: Administrazioa, eragile profesionalak, eragile autonomoak eta protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko informazioa. Hortaz, Administrazioaren kategoria botereko eta oposizioko politikariek osatuko lukete, bai eta poliziak eta epaileek ere. *Euskal Telebista*k bere hastapenetan politikarien agerpena elkarrizketaren formatuarekin lotzen zuen, gaurkotasuneko gai baten inguruko zehaztasunetan sakontzeko[284]. Are gehiago, prentsaurrekorik zegoenean, horien berritasunagatik, prentsaurrekoa bera albistetzat hartzen zen[285]. *Euskal Telebista*n Administrazioak berri guztien herena hartzen zuen.

Bigarrenik, Administrazioaren eta errealitatean eragiten dutenen arteko mezu-igorleak eragile profesionalak dira. Horregatik, enpresaburuen eta langileen sindikatuez gain, Kultura eta Kirol sailetan egintzaren subjektuak ez diren kultur elkarteak zein sustatzaileak eta kirol talde-buruak nahiz entrenatzaileak ere eragile profesionaltzat

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[284] Esaterako, ETAko presoen bergizarteratzearen inguruan, Joseba Azkarragari egindako elkarrizketa (1986/12/26).
[285] Adib., 1989/07/21.

hartuko ditugu[286]. Epe honetako *Euskal Telebista*k eragile profesionalei egiten zien tartea %11,77koa zen.

Hirugarrenik, eragile autonomoak gizarte bizitzaren oinarriak dira, hala nola langileen antolaketa autonomoa, euskara elkarteak, gizarte mugimenduak, kultur sortzaileak eta kirolariak eurak. Esaterako, Orbegozo enpresako langileen asanblada, ETAk enpresaren administrazio kontseiluko lehendakaria bahitutakoan[287] edo Poloniako bi gazteren asilo eskakizuna[288] jaso zituen *Etb*k, baina kultur sortzaileen eta kirolarien agerpena nagusi zen. Hastapenetako *Euskal Telebista*ko guztirako albisteen erdiak eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat zituen.

Azkenik, gizartean jarduteko ekimenik ez duten banakako herritarrak (kategoria jakinetan sailkatuta –lege-hausleak, adibidez– nahiz gizartea, masa legez) eta protagonista pertsonifikaturik ez duten kasuak ere zenbatu ditugu. Bizkaiko eta Gipuzkoako kostaldean agertutako bidoien inguruko albistearen[289] moduko informazioa litzateke. Protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak 80. hamarkadako *Etb*n ia hutsalak ziren (%5,88).

48. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb* (1983-1989)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Etb	31,37	11,77	50,98	5,88
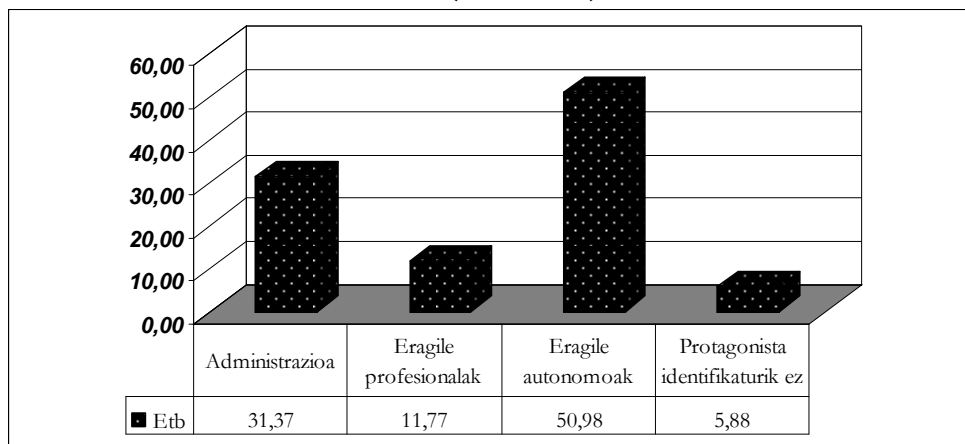
Iturria: Egilea.

Esan bezala, *Euskal Telebista*k eragile autonomoei eman zien agerpenak Kultura eta Kirol sailetan zuen oinarria (%100, Kulturaren kasuan eta %92,1, kiroletan). Ondorioz, kirol talde-buruek eta Ekonomia saileko enpresaburuen zein langileen

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[286] Gurelesa enpresaren administrazio kontseiluaren aurkezpena (1988/10/05) edo CCOO sindikatuko ordezkariek zerga-sistemari buruzko haien iritzia plazaratzea (1983/09/21) eragile profesionalen adibide ditugu.
[287] 1983/01/03.
[288] 1985/11/05.
[289] 1987/05/02.

sindikatuek %11,77ko ordezkaritza lortu zuten. Politika sailaren osotasuna politikariei zegokien. Gizarte atalean, gai sendoetako igorleak eragile autonomoak izaten ziren bitartean, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteen kopururik altuena zuen atala zen. Horregatik, bi sail horiek berebiziko arretarekin aztertuko ditugu.

Politika sailak jasotzen zituen Hego Euskal Herriko alderdi politikoen agerpena ez zetorren gizartearen boto bidezko ordezkaritzarekin bat. Izan ere, alderdi sozialistak 1983tik 1989ra bitarteko albisteen erdia bildu zuen. Sasoi hartan, PSOE Espainiako Gobernuan zegoen, Nafarroako lehendakaritza zuen eta 1986tik aurrera EAEko Jaurlaritzan ere parte hartu zuen. Dena den, PSOE protagonista zuten albiste gehienak euskal gatazkarekin lotuta zeuden, Madrilgo Barne Ministerioak horren inguruko informazioa zabaltzen baitzuen. Horrenbestez, gatazkari buruzko albisteek Politika saileko %31,25 hartzen zuten. Ondoren, EAJk Nafarroako UPNk besteko tartea izan zuen eta EAk, horien bi herenak. EAJ, baina, orduko EAEko bi lehendakarien alderdia zen (Garaikoetxea eta Ardanza, hain zuzen). Gainera, *Euskal Telebista*k eremu administratibo horri politika albisteen %37,51 eskaintzen zion. Ezker abertzaleari eta Ezker Batuari buruzko berririk ez zuen *Euskal Telebista*k jaso, baina ETAri informazioaren %5,26 eskaini zion. Gainera, informazio politikoaren ia %80 agintean zeuden alderdiei buruzkoa zen. Hortaz, EAJren agerpen urria are deigarriagoa da.

49. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb*ko Politika saila (1983-1989)**

	EAJ	PSOE-EE	UPN-PP	Ezker Abert.	EA	EB-IU	ETA
■ Etb	15,79	52,64	15,79	0	10,52	0	5,26
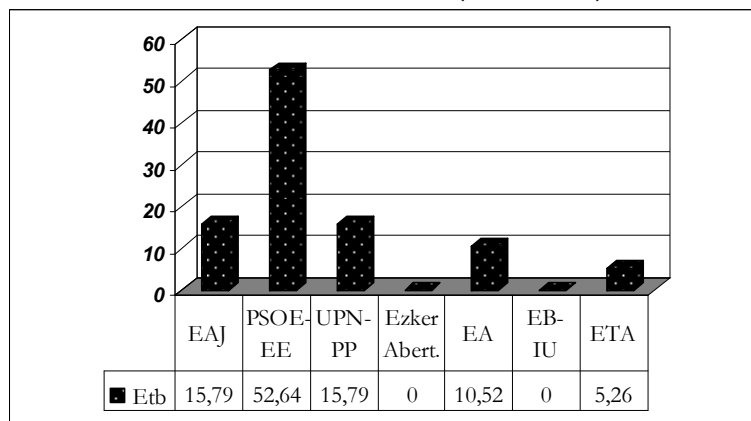
Iturria: Egilea.

Nazioarteko politikan, ordea, agintarien protagonismoa %62,5ekoa zen. Beraz, atzerriko oposizioko taldeei Euskal Herrikoei baino tarte handiagoa egiten zien *Etb*k: %37,5ekoa, nazioartean eta %32,5ekoa, bertako politikan, hain zuzen. Dena den, protagonisten aniztasunak albistegai izateko pluraltasuna adierazi nahi du; albiste

horietan agertzen diren alderdiek jasaten duten tratamendua, aldiz, gizarte ekimenak aztertuko du.

Gizarte sailak, azkenik, hiru protagonista mota bakarrik agertzen zituen: Administrazioa, eragile autonomoak eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak. Horrenbestez, eragile profesionalek ez zuten gizarte gairik protagonizatzen. Are gehiago, politikariak ere Gizarte sailetik kanpo geratzen ziren. Horregatik, atal horretan agertzen ziren bi protagonista-mota nagusiak sakonago identifikatzeari hobeto iritzi diogu. Horrela, Administrazioa baino, polizia eta epaileak agertzen dituzten albisteak identifikatuko ditugu. Era berean, eragile autonomoei egindako lekua nabaritu barik, gizarte taldeek hartzen zuten tartea erakutsiko dugu. Izan ere, 1980ko *Euskal Telebista*n kolektibitatearen norabidean eragin nahi zuten hainbat eratako talde (mugimendu, elkarte, etab.) nagusi ziren (%41,16). Ondoren, poliziak eta epaileek zein protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteek leku bera zuten (%29,42na). Gizarte taldeak informazio sendoaren oinarri zirela egiaztatu da. Poliziak, aldiz, ez zuen albiste sendorik protagonizatzen. Ildo beretik, herritarrak masa legez hartzen zituzten berriek informazio erabilgarria ematen zuten, oro har. Dena den, protagonista identifikagarririk agertzen ez zuten albisteen herenak informazio sendoa ematen zuen, osasunari buruzko berriak, esaterako[290].

50. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
_Etb_ko Gizarte saila (1983-1989)
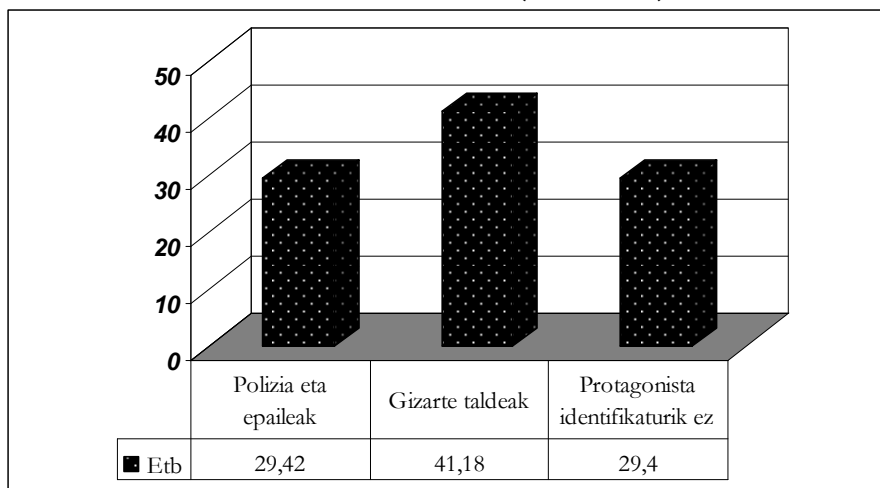
Iturria: Egilea.

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[290] "Pozoitutako botila-ur gehiago agertu dira" (1989/11/26).

*Etb*ko albisteen erdiak gizarte eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat jo arren, gizataldearen bizitzaren isla zirenei lehentasuna ematea ez zen sail guztiak antolatzen zituen irizpidea. Kulturan eta Kiroletan eragile autonomoek erabateko nagusitasuna zuten bitartean, Gizarte sailean erdira ere ez ziren heltzen. Politikan eta Ekonomian, gainera, ez zuten lekurik. Politikan aginteko buruzagiak aktore nagusiak ziren, Euskal Herrian zein atzerrian (Administrazioa, beraz), eta Ekonomian, sindikatuak (eragile profesionalak). Gizarte atalak, azkenik, hiru protagonista moten arteko oreka definitu zuen: gizarte taldeak lehenetsi zituen eta soberakina, polizia bidezko berrientzat eta protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteentzat.

b.1.2. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, *Euskal Telebista*k lehenesten zituen protagonisten nolakotasunean alderik handiena eman zen. Ordura arte eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteak gehienak baziren ere, 1990etik aurrera Administrazioaren nagusitasun informatiboa hedatu zen. Aurreko epean, politikariek eta erakundeek albisteen herena osatzen zuten eta oraingoan, aldiz, %51,52ko tartea hartu zuten. Administrazioari Politika atal osoa (%38,96) baino leku handiagoa egin zion eta, ondorioz, gainerako sailetako protagonista ere bihurtzen hasi zen. Gainera, 1996tik aurrera joera hori indartu egin zen. Beraz, eragile autonomoak bigarren postura baztertu zituen *Etb1*ek, erdira jaitsi baitzituen (%50,98tik %25,11ra, hain zuzen). Sortu berria zen *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k informazio irizpide horiek ere aplikatu zituen, portzentajeak pitin bat orekatuz: Administrazioari %47,79ko lekua egin zion eta eragile autonomoei, ordea, %32,93koa. *Egunkaria*k ere Administrazioa Politika sailez (%40,18) gaindiko tartea eskaini zion.

Ordura arte eragile profesionalak eta autonomoak protagonistatzat zituzten Politika sailez gaindiko albisteetako aktore nagusiak ere politikariak haiek izaten hasi ziren[291]. Are gehiago, Ekonomia saileko adierazleen protagonista datuon berri ematen hasi zen politikaria bihurtu zuten[292]. Horrela, ordura arte albisteetako protagonista izan

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[291] "Bularreko minbizia aurretik atzematerako Euskadiko egitarauaren aurkezpena" (1993/03/25), *Etb1*ean edo "Umeak izatea sustatzeko laguntzak emango ditu Eusko Jaurlaritzak" (2001/03/06), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n.

[292] "Ekoizpen industriala %1,4 jaitsi zen urrian EAEn" (1998/12/27), *Egunkaria*n.

ez ziren politikariak haiek aktore nagusitzat hartzen zituen informazioa sortzen hasi ziren[293], hedabideek haien berri eman zezaten.

Ondoren, *Etb1*ek eragile profesionalen agerpena erdira mugatu zuen (%11,77tik %6,49ra alegia). Dagoeneko, sindikatuak ez ziren Ekonomia saileko protagonista nagusiak (sailaren %40) eta Kiroletan ere talde-buruek presentzia galdu zuten (%5,88). Alderantziz, kultur gaietan sustatzaileak gero eta leku handiagoa hartzen hasi ziren (%18,18), kultur sortzaileen eta zientzialarien kaltetan. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n, aldiz, eragile profesionalek hiru sail horietan tarte handiagoa zuten. Ekonomia ataleko protagonista nagusiak enpresaburuen eta langileen sindikatuak ziren (%79,16). Kulturan eta Kiroletan, eragile profesionalek *Etb1*ean baino leku handiagoa hartzen zuten: %28,57 eta %20, hurrenez hurren.

Amaitzeko, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteen kopurua hirukoiztu zuen *Euskal Telebista*k eguneko titularretan. Aurreko epearekin alderatuta, %5,88ko tartea izatetik %16,88 lortzera igaro ziren. Gizarte gaiei emandako tartea bikoiztearekin batera, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen nolakotasuna aldatu zen. Aurreko epean bezala, herritarrak masa legez hartzen zituzten berriek bertako ohiturak islatzen zituzten[294]. Oraingoan, gainera, istripuei buruzko *Etb1*eko albisteak asko ugaritu ziren[295]. Are gehiago, lege-hausteei garrantzia ematen zion informazioa zabaltzen hasi zen[296].

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, ostera, informazio mota horri albait lekurik txikien egiteko ardura handiagoa azaldu zuen, *Etb1*ek inoiz erakutsitako portzentajerik txikiena baino eskasagoa lortuz: %4,82koa alegia[297]. Dena den, 1996tik aurrera, trafikoari buruzko zerbitzu informazioa baztertu eta errepideen aurreko eguneko egoera lehen orriko albistegai bihurtu zuen *Egunkaria*k. Beste tankera horretako informazioari gero eta leku handiagoa egiten hasi zitzaion[298].

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[293] "Izarbel teknopolaren lehen bi egoitzak inauguratu dituzte" (1996/02/24), *Egunkaria*n edo "Bilboko Superportuaren lanen egoera" (1997/07/22), *Etb1*ean

[294] "Antzar Eguna" (1991/09/05) edo "Herri Urratsen 16. edizioa" (1999/05/02).

[295] "Bilboko txabola batek sua hartu du" (1990/08/13), "Filipinetan itsasontzi bat hondoratzearen ondorioz 300 lagun hil dira" (1993/07/03), "Siberian tren istripua izan da" (01/06/1996), "Bederatzi lagun hil eta hamazazpi zauritu dira, Limako diskoteka batean bi taldeen arteko liskarretan" (1998/12/26), "Esparragueran (Bartzelona), hiru lagun hil eta zortzi zauritu dira, gas leherketa baten ondorioz bi etxebizitza behera etortzean" (2000/06/28), etab

[296] "Gazte batek ume bat laugarren solairuko etxebizitza bateko leihotik bota du, Bartzelonan, sexu jazarpena eragiteko asmoz umea bahitu eta gero" (1998/08/21).

[297] Adibidez, "Lixiba isurketa batek hodei toxikoa sortu du Bartzelonan" (1996/06/02) bezalako albisteak plazaratu zituen.

[298] "Auto ilara luzeak izan dira A-8 eta N-1 errepideetan istripu eta obren eraginez" (2001/07/22).

Eragile autonomoek protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak gaitzetsi ohi dituzte, agertzen dituzten banakako aktoreek ez dutelako ezelango ordezkaritza printzipiorik jarraitzen. Hortaz, gizartean jarduteko ekimenik ez duten banakako herritar anonimoei (kategoria jakinetan sailkatuta –lege-hausleak, adibidez– nahiz gizartea masa legez) eta aktore zehatzik ez duten albisteei hedabideen jarduna ikuskizun bihurtzea egozten diete (Basterretxea Polo, 1999: 44-45; Digón Regueiro, 2005: 1-6; Rausell Köster & Rausell Köster, 2002: 121-125).

51. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Etb1	51,52	6,49	25,11	16,88
☐ Egunkaria	47,79	14,46	32,93	4,82
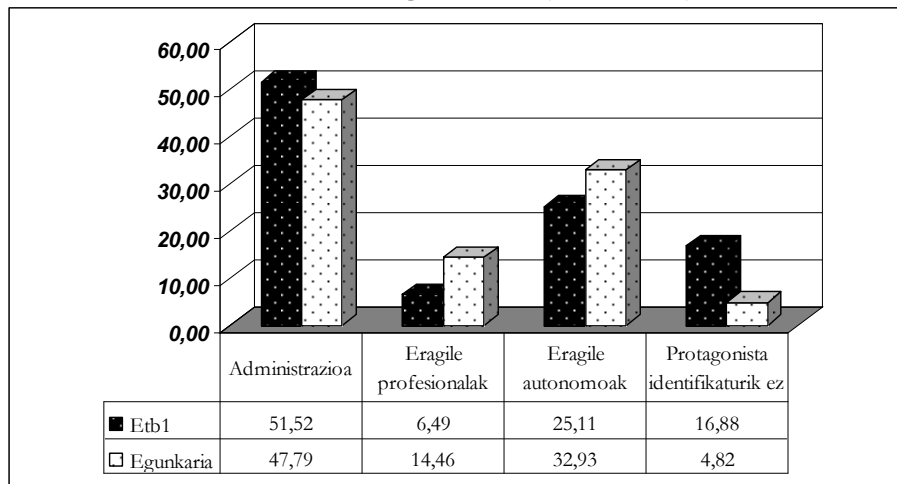
Iturria: Egilea.

Asteburuetan, *Etb1*ek Administrazioa nahiz eragile autonomoak albistegai zituzten berri gutxiago aireratzen zituen, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuen informazioari leku handiagoa egiteko. *Egunkaria* jokabide horrekin bat bazetorren ere, eragile autonomoen agerpenaren lehentasunari eutsi zion. Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n, gainera, Administrazioak tarterik handiena hartzen zuen (albiste guztien erdia, hain zuzen). *Euskal Telebista*k udan bi joera horiei ekin zien: Administrazioari gero eta leku handiagoa egin eta eragile autonomoei ere, eragile profesionalentzako tartearen pentzutan. Hortaz, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen kopurua ere igotzen zuen. *Egunkaria*k joera bera agertu zuen, udan Administrazioari arreta txikiagoa eskaini arren, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen kopurua hirukoiztu zuen-eta.

Politika saileko alderdien agerpena bigarren epe honetan jaurlaritzen osaketarekin lotuta zegoen. EAEko, Nafarroako eta Espainiako gobernuetako hiru

alderdiak (EAJ, PSOE eta UPN) politika informazioaren protagonista moduan lehenetsi zituzten *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Egunkaria*k. *Etb1*ean aginteko Hego Euskal Herriko politikariek %70,77ko tartea izan zuten. EAJ protagonista nagusia izan zen (%41,54), PSOEk horren agerpen erdia izan zuen (%20) eta UPNk, azken horren erdia (%9,23). *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, ostera, EAJ eta PSOE antzeko neurrian agertu zituen (%35,72 eta %32,14, hurrenez hurren). UPNk horien erdiko tartea lortu zuen (%16,06), baina EAEko telebista publikoan baino portzentaje altuagoa izan zuen. Dena den, 1996tik aurrera, *Egunkaria*k jeltzaleen informazioak alderdi sozialistarenak baino albiste kopuru altuagoa biltzen zuen, PSOE-EEk 1998an Jaurlaritza utzi egin zuen-eta. Ildo beretik, Nafarroako Gobernuan UPN eta Espainiakoan PP egotean, eskumako politikariei gero eta tarte handiagoa egin zieten bi hedabideek, *Egunkaria*k batez ere.

Ondoren, oposizioko taldeak *Euskal Telebista*ko titularretatik desagertu ziren (EA eta EB, esaterako). *Egunkaria*k lehen orrian leku egiten bazien ere, ezker abertzalearen proportzio berean agertzen zituen. Bi hedabideok ETA protagonistatzat jotzen zuen informazioa oposizioko alderdien albisteen aurretik hobetsi zuten eguneko lehen albisteetan. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek ezker abertzaleari *Egunkaria*k baino arreta handiagoa zuzendu ez ezik, ETAren informazioa *Egunkaria*k baino hiru aldiz gehiago ere lehenesten zuen telebista publikoak. Era berean, oposizioko alderdiak zein ETA albisteen protagonista izateko aukerak bi hedabideotan asteburuan biderkatzen ziren. Dena den, astelehen ordezko astearteko *Egunkaria* inoiz baino irudi ofizialagoa kaleratzen zuen: politika informazioaren %87,5 EAEko eta Nafarroako jaurlaritzen ingurukoa izaten zen. Udan ere horrelako albisteak nagusitzen zituen. *Etb1*ek, ordea, ez zuen titularretan Nafarroako Gobernuaren informaziorik ematen. Ostera, EAEko Jaurlaritzako berriekin batera, ETArenak ere titularretan aireratzen zituen.

Metodoaren proba egin genuenean, protagonisten kodifikazioak fidagarritasun egokia erakutsi zuen, polizia eta epaileak ez baitziren politika albisteetako protagonistarik suertatu. Hortaz, ez genuen aurreikusi polizia eta epaileak politika eragileak ere bazirela, euskal gatazkaren auzian batez ere. Gainera, *Euskal Telebista*k lehenengoz euskal gatazka Politika saileko arretagune nagusia bihurtu zuen (%35,56ko tartea hartu zuen). *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, antzera, Euskal Herriko politika funtsezko gai bihurtu zuen eta %26,04ko lekua egin ere. Hortaz, *Egunkaria*rekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek ETA protagonista hartzen zuen informazio tarterik handiagoa aireratzen zuen. Telebistak *Egunkaria*k lehen orrian jasotzen ez zuen erakunde armatuaren jarduna

azaltzen zuen[299]. Hala ere, *Etb1*ek ez zion ETAri ahotsik ematen; aldiz, erakunde armatua protagonistatzat zuen informazioa zabaltzen zuen[300]. Bi hedabideok ETAri buruzko informazioan bat etortzen ziren etakideak hil ziren kasuen berri ematean[301], batez ere. Erakunde armatuaren eta poliziaren arteko hilik gabeko tiroketetan, ostera, bi hedabideok Estatuaren segurtasun indarrak protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten[302]. Hala ere, hil ez, baina etakiderik zaurituz gero, *Egunkaria*k horixe albistearen protagonistatzat jotzen zuen[303] eta *Euskal Telebista*k, ez[304].

Hortaz, polizia eta epaileak Politika saileko protagonista ere bihurtu zituzten hedabideok. *Etb1*ek ETAren beraren neurrian agertu zituen bitartean (%9,23na), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k polizia eta epaileei erakunde armatuaren ia protagonismo bikoitza aintzatetsi zien (%5,38 eta %3,57, hurrenez hurren). Are gehiago, tankera horretako *Etb1*eko informazioak polizia bakarrik zuen protagonista; *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, epaileak ere agertzen zituen[305].

Polizia eta epaileak nahiz ETA protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten albisteak oposizioko alderdienak baino ugariagoak ziren. Are gehiago, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuen informazioak ere zenbait alderdirenak baino leku handiagoa izan zuen. Dena den, 1996tik aurrera bi hedabideok Politika sailean protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko berriak zabaltzeari utzi zioten.

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[299] "Abadiñoko enpresa batean trokelatzeko makina bat eta auto-xaflak lapurtu dituzte" (2002/08/13).

[300] "ETAk Fernando Mujika Herzogen hilketa hartu du bere gain" (*Euskaldunon Egunkaria,* 1996/02/24).

[301] "Arrigorriagako Udaletxean Albaceteko espetxean hildako Juan Carlos Hernando ETAko presoaren hil-kapera ipini dute" (1997/07/22), *Etb1*ean; "Milaka herritarrek dolua azaldu dute Juan Carlos Hernandoren heriotzagatik" (1997/07/23), *Egunkaria*n.

[302] "Bi ertzainen aurkako atentatuaren egileek ihes egiteko erabili zuten autoa Beasainen topatu dute" (2001/11/25), *Etb1*ean edo "ETAko ustezko bi kiderekin tiroketa izan ostean, haietako bat atxilotu du Guardia Zibilak" (2001/11/27, asteazteko zenbakia albistea jasotzeko asteko lehen eguna izan zen), *Egunkaria*n.

[303] "Tiroketan zaurritutako ustezko etakidea larri dago, hobera egin duen arren" (19/12/2002).

[304] "Collado Villalban, Madril, tiroketa baten ondorioz guardia zibil bat hil eta gero ihes egin zuen ETAko ustezko kide Jesus Mari Etxeberria atxilotu dute" (18/12/2002).

[305] "Unai Parot eta auzipeturik gabe amaituko da gaur Pariseko epaiketa" (1993/03/26).

52. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Politika saila (1990-2002)**

	EAJ	PSE	UPN-PP	Ezk. Abert	EA	EB	ETA	Poliz. /Est.	Bat ere ez
■ Etb1	41,54	20	9,23	7,69	0	0	9,23	9,23	3,08
▢ Egunkaria	35,72	32,14	16,06	1,79	1,78	1,78	3,57	5,38	1,78
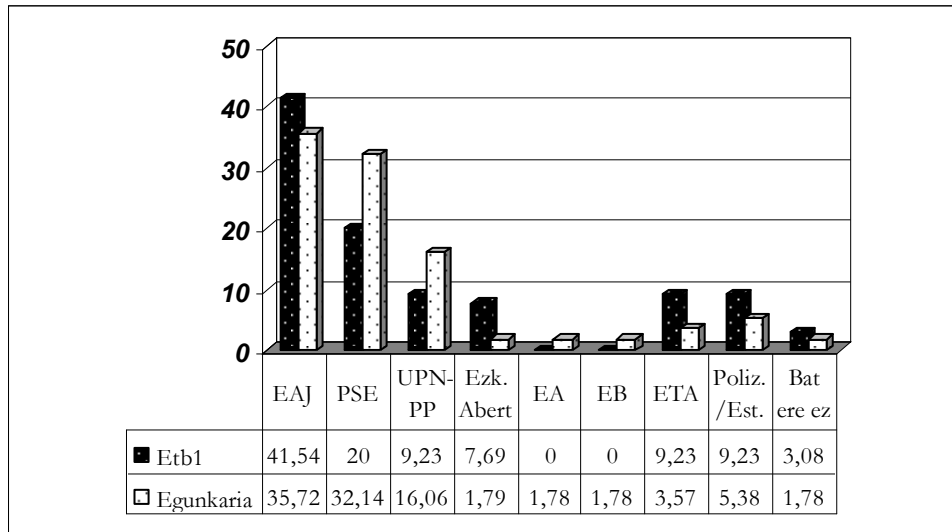
Iturria: Egilea.

EAEko Jaurlaritzak bi hedabideotako agerpen lehenetsia lortu bazuen ere, *Euskal Telebista*k agintearen berri-ematea nabarmen gutxitu zuen. *Etb*ren hastapenetako informazioaren %78,95ek gobernua protagonistatzat zuen bitartean, 1990etik aurrera politika albisteen %66,67k Jaurlaritza islatzen zuten. Alde horretatik, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k botereari arreta handiagoa zuzentzen zion: %83,92, hain zuzen. Nazioarteko politikaren protagonistetan, aldiz, bat zetozen biak: albisteen %80k aginteko buruzagiak agertzen zituzten eta %20k, oposiziokoak. Beraz, urruneko informazioaren atalean, gertuko politikarenean baino, oposizioari tarte handiagoa egiten zion *Egunkaria*k.

Gizarte sailean, azkenik, *Etb1*ek aurreko epean erakutsitako protagonisten arteko oreka hautsi zuen, baina *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* orduko irizpideak betetzen zorrotzagoa izan zen. Poliziak eta epaileek *Euskal Telebista*n hartzen zuten tartea apenas aldatu ez bazen ere (%29,42, lehen eta %29,87, orain), *Egunkaria*k leku txikiagoa egiten zien (%23,5). Ondorioz, gizarte taldeen agerpena nabarmen mugatu zuen telebista publikoak: %41,16tik %27,28era. *Egunkaria*k, ostera, protagonista mota horri albisteen erdia baino gehiago eskaini zion (%55,32). Beraz, *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko gizarte gaiak lehenetsi zituen. Aurreko epean %29,42 ziren bitartean, orain %42,85eko lekua egin zien. *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, tarterik txikiena eskaini zien, berriro ere hasierako *Etb1*ek baino kopuru baxuagoa (%21,2) agertu zuen.

53. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
*Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria*ko Gizarte saila (1990-2002)

	Polizia eta epaileak	Gizarte taldeak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Etb1	29,87	27,28	42,85
□ Egunkaria	23,5	55,32	21,2
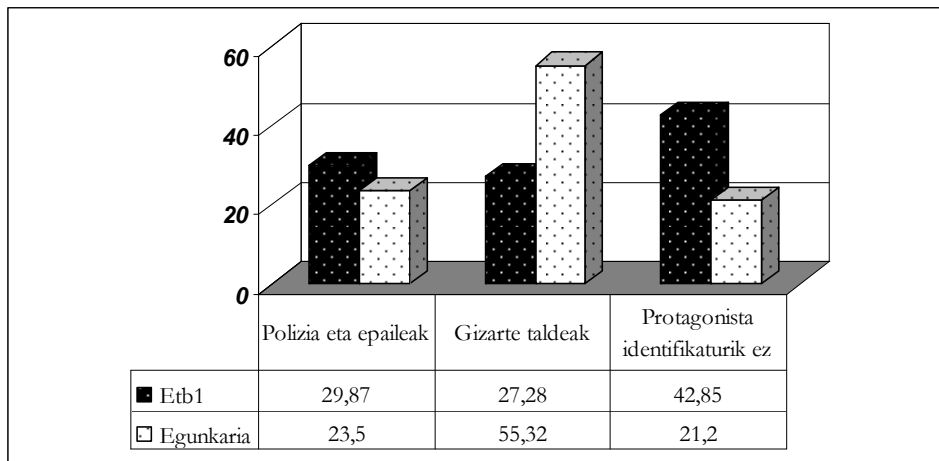
Iturria: Egilea.

Laburbilduz, 1990eko hamarkadak Politikari nagusitasuna aintzatetsi zion. Politikariek euren berezko saila gainditu zuten eta beste ataletako protagonistak ere izan ziren. Gainera, agintearekiko arreta telebista publikoan *Egunkaria*n baino txikiagoa zen. *Etb1*ek %66,67ko tartea egiten zion bitartean, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k %86,8ko lekua eskaintzen zion. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ean eta *Egunkaria*n bat egiten zuten albiste gehienek Administrazioa agertzen zuten. Hego Euskal Herriko politikariak eta euskal gatazkaren aktoreak (ETA nahiz polizia) protagonista moduan azaltzen zituen informazioa guztira bi hedabideotan bat egindako albisteen %35,25 izan zen. Beraz, horrelako berriek ez zuten apenas informazio esklusibotasunik ematen. Ildo beretik, nazioarteko albisteetan bat etortzeko proportzioa bederatzi aldiz altuagoa zen titularretan edo lehen orrian buruzagiak azaltzen zirenean, oposizioko kideak erakusten zituztenean baino.

Bi hedabideotako Gizarte sailaren bilakaera informazio erabilgarriarekin eta arinarekin lotuta agertzen zen. Horregatik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak ugaritzearekin batera, bi hedabideok albiste horietan bat etortzeko joera egonkortu zen. Izan ere, horrelako informazioak eragile autonomoak agertzen zituzten albisteek baino agerpen handiagoa hartu zuenetik *Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* konbergenteagoak zirela egiaztatu zen. Azkenik, bi hedabideek erakutsitako protagonista aniztasun alderik handiena eragile profesionalen agerpenari zegokion. *Etb1*ek haien presentzia murrizteko joera azaldu zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k berezkoak ez liratekeen Kultura eta Kirol sailetan haien agerpena indartu zuen.

b.1.3. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Aurreko epeetan sumatzen hasi ziren joerak ikerketa sinkronikoaren azken aldi honetan nabarmenagoak bihurtzen ari ziren. Alde batetik, Estatuaren ordezkariak Politika sailez gaindiko beste atal batzuetako protagonistak izaten ziren, bi hedabideok nagusitasuna aintzatetsi baitzien. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k protagonista mota horren eta eragile autonomoen artean zaintzen zuen aldea zabaldu zuen *Berria*k, gero eta *Etb1*ek agertutako kazetaritza ereduarekin konbergentzia handiagoa azalduz. Ildo horretatik, eragile profesionalak telebista publikotik desagertzear zeuden bezala, *Berria*n, *Egunkaria*ren ezaugarrien aurka, gero eta tarte eskasagoa egiten hasi zitzaien. Ondorioz, *Euskal Telebista*k eragile autonomoak eta protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak neurri berean aireratzen zituen. Gainera, orain eguraldiaren gorabeherek utzitako irudiak ere albistetzat hartzen zituen *Etb1*ek, asteburuetan batik bat[306].

*Berria*k protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteei aurreko epeko *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k baino leku handiagoa egiten zien, hau da, *Etb1*en ereduari mantso jarraitzen ziola egiaztatu zen. Are gehiago, asteburuetan bi hedabideok aginteko protagonisten agerpena gutxitzen zuten proportzioan, eragile autonomoak indartzen zituzten. Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*k, hortaz, Administrazioari *Egunkaria*k baino leku txikiagoa egiten zion. Udan, azkenik, bi hedabideek ildo horretatik jarraitu zuten eta, aldi berean, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak barra-barra zabaldu zituzten. *Etb1*eko udako albistegietako titularretako ezaugarri nagusia protagonistarik ez agertzea bihurtu zen eta *Berria*n, lehen orriko albisteen bigarren protagonista mota izateraino heldu zen.

54. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
Etb1	47,78	2,22	22,22	27,78
Berria	50	9,57	29,79	10,64
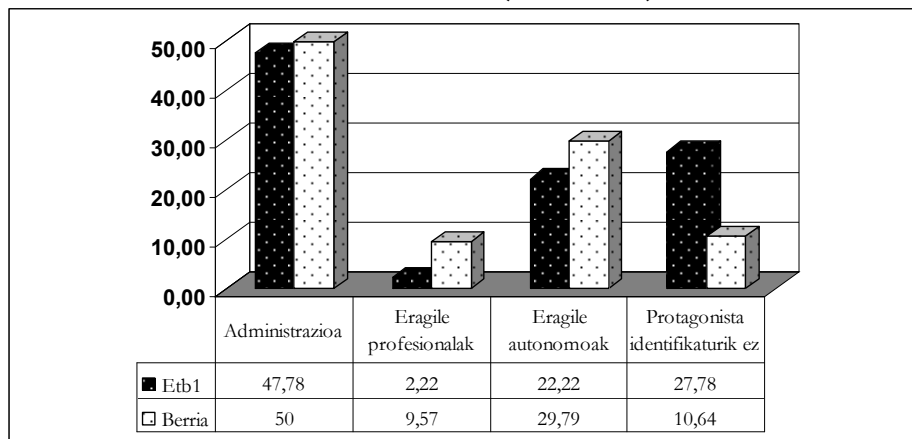
Iturria: Egilea.

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[306] "Pixkanaka hobetzen: Opakua eta Herrera daude elurragatik itxita" (2003/01/11).

Politika sailak aurreko epean erakutsitako joerei eutsi zien. Lehenengo eta behin, gobernuen presentzia nabarmentzeko bidea hartu zuen *Euskal Telebista*k. Hego Euskal Herriko bi gobernuetako alderdien informazioa zabaltzen zuen gehien bat: EAJ (%22,72) eta UPN (%18,19), hain zuzen. Are gehiago, bi jaurlaritzetako alderdien ondoren eta oposizioko kidean aurretik, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak[307] hobetsi zituen *Etb1*ek (%18,19). *Berria*k ez zuen protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisterik lehen orrira eraman, 1996tik aurrera baztertu zuen jokabidea izan baitzen. Alderantziz, *Euskal Telebista*k agertzen ez zituen protagonistak ere azaleratu zituen egunkariak[308]. Horregatik, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albiste politikoak aginteko pentsamendu korrontearekin zuzenean lotuta azaltzen dira. Orduan, *Etb1*ek EAEko eta Nafarroako jaurlaritzei zein gobernu horiek kritikatzen ez zituen protagonista identifikaturik gabeko berriei politika albisteen erdia baino gehiago eskaini zien (%59,1). Albiste ofizial horiek bi hedabideon informazioa konbergenteago egin zuten. *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k bat egindako guztirako albisteen %16,67k eta Politika saileko berrien %36,36k Jaurlaritzako alderdiak protagonista legez aurkeztu zituzten.

Bigarrenik, protagonista moten aniztasuna ez ezik, oposizioaren izaera bakuna ere agertzeko joera nabariagoa izan zen. Agintean ez zeuden alderdi politikoen aniztasuna bitara mugatu zuen *Etb1*ek: PSOE-EE eta ezker abertzalea. Hortaz, ez zen oposizioko beste alderdirik albistegiaren titularretan azaldu. Dena den, PSOE-EE Espainiako Gobernuko aginteko alderdia zen eta, ikusi dugunez, Madrilgo politikak Hego Euskal Herriko alderdien ikusgarritasunean eragina zuen. *Berria*k, ostera, Eusko Alkartasuna ere kontuan izaten zuen, Jaurlaritzan parte hartu arren, beste gobernuetako oposizioan baitzegoen. Gainera, ezker abertzalea protagonista zuten albisteak *Etb1*ek baino hiru aldiz gehiagotan plazaratu zituen *Berria*k lehen orrian. Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek titularretan gobernu-informazioa lehenetsi zuen bitartean, kazetaren lehen orriak alderdi abertzaleen agerpena hobetsi zuen. *Berria*ren Politika sailak Euskal Herri abertzalea islatu zuen: alderdi abertzaleak protagonistatzat zituen albiste politikoen kopurua (nazioarteko politika kenduta) %35,48koa izan zen eta Jaurlaritzan zeuden alderdiei egindako lekua (EAJri, bakarrik) %22,875eko izan zen.

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[307] Esaterako, "25 urte: Estatutu betegabea" (2004/10/25).

[308] *Etb1*en "25 urte: Estatutu betegabea" (2004/10/25) albistea honela eman zuen *Berria*k: "«Euskadiren geroa ez da Espainian erabakiko», berretsi du Ibarretxek" (2004/10/26).

Hirugarrenik, bi hedabideok ETAri oposizioko edozein alderdiri baino tarte handiagoa egin zioten. Alde horretatik, bietan bat zetozen albisteen kopuru altuak ere erakunde armatua protagonista nagusitzat zuen. *Euskal Telebista*k ETA oposizioko bi alderdien (PSOE-EEren eta ezker abertzalearen) besteko albisteen protagonistatzat hartu zuen (%13,63). *Berria*n ere ETA agertzen zuten albisteak PSOE-EEri buruzkoak baino ugariagoak izan ziren (%12,5). Erakunde armatuak bi hedabideotan hartzen zuen protagonismoaren nolakotasuna zeharo ezberdina zen. *Etb1*ek aurreko egunetan atxilotutakoek polizia etxean egindako adierazpenen filtrazioaren protagonista egiten zituen[309]. *Berria*k, ordea, ez zion informazio mota horri atxiloketa egunean baino lekurik egiten, atxilotuen inkomunikazio-aldia amaitu arte. Horregatik, ETAren ekimenezko albisteak ere plazaratu ohi zituen[310]. Beraz, *Euskal Telebista*k ETA protagonistatzat hartzen zituen albisteak, atentatuez gain, polizia filtrazioek atxilotuei egotzitako karguak ere azaltzen zituzten berriak ziren. Euskarazko egunkarian, aldiz, ETA eragile politiko moduan agertzen zen.

Laugarrenik, aurreko epean sumatzen hasi zen joera nagusitu zen. *Berria*k polizia eta epaileak eragile politiko nagusitzat jo zituen, ia politika albiste guztien erdia hartu zuten-eta (%45,875). Euskal gatazkak, zegoeneko, egunkariaren lehen orriaren %55eko tartea izaten zuen. Horren erdiak, beraz, polizia eta epaileak protagonista legez azaltzen zituen. *Euskal Telebista*k, ostera, ETAren proportzioan azaldu zituen (%13,63). Aurreko epean gertatu den antzera, ETA protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten albisteen ekimena ez zetorren bi hedabideotan bat. Telebistak poliziaren jarduera lehenesten zuen[311] eta *Berria*k, aldiz, epai boterearen erabakien berri ematen zuen[312].

Bosgarrenik, asteburuak oposizioko alderdiak zein ETA albisteen protagonista izateko aukerak biderkatzen zituen hedabideetan. *Berria*k, baina, EAJri herena ematen zion eta astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian, informazioaren laurdena. *Euskal Telebista*k ez zituen asteburuetan jaurlaritzetako alderdiak protagonista moduan azaltzen.

Azkenik, udan albiste politikoen edukia arintzeko joera onartu zuten hedabideok. *Etb1*ek sail horri gero eta leku gutxiago egiten zion; jasotzen zituen

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[309] "Atxiloketa: Logistika sarekoa omen" (2004/10/25) eta "Atxiloketak: Liberatuak omen dira" (2005/03/25).

[310] "ETAk argitu du ERCrekin bildu zela, eta ez zuela «hitzarmenik adostu»" (2004/02/04) edo "Euskal Presoak: Gose greba amaitu dute" (2005/03/25).

[311] "Atxiloketak Bizkaian" (2003/09/05).

[312] "De Juanari gogoz kontra osasun azterketak egiteko agindu du epaileak" (2006/12/12).

politikari buruzko berri apurrek oposizioko alderdiak protagonistatzat zituzten. *Berria*k, aldiz, ez zuen udako zenbakietako lehen orrian alderdi politikoen albisterik agertzen.

55. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Politika saila (2003-2007)**

	EAJ	PSOE	UPN-PP	Ezker abertz	EA	EB	ETA	Poliz. /Est.	Bat ere ez
■ Etb1	22,72	9,1	18,19	4,54	0	0	13,63	13,63	18,19
□ Berria	22,875	6,25	0	9,375	3,125	0	12,5	45,875	0
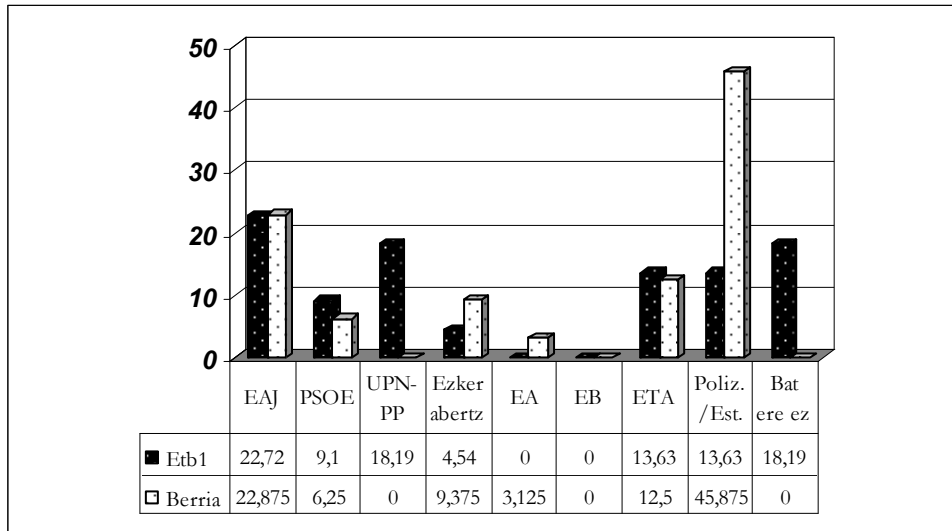
Iturria: Egilea.

Gizarte sailak protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen nagusitasuna berretsi zuen. *Euskal Telebista*n horrelako berriek gainerako bi protagonisten albisteen tartea gainditu zuten, aurreko epeko tarte bikoitzarekin alegia. *Berria*k ere protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuen informazioa lehenengo albiste motatzat aurkeztu zuen.

Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ek ez ezik, *Berria*k ere Gizarte sailean protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak lehenetsi zituen. Informazio mota horretan bi hedabideetan gehien bat etorritako berriak agertzen ziren: albiste guztien %20,83ko hartzen zuten, Gizarte saileko albisteen %55,55 alegia. Hortaz, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko gizarte gaiak Jaurlaritzaren informazioa baino albiste konbergenteagoak zirela egiaztatu zen. Are gehiago, berri horiek udan *Etb1*eko gizarte informazioaren %71 hartzen zuten eta *Berria*n, %66,67. Beraz, oporraldietan bi hedabideok inoiz baino berdinagoak izaten ziren[313].

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[313] "[Oporretako] Itzulera: Oraingoz lasai" (2006/04/17), *Etb1*eko albistegiaren lehenengo titularra izan zen eta "Auto ilarez gain, ez da aparteko arazorik izan Euskal Herriko errepide sarean" (18/04/2006), *Berria*ko lehen orriko albistea.

56. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
***Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Gizarte saila (2003-2007)**

	Polizia eta epaileak	Gizarte taldeak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Etb1	24,24	18,18	57,58
☐ Berria	10,53	42,1	47,37
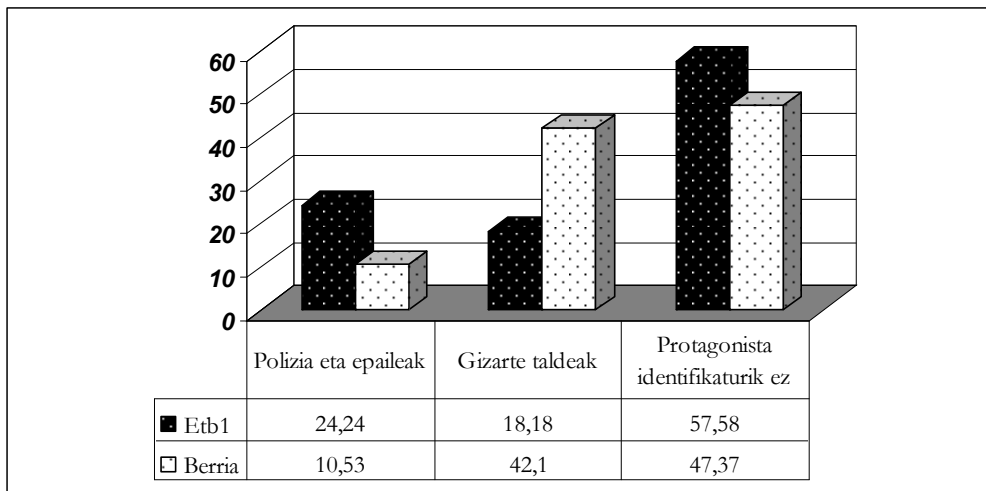
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen protagonistak zenbat eta askotarikoagoak izan, orduan eta informazio esklusibotasun handiagoa erakusten zuten hedabideek. Aldiz, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko joerek hedabideok kontrako bidea hartu zutela egiaztatu zuten. Alde batetik, Administrazioa albiste gehienetako protagonista bihurtu zen. Hortaz, politika jarduera gainditu zuen eta beste sailetako edukiaren protagonista moduan ere agertzen zen. Protagonista politikoen polarizazioak ere Jaurlaritzari edo alderdi abertzaleei gehiegizko isla eman ziezaiokeen, gizarte eragile autonomoen kaltetan. Beste aldetik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak ugaritzean, Politika sailean ere lehenengoz antzeman ziren. Gizarte sailean, gainera, lehenetsitako albiste mota osatzen zuten. Ondorioz, Kultura eta Kirol ataletako protagonista eragile autonomo izateko proportzio berari eutsi zioten hedabideek. Dena den, biek bat egiten zuten informazioan lekurik txikiena protagonista mota horrek lortzen zuen, hau da, esklusibotasunik handiena. Ildo beretik, Kultura eta Kirol sailetan bi hedabideok agertu zuten konbergentzia atal horiei egindako tartearekiko zuzenki proportzionala zen. Horrenbestez, zenbat eta leku handiagoa egin, orduan eta euskarazko hedabideekin konbergenteago agertzen ziren kirol albisteak. Kultur gaiei dagokiela, ordea, *Etb1*ek horiei gero eta leku txikiagoa egiteaz gainera, *Berria*k jasotzen ez zuen euskal kultur adieraren araberako informazio mota ere aireratzen zuen. Beraz, *Etb1*ek Kultura saileko albisteak titularretan azaltzeari utzi zion neurrian, *Berria*rekin bat ez etortzeko probabilitatea areagotzen zuen.

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k haien sorreratik 2007ra bitartean zenbait ezaugarri komun hartu zuten. Esaterako, Administrazioari agerpenik handiena eskaintzen zioten. Ikerketa sinkronikoan egiaztatu ahal izan dugun legez, eragile profesionalak gero eta gutxiagotan azaltzen zituzten euskarazko hedabideek eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak, ordea, etengabe ugaritu. Beraz, gizarte eragile autonomoak agertzeko gaitasunak informazio-esklusibotasunerako giltza bihurtu ziren.

57. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (bilakaera):
***Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1983-1987	1990-2002	2003-2007
⊠ Administrazioa	31,37	51,52	47,78
▩ Eragile profesionalak	11,77	6,49	2,22
☐ Eragile autonomoak	50,98	25,11	22,22
■ Protagonista identifikaturik ez	5,88	16,88	27,78
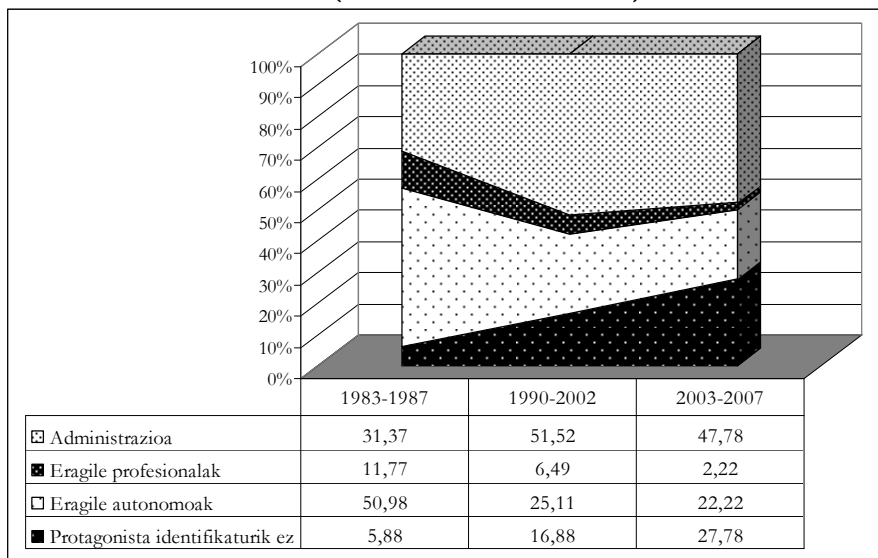
Iturria: Egilea.

58. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (bilakaera):
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
⊠ Administrazioa	47,79	50
▩ Eragile profesionalak	14,46	9,57
☐ Eragile autonomoak	32,93	29,79
■ Protagonista identifikaturik ez	4,82	10,64
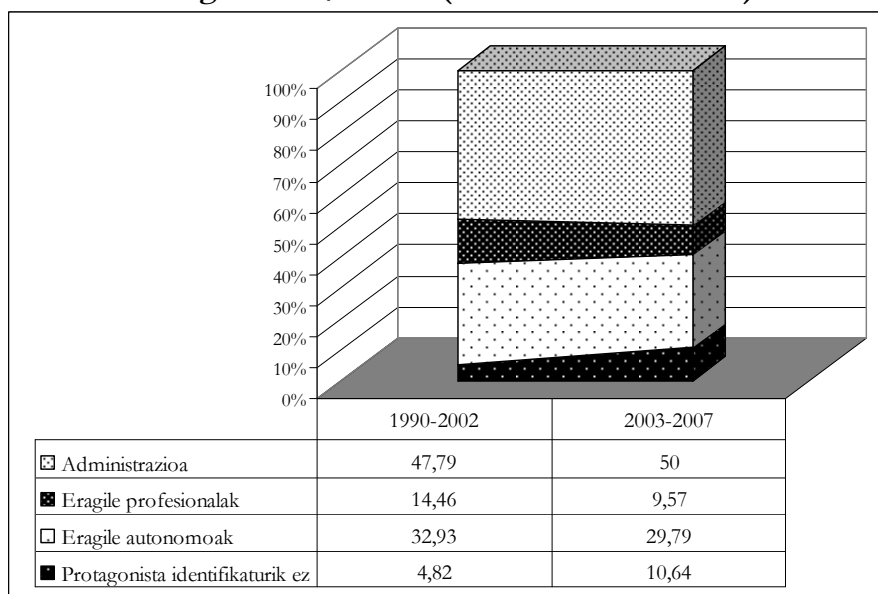
Iturria: Egilea.

b.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskarazko hedabideek agertzen zituzten protagonistak gero eta urriagoak ziren. Aurretik aztertutako urteetan, 1980ko eta 1990eko hamarkadetan albiste gehienen protagonistak eragile autonomoak ziren bitartean, Administrazioa gero eta agerpen handiagoa hartzen hasi zen eta, aldi berean, protagonista identifikagarririk aurkezten ez zuten albisteen kopurua ere etengabe igotzen ari zen. *Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren 2008ko ikerketa sinkronikoak prozesu horixe egiaztatu zuen. *Euskadi Irratia*k Administrazioa protagonistatzat hartzen zuten albisteen kopururik altuena aireratu zuen (%55,7). Bigarren berri mota protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko informazioa izan zen (%18,42)[314]. Azkenik, eragile profesionalei eta eragile autonomoei albisteen laurdenak erreparatu zien (%11,84k eta %14,04k, hurrenez hurren).

*Euskal Telebista*k, aldiz, Administrazioaren agerpena mantso murriztuz jarraitu zuen (%37,63). Protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak laster telebistaren ezaugarrietako bat bihurtuko bide dira, 2008an zegoeneko Administrazioari buruzko beste ziren-eta (%34,54). Gainera, eragile autonomoen agerpena gero eta eskasagoa zen. Kirolariek, esaterako, %3ko presentzia galdu zuten, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen mesedetan. Langileek 1990eko hamarkadako agerpena berreskuratu arren, hau da, 2003-2007ko epean izandakoaren bikoitza, eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten *Etb1*eko guztirako albisteen kopuruak 2008an ere behera egiten jarraitu zuen (%19,07). Horrenbestez, Gizarte sailak protagonisten nolakotasunean eragina izan zuen: gero eta tarte handiagoa zuen atala izan arren, gizarte taldeei orduan eta leku txikiagoa egiten zitzaien. Enpresaburuen elkarteen presentzia areagotuak eragile profesionalen agerpena suspertu zuen: enpresariek aurreko epeetan baino sei bider gehiagoko presentzia erakutsi zuten, langileen sindikatuen islatze-mailak bere horretan jarraitzen zuen bitartean[315]. Guztira, eragile profesionalak albisteen %8,76tan azaldu ziren.

Azkenik, aurreko bi hedabideen antzera, *Berria*n ere protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak ugarituz zihoazen (%10,64tik %15,62ra igo ziren), gainerako protagonista moten kaltetan. Izan ere, kazetak Administrazioari eskainitako albisteen portzentajea %50tik %48,13ra apaldu zuen. Protagonista ofizial horiei

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[314] Tankera honetako albisteak izaten ziren: "Zaragozan [Expoan] gaur Nafarroari eskainitako eguna ari dira bertan ospatzen […]", (2008/06/28).
[315] Esaterako, "Krisia ostalaritzan: Sei mila lanpostu arriskuan" (2008/10/27) berriak enpresarien txosten batetik eratorritako informazioa lantzen zuen, langileen eta sindikatuen gogoeta barik.

telebistak baino tarte handiagoa eskaini arren, *Berria*k eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat hartzen zuen informazioaren kopuru altuak *Euskadi Irrati*tik bereizten zuen (%23,75, egunkariak eta %14,04, irratiak). Dena den, gainbeheran zihoan proportzioa ere bazen. Are gehiago, eragile profesionalek, 2003-2007 epearekin alderatuta, ikusgarritasuna irabazi zuten, baina 2008ko finantza krisialditik ondorioztatutako agerpena zen. Gainera, albisteetan enpresaburuen presentzia sindikatuen bikoitza izateko joera 2003tik aurrera egonkortu egin zen.

Asteburuetan *Euskadi Irratia*k Administrazioaren agerpena sendotzen zuen, Politika saila indartzen zuen neurri berean. Gainerako bi hedabideek, ordea, albisteen edukia arintzeko joera erakusten zuten. Horrela, *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak asteburuan gehien plazaratutakoak izaten ziren. *Berria*k, proportzio horretara heltzen ez bazen ere, Administrazioaren agerpena protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko informazioarekin ordezten zuen. Are gehiago, bide horretan, udako *Berria*k *Etb*ren protagonista ereduarekin bat egiten zuen. *Euskadi Irratia* eta *Euskal Telebista*, ostera, oporraldietan Administrazioari erreparatzen zin informazioari lekurik handiena egiten zioten. *Berria*k, beraz, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen portzentajea astelehen ordezko asteartcko zenbakian bakar-bakarrik jaisten zuen, erdira jaitsi ere.

Horrenbestez, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Euskal Telebista*k lehenetsitako protagonista motek (Administrazioak eta identifikagarriak ez zirenek) gainerako hedabideekin bat egiteko aukerarik handienak eskaintzen zituzten. Hau da, informazio esklusibotasunik gutxien eskaintzen zuten protagonista motak ziren. Gainera, eragile profesionalek ere albisteen konbergentzia errazten zuten. Izan ere, eragile profesionalei zegokienez, hedabide erregionalistekin eta estatuetakoekin bat egindako albisteen kopurua euskarazko hedabideetakoekin bat etorritakoena baino altuagoa izan zen. Beraz, gero eta gutxiago agertzen zituzten eragile autonomoak gainerako hedabideetatik bereizteko protagonistak lirateke.

59. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta *Berria* **(2008)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Euskadi Irratia	55,70	11,84	14,04	18,42
□ Etb1	37,63	8,76	19,07	34,54
▨ Berria	48,13	12,50	23,75	15,62
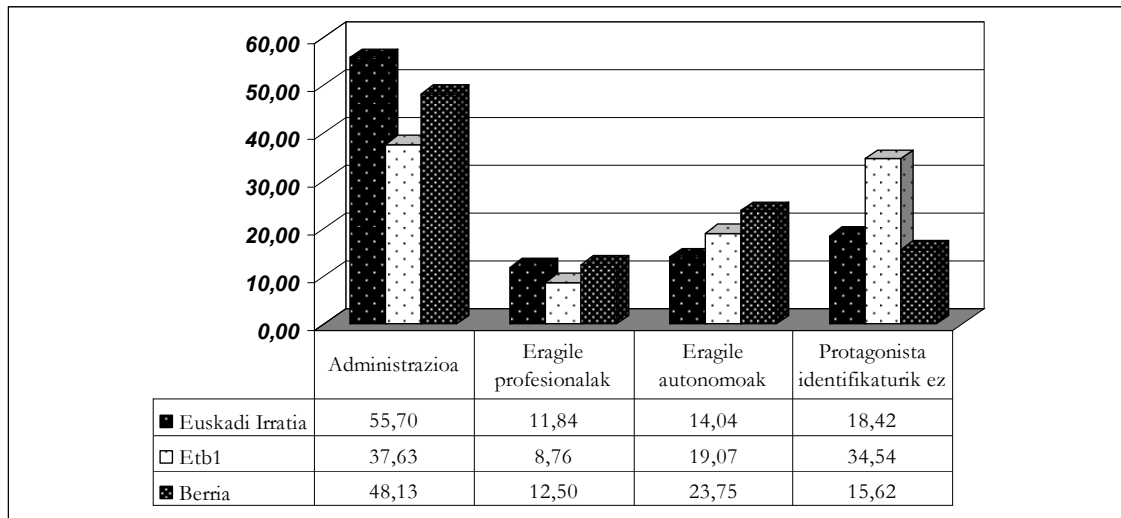
Iturria: Egilea.

Hego Euskal Herriko alderdi politikoak protagonista hartzen zituzten albisteen kopuruak Politika saila askotarikoa edo homogeneoa ote zen islatzen zuen. *Euskadi Irratiak*, hasteko, EAEko, Nafarroako eta Espainiako gobernuetako agintean zeuden alderdiei lekurik handiena egiten zien (%62,63). Gainera, EAJ PSOEren portzentaje bertsuetan agertzen zen (%24,1 eta %22,89, hurrenez hurren); UPN, pixka bat gutxiagotan (%15,64). Oposizioan ezker abertzalea nabarmentzen zen (%10,85). Hortaz, ezker abertzaleak ETAk baino agerpen handiagoa izan zuen eta azken hori gainerako alderdiek baino gehiagotan azaldu zen (%7,21etan, hain zuzen). ETAren inguruko albisteek jarduera armatua[316] eta bide judiziala[317] kontuan izaten zituzten. Dena den, *Euskadi Irratia*k poliziari eta epaileei gainerako hedabideek baino tarte zabalagoa egin zien (%13,23). Bertan, polizia protagonista zituen albisteak ez ezik[318], justizia administrazioa[319] ere agertzen zituen. Azkenik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak (%3,7) EAri eta EBri buruzkoak baino gehiago izan ziren (%1,2na). Hala ere, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko informazioari gainerako bi hedabideetan hartu zuen lekuaren herena baino ez zion egin *Euskadi Irratia*k.

*Euskal Telebista*k aginteko alderdiak protagonistatzat aurkezten zituzten albisteen kopurua ugaritu zituen, gainerakoak gutxituz. EAJk aurreko epeetan baino agerpen

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[316] "Kalte material handiak eragin ditu ETAk bart gauean Tolosan […]" (2008/10/04).

[317] "Auzitegi Nazionalean gaur goizean deklaratu dute […] Irunen eta Bizkaian atxilotutako bost ustezko etakideek […]" (2008/12/13).

[318] "Polizia operazioa Iruñerrian, Segiko kide izan […]" (2008/11/11).

[319] "Euskadiko Justizia Epaitegi Nagusiaren Gobernu Aretoa batzartuta dago, besteak beste, Ibarretxe auziko hiru epaileren kontra jarri dituzten errekusazioak […]" (2008/03/07).

handiagoa izan zuen (%22,72tik %34,78ra), PSOE-EEk ere bai (%9,1etik %19,57ra). UPNk nagusitasuna galdu bazuen ere (%18,19tik %8,7ra), oposizioko alderdien presentziaren bikoitza lortu zuen. Dena den, *Etb1*ek *Euskadi Irratia*k baino tarte zabalagoa egin zien gobernuetako ordezkariei: %63,05koa alegia. Ezker abertzaleak ez zuen telebista publikoaren titularretan ia lekurik izan (%2,18) eta gainerako alderdiek, are gutxiago (Ezker Batua bakarrik azaldu zen, %2,17ko tartea hartuz). ETAren agerpena, orduan, areagotu zuen (%13,63tik %15,21ra) eta oposizioko taldeen garrantzia ez ezik, UPNren tartea baino handiagoa ere egin zion. Gainera, *Etb1*ek tortura zantzu argiekiko ardura berezia ere erakutsi zuen[320]. Are gehiago, etakideek polizia etxean egindako deklarazioetan oinarritutako karguen egoztearen berri emateaz gain[321], *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k ez bezala, poliziak emandako informazioaren protagonista ETA hartzen zuten albisteak plazaratzen zituen *Euskal Telebista*k[322]. Amaitzeko, *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko politika albisteei titularretan tarterik handiena egin zion hedabidea izan zen (%10,87koa).

*Berria*n EAEko, Nafarroako eta Espainiako gobernuetako ordezkariak protagonista zituen lehen orriko informazioa albiste guztien %33,22 zen. Hiru hedabideetatik kopururik txikiena azaldu zuen. Hortaz, EAJ albistegaitzat hartzen zituzten lehen orriko berriak nabarmen jaitsi ziren (%22,87tik %15,34ra). Hiru gobernuetako alderdien artean, agerpen handiena lortu zuena izan arren, hirugarren protagonista mota zen. Izan ere, ezker abertzaleak EAJk eta UPNk beste albiste protagonizatu zituen lehen orrian (%23), azken horiek Hego Euskal Herriko jaurlaritzetako gobernuko alderdiak baziren ere. Aurreko eparen antzera, oposizioaren indar abertzaleak hobesten zituen *Berria*k. Ezker abertzalearekin batera, Eusko

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[320] "Gure arreta nagusia une honetan Donostiako Ospitaleko zainketa berezien gelan dago, han baitago atzo Guardia Zibilak kontrol batean Arrasaten atxilotutako gazte lesakarretatik bat: Igor Portu, hain zuzen ere" (2008/01/07).

[321] "Herenegun atxilotutakoak […]" (2008/09/25).

[322] Honela azaldu zuten Legutioko Guardia Zibilaren kuartelaren aurka aurreko gauean egindako atentatua:

   * *Euskadi Irratia*k: "Arratsalde erdian jarriko dute Gasteizko Gobernu Ordezkaritzan Juan Manuel Piñuel Legution gaur goizaldera hil duten guardia zibilaren hil kapera" (2008/05/14). *Euskadi Irratia*k gertakizuna gauza jakintzat hartu zuen eta, horregatik, gertuko ondorioak albistegai bihurtu zituen.

   * *Etb1*ek: "Txikizioa: 29 lagun zeuden kuartelean, tartean bost ume, eztandaren unean" (2008/05/14). *Etb1*ek atentatua gertakizun ezaguntzat jo zuen. Ondorioz, horren ezaugarrietan sakontzeko informazio ofiziala erabili zuen.

   * *Berria*k: "Guardia zibil bat hil du ETAk, Legutioko kuartelean bonba-auto bat zartarazita" (2008/05/15). Aurreko egunean bertan gainerako hedabideek agortutako albistetzat hartu arren, *Berria*k lehen orrian gertakizun soila jaso zuen.

Alkartasunak oposizioan sortutako informazioa lehen orriko politika albisteen %2,56 izan zen. Ildo beretik, bigarren eragile politiko bezala ETA agertu zuen *Berria*k, hiru hedabideotatik egindako lekurik handienarekin (%20,45). Aldi berean, polizia zein epaileen informazioa nabarmen murriztu zuen (%45,875etik %12,79ra). Azkenik, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteetan etsi zuen euskarazko egunkariak eta, orain arte horrelakorik lehen orrian agertu ez bazuen ere, 2008an %7,98ko tartea lortu zuten.

Asteburuetako *Euskadi Irratia*k, ordea, PSOEri EAJri baino nagusitasun handiagoa eskaintzen zion; udan oraindik argiagoa zen, Espainiako Gobernuko alderdiak EAJren leku bikoitza hartzen baitzuen. Ildo horretatik, oposizioko alderdirik ez zen ez asteburuetan ez udan azaltzen. Aldiz, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak aurkako proportzio horretan ugaritzen zihoazen.

*Euskal Telebista*n ere asteburuak oposizioa agertzeko aldia izateari utzi zion. Alderantziz, hiru gobernuetako alderdien agerpenak bere horretan jarraitzen zuen eta soberakina ETArekin edo protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteekin betetzen zuen. Udan, baina, PSOE eta EAJ bakarrik azaldu ziren, %60 eta %40ko neurrian, gainera. Beraz, Espainiako Gobernuko informazioa oporraldian gehien zabaldutakoa izan zen.

*Berria*k ere, *Euskadi Irratia*ren eta *Etb1*en antzera, asteburuetan eta udan, batez ere, Espainiako Gobernua protagonista moduan agertzen zuten albisteak zabaltzen zituen. Gainera, udan gobernuko alderdiei telebistak baino leku handiagoa egiten zien. Are gehiago, oposizioko alderdiei ez zien asteburuetan lehen orrian lekurik egiten. Ezker abertzaleak, horrenbestez, aurreko eparen tarte erdia lortu zuen. Horren aldean, ETAk agerpen bikoitza izan zuen, baina protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak lehen orrian hirukoiztu ziren[323]. Horregatik, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albiste politikoek aginteko buruzagiekin kritiko ez direla kontuan hartuta, oporraldietako *Berria*k gobernuko informazio zabalagoa plazaratzen zuen.

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[323] Adibidez, ETAk Nojako eta Laredoko hondartzak lehergailuak ipini zituenean, "Atentatuak gaitzesteko elkarrateratzeak" (2008/07/22) albisteak ez zuen azaldu Nojako eta Laredoko udalek deituta zeudela, ez herritarrek, ez eta gizarte mugimenduek.

60. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
*Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Politika saila (2008)

	EAJ	PSE	UPN-PP	Ezk. abertz	ETA	Poliz /Est.	Bat ere ez
■ Euskadi Irr.	24,1	22,89	15,64	10,83	7,21	13,23	3,7
☐ Etb1	34,78	19,57	8,7	2,18	15,21	6,52	10,87
▩ Berria	15,34	10,22	7,66	23	20,45	12,79	7,98
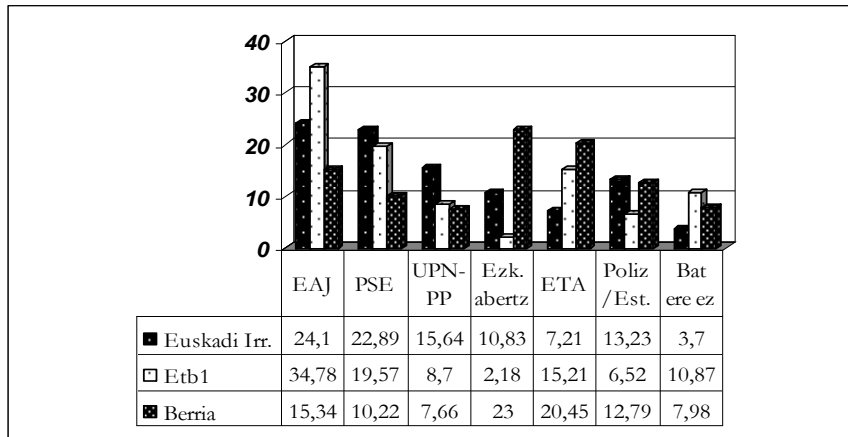
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainera, euskarazko hedabideetako albistegaien artean gehien bat etorritakoak Politika sailekoak izaten ziren. Hortaz, aginteko eta oposizioko alderdien informazioan bat egiteko proportzioa hedabide bakoitzaren araberakoa izaten zen: 2-1, *Euskadi Irratia*ren bat egindako informazioak oposizioa agertzen zuen bakoitzeko aginteko alderdiak birritan azaltzen zituen; *Etb1*ek 1-3ko proportzioa erakutsi zuen; eta *Berria*k 1-1,5eko neurriari eutsi zion. Gainerako hedabideekin alderatuta, aginteko alderdiak eta polizia protagonista agertzen zituen informazioan egunkari erregionalistekin eta estatuetako hedabideekin bat egiteko probabilitate handiagoa azaltzen zen. Oposizioko alderdiei erreparatuta, aldiz, euskarazko hedabideak herrialdeetakoekin konbergenteagoak ziren eta egunkari abertzale politikoekin ere. *Euskadi Irratia*, ordea, EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin gobernua agertzen zuten albisteetan konbergenteago agertzen zen eta *Cadena Ser*-rekin, oposizioko alderdiak azaltzen zituen informazioan.

Nazioarteko politikari zegokionez, euskarazko hiru hedabideok konbergenteagoak ziren. Are gehiago, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k nazioarteko politikari buruzko albisteen %80tan aginteko atzerriko buruzagiak agertzen zituzten eta, udan, gainera, tarte hori zabalagoa zen. *Euskal Telebista*k, aldiz, oposizioko kideei %40ko lekua egiten zien, baina asteburuetan eta oporraldietan gainerako bi hedabideen proportzioarekin bat egiten zuen. Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideekin nazioarteko buruzagiak protagonista zituzten albisteetan euskarazko hiru hedabideek erakusten

zuten konbergentzia zela eta, nazioarteko politikak informazio esklusibotasunerako gakorik eskaintzen ez zutela egiaztatu zen.

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren banakako azterketara bueltatuta, euskarazko hiru hedabideek Gizarte sailean erakusten zituzten protagonista motek atal horren norabidea azaltzen zuten. *Euskadi Irratia*n, lehenengo eta behin, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten berriek albistegiaren erdia baino gehiago hartu zuten (%58,33), *Etb1*ek 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko azterketan erakutsitako portzentajearen gainetik (%57,58 alegia). Ondoren, poliziari eta epaileei *Berria*ren antzeko lekua egin zien (%12,5 eta %15,15, hurrenez hurren), hots, *Etb1*ek aurreko epean eskaini zion tartearen erdia (%30,55). Gizarte taldeek saileko informazioaren %29,17 protagonizatu zuten.

Bigarrenik, *Euskal Telebista*ren Gizarte sailaren %82,35 protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteek hartu zituzten. Horrenbestez, telebistak tankera horretako informazioa erabat lehenetsi zuen, aurreko epean ere %57,58ko nagusitasuna ematen baitzion. Ondorioz, gizarte taldeak nahiz polizia eta epaileak protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten berrien kopurua nabarmen jaitsi zen *Etb1*ean: lehenengoen kasuan, %18,18tik %11,76ra eta, poliziak nahiz epaileek aurreko epearen agerpenaren bostena bakarrik izan zuten (%24,24etik %5,88ra, hain zuzen).

Azkenik, *Berria*k ere polizia eta epaileak protagonista zituzten albisteak erdira jaitsi zituen (%10,53tik %12,5era). Gizarte taldeak agertzen zituen informazioa, ostera, indartu egin zuen (%24,24tik %42,42ra) eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak gutxitu zituen bakarra izan zen (%47,37tik %42,42ra).

Asteburuetan, hedabideek polizia eta epaileen agerpena murrizten zuten. Ondorioz, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k gizarte taldeak sendotzen zituzten eta *Euskal Telebista*k, aldiz, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak ugaritzen zituen. Udako oporraldietan ere antzera jokatzen zuten. Are gehiago, *Berria*k *Etb1*ek baino protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albiste gehiago plazaratzen zituen. Izan ere, kazetak udan ez zuen gizarte talderik agertzen eta, beraz, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuen informazioak lehen orriko gizarte gaien %83,34 hartzen zuen. Urteko astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakiek, aldiz, gizarte taldeak eta polizia nahiz epaileak neurri berean azaltzen zituzten: %40an, hain zuzen.

61. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen protagonistak (%):
*Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Gizarte saila (2008)

	Polizia eta epaileak	Gizarte taldeak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
■ Euskadi Irratia	12,50	29,17	58,33
☐ Etb1	5,88	11,76	82,35
▨ Berria	15,15	42,42	42,42
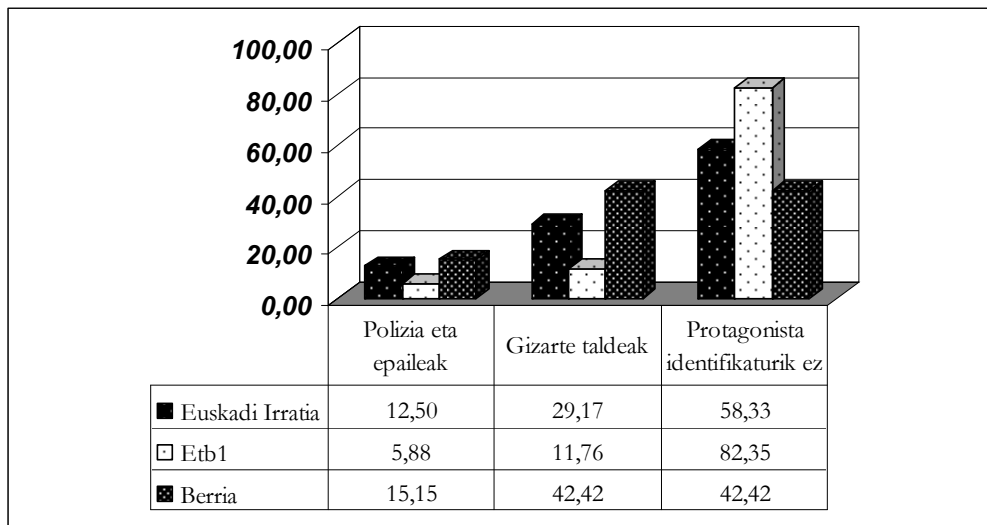
Iturria: Egilea.

Protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak Gizarte saileko informazio mota nagusia bilakatu ziren. Hiru hedabideen arteko konbergentzia inoiz baino estuago bihurtu zen. Gainerako bi hedabideetan ere agertutako *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteak gizarte gaien %76,92 protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko berriak izan ziren; *Etb1*ean, %100ean; eta *Berria*n, %55,56an. Are gehiago, Euskal Herriko gainerako hedabideekin ere gehien berdindu zituen albiste-mota izan zen. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k hedabide guztiekin antzeko bat-egite portzentajeak erakutsi arren, *Euskal Telebista*k estatuetako hedabideekin konbergenteen izateko joerarik argiena erakutsi zuen. Horrenbestez, gizarte eragile autonomoak agertzen zituzten albisteak erdal hedabideetatik gehien bereizten zituzten. Ordea, euskarazko hedabideekiko informazio-gertutasuna areagotzen zuten, EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideetara hurbilduz. *Etb1*ek, baina, ez zuen horren inguruko albisteetan bat egin eta, ondorioz, *Euskal Telebista*ren edukia estatuetako informazioarekin *Euskadi Irratia*rekin *eta Berria*rekin eurekin baino konbergenteagoa izan zen. Protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteen estatuetako hedabideekiko konbergentzia %75ekoa zen eta euskarazkoekin, aldiz, %62,5koa. Are gehiago, gizarte taldeak agertzen zituzten albisteetan *Etb1*ek estatuetako hedabideekin bat egiten zuen, baina euskarazkoekin ez.

Protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko gizarte gaietako albisteen kopurua informazio arinak eta erabilgarriak hartutako tartearekin bat zetorren. *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Etb1*ean, batez ere, protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten albisteek berri arinen eta erabilgarrien kopurua gainditzen zuten. Hortaz, despertsonalizatutako informazioak

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albiste sendoetara ere hedatu dela egiaztatu ahal izan dugu, hala nola osasun auzietara[324] eta ingurunearen inguruko gaietara[325]. *Berria*n, ordea, protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak berri arinak eta erabilgarriak baino gutxiago ziren. Horrenbestez, egunkaria gizarte taldeak gehien agertzen zituena izan zen eta, ondorioz, haiek protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten gaiak arintzat hartutakoak ere baziren, indarkeria esaterako[326].

62. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen gaia eta protagonistak (%):
***Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko Gizarte saila (2008)**

	Euskadi Irratia	Etb1	Berria
■ Informazio arina eta erabilgarria	56,81	71,15	51,51
☐ Protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak	58,33	82,35	42,42
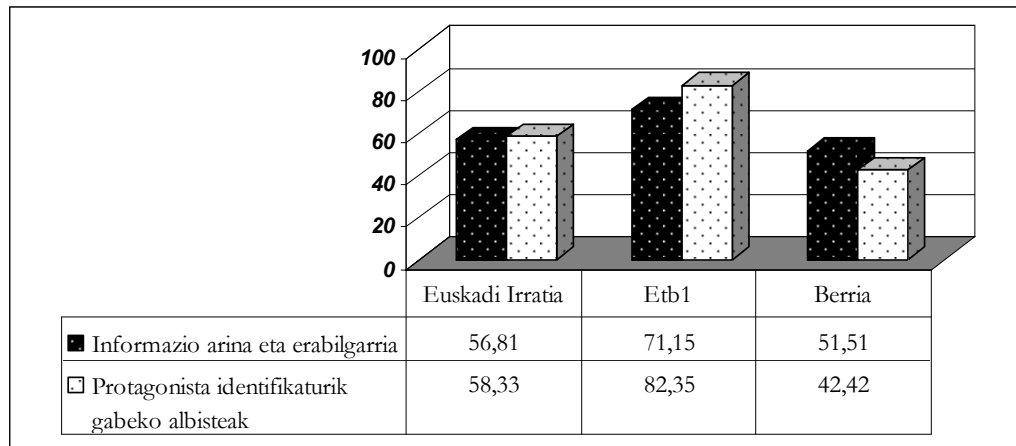
Iturria: Egilea.

Beraz, albiste erabilgarriek, alde batetik, herritarrak jendetza masa batean aurkezten zituzten eta gizarte bizitzaren irudi estatikoa ematen zuten[327]. Albiste arinek, bestetik, istorio pribatuak eratzen zituzten[328].

Gainera, protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten albiste arinek berezko ezaugarriak zituzten. Lehenengo eta behin, boterearekiko jarrera kritikorik ez zekarren informazioa[329] plazaratzen zuten. Bigarrenik, berezko gaiak istripuak izaten ziren[330]. Are

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[324] "Egun gutxi barru berriz ere salgai jarriko dute Depuralina argaltzeko produktua […]" (2008/04/29), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Esku bionikoa: Bartzelonan jarri diote ume bati" (2008/02/22), *Etb1*ean.
[325] "Beste hartz ar baten urratsak atzeman dituzte Nafarroan […]" (20/08/2008), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Urtegiak: Añarbe %93, Ulibarri %71" (2008/02/21), *Etb1*ean.
[326] Adibidez, "Babes neurriak kendu dizkietela salatu dute genero indarkeriaren biktimek" (2008/02/22).
[327] "Aurten Aste Santua azkar egokitu delako, San Sebastian bukatu eta berehala, inauteriak iragartzera, kaldereroak datoz […]" (2008/01/22), *Euskadi Irratia*n; "Milaka lagun batu dira Gasteizko zaindariaren aldeko gorazarrean" (2008/08/06), *Etb1*ean; edota "Hurrena arte: San Ferminetan entzierro garbiak izan dira aurten" (2008/07/15), *Berria*n.
[328] "Uda berezia da Donostian uda pasatzen ari diren haur saharauiarrentzat […]"(2008/08/05), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Austria: [Amstettengo munstroa] Epailearen aurrean aitortzen" (2008/04/29), *Etb1*ean.
[329] Esaterako, herri lanek ur horniketa egokiari trabarik egin ez ziotela egiaztatzeko, kaleko oinezkoei inkesta egin zien *Etb1*ek: "Bilboko ur horniketa: Arazo larririk ez lanengatik" (2008/04/06).
[330] "Errepideetan, pertsona bat hil da Zumarragan […]" (2008/09/25), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Elektrokutatuta 14 urteko mutila: Dorre elektriko batean jolasean" (2008/07/13), *Etb1*ean. *Berria*k zegoeneko ez zuen trafiko istripurik lehen orrira eraman.

gehiago, auto istripurik ez egoteari ere albiste zeritzoten[331]. Hirugarrenik, informazio arina beste esparru batzuetarako hedapena sendotu egin zuten hedabideek. Istripuak ez ezik, albiste itxura zuten eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioak ere berri arinak ziren[332]. Bosgarrenik, hedabideek plazaratzen zituzten protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albiste arinek delituak hizpide izaten zituzten[333]. Informazio eginkizunak, azkenik, lege-hausteei buruzko albiste arinak aztertzeko bide berriak argitu zituen. Alde batetik, berri arin horiek irudi estereotipatuen balore tradizionalak sustatzen zituzten, emakumearen sendiarekiko lotura azpimarratuz, indarkeriaren biktima[334] zenean eta lege-hauslea[335] zenean ere. Bestetik, albiste arinen informazio-tratamenduak ez zuen biktimen testigantza zalantzagarritzat har ez zedin neurri nahikorik hartzen asmatu[336].

c. **Sorterria** (*Geographical diversity*)

Albisteen sorterriak hedabideek zabaltzen duten errealitate geografikoa islatzen du. Azken batean, munduari begiratzeko posizioa definitzen du: gertukoa (nortzuk garen) eta urrunekoa (zeintzuk diren). Hortaz, bertakotasunak "gu" eta "haiek" kategoriak eratzen ditu. Horregatik, bertakotasuna tokian tokiko informazioarekin eta Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetakoarekin parekatu dugu. Ondoren, estatuetan sortutako albisteak zenbatu ditugu. Azkenik, Europatik (batasun ekonomikotik zein ekialdetik) eta beste herrietatik heltzen zaizkigun berriak munduko informaziotzat jo ditugu.

Beraz, bertako eta kanpoko informazioak hartzen zuen lekua neurtu ahal izango dugu. Lehenengo taldea tokian tokiko albisteek (herrietakoek zein herrialdeetakoek) eta Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboek (EAEk, Nafarroako erkidegoak, Hegoaldeak eta Ipar Euskal Herriak) osatzen dute. Kanpoko berriek, aldiz, estatuetan (Espainia,

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[331] "Hildako gutxiago: Hala ere, zifra beltza" (2008/01/07), *Etb1*ean.

[332] "Elurra!: Maluten lehen bisita Nafarroan" (2008/10/04), *Etb1*ean eta "Euria, txingorra eta azkenean elurra iritsi da errepidera" (2008/03/23), *Berria*n.

[333] "Kokaina hesteetan: Kilo eta erdi guztira" (2008/06/28), *Etb1*ean.

[334] "Hilketa: <u>Gizon</u> batek bere <u>emazte ohia</u> hil du" (2008/11/11), *Etb1*ean; "Langraitzeko espetxean sartu dute […] <u>emaztea</u> hil zuen <u>gizonezkoa</u> […]" (2008/08/20), *Euskadi Irratia*n; eta "Espetxeratu egin dute Mañuetan ustez <u>emaztea</u> hil zuen 72 urteko <u>gizona</u>" (2008/08/21), *Berria*n.

[335] "Bi haur hilda, beste bi arriskutik kanpora eta <u>ama</u>, haurrak bezala, toxikatuta […]" (2008/02/06), *Euskadi Irratia*n; "Mutiloagoitin <u>ama</u> batek <u>seme</u> bi hil ditu eta beste bi oso larri daude […]" (2008/02/06), *Etb1*ean; eta "Mutiloagoitin 3 eta 8 urteko bi anaia hil dira, ustez amak botikekin pozoituta" (2008/02/07), *Berria*n.

[336] "Asteburuan Donostian izandako <u>ustezko</u> sexu erasoaren inguruan […] susmagarri bat atxilotua izan da […]" (2008/10/27), *Euskadi Irratia*n; "Ustezko bortxatzailea: Ertzaintzak atxilotu du" (2008/10/27), *Etb1*ean; eta "Donostian <u>ustez</u> 19 urteko neska bortxatu zuen gizonezkoa atxilotu dute" (2008/10/28), *Berria*n.

Frantzia nahiz horietako Estaturik gabeko nazioetan) eta munduan (Europan zein beste herrietan) sortutako informazioa biltzen dute.

c.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Azterketaren laginaren erdia hartzen duen denbora-tarte horretan zenbait gertakizun jazo zen (*Euskal Telebista*ren beraren sorrera, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren plazaratzea eta bi ereduen sendotzea). Horrenbestez, hiru epe horietan euskaldun senaren inguruko kontzepzioak bilakaerarik izan ote zuen aztertuko dugu.

c.1.1. *Etb*ren hastapenak (1983-1989)

Euskal Telebista sorrera urteetan gertuko albisteak zabaltzen zituen hedabidea izan zen. Tokian tokiko informazioak albisteen %46,08 hartzen zuen eta Euskal Herrikoak, aldiz, %20,59. Beraz, guztira, bertako berriek %66,67ko tartea hartzen zuten. Kanpoko albisteen artean, estatuetatik zetorren informazioak guztirako %24,51ko tartea zuen eta, beraz, Europan eta beste herrietan sortutako berriak oso urriak ziren (%5,88 eta %2,94, hurrenez hurren).

63. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
***Etb* (1983-1989)**

	Tokian tokikoak	Euskal Herria	Espainia /Frantzia	Europa	Beste herriak
■ Etb	46,08	20,59	24,51	5,88	2,94
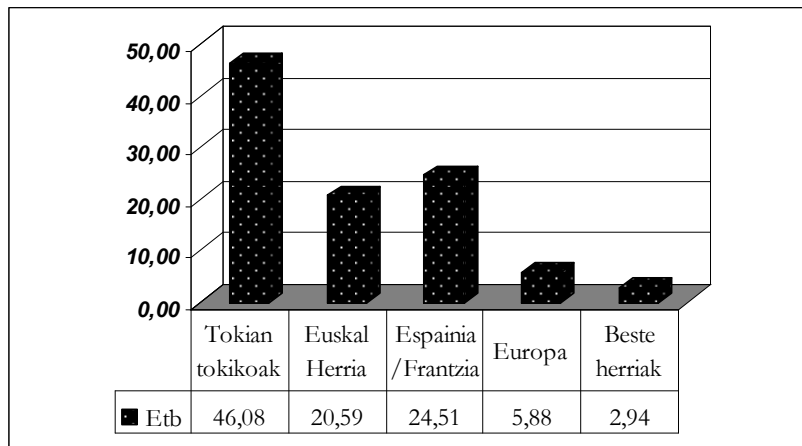
Iturria: Egilea.

Tokian tokiko informazioaren erdia Bizkaian sortua zen eta heren bat Gipuzkoatik zetorren. Nafarroako herriek Arabaren tarte bikoitza hartzen zuten (%14,89 eta %6,38, hurrenez hurren) eta, azkenik, Lapurdik %2,13ko agerpena zuen. Iparraldea ez zen beste albiste baten sorterria izan. Are gehiago, Euskal Herri osoa kontuan hartzen zuten albisteak guztira %1,96 izan ziren, Hegoaldeari erreferentzia egiten ziotenak baino gehiago (%0,98). Tokian tokiko informazioa, gainera, sail

guztietako sorterri nagusia zen: Politika (%37,5), Ekonomia (%44,44), Gizartea (%60), Kultura (%44,44) eta Kirolak ere (%48,65). Tokian tokiko berriak eta Euskal Herriko informazioa bateratuz gero, *Euskal Telebista*k zabaldutako bertako albisteek sail guztietako sorterririk oparoena zela egiazta daiteke.

64. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
bertako berrien proportzioa *Etb*n (1983-1989)

	Politika	Ekonomia	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
■ Etb	65,63	66,67	86,67	77,77	56,76
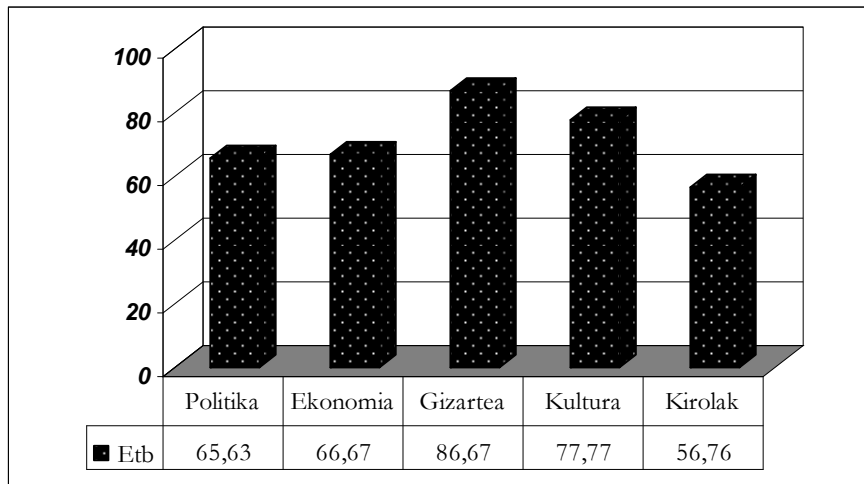
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*ren berezko eremua izan arren, EAE ez zen albistegunerik garrantzitsuena izan (%14,71), ez eta Nafarroa ere (%2,94), Espainia baizik (%23,53), baina Frantzia inolaz ere ez (%0,98). Dena den, Euskal Herriko administrazioek (EAEk, Nafarroak eta Iparraldeak) Estatuek baino tarte zabalagoa zuten sail guztietan, kiroletan kenduta. Horretan, tokian tokiko informazioaren ondoren, Espainian sortutako albisteek sailaren herena hartzen zuten. Gainera, Ipar Euskal Herrian sortutako kultur gairik ez zuen *Euskal Telebista*k agertu.

Azkenik, Europatik eta beste herrietatik zetorren informazioari oso leku txikia egiten zion *Euskal Telebista* sortu berriak: %5,88 eta %2,94, hurrenez hurren. Gainera, albiste horiek Politikan eta Ekonomian banunduta agertzen ziren. Kiroletan AEBetan ospatu zen munduko sokatira txapelketaren berri eman zuen[337]. Zegoeneko, AEBetako berriek nazioarteko albiste guztien bi herenak biltzen zituzten, mundu osoko informazioaren laurdena zen eta kanpoko berrien %5,88 hartzen zituen.

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[337] 1984/06/01.

c.1.2. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Aurreko epeko *Euskal Telebista*k agertutako informazio-ereduarekin alderatuta, 1990etik 2002ra bitartean tokian tokiko informazioak *Etb1*en arreta galdu zuen. Aldiz, Euskal Herria, Europak eta beste herriek tarte zabalagoak izan zituzten. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k hurrenkera horri ere eutsi zion. Beraz, bi hedabideok tokian tokiko eta Euskal Herriko informazioari albisteen erdia baino gehiago eskaintzen zioten. Ondoren, estatuetan sortutako berriek tarte handia hartzen zuten. Azkenik, Europatik eta mundutik heltzen ziren albisteei gero eta leku handiagoa egiten hasi zitzaien. *Egunkaria*k Europari begiratzen zion bitartean, *Etb1*ek Hegoamerika hartzen zuen munduko albistegunerik garrantzitsuentzat.

65. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Tokian tokikoak	Euskal Herria	Espainia /Frantzia	Europa	Beste herriak
■ Etb1	31,6	25,11	22,51	9,96	10,82
□ Egunkaria	31,33	25,7	20,08	12,85	10,04
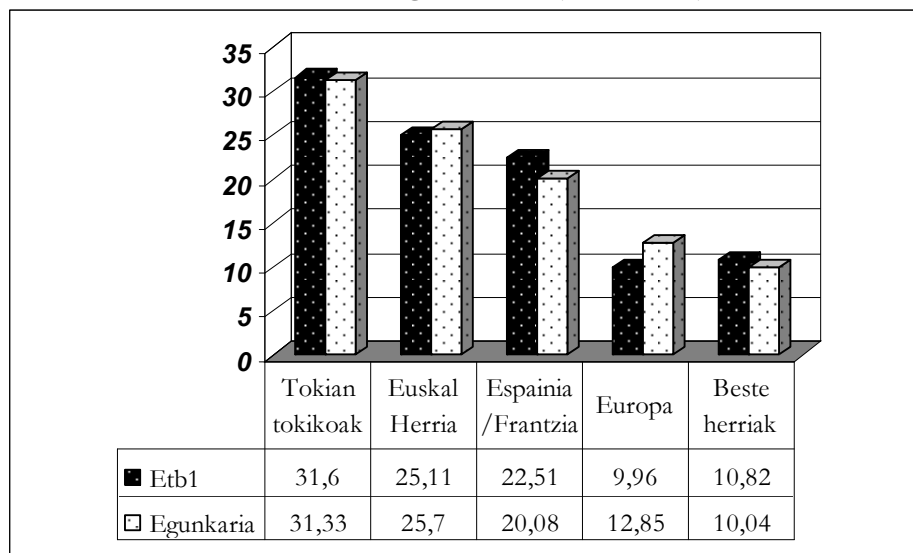
Iturria: Egilea.

Lehenengo eta behin, epe honetako hedabideek tokian tokiko informazioa murrizteko joera azaldu zuten. Aurreko hamarkadako *Euskal Telebista*k %46,08ko tartea eskaintzen zion; *Etb1*ek, oraingoan, %31,6ko lekua egin zion eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* sortu berriak, %31,33koa.

Politika sailean apenas agertzen zen informazioa dugu tokian tokikoa (herri eta herrialdeetako albisteak), baina Gizarte (%42,65, *Etb1*ean eta %44,83, *Egunkaria*n) eta Kultura (%65,22, *Etb1*ean eta %68,63, *Egunkaria*n) atalak erabat eratzen zituzten berriak ziren. *Egunkaria*n, gainera, kirolak ere tokian tokiko albisteetan oinarritzen ziren (%48,57).

Tokian tokiko eremuen aniztasunari dagokionez, *Etb1*ek Hego Euskal Herriko lau herrialdeetako albisteak agertu zituen, baina EAE nabarmendu zuen. Bizkaia eta Gipuzkoa neurri berean azaldu ziren bitartean (tokian tokiko informazioaren %41,41ena), Arabak Nafarroaren tarte zabalagoa hartu zuen (%10,95 eta %6,85, hurrenez hurren). Horrenbestez, Lapurdi, Nafarroa-Behera eta Zuberoa ez zituen *Euskal Telebista*k eguneko lehen albisteen sorterritzat. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, aldiz, zazpi herrialdeak agertu zituen. Gipuzkoak Bizkaiak baino leku handiagoa izan zuen (%37,18 eta %25,66, hurrenez hurren). Lapurdi eta Nafarroa antzera aurkeztu zituen (%15,39 eta %14,1), baina horietako albisteak Arabakoak baino hiru bider sarriagotan azaltzen ziren (azken horrek %5,13ko tartea izan zuen). Gainerako bi herrialdeek, hau da, Nafarroa-Beherak eta Zuberoak %1,28neko agerpena lortu zuten. Beraz, *Euskal Telebista*k EAEko herrialdeak hobesten zituen bezala, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k Euskal Herri osoko tokian tokiko albisteak agertu zituen.

Bigarrenik, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboek garrantzia irabazi zuten *Etb1*ean. Aurreko epean %20,59ko tartea lortu zuten eta oraingoan, %25,11koa, *Egunkaria*ren antzera (%25,7). Bi hedabideek EAE arretagune nagusitzat jo zuten (%77,59, *Etb1*ean eta %67,19, *Egunkaria*n). Nafarroa ez zuten era berean kontsideratu. *Euskal Telebista*k 1995era arte ez zion ia tarterik eskaini eta *Egunkaria*k, alderantziz, 1996tik aurrera gero eta leku txikiagoa egiten zion. Horrela, hamarkada luzean Nafarroak izandako agerpenaren batez besteko portzentajeak honelakoak izan ziren: %3,45, *Etb1*ean eta %10,94, *Egunkaria*n. Gainera, azken horrek ere Hegoalde bateratuaren ikuspegia telebistak baino arreta handiz jarraitzen zuen (%9,38 eta %8, hain zuzen). Dena den, Ipar Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboko albisteak *Etb1*ek *Egunkaria*k baino sarriagotan agertzen zituen (%6,9tan eta %1,56tan alegia). Hortaz, kazetak ez zuen Iparraldeko eremu administratiboa bere osotasunean azaltzen, herrialdeka baizik. Arestian ikusi dugun bezala, Lapurdin, Nafarroa-Beheran eta Zuberoan sortutako albisteak sail guztietan agertzen zituen; gainera, Nafarroa-Garaiak eta Arabak hartzen zuten tartea baino leku handiagoa egiten zien *Egunkaria*k (esaterako, kultura albisteen %15,69 Iparraldeko herrialdeetariko batean sortuak ziren). Ildo beretik, Euskal Herri osoa kontuan hartzen zuen informazio ikuspegi zabala eskaintzen zuen *Egunkaria*k (%10,94). Are gehiago, 1996tik kopurua sendotu zuen eta eremu administratiboetako informazioaren %17,14k Euskal Herri osoa islatzen zuen. *Etb1*eko albisteen %3,45ek bakarrik ikuspegi hori azaldu zuten.

Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako informazioak ez zuen Politika sailean nagusitasunik. *Euskal Telebista*n estatuei egindako tartearen bestekoa zen (%25,56) eta *Egunkaria*n, nazioartekoaren parekoa (%22,68). Horrenbestez, ekonomia gaiek eremu administratiboetako albisteak hobetsi zituzten: %47,37ko tartea hartzen zuten *Etb1*ean eta %35,29koa, *Egunkaria*n. Era berean, Gizarte eta Kultur sailetako bigarren sorterria zen. Kiroletan, azkenik, ez zuen lekurik eta izatekotan, *Egunkaria*n kasu, EAEren inguruko albisteak izaten ziren.

Hirugarrenik, Espainiari zein Frantziari eta euren barruan zeuden Estaturik gabeko nazioei eskainitako arreta aurreko urteetakoarekin bat zetorren (%22,51, *Etb1*ek eta %20,08, *Egunkaria*k). Biek Espainiari nagusitasuna aintzatesten zioten (%76,92 eta %60, hurrenez hurren). Gainera, herrialde horretako Estaturik gabeko nazioak bakarrik agertu zituzten (%15,39, *Etb1*ek eta %12, *Egunkaria*k). Telebistak 1996tik aurrera, Kataluniatik eta Galizatik zetozen albisteen kopurua sendotu zuen. Dena den, Espainian eta Frantzian sortutako informazioa gutxitzeko joera azaldu zuten bi hedabideek. Are gehiago, *Euskal Telebista*k Espainian sortutako albisteak %76,92tik %68ra gutxitu zituen epe honetan bertan.

Estatuetako berriek Politika saila egituratzen zuten: %25,56, *Etb1*ean eta %26,8, *Egunkaria*n. Gainera, Espainiako albisteak nabarmen gailentzen ziren, *Etb1*ean batik bat. Telebistak ere kiroletako nagusitasuna agertu zuen, sail horretako albisteen erdia estatuetan sortua baitzen. *Egunkaria*k Frantziako eta Espainiako kirolei %28,57ko tartea baino ez zien eskaini. Ekonomian, aldiz, estatuetako informazioak tokian tokikoa gailendu zuen eta bi hedabideotako atal horretan bigarren postua lortu zuen, Euskal Herriko albisteen atzetik. *Euskal Telebista*k %23,53ko lekua egin zion eta *Egunkaria*k, %26,32koa. Ondoren, gizarte gaien antzeko proportzioa estatuetan sortua izan arren (%16,18, *Etb1*ean eta %13,79, *Egunkaria*n), biek horren erdia Estaturik gabeko nazioei eskaini zieten. *Euskal Telebista*k Gizarte sailean azaldu zituen berriek Espainia sorterritzat barneratu bazuten ere, *Egunkaria*k bakarrik Frantziako gizarte albisteak agertu zituen. Kultura sailean ere *Etb1*ek estatuetan sortutako albisteen tartea Espainian kokatutako albisteek osatzen zuten (%8,7). *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, estatuetan sortutako kultur informazioari %1,96 baino ez zion eskaini eta, gainera, Estaturik gabeko nazioen kultur gaiek osatzen zuten.

Laugarrenik, Europan eta beste herrietan sortutako albisteak gehien ugaritu ziren. *Etb1*ean informazio guztiaren %20,78 ziren eta *Egunkaria*n, %22,89. Kazetak

telebistak baino portzentaje handiagoa eskaintzen zion Europari eta, 1996tik aurrera, estatuetan eta Europan sortutako albisteen kopuruak ia berdindu egin zituen: %15,33raino jaitsi zuen estatuetako informazioa eta Europakoa %12,41ean mantendu zuen. *Egunkaria*ren ikuspegi europarra sail guztietara hedatzen zen, Politikara izan ezik. Gainera, guztietan nazioarteko albisteen gainetik gailentzen zen. *Etb1*eko informazio europarra batasun ekonomikoan oinarritzen zen bitartean (Europako albisteen %73,91), *Egunkaria*k Europar Batasunetik kanpoko albisteei telebistak baino leku handiagoa egiten zien (%31,25). Are gehiago, Europako Estaturik gabeko nazioetako informazioa (Ipar Irlanda, batik bat) *Etb1*ek baino lau bider gehiagotan plazaratzen zuen *Egunkaria*k.

*Euskal Telebista*k, ordea, nazioarteko gizarte gaiei Europakoei baino tarte bikoitza eskaintzen zien, Hegoamerikakoei batez ere (munduko albisteen %28)[338]. Era berean, bi hedabideetan, 1996tik aurrera munduko albisteek lehenengoz Europakoek baino tarte zabalagoa hartu zuten. Alde batetik, batasun ekonomikotik kanpoko Europa barruko guden bakealdiak nazioarteko politika albisteak murriztu zituen. Bestetik, 1996tik aurrera AEB zein Israel eta Palestina nazioarteko politika albisteetan lehenengoz agertu ziren eta horien laurdena hartu zuten. Europar Batasuneko albisteak, ordea, anitzagoak ziren eta, politika[339] ez ezik, ekonomia[340], gizarte[341] eta kirol[342] gaiak ere lantzen zituzten.

Asteburuetan, bi hedabideetan tokian tokiko informazioak eta estatuetakoak tartea galtzen zuten, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboen eta Europaren alde. Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k antzerako errealitate geografikoa plazaratzen zuen, baina nazioarteko albisteak ugaritzen zituen, Europakoen kaltetan. Udan, azkenik, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboen agerpena nabarmen murrizten zen eta, horren ondorioz, kanpoko informazioa (estatuetako, Europako eta beste herrietako albisteak) ugariagoa zen (%51,16, telebistan eta %55, *Egunkaria*n), *Etb1*ek tokian tokiko informazioa (Bizkaikoa, batez ere) indartu arren.

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[338] "AEBetako karga-hegazkin batek Ekuadorren istripua izan du" (1996/10/13).

[339] "Herri Batasunak Bruselan elkarretaratzea egin du" (1996/06/01), *Etb1*ean eta "EBk ez du adostasunik lortu Austriari zigorrak kentzeko" (2000/06/29), *Egunkaria*n.

[340] "EBko ekonomia ministroak Luxenburgon batzartu dira" (1992/06/09), *Etb1*ean eta "Europako Kontseiluak Espainiaren arrantza eskubideak onartu ditu" (1994/12/11), *Egunkaria*n.

[341] "Portugalen, Duero ibaiaren gaineko zubi bat jaustean, autobus batean eta bi autotan zihoazen 74 lagun hil dira" (2001/03/05), *Etb1*ean edo "[Portugalen] Gutxienez 70 lagun hil dira, zubi bat erori eta autobus bat hortik amilduta" (2001/03/06), *Egunkaria*n.

[342] "Ziklokrossa: Iñigo Igartua Leeds-eko munduko txapelketatik kanporatuta geratu da" (1992/02/03), *Etb1*ean eta "Giroa: Cipollini, nor bestela?" (1992/06/10), *Egunkaria*n.

Bi hedabideotan bat egindako informaziorik gehien estatuetan sortutakoa zen (%35,59). Ondoren, esklusibotasunik txikiena eskaintzen zuen informazioa Europakoa izan zen, nazioarteko albisteek baino konbergentzia handiagoa erakutsi baitzuen. Are gehiago, EAEko berriek ere bat-egite portzentaje altua lortu zuten (%22,03). Bi hedabideak ez ziren Euskal Herri osoa kontuan hartzen zuen albisteetan bat etorri, ez eta EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetan sortutakorik. Tokian tokiko albisteen bat-egitea, beraz, esklusiboena suertatu zen, EAEko hiru lurraldeak kenduta. Horietan bat etortzeko aukerarik gehien Gipuzkoan sortutako informazioak ematen zuen; Bizkaikoak, gero; eta Arabakoak, azkenik. Ondorioz, berri agentziek zabaltzen ez zituzten EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetan sortutako albisteek eta Euskal Herria osotasunean lantzen zutenek *Euskal Telebista*ren eta *Egunkaria*ren arteko dibergentzia areagotzen zuten. Informazio-esklusibotasuna, horrenbestez, albistea sortutako lekuaren araberakoa baino, hedabideek islatu nahi zuten errealitate geografikoaren araberakoa zen eta bide horretan egindako informazio ahalegina[343]. Horrenbestez, bertako informazioak (tokian tokikoak eta Euskal Herrikoak) zenbait sailetan lekua galdu zuen, hala nola Politikan eta Kiroletan. Beraz, saila egituratzeko bertako informazioari eutsi zioten atalak Gizartea (*Egunkaria*n, %75eko tartea zuen) eta Kultura (%91,30, *Etb1*ean eta %96,08, *Egunkaria*n) izan ziren.

**66. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
bertako berriak *Etb1*ean eta *E.Egunkaria*n (1990-2002)**

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
■ Etb1	43,33	61,76	67,65	91,30	25
□ Egunkaria	29,90	63,16	75,86	96,08	51,43
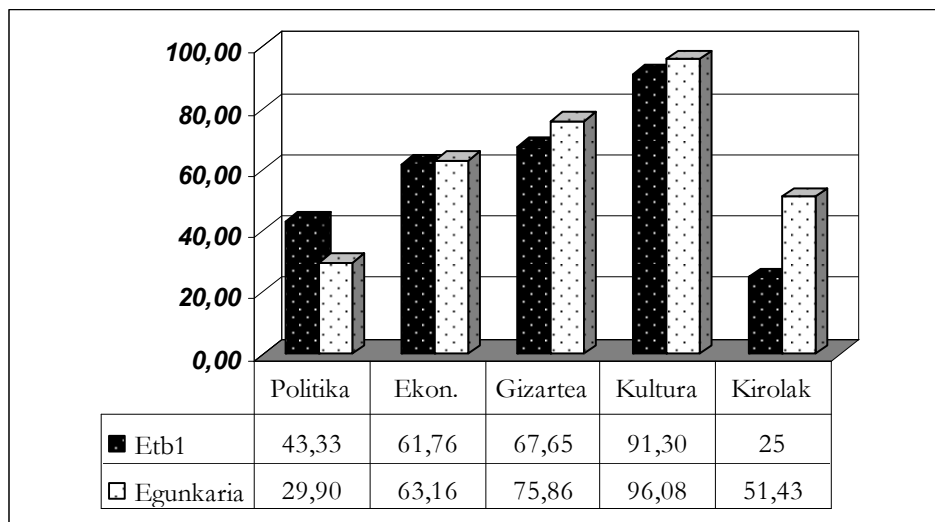
Iturria: Egilea.

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[343] "Uholdeengatik, zenbait lagun etxetik ebakuatu behar izan dute Pragan (Txekiar Errepublika)" (2002/08/13), *Etb1*ean eta "Euriteek hondamendi historikoa eragin dute Alemaniatik Filipinetara" (2002/08/14), *Egunkaria*n.

c.1.3. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Milurteko berriko euskarazko hedabideen informazio-ereduak tokian tokiko albisteak gutxitu zituen eta, aldiz, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboenak sendotu. Horrenbestez, bertako albisteek informazioaren erdia baino gehiago hartzen jarraitu zuten, baina tokikotasuna galdu zuten. Euskal Herritik gaindiko eremuetan, ostera, estatuetan zein Europan sortutako informazioa nabarmen murriztu zen, nazioarteko berrien ugaritzearekin batera, aurreko epeetako tarte bikoitza hartu baitzuten.

67. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Tokian tokikoak	Euskal Herria	Espainia /Frantzia	Europa	Beste herriak
■ Etb1	25,56	27,78	18,89	6,67	21,11
□ Berria	30,86	29,63	16,05	4,94	18,52
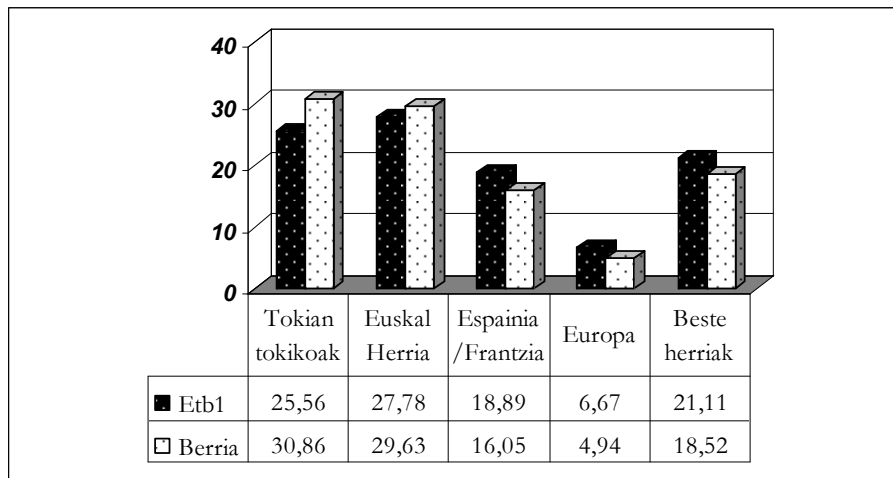
Iturria: Egilea.

Alde batetik, tokian tokiko informazioaren arretagunea Bizkaiak eta Gipuzkoak osatzen zuten (%41,1ena, *Etb1*ean eta %25,64 zein %37,18, hurrenez hurren, *Berria*n). Ondoren, Hego Euskal Herriko gainerako bi herrialdeek antzerako agerpena lortzen zuten. *Euskal Telebista*k Arabari Nafarroako tokiko informazioari baino gehiagotan erreparatzen zion (%10,95 eta %6,85). *Berria*k, ordea, Nafarroa (%14,1) Arabaren aurretik (%5,13) lehenesten zuen. Ipar Euskal Herriko herrialdeak, baina, *Berria*n bakarrik azaltzen ziren. Lapurdik Nafarroa-Garaiak eta Arabak baino tarte handiagoa izaten bazuen ere (%15,39), Nafarroa-Beherak eta Zuberoak jadanik lehen orrian agertzeari utzi zioten.

Beste aldetik, bi hedabideok Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboak epe honetan indartu zituzten. Are gehiago, Hegoaldeko ikuspegia sendotu zuten. *Etb1*ean EAEk erabateko nagusitasuna izaten jarraitzen zuen (%72), baina ez zuen Nafarroako Erkidegoa bere kasa azaltzen, EAErekin batera ez bazen (Hego Euskal Herriak, beraz, %20ko tartea zuen). *Berria*k Hegoalde osorako informazioa murriztu zuen: EAEk

%45,83eko lekua zuen; Nafarroako Erkidegoak, %8,33; eta biak batera %8,33tan agertzen ziren. *Euskal Telebista*ren antzera, *Berria*k ez zuen Ipar Euskal Herriko albisterik lehen orrian argitaratu. Dena den, Euskal Herri osoa kontuan hartzen zituzten albisteak %3,45etik %8ra ugaritu zituen *Etb1*ek (aireratutako informazio guztiaren %0,87tik %2,22ra alegia) eta *Berria*k, *Egunkaria*k baino Euskal Herriko informazio gehiago plazaratzen bazuen ere, telebistak agertzen zuen portzentajea biderkatzeraino heldu zen: Euskal Herria sorterritzat zuten albisteen kopurua %37,5 baitzen (plazaratutako albiste guztien %11,11, hain zuzen). Euskarazko hedabideek egituratzen zuten euskararen errealitate geografiko hori, hots, kultura bateratuaren ondoriozko zazpi herrialdeetako egitura hori gizarte eta kultur gaietan islatzen zuten hedabideek. *Berria*k, gainera, Politika sailean ere agertzen zuen. Izan ere, bertako politika albisteak murriztea ez zegokion nazioarteko informazioa gehitu izanari, euskal gatazkak agerpen handiagoa izateari baizik. Era berean, *Etb1*ek gizarte gaietan bertako albisteen galerarik handiena izan zuen, tokian tokiko informazioa murriztearen ondorioz. Lehenengoz, estatuetako informazioak euskal herrialdeek baino tarte handiagoa lortu zuen. Hala ere, bertako albisteak erdia baino gehiago ziren (Politikan kenduta).

68. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
bertako berriak *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n (2003-2007)

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
■ Etb1	42,42	80	51,72	72,73	55,56
□ Berria	40	75	75	91,67	100
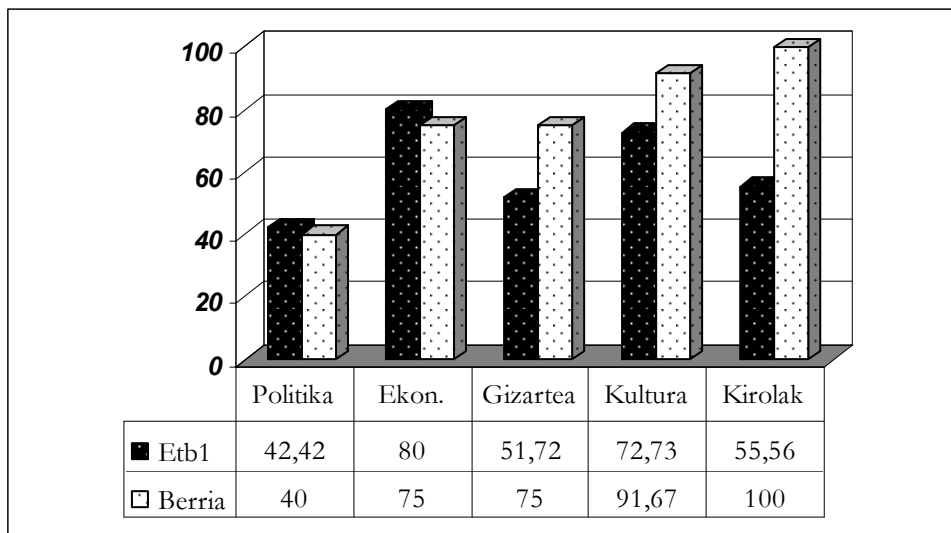
Iturria: Egilea.

Beste aldetik, bertako informazioaren aurkako norabidean, kanpoko edukiek zenbait sail hartu zuten. Estatuetan sortutako informazioari dagokionez, hedabideok inoiz baino leku txikiagoa egin zioten. Gainera, *Etb1*ek Estaturik gabeko nazioen albisteak murriztu zituen (%11,765) eta *Berria*k ez zituen lehen orrira eraman. Beraz,

estatuetako berri gehienak Espainian sortutakoak izaten ziren (%82,35, *Etb1*ean eta %76,92, *Berria*n). Alde horretatik, *Euskal Telebista*k aurreko epean erakutsitako bi estatuen arteko orekari eutsi zion, hau da, Frantzia agertzen zuen titularretako berri bakoitzeko Espainian sortutako hamabost albiste aireratzen zituen. *Berria*k, ostera, lehen erakutsitako aldea zabaldu zuen. Orain arte, Espainiako eta Frantziako albisteak 2-1eko proportzioan ematen zituen lehen orrian, baina 2003tik aurrera Frantzian sortutako albiste bakoitzeko Espainiako lau plazaratzeari ekin zion.

Ildo beretik, Europako albisteek batasun ekonomikoko kideei bakarrik erreparatzen zieten bitartean, nazioarteko informazioak gero eta sorterri askotarikoagoak azaltzen zituen. Are gehiago, *Euskal Telebista*k kontinente guztietako albisteak aireratu zituen. Horrenbestez, nazioartean sortutako albisteek Politika sailaren herena hartu zuten. Gainera, zenbait ataletara ere hedatu ziren: Gizartean %10,36ko tartea lortu zuten *Etb1*ean eta %5ekoa, *Berria*n; kultur gaien %27,27 osatzen zuten telebistan eta %8,33, kazetan; eta *Euskal Telebista*k kirolen %11,11 eskaini zien (*Berria*k, ezer ez). Horrela, Europar Batasunean sortutako albisteek *Berria*ko Ekonomia sailean bakarrik nazioartekoak baino ugariagoak izatea lortu zuten: Europar Batasuneko informazioak sailaren %25 hartzen zuen, nazioarteko ekonomiari buruzko albisterik ez zegoen bitartean.

Hedabideok asteburuetan sendotzen zuten informazioa, gainera, nazioartean sortutakoa izateraino heldu zen. Aurreko epearen antzera, *Euskal Telebista*k tokian tokiko albisteak gutxitu zituen, baina *Berria* Euskal Herrikoak ere murrizten hasi zen. Horrela, asteburuetako *Etb1*eko berriek bertako informazioa indartzen zuten neurrian, *Berria*k nazioarteko albiste gehiago plazaratzen zituen. Astelehen ordezko astearteetako zenbakiak, baina, inoiz baino bertako informazio gehiago argitaratzen zuen. Europak ere arretagune izateari etsi zion. Udako oporraldietan, gainera, bertako albisteak gutxitzen zituzten hedabideek: %36,36ko tartea zuten *Etb1*ean eta %41,67koa, *Berria*n. Ondorioz, telebista estatuetan sortutako informazioari lehentasuna ematen zion (%45,46) eta *Berria*k, nazioartekoari (%41,67).

Bi hedabideon arteko konbergentzia albisteen polarizazioarekin bat zetorren. Alde batetik, gehienetan bat zetozen albisteak bertakoak izan ziren, EAEri erreferentzia egiten ziotelako edo euskaratik Euskal Herriaren ikuspegi zabala barneratzen zutelako.

Horregatik, hizkuntzarekin lotutako albisteek bat etortzeko aukera handiagoak erakutsi zituzten. Era berean, tokian tokiko informazioa herrialde jakin batzuetan kontzentratzeak horietan sortutako albisteek konbergentzia handiagoa azaltzen zuten: Bizkaiak, Gipuzkoak eta Nafarroak, batez ere. Bestetik, estatuetan eta Europan sortutako informazioa murriztu arren, bat egiteko aukerek oso altuak izaten jarraitzen zuten. Are gehiago, Espainiako eta Europar Batasuneko berriek ia informazio-esklusibotasunik ez zutela ematen egiaztatu zen. Alderantziz, nazioarteko berriak inoiz baino heterogeneoak izan ziren eta haien arteko konbergentzia ere horren isla izan zen. Beraz, Politika sailari erreparatzen ez zieten nazioarteko albisteek bat egiteko aukera gutxiago agertzen zuten.

Laburbilduz, tokiko informazioa gutxitzeko eta nazioarteko albisteek hartzen zuten tartea zabaltzeko joerak sorterriaren araberako konbergentzia areagotu zuen. Are okerrago, informazio-esklusibotasunerako gakoa nazioartean sakabanatutako informazio despolitizatuan zetzala aditzera ematen zuen. Horrek gertuko hedabideen bertakotasuna, baina, desitxuratzen zuen. Horregatik, esklusibotasuna gainerako hedabideetan agertzen ez ziren gertuko albisteek eman zezaketen: Arabako eta Ipar Euskal Herriko informazioa plazaratuz, hain zuzen.

69. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (bilakaera): *Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)
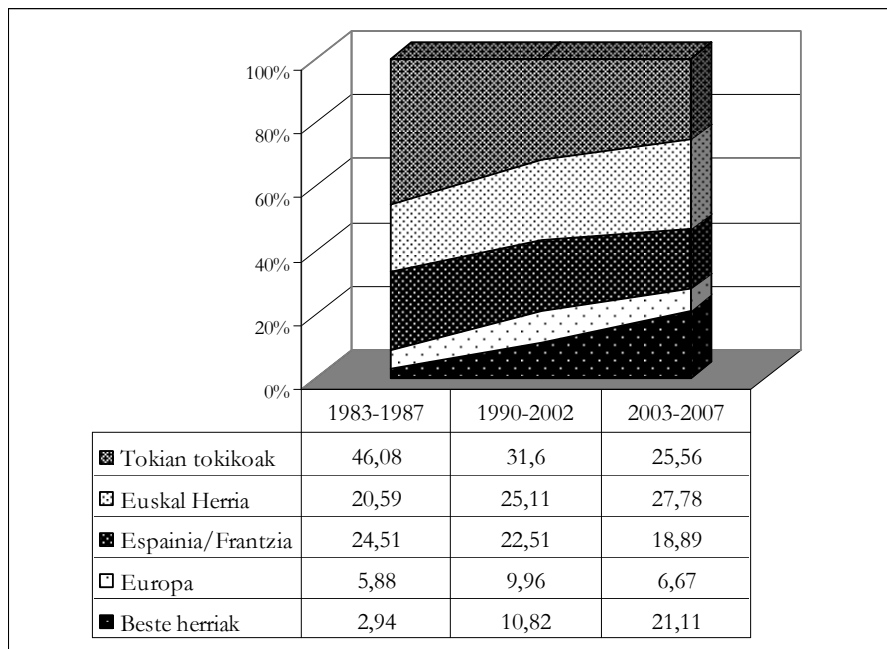
	1983-1987	1990-2002	2003-2007
⊞ Tokian tokikoak	46,08	31,6	25,56
⊠ Euskal Herria	20,59	25,11	27,78
▨ Espainia/Frantzia	24,51	22,51	18,89
☐ Europa	5,88	9,96	6,67
■ Beste herriak	2,94	10,82	21,11

Iturria: Egilea.

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70. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
***Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
⊠ Tokian tokikoak	31,33	30,86
⊡ Euskal Herria	25,7	29,63
⊠ Espainia/Frantzia	20,08	16,05
☐ Europa	12,85	4,94
■ Beste herriak	10,04	18,52
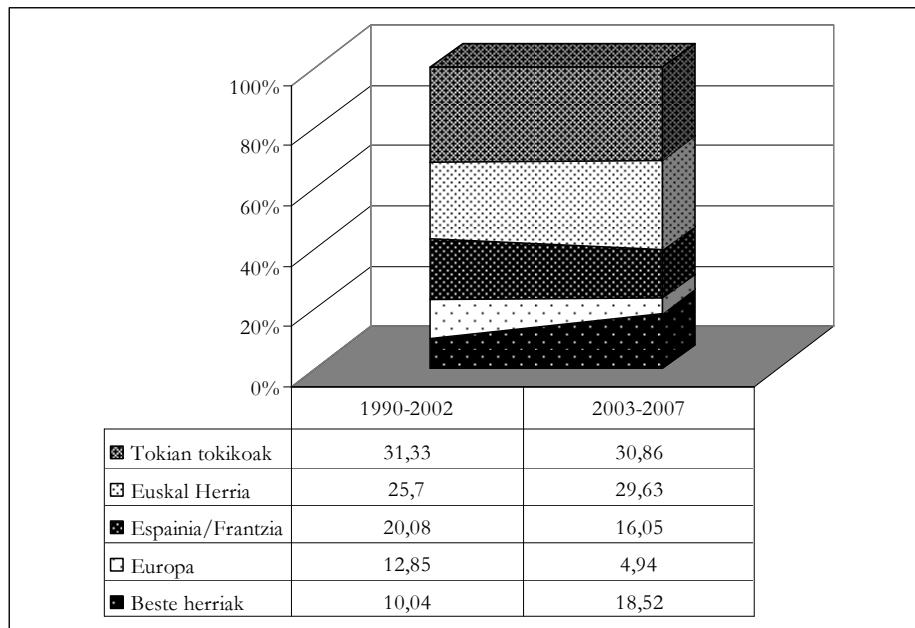
Iturria: Egilea.

c.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k 2008an aurreko epeetako bertakotasunaren portzentajeari eutsi zioten, hau da, albisteen erdiak baino gehiago tokian tokiko eta Euskal Herriko informazioa izaten jarraitu zuen (%53,61, *Etb1*ean eta %60, *Berria*n). *Euskadi Irratia*n bertako albisteek %57,01eko tartea hartzen bazuten ere, tokian tokiko berriei Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetakoei baino gutxiagotan erreparatu zien. Kanpoko edukiei zegokienez, ordea, *Etb1*ek lehenengoz estatuetan sortutako albisteak sendotu zituen eta ia Euskal Herriko informazioaren bestekoa hartzen zuten. *Berria*k, ordea, mundukoak lehenesten zituen. *Euskadi Irratia*, azkenik, *Etb1*etik gertuago kokatu zen, baina Europako berri urriek gainerako bi hedabideotatik bereiztu zuten.

71. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Tokian tokikoak	Euskal Herria	Espainia /Frantzia	Europa	Beste herriak
■ Euskadi Irr.	20,61	36,4	22,81	4,39	15,79
□ Etb1	29,38	24,23	27,84	5,15	13,4
▨ Berria	30	30	13,75	9,38	16,88
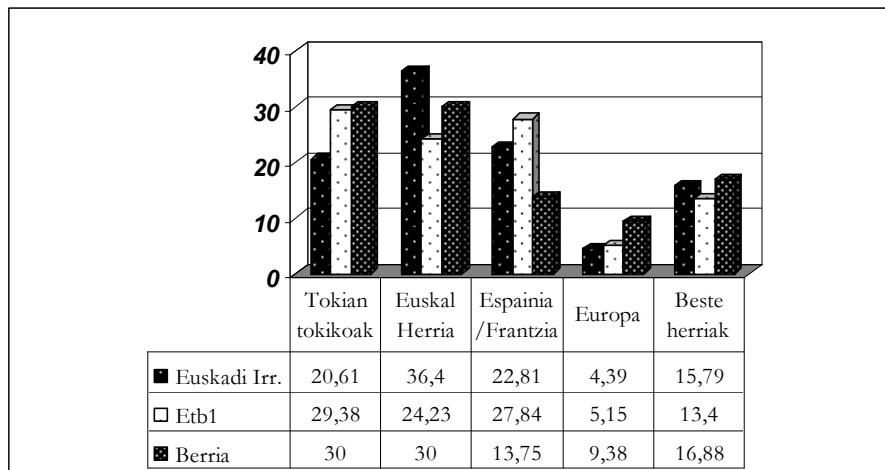
Iturria: Egilea.

Tokian tokiko albisteek Hegoaldeko herrialdeen nagusitasuna azpimarratzen zuten. Hiru hedabideek lau herrialde horretako hurrenkera bera islatu zuten: lehenengo, Gipuzkoa (%65,96, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %40,35, *Etb1*ean; eta %47,92, *Berria*n); gero, Bizkaia (%21,28, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %24,56, *Etb1*ean; eta %22,92, *Berria*n); ondoren, Nafarroa (%6,38, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %19,30, *Etb1*ean; eta %16,67, *Berria*n); eta azkenik, Araba (%4,26, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %15,79, *Etb1*ean; eta %8,33, *Berria*n). *Euskal Telebista*k ez zuen titularretan Ipar Euskal Herriko herrialderik agertu. *Berria*k horietariko bi azaldu zituen: Lapurdi (%2,08) eta Nafarroa-Behera (%2,08) alegia. *Euskadi Irratia*k azken horri bakarrik erreparatu zion (%2,13). Hala ere, asteburuetako eta udako albistegiek tokian tokiko informazioaren aniztasuna murrizten zuten. *Euskadi Irratia*k esaterako Gipuzkoako berriak bakarrik aireratzen zituen. Asteburuetako *Berria*k, Gipuzkoa ez ezik, Iparraldeko hiru herrialdeetako albisteak ere ugaritzen zituen. Dena den, astelehen ordezko asteasteko zenbakiak Hegoaldeko lau herrialdeak bakarrik islatzen zituen eta udan, gainera, EAEkoak.

Hegoaldeko eremu administratiboek Euskal Herriko informaziorik gehien biltzen zuten. Hortaz, *Euskal Telebista*k EAEren nagusitasuna apaldu zuen (%72tik %59,57ra) eta, trukean, Hego Euskal Herriaren irudia sendotu zuen (%20tik %21,28ra). *Berria*k ez zuen EAE lehenesten (%45,83tik %29,17ra), Hegoaldea baizik (%8,33tik %35,42ra). Horretarako, hedabideok Euskal Herriaren ikuspegia alboratu zuten: *Etb1*ek, %8tik %4,25era (plazaratutako albiste guztien %1,03) eta *Berria*k, %37,5etik %12,5era (argitaratutako informazio guztiaren %3,75). *Euskadi Irratia*k, aldiz, EAErekiko lehentasuna azaldu zuen (%60,24). Are gehiago, Nafarroako erkidegoak Hego Euskal

Herriak baino tarte zabalagoa zuen (%15,66 eta %19,27, hurrenez hurren). Irrati publikoa Euskal Herri osoaren irudia gutxien plazaratutakoa izan zen, *Euskal Telebista*ren tartearen erdia baino ez ziolako eskaini (%2,4 alegia, guztirako albisteen %0,88). Ipar Euskal Herriak hiru hedabideetan, eremu administratibo moduan, agerpen hutsala izan zuen: %2,4, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %6,38, *Etb1*ean; eta %10,41, *Berria*n. Gainera, Euskal Herri osoaren irudia Politika[344] eta Ekonomia[345] sailetan bakarrik azaltzen zuten *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Euskal Telebista*k. *Berria*k, ostera, euskarazko hedabideek berezko zituzten sailetan ere agertzen zuen zazpi herrialdez osatutako Euskal Herria: Gizartean[346] eta Kulturan[347], hain zuzen. Izan ere, EiTB taldeko bi hedabideek azken bi sail horietan bertako albisteek zuten tarteak gertutasun ezaugarriak galdu zituen. Zegoeneko, *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Euskal Telebista*n kanpoko edukiek Politikan eta Ekonomian lortutako adinako lekua berenganatu zuten. Gizarte gaietan, adibidez, Espainiatik heldutako albisteek bi hedabideetan sailaren herena lortu zuten. Are gehiago, telebista publikoaren Kultura saileko albisteen %40 Euskal Herritik kanpokoak ziren. Horrenbestez, bertan sortutako bost kultur berri plazaratzen zituen bakoitzeko, Espainiako bat eta AEBetako bi aireratzen zituen *Etb1*ek.

72. Grafikoa – Eguneko lehen albisteen sorterria (%):
bertako berriak *Euskadi Irratia*n, *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n (2008)

	Politika	Ekon.	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
■ Euskadi Irr.	51,54	56,6	51,11	85,72	75
□ Etb1	43,33	53,48	54,9	60	60,87
▨ Berria	43,94	39,11	80,63	92,6	54,54
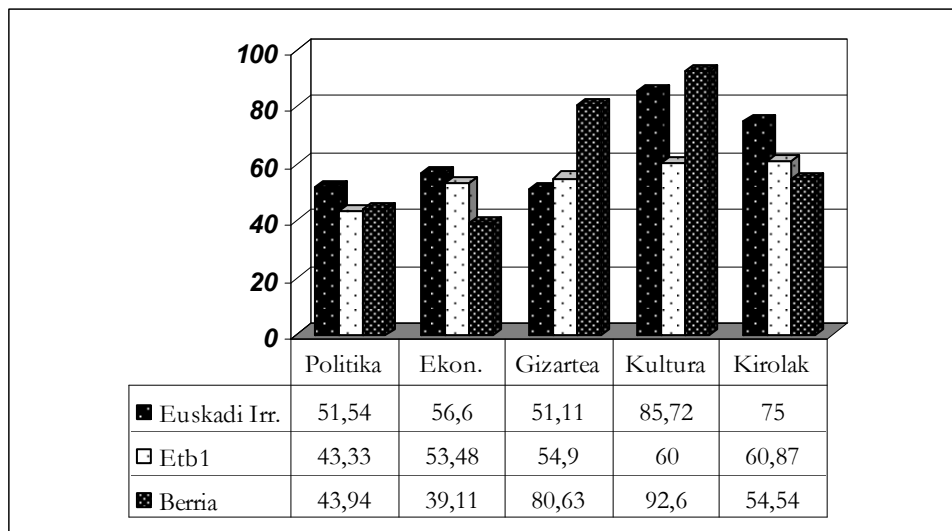
Iturria: Egilea.

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[344] "Ezker abertzaleak itxialdiak egin ditu ostegunaz geroztik […] EHAK, ANV eta AABen ilegalizazioak salatzeko […] gaurko manifestaldia […]" (04/10/2008), *Euskadi Irratia*n.

[345] "Bukatu dira Gabonak Errege festarekin eta urtarrileko aldapa igotzen hasteko gure poltsikoa gehiago urratuko dituzten beherapenak iritsi dira […] " (2008/01/07), *Etb1*ean.

[346] "Gorrak, oztopoen gainetik gizarteratzeko lanean" (2008/11/12).

[347] "Kulturgileen gogoetak: Kulturan emakumeek duten eta izan beharko luketen presentziaz aritu dira kulturgileak" (2008/03/08).

Kanpoko edukiei zegokienez, *Etb1*ek gehien sendotutako informazioa estatuetakoa izan zen. Arestian ikusi bezala, Gizarte sailak Espainiako albisterik gehien agertu zituen[348]. Era berean, *Euskadi Irratia*k estatuetako berriak ere lehenetsi zituen, Gizartean ere. Beraz, *Euskal Telebista*ren antzeko kanpoko edukien portzentajea erakutsi zuen[349]. Horrenbestez, Espainiak estatuetan sortutako albisterik gehien Politikan eta gainerako sailetan ere biltzen zituen. Hortaz, Espainia eta Frantziaren neurria lehengoak hartzen zituen sailen bestekoa zen. Horrela, *Berria*k Frantzian sortutako albiste bakoitzeko Espainiako halako bi argitaratzen zituen. Espainiako informazioa Gizartean argitaratzen zuten hedabideek bi estatuen arteko informazio-alde handiagoa erakusten zuten: *Euskadi Irratia*k Frantzia eta Espainiako harremana 1-5eko neurrian azaltzen zuen eta *Euskal Telebista*k, 1-6,66koan.

Munduko informazioa jasotzeko ereduan, hedabideek Europako albisteak murrizteko eta AEBetakoak zabaltzeko joera azaldu zuten. Are gehiago, *Euskal Telebista*n bigarrenek lehenengoen tarte bikoitza hartzen zuten. Horrenbestez, Espainiako informazioaren antzera, AEBetako berriek sail guztiak hartu zituzten: Politika[350], Ekonomia[351], Gizartea[352], Kultura[353] eta Kirolak[354]. Bi herrialdeetan sortutako albisteak alderatuta, Espainiako berri bakoitzeko AEBetako sei plazaratzen zituen *Euskadi Irratia*k; hiru, *Etb1*ek; eta 1,66, *Berria*k. Hau da, AEBetako informazioak Frantzian sortutakoak baino leku handiagoa hartzen zuen. Frantziaren agerpena, hortaz, Politikara mugatzen zen (telebistaren kasuan, batik bat) eta AEBetako albisteak, ordea, sail guztietara heltzen ziren. Horregatik, munduan sortutako informazioaren aniztasuna gero eta murritzagoa zen. AEBek nazioarteko albisterik gehien biltzen zituzten

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[348] "Toledo [auto-istripua]: Behe-lainoak eragin du" (2008/01/22) eta "Tragedia Cuencan […]" (2008/09/05).

[349] Espainiak Afrikan dituen mugei buruzko auziak, batik bat: "Melilla: Etorkinak, botatako hesiaren gainetik" (2008/10/27), *Etb1*ean eta "Melillako mugan […] Espainiako segurtasun-indarrek alerta egoeran jarraitzen dute […]" (2008/11/11), *Euskadi Irratia*n.

[350] Euskarazko hedabideak AEBetan 2008ko azaroan egitekoak ziren hauteskundeak otsailetik titularretan eta lehen orrian azaltzen zituzten: "Clinton, Obama ala McCain: Zein izango da Etxe Zuriko jabe berria?" (2008/02/06), *Etb1*ean; Estatu Batuetan, hauteskunde kanpainaren azken txanpan […] (2008/09/05), *Euskadi Irratia*n; edo "Herritarren Kanpaina: New Yorken ehunka lagun ari dira euren borondatez telefono bidez Obamaren aldeko botoak lortu nahian" (2008/10/28), *Berria*n.

[351] "Finantza Krisia: Bushek dei dramatikoa egin du bere plana onartu dadin" (2008/09/25), *Etb1*ean edo "Finantza krisiari aurre egiteko planari buruzko oinarrizko akordioa lortu dute AEBetan" (2008/09/26), *Berria*n.

[352] "Texas Estatuan gizonezko mexikarra hilko dute heriotz-zigorra […]" (2008/08/05), *Euskadi Irratia*n.

[353] "«Goiko mendian, elurra dago[…]», CSIko [AEBetako telesaileko] protagonistaren ahotsa da […]" (2008/12/19), *Euskadi Irratia*n edo "Grissomen mezua" (2008/12/19), *Etb1*ean.

[354] "Ikuskizuna, saskipean: Gaur hasiko da NBAko liga erregularra, titulurako hautagai sorta handiarekin" (2008/10/28), *Berria*n.

(%19,44, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %50, *Etb1*ean; eta %33,33, *Berria*n). Horrez gain, Israelen eta Palestinaren arteko gatazkak ere arreta handia bereganatu zuen (%19,44, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %15,38, *Etb1*ean; eta %3,70, *Berria*n). Munduko informazioaren azken zutabea nazioarteko erakundeek sortutako albisteek osatzen zuten (%13,89, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %11,54, *Etb1*ean; eta %33,33, *Berria*n).

Bertako informazioak *Euskal Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko albisterik konbergenteenak agertzen zituen. Are gehiago, tokian tokiko berriek (Gipuzkoakoak izan ezik) haien arteko esklusibotasuna indartzeaz gain, erdal hedabideekiko dibergentzia ere zabaltzen zuten. Horrenbestez, tokian tokiko albisteak herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin ere portzentaje altuan bat zetozen. Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako berriek, aldiz, erdarazko hedabideekiko konbergentzia areagotzen zuten. Izan ere, *Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k Euskal Herri zabalaren irudia plazaratzeari utzi zioten neurrian, eremu administratiboen arabera (EAE, Nafarroa eta Iparraldea) sortutako erdarazko hedabideen informazio-zabalkundea onartu zuten. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*k Ipar Euskal Herriko irratiekin erakutsitako informazioaren bat-egite portzentaje altua (%7,95, *Gure Irratia*rekin eta %3,72, *France Bleu*rekin) ez zuen *Etb1*ek *France 3*rekin agertu (%5,81). Alderantziz, *Euskadi Irratia*k Iparraldeko herrialdeetan sortutako albisteak ematen zituen. Hortaz, hedabideon konbergentzia bi norabidetakoa zen. *Etb1*ek *France 3*rekin *Euskadi Irratia*k *France Bleu*rekin bat egiteko aukera handiagoak zituela ematen badu ere, konbergentzia hori *France 3*k Hego Euskal Herriari erreparatzen zion neurriaren araberakoak ziren, *Euskal Telebista*k ez baitzuen Iparraldeko albisterik agertu. Beraz, *France 3*rekin partekatutako berrien %80 Hego Euskal Herrian sortutakoan ziren eta %20, Espainian.

Estatuetan sortutako informazioak, ostera, herrialde horietako hedabideekiko albisteen bat-etortzerik altuena azaldu zuen. Gainera, Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideekiko loturari ere eusten zion. Izan ere, estatuetako hedabideekin partekatutako bertako albisteen kopurua (tokian tokikoak eta Euskal Herrikoak) munduan sortutakoen parekoa izaten zen. Hots, kanpoko edukiek estatuetako kazetaritza-eredua barneratuta zekarten. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ek *Tf1*ekin albisteen %12,85eko konbergentzia erakutsi zuen, *Etb2*k agertutakoa alegia. Are gehiago, euskararen nortasunetik abiatuta, Iparraldean eragina zuen Frantzian sortutako informazioari gero eta leku handiagoa eskaini, orduan eta Euskal Herriko erdarazko

hedabideekin informazio-esklusibotasunerako tarte zabalagoa lortzen zuten *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Berria*k eta, gainera, tokikoetatik gertuago zeuden[355]. Aldi berean, *Euskal Telebista*tik urruntzen ziren.

d. *Laburbilduma*: Oreka, helburu

Hedabideek islatzen duten gizartearen aniztasuna beraz egokitzat hartzen da, askotariko gaiak, protagonistak eta sorterriak agertzen baditu. Aniztasunaren orekak denen agerpena ziurta lezake, baina oreka bera hedabideen helburuetatik eratortzen da: egungo hartzaileen informazio-premia asetzeaz gain, hartzaile potentzialengana heltzeko neurriak ere barneratzen ditu. Gaien aniztasuna zenbait hartzaile berenganatzeko estrategiatzat hartu ohi da. Horrenbestez, albiste arinak onartzen dituen kalitate-eredua proposatzen du zenbait idazlek, berri horiek hartzaile mota jakin batzuetara heltzeko giltza direlako (Weichler, 2003: 89-94). Aniztasunaren bilakaerak hedabideon joera berriak azaltzen ditu.

Euskarazko hedabideek sorreran agertzen zituzten ezaugarriei erreparatuta, bertakotasuna lehenesten zuen informazio-eredua osatzen zutela ondoriozta daiteke. Alde batetik, bertakotasunak tokian tokiko eta Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan sortutako informazioari eragiten zion. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, gainera, tokian tokiko Politikari beren-beregi uko egin bazion ere, gainerako sailak ikuspegi geografiko horren arabera eratu zituen (Ekonomia, Gizartea, Kultura eta Kirolak, hain zuzen).

Bestetik, Politika sailaren zentraltasunak hedabideen jarduna gidatu zuen. Horrela, politikarien erabateko agerpena zabaltzen zuten. Gainera, politikariek hartzen zuten tartea ez zetorren euskal gizartean zuten lekuarekin bat. Are gehiago, nazioarteko oposizioak bertako oposizioak baino leku handiagoa hartzen zuen. Hau da, munduko politikaren irudi askotarikoagoa zabaltzen zuten.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k sorreratik bertatik *Etb1*ekin euskal politikaren irudi berria partekatu zuen. Horren arabera, euskal gatazkak eta nazioarteko albisteek Politika saila egituratzen zuten. Ondorioz, bi hedabideok Euskal Herriko politika baztertu

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[355] "Frantzian protesta egiten ari dira gizarte-hezitzaile izateko praktikak egiten ari direnak […]" (2008/05/29), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "Hezitzaile berezituak bilakatzeko formazioak segitzen dituzten Uztaritzeko ikasleek […]"(2008/05/29), *Gure Irratia*n. *Radio Euskadi*k, baina, ez zuen horrelako informaziorik zabaldu.

zuten. Are gehiago, polizia eta Estatuaren erakundeak eragile politiko bihurtu zituzten. Era berean, ETAk oposizioko alderdiek baino tarte zabalagoa izaten zuen.

Gainera, 1986tik aurrera, *Etb1*ek erdarazko hedabide abertzale instituzional batekin edukiaren zatirik handiena partekatu behar izan zuen. Horrenbestez, Euskal Herrian aritzen ziren gainerako erdarazko telebistekin lehiatzeko estrategiak garatu zituen *Etb2*k. Beraz, *Etb1* euskalduntasunetik urrundu zen: estatuetako hedabideekin gainerako euskarazko hedabideekin baino tarte zabalagoa partekatzen zuen. Horrela, aztertutako 1990-2002 epean, euskalduntasunaren bertakotasunetik aldenduko zuketen ezaugarriak bere egin zituen. Lehenengo eta behin, Gizarte sailean protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten albisteak ugaritu ziren. Are gehiago, asteburuetan eta oporraldian, berri horiek Estatuaren ordezkarien lekua ere hartzen zuten. Gainera, informazio arinari egindako lekua Espainian sortutako albiste-fluxuarekin bat zetorren. Horrenbestez, bertako gizarte gaiak baino, Espainiakoak agertzen zituen. Bigarrenik, euskaratik eratortzen ez zen kultura islatzeari ekin zion *Etb1*ek. *Egunkaria*k, baina, Europara begirako kazetaritza-eredua hobetsi nahi izan zuen eta, horregatik, nazioarteko politikak eta ekonomiak berebiziko garrantzia berenganatu zuten. Aldi berean, Euskal Herriko ikuspegi osotua islatzeko ardura bere gain hartu zuen. Gizartea eta Kultura sailek horren berri ematen zuten. Dena den, asteburuko eta oporraldietako *Egunkaria Etb1*en ereduaren berezitasunak bere egiten hasi zen (protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteen eta informazio arinaren kopuru altuak, adibidez).

Ondorioz, 2003tik aurrera *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren ereduek partekatzen zituzten ezaugarriak gero eta gehiago ziren. Alde batetik, bi hedabideek Politika sailaren egitura sendotu zuten. Bakoitzak islatzen zuen Euskal Herriak, baina, Hegoaldeko jaurlaritzen edo alderdi abertzaleen irudia ematen zuen. Horrenbestez, bi hedabideok Ipar Euskal Herriko herrialdeen agerpena mugatu zuten. Aurreko epetik ondorioz zitekeenez, euskarazko hedabideek sendotzen zituzten berezko sorterriak Euskal Herria (tokian tokiko informazioa eta eremu administratiboetakoa), Estaturik gabeko nazioak eta Europa ziren. Epe berrian, baina, berezko sorterri horietan aniztasun murritzagoa agertu zuten: Gipuzkoaren zentralismoa garatu zuten, Hegoalderako joera argia indartu zuten, Estaturik gabeko nazioen albisteak gero eta urriagoak ziren eta, azkenik, Europatik zetozen berriak ia hutsalak ziren. Alderantziz, nazioarteko informazioa askotarikoagoa zen. Hori bai, bi hedabideen arteko dibergentzia areagotzen zuen.

Beste aldetik, 2003tik 2007ra bitartean *Etb1* eta *Berria* Gizarte sailari gero eta tarte zabalagoa eskaintzearekin bat zetozen. Ugaritu zituzten gizarte gaiak, ordea, ez ziren Euskal Herrian sortuak eta ez zuten protagonistarik agertzen. Are gehiago, politikariak sail horretako albisteen protagonista ere bihurtu zituzten, gizarte taldeen agerpena murriztuz. Gizarte sailak hartu zuen tamainaren ondorioz, titularretako eta lehen orriko kultur gaien kopurua gutxitu zuten. Orduan, kultura eta kirol diziplinei zegokiela, aniztasun urriagoa erakusten zuten bi hedabideok. *Euskal Telebista*ren ezaugarri nagusiek, gainera, euskalduntasunetik eratutako eredu autozentratua alboratzen zuten eta abertzaletasun erdaldunaren sinbologiarekin bat egiten zuten. Esaterako, euskarari *Berria*k baino leku handiagoa egin bazion ere (%27,27, *Etb1*ek eta %16,67, egunkariak), telebistaren Kultura saileko berrien %72,73 bakarrik Euskal Herrian sortuak ziren. *Berria*ren Kultura saila, ordea, bertako albisteek osatzen zuten (%91,67) eta, horregatik, edozein gai landu arren, euskalduntasunetik begiratzen zioten.

Dena den, *Etb1*ek hedabide abertzale erdaldunen eredua islatzen zuen neurrian, *Euskadi Irrati*tik urruntzen zen. *Berria*k *Euskal Telebista*rekin partekatzen zituen ezaugarriak ez zetozen *Euskadi Irratia*ren ereduarekin bat. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia* bera *Radio Euskadi*tik aske agertzen zen neurri berean, *Etb1*ekin eta *Berria*rekin 2008an bat-egite portzentajerik baxuena lortu zuen. Izan ere, azken bi horiek hedabide abertzale erdaldunetatik gero eta gertuago zeuden bitartean, *Euskadi Irratia*k herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideekin albisteen nolakotasuna partekatzen zuen. *Etb1*en eredua integratzen zuen kasuetan, ordea, horrekin eta *Berria*rekin bat zetorren, baina ez neurri berean. Esaterako, euskarazko hiru hedabideek Politika saila antzera egituratzen zuten: euskal gatazkak nahiz nazioarteko albisteek erabateko nagusitasuna zuten eta soberakina estatuetako zein Euskal Herriko gobernuei zegokien. Horren ondorioz, AEBetako politikari Espainia eta Frantziako informazio instituzionalari baino leku handiagoa egiten zioten hedabideek. Are gehiago, AEBetako gobernuak Hegoaldeko jaurlaritzek eta tokian tokiko administrazioek baino tarte zabalagoa zuten. *Euskal Telebista*ren Politika saileko albisteen %10ek AEBetako gobernua zuten hizpide; %5ek, Espainiakoa; eta %1,67k, tokian tokikoak (Jaurlaritzaren jardunik ez zuen agertu). *Berria* eredu horretara gerturatzen hasia zen: Politika saileko informazioaren %6,06 AEBetako albiste instituzionalak ziren; Espainiakorik ez zuen lehen orrian plazaratu; eta %3,03, EAEko Jaurlaritzakoak. *Euskadi Irratia*k ez zuen oraindik eredu hori guztiz barneratu. Azken horren Politika saileko berrien %4,17k AEBetako gobernua zuten albistegai;

%4,17k, Espainiakoa; %2,08, EAEko Jaurlaritza; eta %3,12, tokian tokikoak. Beraz, bertakotasuna Euskal Herriko hedabide erdaldunen eredutik independenteagoa izateko giltza da. Are gehiago, zenbat eta eredu abertzale horrekin neurri handiagoan bat etorri, orduan eta estatuetako hedabideekin informazio kopuru altuagoa ere partekatzen zuten. Horregatik, nazioarteko albisteek euskarazko hedabideen arteko dibergentzia areagotzen zuten neurri berean, erdarazkoekiko distantzia laburtzen zuten. Izan ere, munduan sortutako informazioa, euskalduntasunetik baino, hedabideok barneratu duten estatuen kazetaritza-ereduaren ikuspegitik zabaltzen zuten. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ek estatuetako hedabideekin gehien partekatutako munduko informazioa ez zen nazioarteko politika, gainerako sailetara hedatutako munduko albisteak baizik[356].

Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideak eta herrialdeetako euskarazko hedabideak bat datozen gaiek bertakotasuna zuten komunean. Politikan, esaterako, euskal gatazkaren informazioaz gain, Euskal Herriko administrazioetako jarduna ere partekatzen zuten. Parte hartzeko ahalmena ere lurraldetasunak zehazten zuen, boto-eskubidea herrialdeari mugatuta agertzen delako. Gainerako sailetan ere bertakotasunak bat egiteko neurria zehazten zuen: bertako ekonomia, gizarte informazio sendoa, bertako albiste erabilgarriak eta euskaratik sortutako kultura (adibidez, *Euskadi Irratia*k ez zuen *Radio Euskadi*rekin aztertutako epean kultur albisterik partekatu). Azkenik, Iparraldeko eta Hegoaldeko euskarazko hedabideek kirola lantzeko irizpide bertsuak erabiltzen zituzten. Espainiako futbola zein nazioarteko txirrindularitza azaltzeko, bertakotasunetik eratorritako irizpideak erabiltzen zituzten: euskal taldeak eta euskal kirolariak. Horrenbestez, azken sail horrek ez zuen Euskal Herriko irudi bateraturik eman. Alderantziz, errealitatetik sortutako ikuspegia gailentzeko, tokian tokiko euskal nortasun anitza potentziatzen zuten: dela Iparraldekoa, dela Hegoaldekoa.

Beraz, sorterriaren araberako irizpideak zenbait nortasun euskaldun islatzea du ondorio. Gainera, albisteek gaurkotasun mediatikoa osatzen duten neurrian, etorkizuna interpretatzeko giltza dute. Adibidez, Politika sailean Hegoaldearen egitura hobesteak ez dakar Euskal Herriaren irudia alboratzea, Iparraldearen isla neurri berean agertzen badute. Azken batean, abertzaletasunak errebindikatzen duen errealitatetik kanpoko egiturarik sortzea ez dagokio euskarazko kazetaritzari, egungo izaera euskaldun anitzen

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[356] Hala nola Gizarte saileko berriak: "[Txinan] Lurrikara: Bi egunez hondakinen azpian eta bizirik atera dituzte" (2008/05/14) edo "Aljeria: Basamortua urak hartuta" (2008/10/02) eta kultur albisteak: "Watergate [AEB]: «Eztarri sakona» hil da" (2008/12/19).

berri ematea baizik. Horretan euskarazko hedabideak bat datoz, tokian tokiko eta eremu administratiboetako errealitatea euskalduntasunetik agertzen dutenean:

> "Muga administratiboez gaindiko esparru kultural eta linguistikoak zilegiak ez eze, gauzagarriak eta gorpuzgarriak dira. Guk geuk ere demostratu dugu hori behin baino gehiagotan, lehen legez baita orain ere: Urdazubiko Pedro Agerre Azpilkueta Saran egin zen *Axular*, eta Donostian jantzi zuen txapela Urepeleko Fernando Aire *Xalbador*rek." (Basterretxea & Zuberogoitia, 2005: 41)

Sorterriaren araberako irizpideak sail guztietan aplikagarriak dira. Politika eta Ekonomian, adibidez, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboez gain, geurean duten eraginaren neurriko agerpena izan beharko lukete Espainiak, Frantziak, Europar Batasunak eta AEBek ere. Oraingo informazio-ereduan, euskarazko hedabideek AEBetako informazio instituzionala Espainiakoa baino sarriagotan zabaltzen dute.

Gizarte saila, horrenbestez, bertako gizataldeari eragiten dioten gaiak aurkezten ditu. Herritarrek gizarte egituran parte har dezaten bultzatzeko atala da eta horretarako giltzak eman beharko lituzke. Horrela, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako albiste sendoak eta tokian tokiko informazio erabilgarria sendotuko lirateke, Gizarte saileko berri arinek Espainiako edo AEBetako sorterria agertzen baitute. Ildo beretik, albiste arinek ez dute gizarte egituran parte hartzeko gakorik eskaintzen, gizarte geldoa islatzen baitute. Horrenbestez, tokian tokiko informazioaren irakurketa zabala Euskal Herri osora hedatzen dela egiaztatu dute euskarazko hedabideek[357]. Gainera, euskaraz jarduten duten EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako hedabideekin bakarrik partekatzen dituzten berriak izaten dira[358].

Kultura sailak bertako edukiak alboratzean ez du kanpoko kultura-eredurik onartzen, bertako akulturazioa eragin baizik. *Euskal Telebista*k *Tf1*ekin *France 3*rekin baino bat-egite handiagoa erakusteak ez du esan nahi *Etb1*ek Frantziako kulturaren berri zabaltzen duenik, AEBetako edukiak agertzen dituela baizik. Izan ere, bertako kulturaren hobespenak ez du kanpoko edukirik baztertzen. Are gehiago, munduko kulturetara gerturatzeko bidea izan daiteke. Horrela, nazioartean sortu diren gertuko gaien agerpenak kanpoko kulturetarako zubia euskalduntasuna litzateke. Alderantziz ere, nazioarteko gaiek gertuko sorterria dutenean eduki horiek euskalduntasunetik geureganatuko genituzke (Donostiako Zinemaldiko filmak, adibidez).

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[357] Usurbilen (Gipuzkoa) martxan ipini zuten zabor bilketa berri baten ezaugarriak ezagutzera eman zituen *Berria*k: "Hondakinak atez ate biltzen" (2008/05/30).

[358] "Itsas istripua: 'Maro' zamaontzia haitzak jota Jaizkibel parean" (2008/03/07), *Etb1*ean edo "Hondarribian itsasontzi baten hondoratzea" (2008/03/07), *France 3*n; eta "Maro ontziaren egoerara begira egon gara […]"(2008/03/07), *Euskadi Irratia*n edo "Itsasontzi bat hondoratu da Hondarribian […]"(2008/03/07), *Gure Irratia*n.

Kiroletan, azkenik, aplikatzen den printzipioa dugu bertakotasuna. Tokian tokiko zenbait diziplinetako kirolariek Espainiako eta Frantziako txapelketetan parte hartzen dute. Hala ere, euskarazko hedabideek bertakotasuna lehenetsi dute eta gertuko kirol errealitatearen berri ematen dute.

Ondorioz, aniztasunaren orekak bi eginkizun ditu. Adiera tradizionalak gai guztiak, protagonista denak, sorterri oro ziurtatzeko gakotzat hartu ohi da. Horrela, eduki askotarikoak bermatzeko neurri eraginkorra da. Adiera berriaren arabera, ordea, hedabideen jardunak haien informazio-helburuetatik urruntzen dituenean, aniztasunaren oreka joera horien muga izan daiteke. Esaterako, protagonistarik agertzen ez duten albiste arinei edo politikariak azaltzen dituzten albiste sendoei neurria hartuko lioke denen arteko orekak. Protagonisten aniztasunak eragileen agerpenaren murrizketa geldituko luke eta sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bertako informazioaren garrantzia bermatuko luke.

Gaien, protagonisten eta sorterrien oreka berez islatze-aniztasunerako gakoa da: zenbait hartzaileren agerpena bermatzen du eta beste hartzaile potentzialengana heltzeko bidea zabaltzen du. Aldi berean, hedabideek informazio bateratua plazaratzeko arriskuari aurre egiteko neurrien artean, aniztasunaren orekari eustea funtsezkoena da.

4.2.2. ALBISTEEN KALITATE-INDIZEA

Mendebaldeko demokrazia kapitalisten oinarrizko baloreetatik eratortzen diren printzipioek albisteen eduki-kalitatea aztertzeko irizpideak garatu zituzten. Hortaz, irizpide horiek ebaluatzeko adierazle kuantitatiboek Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea osatzen dute. Horrela, adierazle bakoitza banaka aztertu ahal izango da eta, gainera, albistegintzaren bi prozesuak ikertu ahal izango dira. Izan ere, hamar adierazlek osatutako Kalitate-Indizeak hutsetik (0) hamarrerako (10) puntuazioa esleituko du, albisteen eta hedabideen alderaketa errazteko. Ildo beretik, hamar adierazle horietariko bakoitzak zerotik (0) batera (1) bitarteko puntuak banatuko dizkio albiste bakoitzari. Horregatik, indize orokorraz gain, adierazle bakoitzak ere albisteen eta hedabideen azterketa gauzatuko du. Kalitate-Indizea osatzen duten lehen bost adierazleak albistegintza prozesuaren aukeraketa faseari dagozkion bitartean (hala nola *informazioaren jatorria, informazio-iturri motak, gertaeraren egitate-maila, gaurkotasuna* eta *adierazgarritasuna*), azken bost adierazleek lanketaren ezaugarriei erreparatzen diete (*zehaztasuna*k*, osotasuna*k*, ikuspegi-kopurua*k*, informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna*k eta *hizkuntzaren erabilera*k).

115. Taula – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen osagaiak

Albistegintzaren prozesuak	Adierazleak	Egikaritza-maila	Puntuen esleipena
Hautaketa prozesua	*Informazioaren jatorria*	Aipatua	1
		Zeharka aipatua	0,5
		Ezkutatua	0
	Albiste-iturri motak	Dokumentua	1
		Adituak	0,75
		Izen-abizenekin eta karguarekin identifikatutako iturriak	0,5
		Zeharka identifikatutako iturriak	0,25
		Identifikatu bako iturriak (Off the record, informazio sekretua)	0
	Gertaeraren egitate-maila	Gertakizuna	1
		Adierazpenak	0,5
		Espekulazioak eta usteak	0
	Gaurkotasuna	Berehalakoa: "atzo", "gaur", "bihar"	1
		2-7 egun	0,5
		Astebete baino gehiago	0,25
		Zehazgabea	0
	Adierazgarritasuna	Gizartearentzako ondorioak	1
		Oihartzuna	0,75
		Garrantzia	0,5
		Jakin-mina	0,25
		Irudia	0
Lanketa prozesua	*Zehaztasuna*	Titulu laburtzailea	1
		Alde bateko titulua	0,5
		Titulu engainagarria	0
	Osotasuna	7W	1
		5W edo 6W	0,5
		Lau W edo gutxiago	0
	Ikuspegi-kopurua	Hiru ikuspegi	1
		Bi ikuspegi	0,5
		Ikuspegi bakarra, baina arrazoitua	0,25
		Ikuspegi bakarra, arrazoitu barik	0
	Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna	Oso esanguratsuak (4-5W)	1
		Esanguratsuak (2-3W)	0,5
		Betelana (1W)	0
		Bat ere esanguratsuak	-0,5
		Bat ere esanguratsuak eta teknikoki eskasak	-1
	Hizkuntzaren erabilera: Hizkera eta akatsak	Egokia	1
		Jatorra	0,5
		Zuzena	0
		Ortografia eta gramatika akatsak (tituluan, goitituluan, azpitituluan, tartekian, leihoetan, zintan, zatidura-ren tituluan, argazki oinean…)	-0,2
		Ortografia eta gramatika akatsak testuan	-0,1
			0-10 puntu

Iturria: Egilea.

a. Albisteen kalitatearen adierazleak

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen adierazleek 1990etik aurrerako berriak aztertuko dituzte. Izan ere, EiTBko artxiboan 1983-1989 bitartean informazio soila besterik ez zuten gorde. Horregatik, aniztasunaren inguruko datuak ematen badituzte ere, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak aztertzen dituen adierazle bakarra aplika dakieke: *gertaeraren egitate-maila*, hain zuzen. Horregatik, *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapeneko hamarkadako albisteak ezin izango ditugu Kalitate-Indizearen arabera aztertu, gertaeraren egitate-maila kenduta. Are gehiago, 1990etik aurrerako *Etb1*eko laginean ere ezin izan diegu albiste guzti-guztiei Kalitate-Indizea aplikatu, artxiboan ez baitute albiste osoa gorde.

Era berean, ikerketa sinkronikoaren barruan, erdarazko telebistekin alderatzeko laginean ez da *Tf1* eta *France 3*ko albistegirik agertuko. Lehenengoaren sare bidezko artxiboak iraungitasun data zuelako eta bigarrenaren artxiborik kontsultatu ezin izan genuenez, Allande Boutinek lagina osatzen duten egun guztietako albistegietan landutako gaiak bildu zizkigun. Dena den, bi hedabide horien alderaketa aniztasuna aztertzeko funtsezkoa izan da.

a.1. Informazioaren jatorria (*Origin of information*)

Hedabideek albisteak zein bidetatik jaso dituzten azaltzen du *informazioaren jatorriak*. Horrenbestez, datuen etorbidea aipatua, zeharka aipatua edo ezkutatua izan daiteke. Lehenengoak jatorria agertu duen albiste horri puntu bat esleituko dio; bigarrenak, puntu erdi; eta azkenak, punturik ez.

a.1.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Informazioaren jatorria neurtzen duen adierazlea 1990etik aurrerako albisteak aztertuko ditu. Hortaz, bi epe bereiztuko ditugu: euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002) eta horien sendotzea (2003-2007).

a.1.1.1. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Informazioaren jatorria*ren adierazlea 1990etik aurrerako albisteei bakarrik aplikatu ahal izan diogu. Hortaz, euskarazko bi kazetaritza eredu plazaratu ziren lehen sasoian haien arteko aldea aldagai honetan ere nabaria zen. *Etb1*ek zegoeneko albisteen etorbidea ez aipatzeko joera hartua zuen: berrien erdiak ez zuen jatorriari buruzko ezelango argibiderik ematen. *Egunkaria*k ezkutatutako jatorridun albiste kopuru altua

argitaratu arren (%40 inguru), datuen etorbidea argiago agertzen zuen (telebistak baino %11 gehiago).

73. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Aipatua	Zeharka	Ezkutatua
■ Etb1	27,27	22,73	50
□ Egunkaria	38,96	21,68	39,36
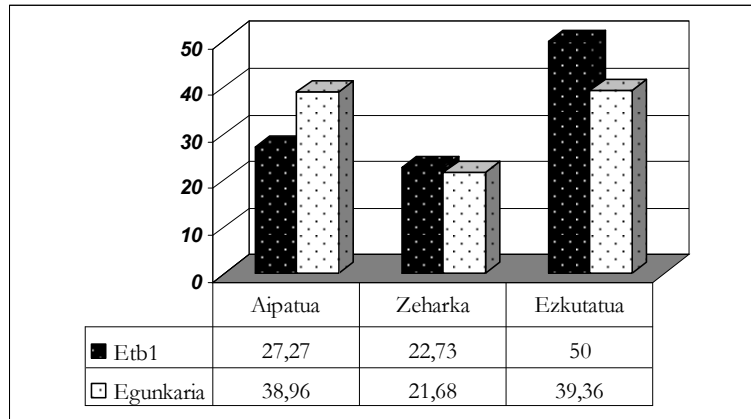
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideok plazaratzen zuten albisteen jatorria gehienetan ezkutatuta gordetzen zuten, gutxiagotan argi azaltzen zuten eta, azkenik, zeharka horren inguruko informazioa ematen zuten. Ondorioz, 1990-2002 epe horretan argitaratutako albisteak aztertuta, ***Etb1*eko berriek 0,39 puntu lortu zituzten eta *Egunkaria*koak, ordea, 0,5**. Gainera, bi hedabideek etorbide aipatua zuten albisteen kopuru altuagoa eta zeharka azaldutako informazioaren jatorria zuten berri gutxiago plazaratzeko joera agertu zuten. Hala ere, telebistak jatorri ezkutua zuten albisteak ugaritu zituen, baina kazetak horiek gutxitzeko ahalegina egin zuen. Izan ere, *Euskal Telebista*k agertzen zuen jatorri ezkutuko albisteak %47,46 ziren 1990etik 1995era bitartean. Hurrengo urteetan, 1996tik aurrera alegia, %52,05 izan ziren. *Euskaldunon Egunkariak*, ostera, %46,43tik %33,58era murriztu zituen. Dena den, etorbiderik azaltzen ez zuten albisteak asteburuetan zein oporraldietan (eta astelehen ordezko asteartzeko zenbakietan, kazetaren kasuan) ugariagoak izaten ziren.

Informazioaren jatorriaren gaikako sailkapenak Kultura Sailean argien plazaratzeko joera nabaria zen. Era berean, kiroletako berriek puntuaziorik baxuena izan zuten (0,25 puntu), ez baitzuten etorbide aitorturik. Politika eta gizarte gaietan batez bestekoari eusten zioten bitartean, ekonomian telebistak punturik gehien lortu zituen (0,56). *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, gizarte eta kultur gaietan puntuaziorik altuena izan arren (0,59 eta 0,57, hurrenez hurren), ekonomiari punturik gutxien esleitu zitzaizkion(0,39).

Agertzen zuten protagonistaren nolakotasunaren arabera albisteak sailkatuz gero, eragile profesionalak, eragile autonomoak eta Administrazioaren ordezkariak

aurkezten zituzten berrietan jatorria aipatzeko joera azaldu zuen *Euskal Telebista*k. Aldi berean, protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten berriek punturik gutxien lortu zituzten (0,25). *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k plazaratutako albisteek ez zuten informazioaren jatorrian protagonista motaren araberako alde nabarmenik erakutsi. Are gehiago, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteek ere 0,54 puntu izan zituzten.

Sorterriaren araberako informazioaren jatorria lantzeko bi kazetaritza-eredu nabarmendu ziren. *Euskal Telebista*n, gero eta hurragoko informazioak orduan eta puntuaziorik altuagoa lortzen zuen. Tokian tokiko informazioak, esaterako, 0,57 puntu izan zituen eta Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan sortutako berriek 0,52 puntu eskuratu zituzten. Ondoren, estatuetatik heltzen ziren albisteek 0,3 puntu lortu zituzten; Europatik ailegatzen zirenek, 0,14; eta nazioartetik iritsitakoek, 0,13. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, ordea, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan kokatutako albisteak lehenesten zituen (0,63 puntu lortu zituzten) eta, gero, tokian tokiko berriak (0,52). Euskal Herritik kanpoko informazioan *Etb1*en alderantzizko hurrenkera agertu zuen kazetak: lehenengo, nazioarteko berriak hobetsi zituen (0,48); gero, Europan sortutakoak nabarmentzen zituen (0,41); eta, azkenik, estatuetatik iritsitakoek jatorria gutxien aipatzen zuten (0,36 puntu). Hala ere, bi hedabideek bertako informazioan (tokian tokikoa eta Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetakoa) kanpokoan (Estatuetako, Europako eta nazioarteko berrietan) baino puntuazio hobea lortu zuten. *Euskal Telebista*k bi kategorien arteko alde handiagoa agertu arren (bertako albisteek 0,55 izan zituzten eta kanpokoek, 0,19), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k ere bertako informazioa hobetsi zuen (bertako berriei 0,58 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien eta kanpokoei, 0,42).

Gainera, 1990eko hamarkadan *Etb1*ean eta *Egunkaria*n bat etorri ziren albisteek informazioaren jatorria argiago azaltzen zuten. Berri horietan, telebistak, banakako azterketarekin alderatuta, ehunen bat irabazten zuen (0,4ko puntuazioa) eta kazetak, bi (0,52ko puntuazioa). *Euskal Telebista*k *Egunkaria*rekin agertzen zuen konbergentzia aireratutako berrien %32koa zen. Kazetak plazaratutako albisteen %22,89, ostera, *Etb1*ean ere aurki zitezkeen.

4. Ikerketaren emaitzak

74. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,39	0,5
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,4	0,52
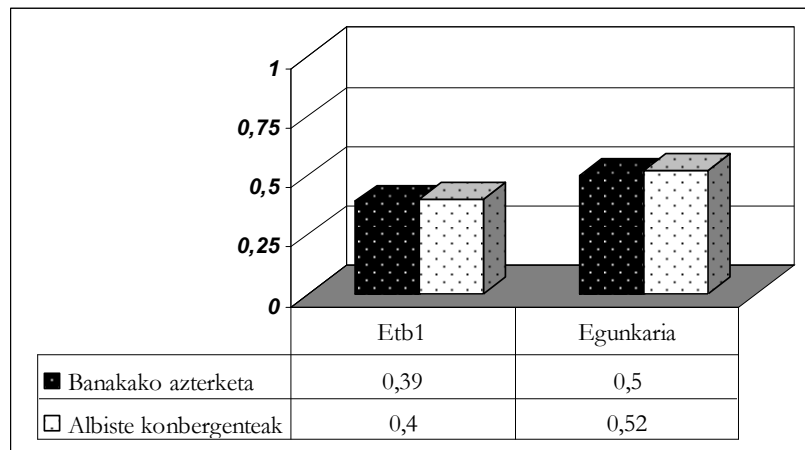
Iturria: Egilea.

Beraz, *Etb1*eko albisteen erdiak ez zuen informazioaren jatorriari buruzko daturik ematen. *Egunkaria*n berri horiek ere tarte handia hartu arren, 1996tik aurrera gardentasunari heltzeko jarduera erakutsi zuen. Are gehiago, telebistak kultura eta kirol gaien jatorriaren inguruko datu gutxiago ematen zituen oraindik. *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, ez zituen albisteek agertzen zuten protagonisten araberako bereizketarik egiten, ez eta bertako eta kanpoko berrietan ere. *Etb1*ek, ordea, tokian tokiko eta Euskal Herriko albisteen jatorria argien azaldu arren, ezin zitzaiokeen kazetarien ekimenezko jarduerari egotzi. Izan ere, *Egunkaria*k informazio horretan ere puntuazio altuagoa lortzen zuen. Gainera, estatuetatik, Europatik eta nazioartetik heltzen zen informazioaren jatorria ezkutuan gordetzeak albiste agentzien materiala lantzeko eredua azaltzen zuen. Izan ere, *Egunkaria*k informazio horren jatorria berariaz aipatzen zuen.

a.1.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Oraintsu ikusi bezala, 1990-2002 bitartean bi hedabideok jatorri aipatua edo zeharka aipatua zuten berriak hobesten zituzten. Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, *Berria*k zeharka azaldutako informazioaren etorbidea baztertzeko joerari eutsi zion. *Euskal Telebista*k, horrenbestez, jatorri aipatua zuten albisteak nabarmen gutxitu zituen (%27,27tik %14,61era). Aldi berean, etorbidearen inguruko daturik ematen ez zuen informazioa %50 izatetik %60,04 osatzera pasatu zen. Beraz, *Etb1*eko albisteen gehienak ez zuen jatorriari buruzko daturik eskaintzen. *Berria*k, ordea, informazio mota hori pixka bat gehitu arren (%39,36tik %41,49ra), jatorri argia agertzen zuten albisteak hobesten zituen (%38,96, aurreko epean eta %46,81, oraingoan).

75. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Aipatua	Zeharka	Ezkutatua
Etb1	14,61	21,35	64,04
Berria	46,81	11,7	41,49
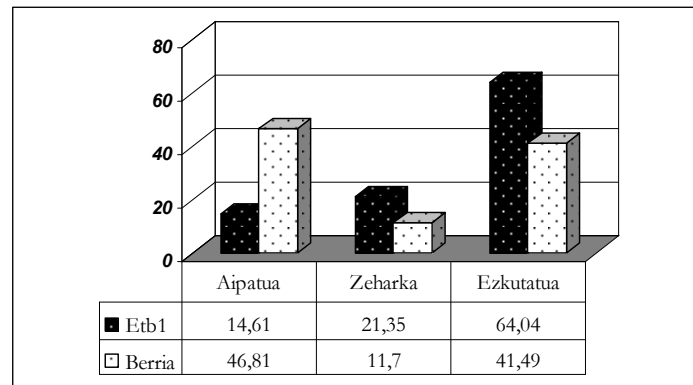
Iturria: Egilea.

Horren ondorioz, *Etb1*ek 0,25 puntu lortu zituen eta *Berria*k, aldiz, 0,53. Aurreko epearekin alderatuta, telebistaren puntuazioa murriztu zen (0,39koa izan baitzen) eta kazetarena, pixka bat hobetu. Hala ere, asteburu eta oporraldietan telebistak puntuazio hobea izaten zuen (0,36). Ildo beretik, egunkariak astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian plazaratutako informazioa hobetu zuen (0,53 puntu izan zituen). Dena den, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan *Etb1*ek baino puntuazio eskasagoa izaten zuen: 0,37 eta 0,21, hurrenez hurren.

Gaikako sailkapenak Politikan bi hedabideek gero eta jatorri ezezaguneko albiste gehiago plazaratzen ari zirela erakutsi zuen. *Euskal Telebista*k aurreko epearen puntuazio erdia lortu zuen sail horretan (0,3tik 0,14ra). *Berria*k *Egunkaria*k baino arreta txikiagoa erakutsi zion alde horri (*Egunkaria*k 0,53 puntu izan zituen eta *Berria*k, 0,39). Kultura eta Kirol sailek bi hedabideen arteko aldea islatu zuten. *Berria*k gero eta puntuazio hobea lortzen zuen bitartean, *Etb1*ek kontrako bidea hartua zuen. Are gehiago, kiroletan aurreko epean 0,25 puntu izan bazituen ere, 0,11 baino ez zituen lortu.

Protagonista moten araberako sailkapenean, *Berria*k eragile profesionalak agertzen zituzten albisteetan jatorria aipatzeko telebistaren joerarekin bat egin zuen. Ildo beretik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten berrien etorbiderik ez azaltzeko *Etb1*en jokabidea ere bereganatu zuen kazetak. Aurreko epean azken albiste horiek 0,54 puntu lortu zituzten bitartean, jokabide berri hori bere egin izanaren ondorioz, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteen jatorrian *Berria*k 0,3ko puntuazioa izan zuen. Aldi berean, kazetak eragile autonomoak aurkezten zituzten berrien puntu-esleipena hobetu zuen (0,51tik 0,72ra). *Euskal Telebista*k, ostera, horietan ere puntuak galdu zituen: 0,47tik 0,25era pasatu baitzen.

Albisteen sorterriak bertako berriek informazioaren jatorriaren azterketan kanpokoek baino puntuazio hobea lortzeari eutsi zioten bi hedabideetan. Are gehiago, kanpoko albisteek aurreko epean lortutako puntuazioaren erdia baino ez zuten eskuratu, nazioarteko informazioan, batez ere. Izan ere, *Euskal Telebista*k Europako albisteetan aurreko urteetako puntuazioari eutsi zion eta *Berria*k estatuetatik zetorren informazioaren gardentasunari ekin zion. Biek ala biek nazioarteko albisteetan ez zuten ia jatorriaren inguruko zantzurik eskaintzen. Hortaz, *Etb1*eko nazioarteko berriek 0,08ko puntuazioa lortu zuten eta *Berria*koek, 0,2. Dena den, bertako informazioan jatorria aipatzeko joera argiagoa izan arren, *Etb1*ek albiste horietan ere puntuazio baxuagoa lortu zuen (0,55etik 0,35era pasatu zen), jatorria ezkutatzeko jokabide orokorraren ondorioz. *Berria*k, aldiz, bertako albisteen puntuazioa 0,58tik 0,69ra sendotu zuen.

Azkenik, bi hedabideek bat egiten zuten informazioan ere epe horretako aldaketak eragina izan zuen. Alde batetik, *Etb1*ek *Berria*rekin albiste gutxiago partekatu zituen (%32tik %26,66ra). Berri horietan *Etb1*ek ohiko puntuazioa baino emaitza hobeak lortu zituen (0,34). Horrenbestez, ez zuen gainerako albisteetan erakutsi zuen puntu galera handirik azaldu. Telebistak aurreko epeko puntuazioarekin alderatuta hamalau ehunen galdu zituen bitartean, *Berria*rekin bat egiten zuen informazioan galera hori orain sei puntukoa baino ez zen izan. Beraz, *Berria*rekin bat etortzen ziren albisteetan, jatorria ez aipatzeko joera apalagoa zen. Beste aldetik, *Berria Etb1*ekiko gero eta konbergenteago zen. Aurreko epean plazaratutako albisteen %22,89 telebista publikoarekin konpartitu bazuen ere, *Etb1*ek kazetarekin bat egiten ez zituzten berezko albiste gehiago aireratzen zituenean, *Berria*k zabaldutako albisteen %25,53 *Etb1*ean ere agertzen ziren. *Berria*k aurreko epean lortutako puntuazioari bere horretan eutsi zion (0,52). Dena den, kazetak asteburu eta oporraldietan erakusten zuen ahuleziak *Etb1*en joerarekin bat ez egitera eramaten zuen.

76. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,25	0,53
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,34	0,52
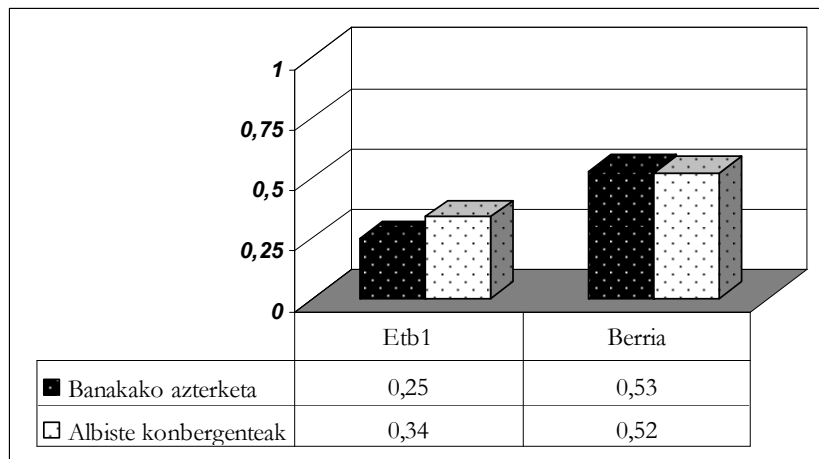
Iturria: Egilea.

Hedabideek zabaltzen zuten informazioaren jatorria ezkutuan gordetzea ohiko jarduera bihurtu zuten, telebistak batez ere. *Berria*k albisteen etorbide argia erakusteko ahalegina azaldu bazuen ere, asteburu eta oporraldietan *Etb1*en eredua aplikatzen zuen. Gainera, telebistako albisteekin bat egiten zuten berri gehiago plazaratzen zituen. *Etb1*ek, ordea, bat egindako albisteen kopurua murriztu zuen, baina *Berria*rekin bat zetozen albisteek informazioaren jatorri aipatua gehiagotan izaten zuten. Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideetan bat egiten zuen informazioak horikeriarako joera apalagoa agertzen zuen.

a.1.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa sinkronikoa osatzen duten 2008ko albisteak hiru hedabideetan plazaratu ziren: *Euskadi Irratia*n, *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n. Hiru hedabideok jatorri ezkutua zuten berriak hobetsi zituzten. *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Etb1*ean, gainera, etorbidea zeharka azaldutako albisteek bigarren lekua hartu zuten. Izan ere, *Euskadi Irratia*k bi mota horietako informaziorik gehien eman zuen hedabidea izan zen. Hala ere, *Euskal Telebista*k aurreko epeetan erakutsitako jokabidearen aurkako bidea hartu zuen 2008an. Jatorri aipatua zuten berriak ugaritu ez ezik, etorbidearen inguruko daturik agertzen ez zuten albisteak ere gutxitu zituen. *Berria*k, baina, aurreko epeetan hartutako bidea baztertu zuen eta *Etb1*en aurreko urteetan zabaldutako eredua bere egin zuen. Egunkariak lehenengoz jatorri aipatua zuten albisteak gutxitu zituen eta horien etorbidea zeharka azaltzen zuen informazioa gehitu. Horrenbestez, jatorri ezkutuko berriak lehenengo informazio mota bihurtu zituen.

77. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 **eta** ***Berria*** **(2008)**

	Aipatua	Zeharka	Ezkutatua
■ Euskadi Irr.	12,39	15,93	71,68
□ Etb1	20,1	21,13	58,77
▨ Berria	38,74	14,38	46,88
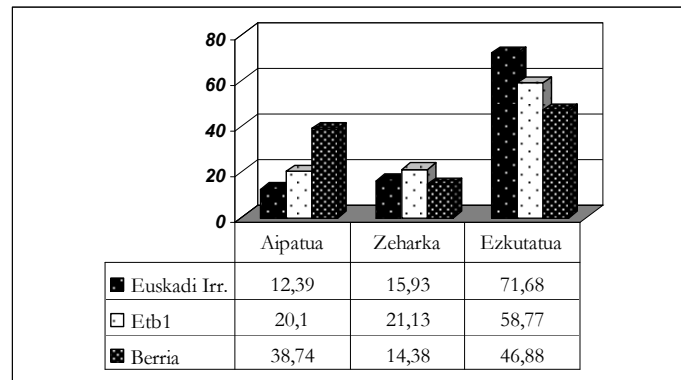
Iturria: Egilea.

Hortaz, **Euskadi Irratiak 0,2 puntu lortu zituen; Etb1ek, 0,31; eta Berriak, 0,46**. Irratiak agertutako jatorri ezkutuko informazio kopuruak puntuaziorik txikiena eman zion. *Euskal Telebistak*, aldiz, aurreko epeetako jokabidearekin hautsi eta bat, puntuazioa sei ehunetan hobetsi zuen. *Berriak*, azkenik, telebistaren eredua bere egin izanaren ondorioz, zazpi ehunen galdu zituen. Hiru hedabideok lortu zuten puntuazioak asteburuetan aldaketarik ez bazuen ere, oporraldietako *Etb1*ek eta *Berriak* izandako puntu-esleipena txikiagoa izaten zen (0,27 eta 0,37, hurrenez hurren). Are gehiago, astelehen ordezko asteartetako zenbakiek ere joera horixe nabarmentzen zuten (0,35eko puntuazioa lortu baitzuten).

Gaikako sailkapenak hiru hedabideen antzeko bi joera nabarmendu zituen. Lehenengo eta behin, hirurek politika gaien jatorria argien agertutakoa izan zen. Bigarrenik, hirurek ere Gizarte sailean kontrakoa egiten zuten, hau da, gizarte albisteen etorbidea eskasen azaldutakoa izan zen. Gainera, Ekonomia atalaren eta kultur zein kirol berrien arteko dikotomia egiaztatu zen. Alde batetik, *Euskadi Irratiak* eta *Etb1*ek Ekonomia sailean puntuaziorik altuenak lortu zituzten (0,31 eta 0,41, hurrenez hurren). Kulturan eta Kiroletan, ordea, emaitzarik txarrenak izan zituzten. Kulturan, *Euskadi Irratiak* 0,16 puntu izan zituen eta *Etb1*ek, 0,27. Kiroletan, baina, irratiak ez zuen punturik lortu (hutsa alegia) eta *Etb1*ek, 0,2. Bestetik, *Berriak* kontrako jokabidea agertu zuen. Ekonomian puntu-esleipen txikia izan zuen (0,41), baina Kulturan (0,7) eta Kiroletan (0,59) inoiz baino altuagoa.

Protagonisten araberako klasifikazioan, *Euskadi Irratiak* ez zuen alde handirik erakutsi. *Etb1*ek eragile profesionalak agertzen zituzten albisteen jatorria gehiagotan (0,41) aipatzen zuen, eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berrietan (0,19) baino.

Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zituzten albisteetan ohiko puntuazioari eutsi zion telebista publikoak. *Berria*k, baina, Administrazioa erakusten zuen informazioaren etorbidearen zantzurik ez zuen apenas ematen (0,34). Gainerako hiru protagonistek ohi baino gardentasun handiagoa agertzen zuten: eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako berriek 0,68 puntu lortu zituzten; eragile autonomoei buruzkoek, 0,57; eta protagonista bakoek, 0,5.

Albisteak sortu ziren lekuari erreparatuta, bertako berrien informazioaren etorbidea azaltzeko joera handiagoa erakutsi zuten hiru hedabideek. *Euskadi Irratia*k aireratutako bertako albisteen informazioaren jatorria 0,21 puntukoa izan zen; *Etb1*ekoa, 0,42; eta *Berria*koa, 0,58. Horrenbestez, gero eta urrunago sortu, orduan eta berrien jatorria aipatzeari gutxiagotan erreparatzen zioten. Kanpoko jatorridun albisteek bertan sortutakoen puntuazio erdia hartzen zuten: 0,15 puntukoa, *Euskadi Irratia*n; 0,17koa, *Etb1*ean; eta 0,27koa *Berria*n.

Hiru hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek banakako azterketan erakutsitako emaitzen hurrenkerarekin bat etorri ziren. Hortaz, albisteen jatorria ondoen azaltzen zuen hedabidea *Berria* izan zen. Banakako 2008ko ikerketan 0,46 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion eta *Euskadi Irratia*rekin zein *Etb1*ekin bat etorritako albisteen azterketan, 0,4. *Euskal Telebista*k euskarazko hedabideen arteko alderaketan bigarren postua lortu zuen. Banakako azterketan 0,31 puntu lortu zituen eta alderaketan ehunen bat irabazi zuen. Ezkutuko jatorridun albisteen kopuru altua aireratzearen ondorioz, *Euskadi Irratia*k banakako azterketan 0,2 puntu baino ez zituen lortu. *Etb1*ekin eta *Berria*rekin bat egindako albisteetan, baina, 0,3ko puntuazioa izan zuen.

78. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

| | Banak. | Etb1 | Berria | Banak. | E. Irr. | Berria | Banak. | E. Irr. | Etb1 |
	Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria		
■ Jatorria	0,2	0,33	0,27	0,31	0,37	0,28	0,46	0,45	0,41

Iturria: Egilea.

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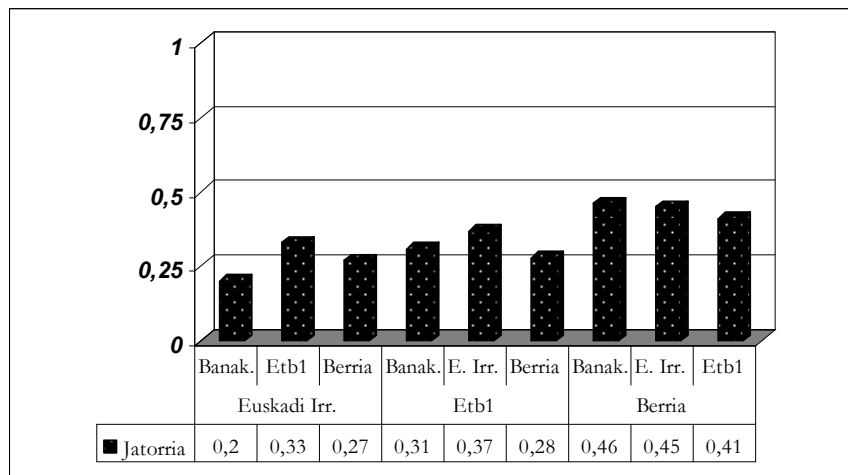
Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideek konbergentzia mailarik altuena erakutsi zuten. Izan ere, hedabide publikoekin eta *Berria*rekin bat egiten zuten albisteak ez ziren bat etortzen. Hortaz, *Etb*rekin bat egiten zuen *Euskadi Irratia*ren informazioa ez zetorren *Berria*rekin bat egindako albisteekin bat. Horregatik, bat-egitearen kopuru metatuak tarte handiagoa hartzen zuen: %35,96, *Euskadi Irratia*n; %44,84, *Etb1*ean; eta %43,75, *Berria*n. Horrela, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ean informazio horretan albisteen jatorria gehiagotan aipatzen zuten bitartean, *Berria*k kontrako jokabidea agertzen zuen.

Amaitzeko, euskarazko hiru hedabideok informazioaren jatorriaren ebazpenean izan dituzten emaitzak hobeto azaltzeko, inguruko euskal zein erdal hedabideen jarduereraren testuinguruan ulertu behar dira. Lehenengo eta behin, euskarazko hedabideetatik txartoen baloratutako *Euskadi Irratia* ez zen alderaketa honetan punturik gutxien lortu zuen hedabidea izan. Are gehiago, komunikazio-talde bereko *Radio Euskadi*k informazioaren jatorria maizago ezkutatzen zuen. Horrenbestez, EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako euskarazko irratiek *Euskadi Irratia*k berak baino gardentasun handiagoa azaldu zuten albiste horietan.

79. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
■ Irratiak	0,75	0,17	0,31	0,19	0,25
Euskadi Irratia	0,36	0,08	0,21	0,26	0,28
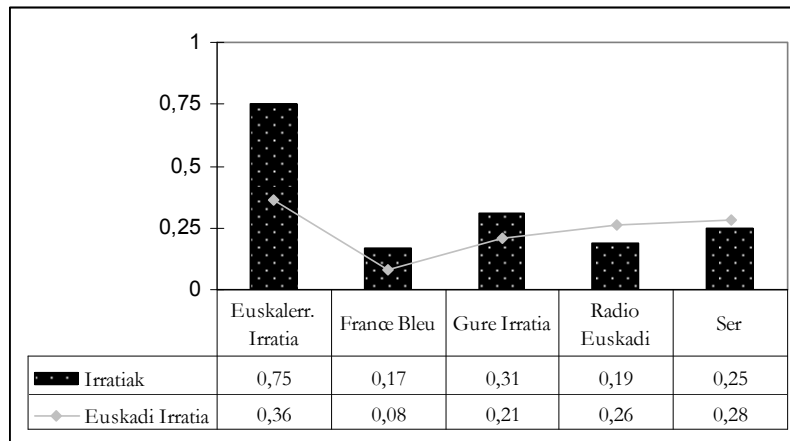
Iturria: Egilea.

Bigarrenik, *Euskal Telebista*ren bi kateek %95,87tan albiste berberak aireratu arren, partekatutako horien ezaugarriak ez dira berdin-berdinak izaten. Horregatik, lehenengo adierazle honetan, erdarazko *Etb2*k *Etb1*ek baino puntuazio altuagoa izan zuen. Hala ere, Espainiako *Telecinco*ren alderaketan, *Etb1*ek horren puntuazio bikoitza lortu zuen.

80. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
_Etb1_ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,33	0,17
Etb1	0,3	0,29
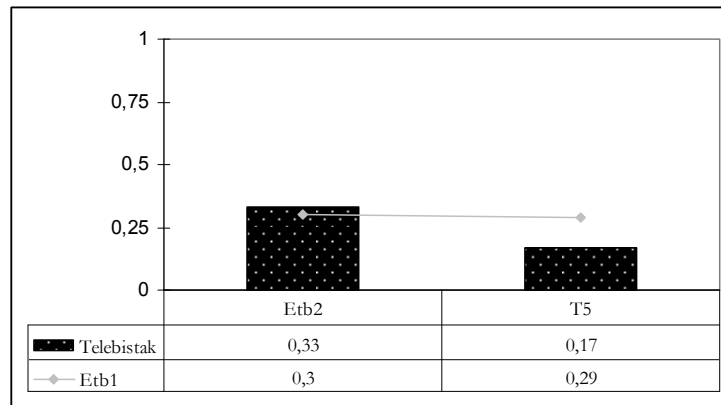
Iturria: Egilea.

Hirugarrenik, euskarazko hedabideetatik puntuaziorik altuena lortu zuen hedabidea _Berria_ izan zen. Euskal Herriko gainerako egunkariekin partekatutako albisteen alderaketa bikaintasun horren erakusle izan zen. Izan ere, informazioaren jatorria ondoen zaintzen zuen hedabidea _Diario de Navarra_ zen, aurrerago esan dugun bezala, egunkariaren diseinuak berak albiste-agentziaren izena agertzeko tarte berezia zeukalako. Horregatik, gainerako egunkarietatik ere nabarmendu zen. _Berria_k ere egunkari horiek baino gardentasun handiagoa erakutsi zuen. _Gara_rekin bat zetorren albisteetan, baina, parekatuta agertu zen. Hortaz, alderaketak egunkariek ezkutuan gordetako informazioa ikusi eragin dute. Horrela, haietariko batek albisteen etorbiderik azaltzen ez zuenean, besteen jardunagatik ezkutuan gorde zuela ondorioztu zitekeen[358]. Era berean, _Berria_ri horixe egotzi diote beste hedabideek[359].

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[358] Esaterako, _Gara_k berezko meritutzat jo zuen Igor Porturen txosten medikoa lortu izana ("El parte médico del Hospital donostiarra al que ha tenido acceso _Gara_ […]", 2008/01/08), baina _Berria_k horren jatorria aipatzean, _Gara_k ezkutatu zuela ondoriozta zitekeen ("Donostiako Ospitaleak senideei emandako eta Askatasuna erakundeak banatutako txosten medikoaren arabera […]").

[359] Adibidez, honela informatu zuen _Berria_k Jean Noel Etxeberri _Txetx_-en atxiloketaz (ABko kide eta Manu Robles-Arangiz Fundazioko arduraduna): "Parisko Laurence Le Vert eta Marie Antoinette Houyvet epaileek eman dute atxiloketa agindua, bi militanteek [Etxeberri bera eta Jacques Mourio] 2004ko urriaren 3an Frantziako Poliziak egin atxiloketekin lotura dutelakoan. Orduan poliziak Mikel Albisu eta Soledad Iparragirre atxilotu zituen" (2008/02/07). Hala ere, _Gara_k informazio horren jatorria zehaztu zuen: "Según señalaron las agencias de información españolas, la instrucción judicial que realizan Le Vert y Houyvet estaría llegando a su fin y los arrestos habrían sido practicados para que la Gendarmería francesa interrogue a ambas personas sobre su relación con las personas arrestadas en el operativo de 2004."

81. Grafikoa – Informazioaren jatorria (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,35	0,36	0,78	0,38	0,47	0,44
Berria	0,53	0,41	0,47	0,45	0,45	0,47
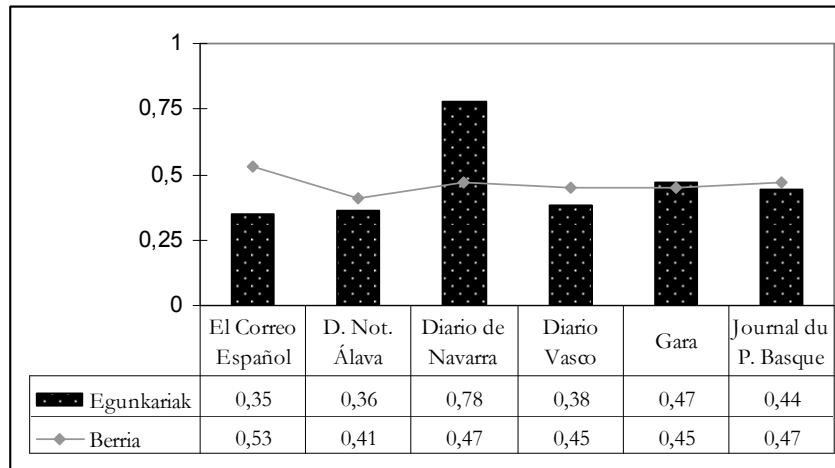
Iturria: Egilea.

Informazioaren jatorriak albisteen gardentasuna bermatzen duen adierazlea da. Izan ere, albiste jakin bat zabaltzeko zergatiak azal ditzakeen datua da. Horregatik, berrien etorbidea zehaztu ezean, kazetariak lortutako informazioa izan dela aditzera emateaz gain, informazio hori publiko egin izanaren zergatia ere ezkutuan gordetzen dute hedabideek. Euskarazko hedabideak irizpide horrekiko malgutasunaren zantzuak agertu zituzten. *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k aztertutako epeetan gero eta puntuazio txikiagoa lortu zuten. Are gehiago, *Euskadi Irratia*k oso puntu gutxi izan zituen. Hala ere, *Radio Euskadi*ren informazioa baino hobeto baloratu zen. *Etb1*ek eta *Etb2*k antzeko puntuazioa erakutsi arren, azken hori pixka bat gainditu zen. Azkenik, *Berria*k erdarazko bost egunkari baino gardentasun handiagoa erakutsi zuen. Alderaketak, era berean, bikaintasunerako bidea seinalatu zuen.

a.2. Informazio-iturri motak (*Type of sources*)

Gertakizunaren berri ematen duten informazio-iturriak bost motatakoak izan daitezke. Lehenengo eta behin, dokumentuek albistea egiaztatzen dutenean, puntu osoa esleitu zaie berri horiei. Bigarrenik, informazioa arlo horretako adituek ematen dutenean, 0,75 puntu lortuko du albiste horrek. Hirugarrenik, informazio-iturria izen-abizenekin eta karguarekin identifikatuta agertzen denean, berri horri 0,5 puntu emango zaizkio; zeharka identifikatuta azaldu bada, orduan, 0,25 puntu. Azkenik, konfidentzialtzat hartu dituzten iturriek (*off the record* emandako datuak eta iturririk gabeko informazioa) ez dute punturik lortuko.

a.2.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak bi epe izango ditu. Lehenengo eta behin, 1990tik 2002ra bitartean, euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak aztertuko ditugu. Bigarrenik, 2003tik 2007ra bitartean, euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzeari erreparatuko diogu.

a.2.1.1. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Albiste-iturrietarako lehen hurbilpen honetan, *Euskal Telebista*ren eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren dokumentuetatik sortutako oso albiste gutxi plazaratzeko joera egiaztatu zen. Ildo beretik, adituek emandako informazioa hutsaren hurrengoa izan zen. Beraz, bi hedabideek albiste-iturri pertsonalak hobesten zituzten. Hala ere, telebistako berriek iturri konfidentzialak agertzen zituzten. *Etb1*ek aireratutako albisteen erdiak ez zuen iturririk aipatzen. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n mota horretako informazioak herena hartzen zuen. Horrenbestez, bi hedabideetako berri guztien erdiak baino ez zuen albiste-iturri identifikaturik agertzen.

82. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Dokum.	Adituak	Identifik.	Zeharka	Konfid.
■ Etb1	1,5	0	37,59	10,53	50,38
□ Egunkaria	0,4	0	51	17,27	31,33
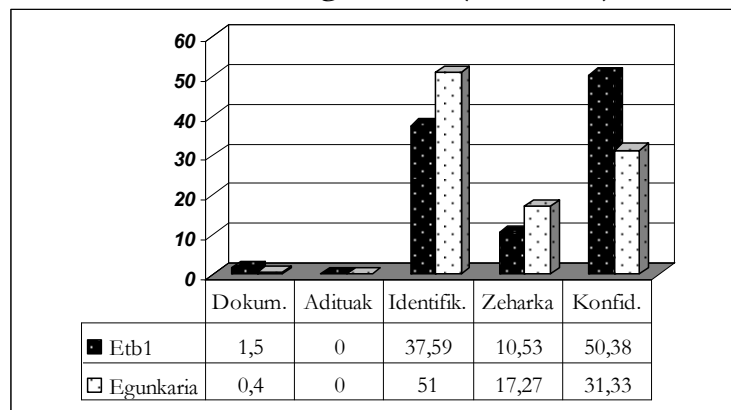
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **_Etb1_eko albisteek _informazio-iturri moten_ ebazpenean 0,23ko puntuazioa izan zuten eta _Euskaldunon Egunkaria_koek, aldiz, 0,3**. Are gehiago, 1996tik aurrera, telebistak iturririk gabeko albisteak gero eta sarriagotan plazaratzen zituen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k pitin bat gutxitu zituen. Hala ere, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan bi hedabideek albiste-iturri horietan oinarritutako informazioari tarte zabalagoa egiten zioten. Astelehen ordezko astearteko *Egunkaria*k, baina, astegunetako puntuazioari eutsi zion.

Politika, Gizarte eta Kultura sailetan, bi hedabideok erakutsitako puntuazioaren araberako iturrien oreka agertzen zuten. Aurreko adierazlearen azterketan (*informazioaren*

jatorria) egiaztatu dugun antzera, *Euskal Telebista*k Ekonomia eta Kirolen arteko dikotomia erakutsi zuen. Lehenengoan ohiko puntuazioa baino hobea izaten zuen bitartean (0,32), bigarrenean ez zuen punturik lortzen. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, aurreko adierazlearen azterketan ez bezala, bi sailetan puntuaziorik txikiena izan zuen (0,26 eta 0,21, hurrenez hurren).

Protagonista motei dagokienez, bi hedabideek Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten berrietan informazio-iturrien araberako puntuaziorik altuena lortu zuten (0,27, *Etb1*ek; eta 0,34, *Egunkaria*k). Gainerakoetan, iturrien inguruko identifikazioa gero eta eskasagoa izaten zen, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteetan batez ere (0,11 puntu lortu zituen *Etb1*ek; eta 0,23 puntu, *Egunkaria*k).

Sorterriaren araberako sailkapenak bertako albisteetako iturriak hobeto identifikatuta agertzen zirela erakutsi zuen. Are gehiago, bertako albisteen puntuazioa denerako azterketakoa baino altuagoa izan zen. Izan ere, *Euskal Telebista*k aireratutako bertako informazioaren berri eman zuten iturriek 0,29 puntu lortu zituzten (sei ehunen gehiago) eta *Egunkaria*koek, 0,35 (bost ehunen gehiago). Kanpoan sortutako informazioaren berri emateko bi hedabideok erabili zituzten iturrien azterketak 0,17 puntu esleitu zizkion *Etb1*i eta 0,25 puntu, *Egunkaria*ri.

*Euskal Telebista*n eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n 1990tik 2002ra bat egindako albisteek informazio-iturri motak denerako azterketan baino hobeto identifikatzeko jokabidea agertu zuten. *Etb1*ek, esaterako, kazetarekin bat etorritako informazioan 0,26 puntu lortu zituen (hiru ehunen gehiago). *Egunkaria*rena handiagoa izan zen oraindik, telebistarekin bat egindako albisteetan 0,39ko puntuazioa bereganatu baitzuen (ohikoak baino bederatzi ehunen gehiago).

83. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,23	0,3
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,26	0,39
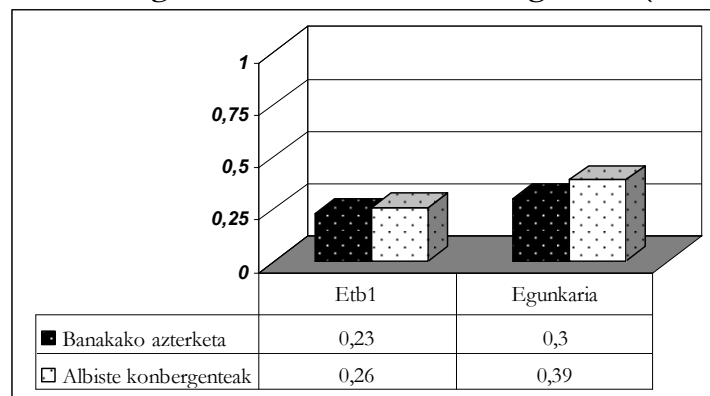
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen erdiak baino gehiagok informazio-iturriak argi edo zeharka zehaztuta zituen. Izan ere, Politika saileko informazioak, Administrazioa agertzen zuten berriek eta bertako albisteek iturriak ondoen identifikatzen zituzten. Gainera, *Etb1*ean eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n bat zetozen berriek albiste-iturriak zehazteko joera handiagoa agertu zuten.

a.2.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan zeharka identifikatutako albiste-iturrien kopurua handitu zen. *Euskal Telebista*k ez zuen dokumenturik edo aditurik iturri moduan erabili. Aldi berean, identifikatutako informatzaileak gutxitu zituen. Iturri konfidentzialen erabilera aurreko epekoaren antzerakoa izan zenez, zeharka identifikatutako albiste-iturriak %13,07tan ugaritu ziren. *Berria*k horrenbeste nabarmendu ez bazituen ere, zeharka identifikatutako informatzaileen kopurua handitu zuen. Kazetak, baina, aurreko epean baino dokumentu gehiago iturri legez erabili zuen. Gainera, informazio-iturri konfidentzialak pixkatxo bat gutxitu zituen.

84. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2003-2007)

	Dokum.	Adituak	Identifik.	Zeharka	Konfid.
■ Etb1	0	0	25,84	23,6	50,56
▫ Berria	2,13	0	50	19,15	28,72
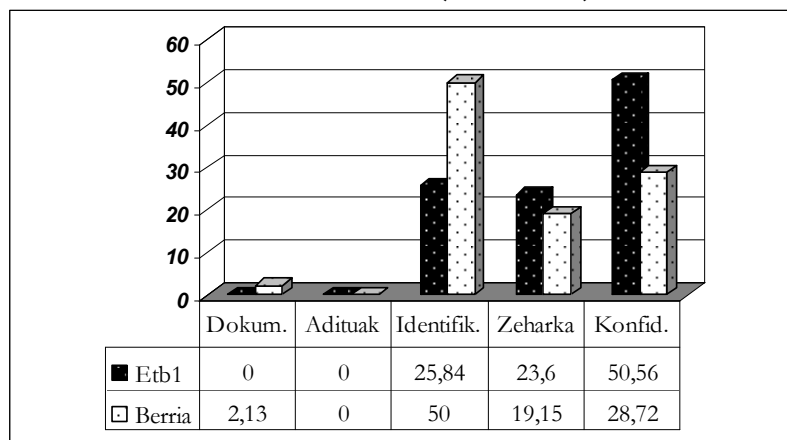
Iturria: Egilea.

Zeharka identifikatutako iturriek kazetaritza printzipioekiko gainbehera islatu zuten. Izan ere, iturri konfidentzialen erabilpena ez zen areagotu, iturriak identifikatzeko utzikeria egiaztatu baizik. Ondorioz, *Euskal Telebista*k albiste-iturri moten inguruko atal honetan lortutako puntuazioa aurreko epean baino txikiagoa izan zen. *Berria*k, ordea, iturri konfidentzialak gutxitzeko esfortzuaren ordaina jaso zuen. Horrela, erabilitako iturri moten araberako azterketan, **_Etb1_ek 0,19 puntu lortu zituen (lau ehunen gutxiago) eta _Berria_k, 0,32 (bi ehunen gehiago).**

Aurreko adierazleak (*informazioaren jatorriak* alegia) azaldutako joerari jarraituz, *Etb1*ek asteburuetan aireratutako albisteetan puntuaziorik txikiena lortzen zuen (0,1). *Berria*k, ostera, asteburuetan (0,22) ez ezik, oporraldietan (0,21) ere puntu gutxiago izaten zituen. Izan ere, egun horietako albisteek ez zuten ia iturririk agertzen. Astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakia, baina, astegunetako puntuazioari gailentzen zitzaion (0,35).

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k Politika eta Kultura sailetan ohi baino albiste-iturrien identifikaziorik argiena egiten zutela egiaztatu zuen gaikako sailkapenak. *Etb1*eko sail horiek 0,27 puntu lortu zituen eta *Berria*koek, 0,38. Ekonomian, Gizartean eta Kiroletan, aldiz, informazio-iturri konfidentzialen agerpena biderkatzen zuten. Ondorioz, sail horietako batez besteko puntuazioa 0,12koa izan zen *Etb1*ean eta 0,24koa, *Berria*n. Hedabide biek aurreko epean hiru sail horietan lortutako puntuazioarekin alderatuta, herena galdu zuten.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonistei dagokionez, Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta eragile profesionalak azaltzen zituzten albisteen informazio-iturriak ohi baino identifikatuagoak erakusten zituzten bi hedabideok. *Etb1*eri aurreko epean baino puntu gutxiago esleitu zitzaizkion bitartean (0,2 puntu lortu zituen oraingoan, sei ehunen gutxiago), *Berria*k aurreko azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa bereganatu zuen (0,37koa, sei ehunen gehiago). Eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berrietan ohiko proportzioari eusten zioten. Protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteetan, azkenik, hedabideek ez zuten ageriko albiste-iturririk aipatzen. *Euskal Telebista*k 0,07 puntu baino ez zituen lortu (aurreko epean baino lau ehunen gutxiago oraindik) eta *Berria*k, 0,15 (*Egunkaria*k baino zortzi ehunen gutxiago).

Bertako albisteen informazio-iturriak ere kanpokoak baino identifikatuago agertzen ziren, baina ez aurreko epean bezain zehatz. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek 0,22ko puntuazioa lortu zuen (aurreko azterketan baino zazpi ehunen gutxiago) eta *Berria*k, 0,33 (aurrekoan baino bi ehunen gutxiago). Kanpoan sortutako albisteen iturriak gero eta identifikatuagoak azaldu arren, ez ziren bertakoen mailara heltzen. *Euskal Telebista*ri kanpoko albisteen informazio-iturrien identifikazioan 0,17 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion (aurreko epean bezala) eta *Berria*ri, 0,29 (aurreko azterketan baino lau ehunen gehiago). Are gehiago, aurreko adierazlearen emaitzak (*informazioaren jatorria*renak, hain zuzen) kontuan izanda, bi hedabideek nazioarteko komunikazioan agentzien parte-hartzea isiltzeko joera hartua zuten.

Azkenik, bi hedabideetan bat egindako albisteen berri emateko erabili zuten informazio-iturriei erreparatuta, aurreko epearekin alde nabarmena dago. Alde batetik, *Berria*rekin bat etorritako *Etb1*eko albisteen kopurua gutxitu zen bitartean, egunkariak telebistarekiko konbergentzia areagotu zuen. Bestetik, bi hedabideek aurreko epeko alderaketan baino puntuazio txikiagoa lortu zuten. *Etb1*ek lau ehunen galdu zituen eta *Berria*k, 1,3 puntu. Hala ere, albiste mota horietan *Euskal Telebista*k banakako azterketan baino informazio-iturri hobeagoak erakutsi zituen. *Berria*k, aldiz, telebistaren eredutik gero eta gertuago egon, orduan eta kalitate-adierazleen puntuazio txikiagoa lortzen zuen. Kasu horretan, *Etb1*ekin bat egindako *Berria*ko albisteek, informazio-iturrien azterketan, ohi baino sei ehunen gutxiago lortu zituzten. *Euskal Telebista*k, ostera, egoera berean hiru ehunen gehiago irabazi zituen.

85. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,19	0,32
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,22	0,26
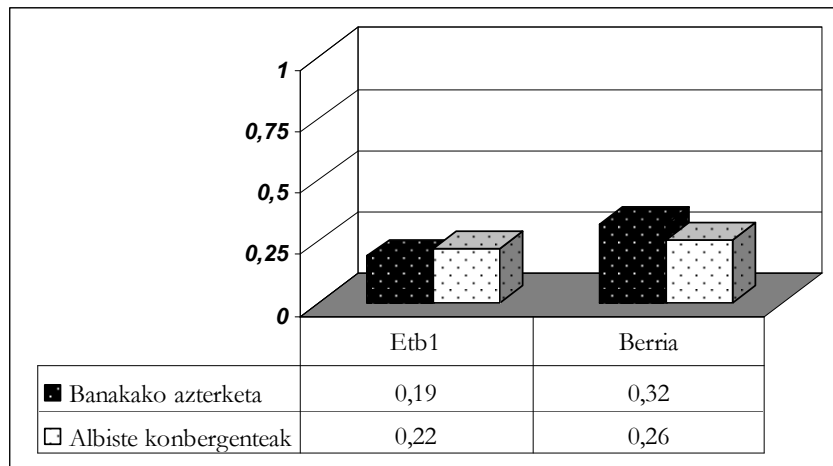
Iturria: Egilea.

Albiste-iturriak izenarekin eta karguarekin identifikatzeko eredua egitatez alboratzen hasiak ziren *Etb1* eta *Berria*. Horrek jatorrizko informaziora heltzeko bidea trabatzen dio hartzaileari. Gainera, Gizarte sailean iturri konfidentzialen erabilpena areagotu zituen, albiste arinen gehikuntzarekin batera. Hortaz, iturri profesional legez jarduteko gaitasuna zuten Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta eragile profesionalak azaltzen zituzten berrietan informazio-iturriak taxuz identifikatzeko ardura handiagoa erakutsi zuten *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k.

a.2.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Hiru hedabideak kontuan hartzen dituen ikerketa sinkronikoak *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k dokumentuak eta adituak iturri moduan erabili zituztela erakutsi zuen. Gainerako iturrien hurrenkeran, ordea, ez dago aurreko epeekiko aldaketarik. Horrenbestez, *Berria* iturri identifikatu gehien erabiltzen zituen hedabidea zen, ia albisteen erdiak horrelako informatzaileak agertzen baitzituen. Ondoren, zeharka identifikatutako iturriek guztirako laurdena hartzen zuten. Azkenik, iturri konfidentzialak ez ziren herenera heltzen. *Euskadi Irratia*k hurrenkera horri ekin zion bitartean, *Etb1*ek albisteen erdia iturri konfidentzialetan oinarritzen zuen.

86. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Dokum.	Adituak	Identif.	Zeharka	Konfid.
■ Euskadi Irr.	0	0	40,71	21,24	38,05
☐ Etb1	0,52	1,54	26,8	20,62	50,52
▨ Berria	3,13	1,25	47,4	20	28,13
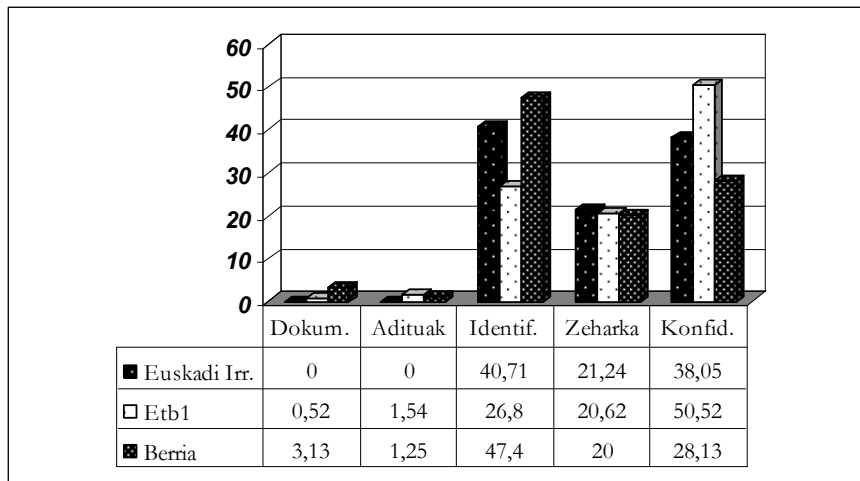
Iturria: Egilea.

Dokumentuak eta adituak erabili izanak eta, aldi berean, iturri konfidentzialen erabilpena gehiago ez zabaltzeak *Etb1*i eta *Berria*ri aurreko epean baino ehunen bat gehiago esleitu zieten. Horregatik, **Euskadi Irratia*k 0,26 puntu lortu zituen; *Etb1*ek, 02; eta *Berria*k, 0,33**. Irratia, beraz, telebistaren eta egunkariaren informazio-ereduen artean kokatu zen.

Informazio-iturri moten erabilera gaika aztertzen badugu, Kultura informatzaile identifikaturik gehien zituen saila izan zen. Ondoren, Politika eta Ekonomia zetozen. Azkenik, Gizartean eta, batez ere, Kiroletan iturri konfidentzialen erabilpena areagotzen zen. Kiroletan, esaterako, ez zen ia iturririk agertzen: *Euskadi Irratia*k 0,09ko puntuazioa izan zuen atal horretan; *Etb1*ek, 0,17koa; eta *Berria*k, 0,16koa.

Albisteek azaltzen zituzten protagonista motei erreparatuz, Administrazioaren ordezkariek, eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatzen zituzten

albisteetan informazio-iturri argiak agertzen zituzten hiru hedabideek. Hiru hedabideak protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten informazioaren berri ematean iturririk gutxien erabiltzean bat etorri ziren. *Euskadi Irratia*k 0,2 puntu baino ez zituen lortu; *Etb1*ek, 0,16; eta *Berria*k, 0,24. Hala ere, telebistak eragile autonomoei buruzko albisteen berri emateko iturri konfidentzialen kopururik altuena erabili zuen (albisteen %75,68) eta, horregatik, 0,11ko puntuazioa lortu zuen.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideetan bat egindako albisteek, lehenengoz, banakako azterketan lortutako puntuazioa ehunen batzuetan jaisten zuten. *Euskadi Irratia*k bi ehunak galdu zituen; *Etb1*ek, ehunen bakarra; eta *Berria*k, hiru ehunen. Hala ere, erdarazko hedabideekin bat egindako albisteetan ohiko puntuazioei eusten zien. Horrenbestez, euskarazko komunikazio-esparrua horitzea eta kazetaritza lasterraren[360] ezaugarrien hedapena bat etor zitezkeen.

87. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria		
	Banak.	Etb1	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Etb1
■ Iturriak	0,26	0,26	0,23	0,2	0,23	0,19	0,33	0,34	0,29
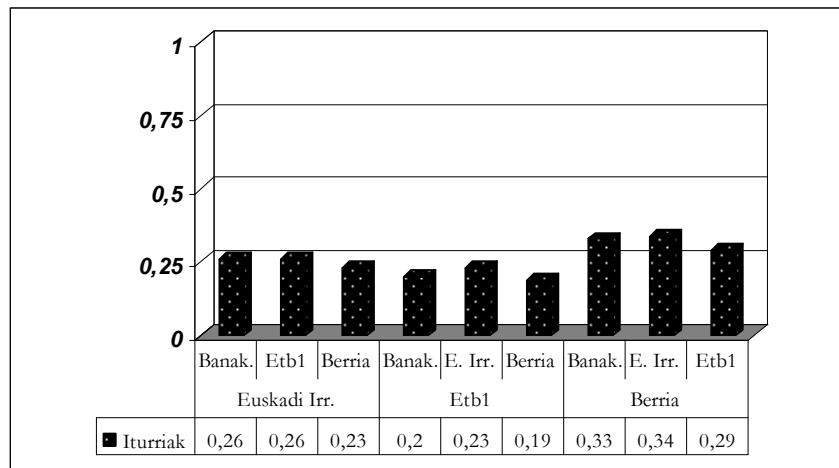
Iturria: Egilea.

Erdarazko hedabideekiko alderaketan, euskarazko hedabideek gainerakoek baino jarduera bikainagoa erakutsi zuten. Irratien artean, esaterako, *Euskadi Irratia* gailendu zen, iturri konfidentzialik erabiltzen ez zuen *Euskalerria Irratia* salbu.

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[360] **Kazetaritza lasterra** esamoldea 'fast journalism' kontzeptua euskaraz esateko erabili dugu, 'arin' izenondoa 'soft news' izendatzeko erabili dugulako (albiste arinak). Gainera, "lan lasterra, lan alperra" esaera zaharraren haritik, kazetaritza 'fast food'-ekin parekatu egiten duen hitz jokoa euskaraz ere argiago ikus daitekeela deritzogu.

88. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%): *Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,45	0,21	0,19	0,23	0,26
Euskadi Irratia	0,32	0,25	0,23	0,26	0,26
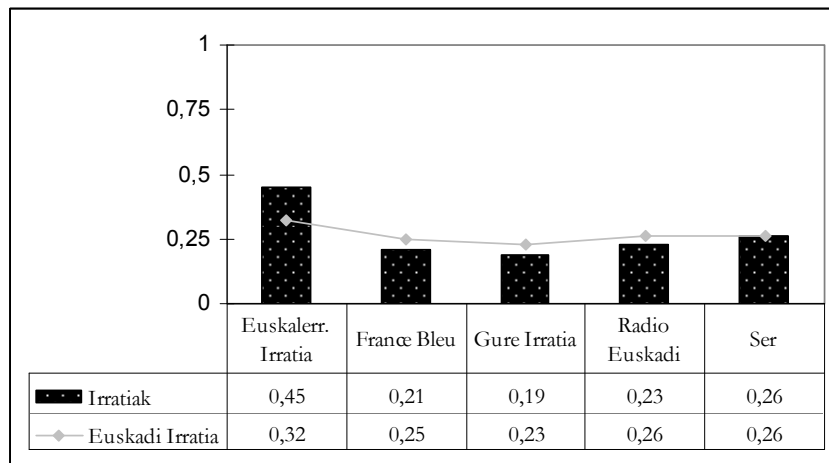
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebistaren azterketan ere antzerako emaitzak ikus daitezke. *Etb1* euskarazko hedabideetatik puntuaziorik baxuena lortu zuen hedabidea izan arren, informazio-iturrien identifikazioari *Etb2*k eta *Telecinco*k baino arreta handiagoa eskaintzen zion.

89. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%): *Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,18	0,13
Etb1	0,2	0,18
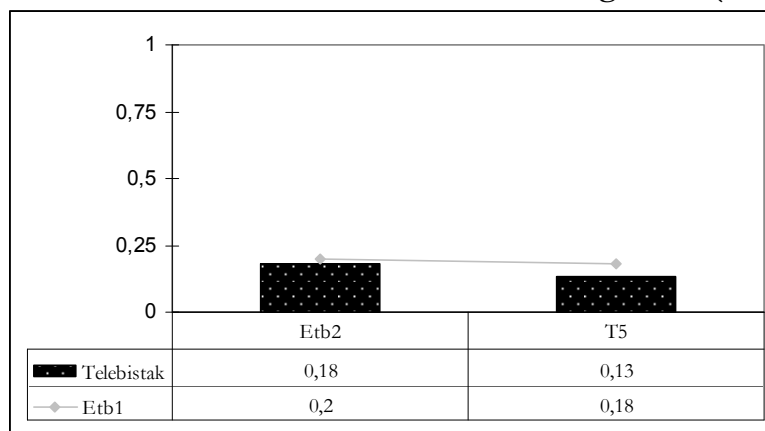
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, euskarazko hedabideen azterketan, *Berria*k punturik gehien izan zituen. Erdarazko egunkariekin alderatuta ere, albiste-iturriak identifikatzeagatik nabaritu zen. Dena den, euskarazko kazetak *Le Journal* egunkariak baino iturri konfidentzial gehiago erabili zituen[361]. *El Correo Español*ek alderantzizko jarduera erakutsi zuen, plazaratutako albisteen erdiari ez baitzion albiste-iturririk aintzatetsi[362].

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[361] ETAren jarduera armatuaren berri emateko, adibidez, Hego Euskal Herriko egunkariek, oro har, Administrazioa albiste-iturri konfidentzialtzat hartzen dute. Hortaz, *Berria*k honela azaldu zituen Legution izandako atentatuaren zehaztasunak: "Eztanda baino minutu batzuk lehenago utzi zuten han

90. Grafikoa – Informazio-iturri motak (%): *Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,23	0,33	0,27	0,26	0,33	0,38
Berria	0,34	0,32	0,29	0,34	0,34	0,36
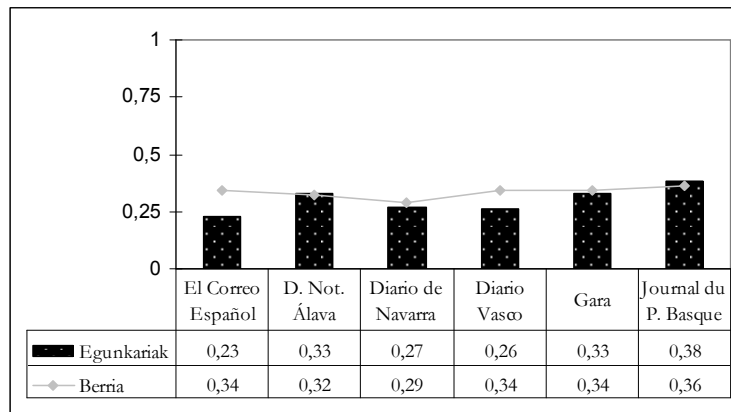
Iturria: Egilea.

Albistearen berri emateko euskarazko hedabideek agertzen zuten informazio-iturri motak pertsonalak izaten dira. Hortaz, dokumentuen erabilpena oso murritza izan zen. Adituak ere oso gutxitan informatzailetzat hartzen zituzten. Beraz, gardentasunerako begirunea iturriak ondo identifikatzean zetzan. Euskarazko hedabideek iturririk gabeko informazioa azken urteotan nabarmen areagotu dutenez, bikaintasunaren aurkako egintza nagusia iturriak zeharka identifikatzea suertatu da. Are gehiago, gizarte eta kirol albisteen berri emateko ez zuten ia iturririk aipatzen. Hala ere, erdarazko hedabideen jarduera baino bikainagoa agertu zuten euskarazkoek. Horrenbestez, kalitatea hobetzeko estrategiek bi auziak kontuan izan beharko dituzte: iturririk gabeko informazioa gutxitzea eta, aldi berean, identifikatutako albiste-iturrien zehaztasunak ondo ematea.

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furgoneta ETAko kideek. Berri agentziek ikerketako iturriei erreferentzia eginez zabaldu dutenez, bi ibilgailutan joan ziren" (2008/05/15).

*Le Journal du Pays Basque*k, ostera, Espainiako Barne ministroak berak [albiste-iturria] prentsari azaldutako datuak [informazioaren jatorria] zirela zehaztu zuen: "Rubalcaba [s'exprimant après avoir rendu visite aux blessés et s'être déplacé sur les lieux de l'explosion à Legutiano] a précisé que l'attentat avait suivi le même mode opératoire que celui utilisé contre une caserne de la garde civile, le 24 août 2007 à Durango (Bizkaia) et qui avait fait des blessés."

[362] Ildo beretik, *El Correo Español*ek Calahorrako atentatuen zehaztasunen berri eman zituen: "La explosión que el viernes devastó el centro de Calahorra estuvo provocada por una bomba cargada con unos 70 kilos de un explosivo aún no determinado. El artefacto, colocado en un vehículo robado dos horas antes a punta de pistola, causó graves daños en el cuartel de la Guardia Civil de la localidad riojana, arrasó la calle Gallarza, hirió a un agente y a un niño y desató el pánico en el municipio, ya que la detonación fue audible desde todo el casco" (2008/03/23).

Hala ere, *Berria*k datu horiek nork eman zituen zehaztu zituen: "70 kilo lehergai zituen ETAk ostiralean Calahorran (Errioxa, Espainia) Guardia Zibilaren kuarteletik gertu zaratarazitako bonba-autoak, Joan Mesquida Espainiako Poliziaren eta Guardia Zibilaren zuzendariak jakinarazi duenez. Lehergaia zer motatakoa den aztertzen ari da orain polizia. […] Etakideek ostiral goizean lapurtu zuten kotxea Urizaharran (Araba), atentatua egin baino ordu batzuk lehenago, Ertzaintzak emandako datuen arabera, pistolaz mehatxatuta ebatsi zioten kotxea bikote bati […]."

a.3. Gertaeraren egitate-maila (*Degree of factualness*)

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen hirugarren adierazle honek berriak azaltzen duen gertaera jazo zen egitatezko gertakizuna izatetik albait gertuen egotea saritzen du. Hortaz, albisteak ematen duen gertakariaren berri gertakizuna bada, puntu bat esleitu zaio. Albistegaia adierazpenak badira, puntu erdi lortuko du. Azkenik, albisteak iragarpenen berri ematen badu, ez du punturik izango.

a.3.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

*Euskal Telebista*ko artxiboetako albisteek gertaeraren egitate-mailaren berri ematen dutenez, adierazle horren ikerketa diakronikoak hiru epeok aztertuko ditu. Lehenengo eta behin, *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenetan gertaeraren egitate-mailak zuen esangurari erreparatuko diogu (1983-1989). Bigarrenik, euskarazko bi informazio-proiektu martxan ipintzean, adierazle horri dagokionez, bi kazetaritza ereduren zantzurik egon zitekeen ikertuko dugu (1990-2002). Amaitzeko, euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzearekin batera (2003-2007), gertaeraren egitate-mailak izan zuen garrantzia aztertuko dugu.

a.3.1.1 *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenak (1983-1989)

Hasierako *Euskal Telebista*k aireratzen zituen albisteen ia hiru laurdenak gertakizunetan oinarrituta zeuden (%71,57). Gertakari horiek bizimodu sozialaren isla izaten ziren[363]. Gainera, hedabideetara begirako ekitaldien hasieratzat har daiteke[364]. Horren ildotik, adierazpenetan oinarritutako berriak protagonista bati baino gehiagori egindako elkarrizketak izaten ziren[365]. Azkenik, iragarpenek kultura eta kirol agenden berri ematen zuten[366]. Hortaz, *Euskal Telebista*k ez zuen oraindik politikarien agenda albiste bihurtu.

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[363] Hala nola "Dantzariak Durangon" (1984/06/01) eta "Azpeitiko Tanborrada" (1987/01/19).

[364] Adib.: "Joseba Elosegiren adierazpenak, Espainiako Auzitegi Nazionalera heltzean" (1984/10/13), "Copeleche-Gurelesako Administrazio Kontseilu berriaren aurkezpena" (1988/10/05) eta "Ramón Jauregiren eta L. Atienzaren prentsaurrekoa, Europar Batasunak Euskadin egingo dituen inbertsioen inguruan" (1989/07/21).

[365] Esaterako, "Cendoyari, Astarberi eta Larrañagari elkarrizketa" (Arabako Kirol Kluba)" (1983/05/10) eta "Diputatuen Kongresua: Marcos Vizcaya, Felipe González, Juan Mari Bandrés" (1983/09/21).

[366] Besteak beste, "Gerra Zibileko kartelen eta argazkien erakusketa, Sestaon" (1984/03/23) eta "Txirrindularitza: Itzulia, Nafarroara (8. eta azken etapa)" (1984/06/01).

91. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
Etb (1983-1989)

	Gertakizuna	Adierazpenak	Iragarpenak
■ Etb	71,57	24,51	3,92
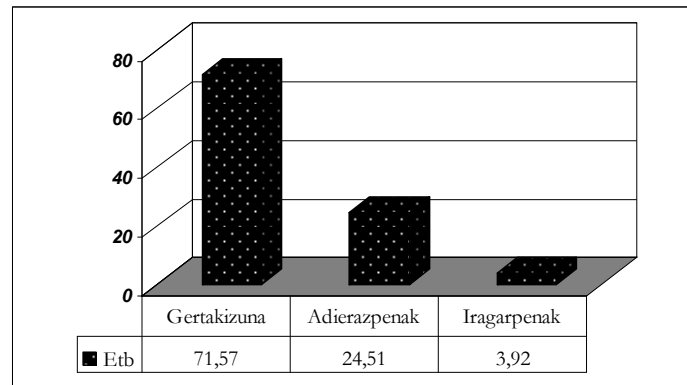
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **_Euskal Telebista_ren hastapenetako albisteek 0,84 puntu lortu zuten**. Sail guztiek puntuazio horri eusten zioten, Kultura izan ezik (0,61), iragarpen gehienak atal horretan agertzen baitziren. Are gehiago, asteburuko eta oporraldietako _Etb_ko albistegiek ez zuten iragarpenik zabaltzen eta, beraz, oso puntuazio altua izan zuten (0,98 eta 0,94koa, hurrenez hurren). Albisteek azaltzen zituzten protagonista moten arteko oreka nabaria zen, denek batez besteko puntuazioari modu berean eutsi ziotelako. Azkenik, bertako albisteak guztirako %66,67 ziran eta 0,82 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien. Kanpoko albisteek, ordea, 0,87 puntu lortu zituzten. Horrela, _Etb_k Euskal Herritik kanpoko informazioaren berri ematean gertakizuna hobesten zuela ondoriozta daiteke. Aldiz, bertako albisteetan gertakizunez eta adierazpenez gain, iragarpenei ere lekua egiten zien.

a.3.1.2. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Hamarkada honetako _Etb1_ek aurreko albistegi ereduak baino adierazpen eta iragarpen gehiago agertzen zituen. _Euskaldunon Egunkaria_ sortu berriak ere telebistako berrien gertaera-mailaren proportzioari eutsi zion. Horrenbestez, gertakizunetan oinarritutako albisteek guztirako kopuruaren erdia hartzen zuten. Ondoren, adierazpenek emandako informazioa zabaltzen zuten berriak ugaritu ziren. Azkenik, iragarpenetatik eratorritako albisteen agerpena izugarri areagotu zen, _Euskaldunon Egunkaria_n batez ere. Kazetak iragarpenei telebistaren tarte bikoitza eskaintzen zien. Are gehiago, _Etb1_ek iragarritako albisteen hurrengo eguneko _Egunkaria_ko albistea

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gertaeran oinarritutakoa izaten zela kontuan izanda[367], kazetak iragarpenetatik sortutako informazioa telebistak baino sarriagotan zabaltzen zuen[368].

92. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
Etb1 eta _E.Egunkaria_ (1990-2002)

	Gertakizuna	Adierazpenak	Iragarpenak
■ Etb1	59,39	32,31	8,3
□ Egunkaria	51	32,53	16,47
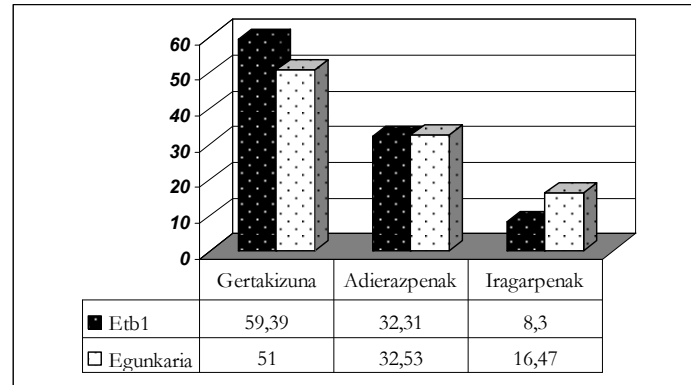
Iturria: Egilea.

Horregatik, **_Etb1_eko albisteen gertaeraren egitate-mailak 0,76 lortu zituen eta _Egunkaria_ko berriei 0,67 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien**. Are gehiago, asteburuko kazetak iragarpenen agerpena handitzen zuen. Oporraldietan, ordea, horien kopurua jaisten zuen eta urtean baino gutxiago plazaratzen zituen. Dena den, _Etb1_ek baino leku handiagoa egiten zien, telebistak ere udako oporraldietan iragarpenak erdira murrizten zituelako.

Urteak joan ahala, bi hedabideek kontrako jokabidea erakutsi zuten. Iragarpenetatik sortutako informazioari egindako lekua aldatu ez, baina _Euskal Telebista_k 1996tik aurrera adierazpenetan oinarritutako albisteak %37,61etik %27,5era gutxitu zituen. _Euskaldunon Egunkaria_n, ostera, adierazpenek gero eta leku handiagoa hartzen zuten: %29,46tik %35,04 hartzera pasatu ziren.

Albisteek azaltzen zuten gertaeraren egitate-mailak sailaren arabera garrantzia galtzen zuen. Bi hedabideek Politikan, Ekonomian eta Gizartean gertakizunak hobesten zituzten bitartean, Kiroletan iragarpenek presentzia handiagoa zuten. _Euskaldunon Egunkaria_n, gainera, kultur gaiek kirol albisteek baino iragarpen gehiagoren berri eman ohi zuten.

Hastapenetako _Euskal Telebista_ren antzera, 1990eko hamarkadako euskarazko hedabideek agertzen zituzten protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak

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[367] Esaterako, _Etb1_ek iragarritako "Gasteizko Bideo Jaialdien 8. edizioa" (1993/07/03) hurrengo egunean argitaratu zuen _Egunkaria_k: "Manolo Gil eta Enrique Urdanoz, garaile euskarazko lanen arloan" (1993/07/04).
[368] Adibidez, _Etb1_ek ematen ez zituen albisteak plazaratzen zituen, besteak beste, "Landabenen egindako Polo berria urrian jarriko du merkatuan VWk" (1994/08/23).

gertakizunetan oinarrituta zeuden (0,86 eta 0,88 puntu izan zituzten, *Etb1*ean eta *Egunkaria*n, hurrenez hurren). Ondoren, gertaeraren egitate-mailarik altuena eragile autonomoek eta Administrazioaren ordezkariek protagonizatutako albisteek azaltzen zuten. Azkenik, eragile profesionalak aurkezten zituen informazioaren zati handia iragarpenetan zetzan, *Egunkaria*n batez ere[369]. Azken horrek, 0,49 puntu lortu zituen; *Etb1*ek, aldiz, 0,74ko puntuazioari eutsi zion.

Bi hedabideek, baina, Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteek azaldutako gertaeraren egitate-maila bertokoena baino handiagoa izaten zen. *Etb1*ek 0,79 puntu izan zituen kanpoko albisteen azterketan eta 0,73, bertokoenean. *Egunkaria*k alde handiagoa erakutsi zuen: 0,76ko puntuazioa, kanpoko berrientzat; eta 0,61koa, bertakoentzat. Hortaz, albistea sor dezakeen gertaera zenbat eta urrunago eman, euskarazko hedabideek horren berri eman dezaten, orduan eta zorroztasun handiagoa egiaztatu zuen sorterriaren irizpideak. Bertako gertaerekiko, ordea, irizpide malguagoak erabiltzen zituzten. Gainerako kalitate-adierazleek gertutasun hori hobesten zuen informazio-jarduna egokia ote zen zehaztuko dute. Izan ere, bat egiten zuten *Etb1*eko eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albisteen gertaeraren egitate-maila banakako azterketan baino altuagoa zen. *Euskal Telebista*k 0,72 puntu lortu zituen eta *Egunkaria*k, 0,83. Beraz, bi hedabideak bat zetozen berriek ez zuten ia iragarpenik aurreratzen, futbola salbu[370].

93. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,76	0,67
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,72	0,83
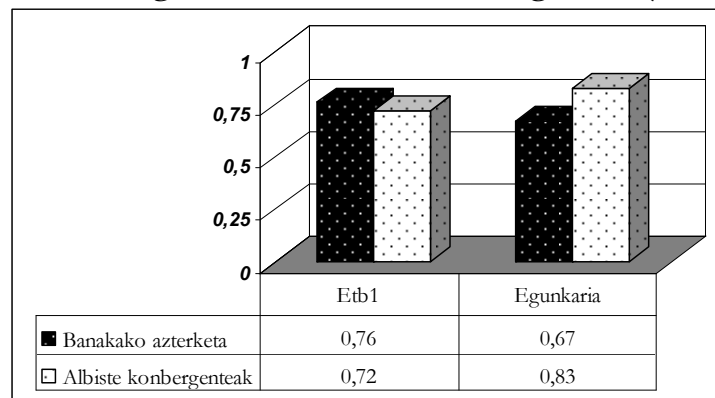
Iturria: Egilea.

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[369] Kultura eta kirol eragile profesionalak ez ezik, sindikatuak protagonistatzat zituzten iragarpen-berriak ere plazaratzen zituzten-eta: "EAEko administrazio lokaletako grebak astelehenean hasiko dira" (1991/05/19), kasu.

[370] Bi hedabideek futbol partidako iragarpenen berri ematen zituzten. Gertakizun bera izanda, *Etb1*ek iragarri eta *Egunkaria*k hurrengo egunean horren emaitza gertakizun moduan aurkeztu barik, aurrera begirako hurrengo iragarpena ere zabaltzen zuen kazetak. Esaterako, *Etb1*ek iragarritako "Futbola: Euskal taldeen gaurko partidak, Espainiako Errege Koparen 3. kanporaketan" (1995/01/03) albisteari *Egunkaria*k partiden emaitzen araberako beste iragarpena aurreratu zuen hurrengo egunean: "Urteko lehen Kopa, Meridan" (1995/01/04).

Horrenbestez, 1990-2002 bitarteko albisteek hobesten zuten gertaeraren egitate-maila gertakizuna bera izaten zen Politika, Ekonomia eta Gizarte sailean. Ildo beretik, protagonistarik agertzen ez zituzten berriak ere gertakizun batean zetzaten. Azkenik, Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteen berri emateko, gertakizun jakinean oinarrituta egotea ezaugarri nagusia zen. Gainera, *Etb1*ek adierazpenetan oinarritutako informazioa murriztu zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria*n gero eta leku handiagoa hartzen ari zen.

a.3.1.3. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren azken epean, gertaeraren egitate-mailak erakusten zituen *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko albisteen gertakizun eta adierazpen kopuruek ez zuten ia aldaketarik agertu. Iragarpenak, ordea, bikoiztu egin zituen *Euskal Telebista*k (%8,3tik %15,56ra). *Berria*k, *Egunkaria*k ez bezala, horiek gutxitzeko ahalegina egin zuen eta kopurua pixka bat jaitsi zuen (%16,47tik %12,77ra).

94. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2003-2007)

	Gertakizuna	Adierazpenak	Iragarpenak
Etb1	55,56	28,88	15,56
Berria	54,25	32,98	12,77
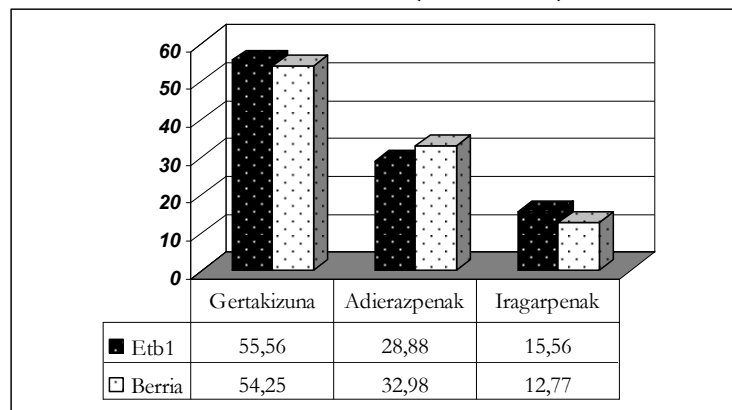
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, bi hedabideok hiru kategoriei proportzio berean eutsi zioten. Horrenbestez, euren puntuazioa ere parekatu zuten. **_Euskal Telebista_k 0,7 puntu lortu zituen eta _Berria_k, 0,7**. Aurreko epean ez bezala, bi hedabideek asteburu eta oporraldietan (astelehen ordezko astearteko *Berria*ko zenbakian ere), iragarpen-albisterik kopuru altuenak plazaratzen zituzten.

Gertakizunak iragarpenaren aldeko tarterik handiena Politikan eta Ekonomian galdu zuen. Horregatik, hurrenkera aldatu eta Gizartea gertakizunetan oinarritutako lehen saila bihurtu zen. Azkenik, *Berria*k kirol agenda aurreratzeari utzi zion bitartean, *Etb1*eko kirol informazioaren bi herenak iragarpenak ziren. Kultur agenda albiste

bihurtzeko joeran bi hedabideak bat etorri arren, *Etb1*ek gertakizuna hobetsi zuen[371] eta *Berria*k, aldiz, elkarrizketa bidezko adierazpenak[372].

Protagonista motaren arabera sailkatuta, gertaeraren egitate-mailarik altuena protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten albisteei zegokien. Ondoren, Administrazioa eta eragile autonomoak zetozen. Amaitzeko, eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako informazioak adierazpen kopururik altuena zuen[373].

Sorterriaren araberako sailkapenean, bertako albisteek lehenengoz kanpokoek baino gertaeraren egitate-maila altuagoa erakutsi zuten. Izan ere, *Etb1*ek aireratutako estatuetako albisteen ia erdia iragarpenetatik ondorioztatutako informazioa zen[374]. *Berria*k, ordea, iragarpenei nazioarteko atalean lekurik handiena egin zien[375]. Are gehiago, bi hedabideek bertako berriek azaltzen zuten gertaeraren egitate-maila aurreko epean erakutsitakoa baino handiagoa izan zen. Beraz, sorterriari zegokionez, bi joera berri egiaztatu ziren: bertako albisteek gertakizunekiko atxikimendu handiagoa zuten bitartean, euskarazko hedabideek Euskal Herritik kanpoko informazioaren berri emateko irizpide zorrotzak malgutu zituzten. Horrenbestez, *Euskal Telebista*k zabaldutako bertako albisteek orain 0,78 puntu lortu zituzten (aurreko epean 0,73ko puntuazioa izan zuten) eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteei, aldiz, 0,62 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien (aurrekoan 0,79 izan zituzten). *Berria*k plazaratutako bertako albisteek 0,73ko puntuazioa eduki zuten (aurreko epean 0,61koa baino ez zen izan) eta kanpokoek, 0,71 puntu lortu zituzten (aurreko azterketan, 0,76).

Amaitzeko, bi hedabideotan bat egin zuten albisteek izandako puntuazioa aurreko epean baino baxuagoa izan zen. Iragarpenetan gutxien bat etorritako informazioa izan arren, adierazpenen kopurua aurrekoan baino handiagoa izan zen. Horrenbestez, konbergentzia handiagoa erakutsi ahala, esklusibotasun txikiagoa

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[371] Adibidez, "Hizkuntzak nahastu gabe [Iruñeko Udalbatzak (…)]" (2003/09/05). Hortaz, *Euskal Telebista*k zabaldutako iragarpenek promozioa zuten helburu: "Indar biziz dator *Etb1*en programazio berria […]"(2003/09/05).

[372] Besteak beste, "Joanmari Larrarte: «Kanpaina indartu nahi dugu, falta den milioia lortzeko»" (2003/09/06) edo "Julio Bocca: «Garai batean agertokian soilik sentitzen nintzen zoriontsu»" (2005/11/18).

[373] *Berria*k, adibidez, kirol eragile profesionalei ere elkarrizketak egiten zizkien: "Raynald Denoueix: «Kopuru handia da harrobiko sei jokalari Realean aritzea» (2003/09/06).

[374] Kirolez gain ("Tour: Zita handia", 2007/07/02), horrelako informazioa Politika sailera ere hedatu zen: "«Aukera guztiak» [Ezker abertzaleko alderdia]: Inpugnazioa eta helegitea" (2005/03/25).

[375] Esaterako, "Txileko armadak ohorezko agurra egingo dio gaur Augusto Pinochet diktadoreari" (2006/12/12) eta "Ekialde hurbila: Sharon, laboristen zain" (2004/10/26).

bermatu ahal izan zuten bi hedabideok[376]. *Berria*ko albisteekin bat egindako *Etb1*eko berriek 0,6 puntu lortu zituzten (aurrekoan 0,72 izan ziren). Telebistaren informazioarekin bat etorritako *Berria*ko albisteek 0,79ko puntuazioa izan zuten (aurreko epean, 0,83koa izan zen).

95. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
Etb1en eta Berriaren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,7	0,71
☐ Albiste konbergenteak	0,6	0,79
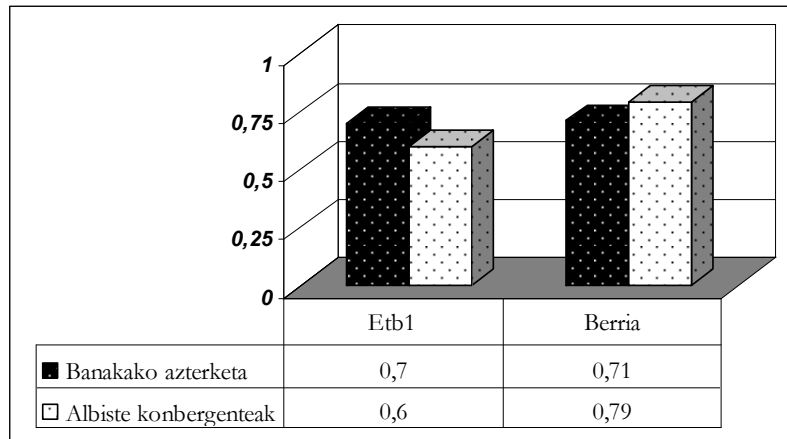
Iturria: Egilea.

Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoak gertaeraren egitate-mailaren hiru urratsak zehaztu ditu. *Euskal Telebista*ren hastapenetan gertakizuna bera hobesten zen. *Egunkaria*ren sorreraren sasoian, adierazpenak gero eta leku handiagoa hartzen ari ziren. Hala ere, Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako berriek gertakizuna zuten albistegai. Azkenik, 2003-2007 tartean iragarpenek eraginik handiena izan zuten. Lehenengo eta behin, iragarpenen gehikuntzak Politika eta Ekonomia sailen puntuazioa murriztu zuen. Ondorioz, Gizartea nagusitu zen, protagonista identifikaturik gabeko informazioa zabaltzen zuenean, batez ere. Horrenbestez, gertakizunak kanpoko albisteen iragazkia izateari ere utzi zion, berri-hornitzaileen informazioa modu independentean lantzeko gaitasuna murrizten zen neurri berean.

a.3.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

*Euskadi Irrati*ko, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko 2008ko albisteen azterketak iragarpenen etengabeko hazkundea berretsi zuen. Are gehiago, irratia horrelako informazioa gehien zabaltzen zuen hedabidea izan zen. Gainera, adierazpenek ere gero eta tarte handiagoa

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[376] Hala nola adierazpenetan oinarritutako honelako bi albisteak: "Egunkaria kasua: Artxibatzeko eskaria", *Etb1*ean (2005/11/17) eta "«Egunkaria auzia» artxibatzeko eskatu du Eusko Jaurlaritzak ere", *Berria*n (2007/05/18).

zuten (telebistan izan ezik). Beraz, hiru hedabideek zabaldutako albisteek gero eta gertakizun gutxiagoren berri ematen zuten.

96. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**
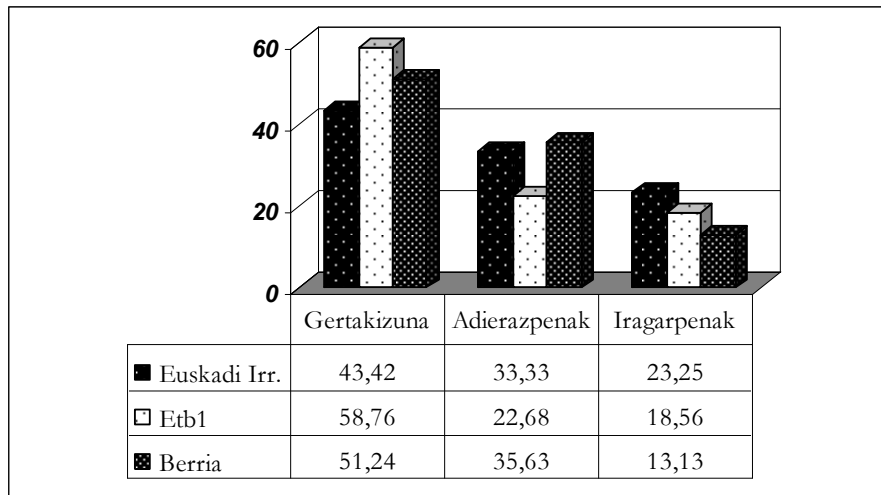
	Gertakizuna	Adierazpenak	Iragarpenak
■ Euskadi Irr.	43,42	33,33	23,25
☐ Etb1	58,76	22,68	18,56
▓ Berria	51,24	35,63	13,13

Iturria: Egilea.

Horrela, *Euskadi Irratia*k zabaldutako albisteek gertaeraren egitate-mailaren ebazpenean 0,6 puntu izan zituzten; *Etb1*eko berriek, ordea, 0,7 puntu; eta *Berria*k argitaratutako informazioak, 0,69ko puntuazioa. Asteburuko berrietan ez zen aldaketarik nabarmendu, baina oporraldietan EiTBko bi hedabideek, adierazpenen kopurua murriztearen ondorioz, ohikoa baino puntuazio altuagoa izaten zuten (0,69koa eta 0,75ekoa, hurrenez hurren). Egunkariak ere oporraldietan adierazpenak gutxitzen zituen, baina iragarpenak bikoiztu egiten zituen[377]. Ondorioz, 0,65 puntu izaten zituen, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakiak beste, hain zuzen.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren azken epean egiaztatu bezala, aniztasunarekin lotutako hiru irizpideek aurreko epeetatik zetozenekin bat egin zuten. Lehenengo eta behin, Gizartea zen gertakizun gehien biltzen zuen saila. Ondoren, Politika eta Ekonomia atal klasikoak zetozen. Azkenik, kultura eta kirol gaiek iragarpenei tarterik handiena egiten zieten sailak ziren.

Bigarrenik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteek gertaeren egitate-mailarik altuena erakutsi zuten. Eragile autonomoek, Administrazioak eta eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako berriek ohiko puntu-kopuruari eutsi zioten.

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[377] Hala nola "Argazkilaritza: Ehun urte beteko dira bihar Henri Cartier-Bresson argazkilaria jaio zela" (2008/08/21).

Hirugarrenik, bertako eta kanpoko albisteen artean ez zegoen, gertaeren egitate-mailari zegokionez, alderik. Are gehiago, *Euskadi Irratia*k zabaldutako bertako berriek 0,66 puntu lortzen zituzten, kanpokoek baino lau ehunen gutxiago. *Etb1*ek, ordea, ez zuen adierazle honen araberako bereizketarik egiten: biek 0,65na puntu izan zituzten. *Berria*k, aldiz, bertako albisteen gertaeraren egitate-maila bi ehunengatik hobesten zuen (0,7 puntu izan zituzten eta kanpokoek, 0,68). Dena den, telebistaren zein egunkariaren 2008ko puntuazioa ikerketa diakronikoa baino baxuagoa izan zen, bai bertako albisteetan, bai kanpokoetan ere.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideetan bat egin zuten albisteek ere banakako azterketetan baino puntu gutxiago lortu zituzten. Izan ere, euskarazko hedabideekin bat etorri zen *Etb1*eko informazioa iragarpenetan oinarritzen zen, aurreko epeetan baino proportzio altuagoan. Gainerako hedabideek gertakizunaren berri ematen zuten bitartean, telebistak albiste horren iragarpena hobesten zuen[378]. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*k 0,67 puntu izan zituen (ohiko puntuazioak baino zazpi ehunen gehiago) eta *Berria*k, 0,72 (banakako azterketan baino hiru ehunen gehiago). *Etb1*ek, aldiz, lau ehunen gutxiagoko puntuazioa izan zuen: 0,66koa, hain zuzen.

97. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
_Euskadi Irratia_ren, _Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)

	Banak.	Etb1	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Etb1
		Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria	
■ Egitate-maila	0,6	0,71	0,66	0,7	0,67	0,61	0,69	0,7	0,72
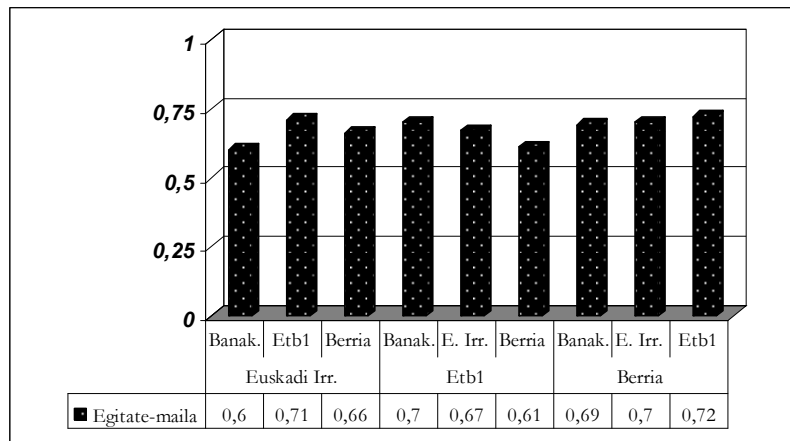
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteek agertzen zuten gertaeraren egitate-mailaren degradazio horrek, baina, ez zituen euskarazko hiru hedabideak erdarazko hedabideekiko alderaketan azken

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[378] Esaterako, *Euskadi Irratia*k "Jaurlaritzako Gobernu Kontseiluak gaur prest utzi du datozen urteotarako Arrantza Plana" (2008/04/29) zioen bitartean, *Etb1*ek "Arrantza: Diru-laguntza, sektorea biziberritzeko" (2008/04/29) titulupean, hurrengo urteetarako helburuak aurreratu zituen.

postuetara eraman. Are gehiago, puntuaziorik txikiena lortu zuen *Euskadi Irratia*k enpresa bereko *Radio Euskadi*k baino puntu gehiago lortu zituen.

98. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,64	0,58	0,88	0,57	0,72
Euskadi Irratia	0,54	0,83	0,82	0,65	0,65
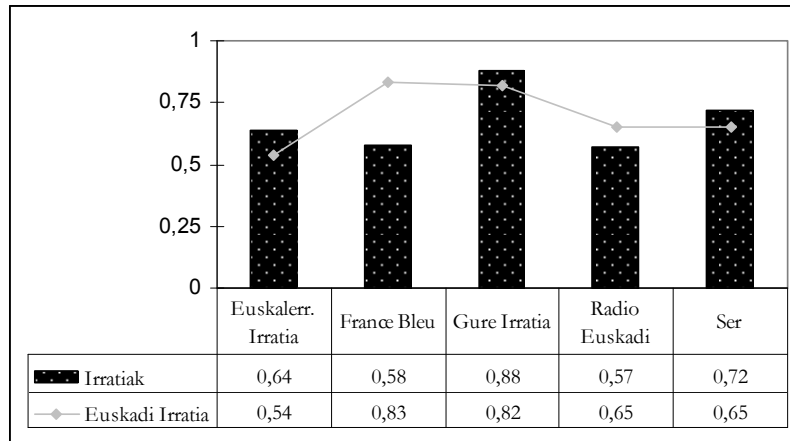
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*ek ere ez zuen gainerako telebistek baino jarduera okerragorik agertu. *Etb2*rekin albisteen %95,85 partekatu arren, bigarren kateak gertakizuna nabarmentzen zuen batzuetan, *Etb1*ek adierazpenak hobetsi zituen[379] eta, horregatik, bi ehuneneko aldea azaldu zuten. *Telecinco*rekin alderatuta, *Etb1* tarte txikiarengatik gailendu zen.

99. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,72	0,79
Etb1	0,7	0,81
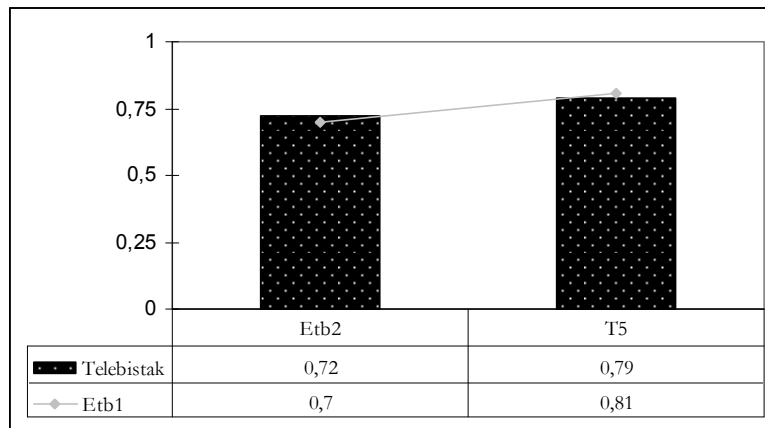
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, euskarazko hedabideen azterketan emaitzarik onenak lortu zituenak erdarazko egunkarien alderaketaren batez bestekoari eutsi zion. Horrenbestez, iragarpenen kopuruak *Berria* eta gainerako egunkariak bereiztu zituen: *Le Journal du Pays*

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[379] Hala nola *Etb1*ek lehendakariaren adierazpenak albiste bihurtu zituen bitartean ("Paraolinpikoak: Lehendakariak kirolarien lana goraipatu du", 2008/09/25), *Etb2*k gertakizuna goraipatu zuen ("Paralímpicos: Recepción en Ajuria Enea").

Basque eta *Diario de Navarra* egunkariek ez baitzuten iragarpenik[380] argitaratu. *Diario de Noticias de Álava*k *Berria*ren iragarpenen kopuru erdia bakarrik zabaldu zuen. *Diario Vasco*ren jardueraren parean neurria eman zuen *Berria*k, bai eta *El Correo Español*ek eta *Gara*k baino iragarpenen %4 gutxiago plazaratu ere.

100. Grafikoa – Gertaeraren egitate-maila (%):
Berriak erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,69	0,82	0,89	0,75	0,73	0,75
Berria	0,74	0,74	0,85	0,76	0,76	0,72
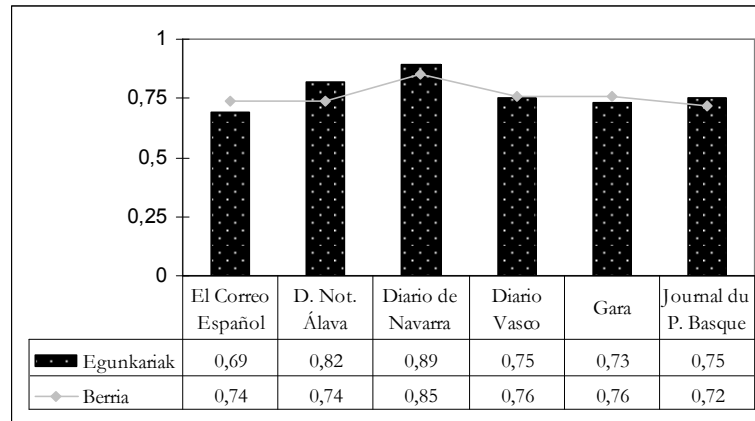
Iturria: Egilea.

Hedabideek zabaltzen zituzten berrien erdia adierazpen eta iragarpenetan oinarrituta egon zen. Ondorioz, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten gizarte gaiak nagusitu zituen informazio-eredua berretsi zuten. Hortaz, albiste arinen ugaritzearekin batera, kazetaritza-jardueraren beraren irizpidearen gainbehera egiaztatu zen. Alde horretatik, erdarazko hedabideen parekoak izan ziren euskarazkoak, ez baitzuten albiste berdinetan informazio sendoagorik eskaintzeko gakorik garatu.

a.4. Gaurkotasuna *(Currency)*

Kalitate-adierazle honek albisteek jasotzen duten gertaera noiz jazo den aztertzea du helburu. Azken urteetako informazioak gertaera ez ezik, iragarpena bera ere albiste bihurtu duenez, gaurkotasunak albisteek jasotzen duten gertaera noiz jazoko den ere kontuan izango du. Horrela, puntuaziorik altuena "atzo, gaur edo bihar" izandako albisteek lortuko dute (puntu osoa). Jarraian, bi eta zazpi egun bitarteko informazioak puntu erdi izango du. Hortik aurrera, bikaintasunaren aldetik, zigortzen

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[380] AEBetako hauteskundeak iragarri beharrean, *Diario de Navarra*k gertakizunean oinarritutako iragarpena eman zuen (batez besteko puntuazioa, beraz, 0,5ekoa izan zen, gertakizunaren puntua eta iragarpenaren hutsa albiste berean bat egitearen ondorioz): "Veinte millones de norteamericanos han votado por adelantado en las elecciones que se celebrarán mañana" (2008/11/03). Hurrengo eguean, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian, honela zioen *Berria*k: "Erabakitzeko eguna" (2008/11/04).

diren bi gaurkotasun kategoria daude: astebete baino luzeagoko albisteei 0,25 puntu esleituko zaizkie eta datarik ez duten berriek hutsa jasoko dute.

a.4.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Gaurkotasunaren ebazpenean, 1990tik aurrerago *Euskal Telebista*ko bideoak bakarrik ikusi ahal izan ditugu. Horregatik, ikerketa diakronikoak bi epe izango ditu: euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002) eta euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007).

a.4.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k gaurkotasunari lotutako hedabideak zirela frogatu zuten, telebistak batez ere. Horrenbestez, plazaratutako ia albiste guztiak "atzo, gaur, bihar" kategoriak biltzen zituen (%95,45, *Etb1*ean eta %93,58, *Egunkaria*n). Sei eguneko kazeta izanik, *Egunkaria*k gaurkotasunari horren lotuta ez dauden kategorietako informazio gehiago argitaratzen zuen (%4,55, telebistan eta %6,42, kazetan). Dena den, denbora-tarte horretako iragarpenak ere aurreratzen zituen[381]. Beraz, sei eguneko kazeta izatearen mugak gainditzen zituen kazetaritza-eredua gauzatzen zuen *Egunkaria*k.

101. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Atzo, gaur, bihar	2-7 egun	Astebetetik aurrera	Datarik ez
■ Etb1	95,45	3,79	0,76	0
☐ Egunkaria	93,58	4,82	1,6	0
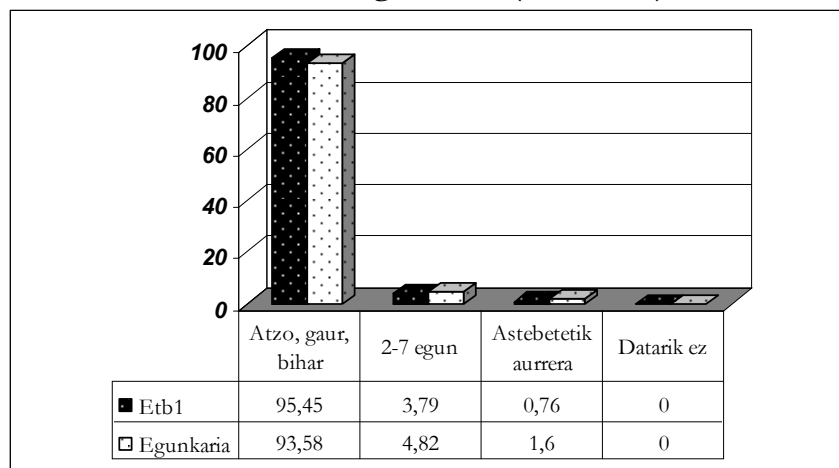
Iturria: Egilea.

Hortaz, <mark>***Etb1*ek aireratutako albisteen gaurkotasuna 0,98koa izan zen eta *Egunkaria*ko berriena, aldiz, 0,96koa**</mark>. Bi hedabideetan bi eta zazpi egun bitarteko

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[381] Esaterako, "Jaurlaritzak asteon zabalduko du bere Enplegatze Zerbitzua" (1996/10/15).

informazioari egindako tarterik handiena asteburuko berrietan islatzen zen. *Egunkaria*ren kasuan, gainera, astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakiak ere astebete baino arestagoko informazioa zabaltzen zuen[382]. Oporraldietan *Euskal Telebista*ko albiste den-denak "atzo, gaur, bihar" kategoriakoak ziren; *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n kopuru hori %97,50koa zen.

Albisteen gaurkotasun altuan bat etorri arren, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k ez zuten oraingotasunaren irizpideetan bat egiten. Horrenbestez, Politika atalarekiko erabateko gaurkotasunean bat etorri arren, *Etb1*ek gizarte eta kirol albisteetan ez zuen gaurkotasunaren horren kontzepzio zorrotzik agertu. *Egunkaria*k, ordea, gaurkotasunarekiko begirunea Ekonomia eta Kultura sailetan malgutu ohi zuen.

Ildo beretik, Administrazioaren ordezkariak azaltzen zituzten berriak gaurkotasunari lotuen agertzen zituzten bi hedabideek. Telebistak, baina, protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteetan adierazle hori hobesten ez zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k eragile profesionalek zein eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteetan gaurkotasun-mailarik baxuen izaten zuten.

Sorterriaren arabera sailkatuta, gainera, bi hedabideek aurkako jokabidea agertu zuten. *Euskal Telebista*k bertako albisteen gaurkotasuna (0,98 puntu) gailentzen zuen aldi berean, Euskal Herritik kanpotik zetorren informazioan eskakizun horretan malguago azaltzen zen (0,96 puntu). Beraz, albiste agentziek zabaldutako nazioarteko berriak plazaratzeko, gaurkotasuna ez zen horren funtsezkoa suertatzen. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, aldiz, kanpoko albisteetan erabateko gaurkotasuna hobesten zuen (0,99 puntu). Bertako berriekiko, ostera, gaurkotasunaren adiera malguagoa agertzen zuen (0,95 puntu).

Are gehiago, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albiste den-denek gaurkotasun-mailarik altuena erakusten zuten. Horrenbestez, informazio gertatu berrian zein heldu berrian bat egiten zutela ondoriozta daiteke.

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[382] Futbol-emaitzetan are nabariagoa zen, hala nola "Realak edonori irabazteko gai dela frogatu zuen Barcelonaren kontra" (1992/02/04) edo "Mendizorrotzan, bikain" (1999/05/11).

102. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,98	0,96
□ Albiste konbergenteak	1	1
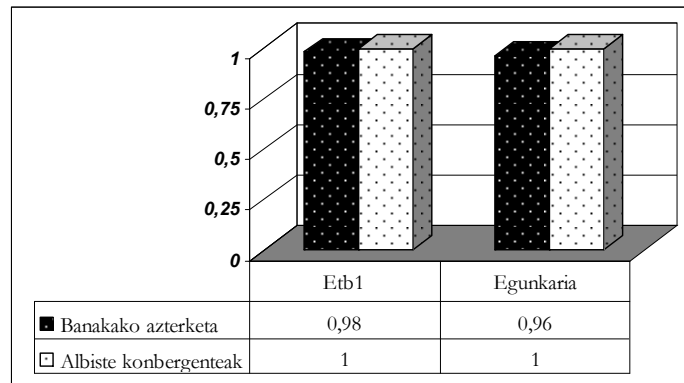
Iturria: Egilea.

Gaurkotasunak oraingotasunaren garrantzia ekarri zien hedabideei, *Egunkaria* sei eguneko kazeta izan arren. Hortaz, Politika saila eta Administrazioaren ordezkariak adierazle honetan nagusitu ziren. *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k partekatu zituzten albisteetan ere erabateko bat-etortzea azaldu zuten.

a.4.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, bi hedabideek gaurkotasunaren "atzo, gaur, bihar" kategoria indartu zuten. Hala ere, *Euskal Telebista*k astebetetik aurreragoko albisteak ere ugaritu zituen. *Berria*k, ostera, horiek gutxitu zituen. Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek egunkariak agertutako astebete baino aspaldiragoko albisteen kopuru bikoitza azaldu zuen (%2,25 eta %1,06, hurrenez hurren). Telebistarekin alderatuta, *Berria*k "atzo, gaur, bihar" kategoriako albiste gehiago plazaratu zituen: *Etb1*ean %3,37ko tartea zuten eta *Berria*n, %4,25koa.

103. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Atzo, gaur, bihar	2-7 egun	Astebetetik aurrera	Datarik ez
■ Etb1	96,63	1,12	2,25	0
□ Berria	95,75	3,19	1,06	0
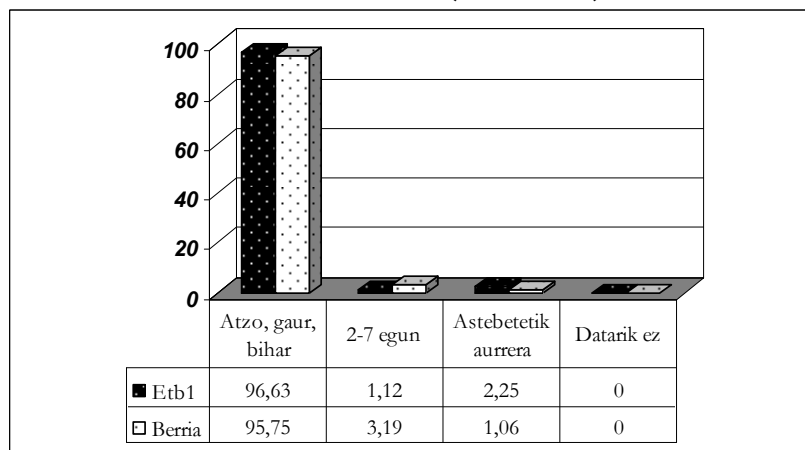
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ek plazaratutako berrien gaurkotasunak 0,96ko puntuazioa izan zuen eta *Berria*ko albisteei, ordea, 0,98 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien. Beraz, aurreko epearekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek ehunen bat galdu zuen eta *Berria*k *Egunkaria*ri bi ehunen irabazi zizkion. Dena den, aurreko epean egiaztatu bezala, bi hedabideek asteburuetan astebete inguruko berriak lantzen zituzten, azken-azken unekoak baino gehiagotan (telebistak, batez ere). Oporraldietan, ostera, "atzo, gaur, bihar" jazotako informazioa bakarrik plazaratzen zuten. Astelehen ordezko asteartetako *Berria*, gaurkotasunari zegokionez, astebarruko zenbakien parekoa izaten zen (0,98 puntukoa alegia).

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, *Euskal Telebista* eta *Berria* albisteen gaurkotasuna hobesteko irizpideetan bat etorri ziren. Lehenengo eta behin, Politikan, Ekonomian eta Kulturari oraingotasuna hobetsi zuten, albiste guzti-guztiak "atzo, gaur, bihar" kategoriakoak baitziren. Ondoren, gizarte eta kirol berriak ez ziren azken uneko gertaerei lotuta agertzen.

Bigarrenik, Administrazioaren ordezkariak, eragile autonomoak eta eragile profesionalak azaltzen zituzten berriek erabateko gaurkotasuna erakusten zuten. Protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteek, ostera, denbora-irizpide malguagoak zelatatzen zituzten. *Euskal Telebista*k horrelako informazioan 0,93 puntu lortu zituen bitartean, *Berria* 0,90eko puntuaziora baino ez zen heldu (hots, ohikoa baino zortzi ehunen baxuagoa).

Hirugarrenik, sorterriaren araberako sailkapenak kanpoko albisteen gaurkotasun-eskakizuna oraindik gehiago malgutu zela ikus daiteke. Izan ere, *Etb1*ek aurreko epean erakutsitako joerari eutsi zion. Hortaz, bertako berriak azken unekoak izatea hobesten zuen bitartean (0,97 puntu), kanpoko informazioarekiko irizpideak ez ziren horren zorrotzak (0,94 puntu). *Berria*k eredu hori bere egin zuen eta, lehenengoz, bertako albisteak kanpokoak baino eguneratuagoak ziren. Euskal Herrian bertan jazotako gertaerek 0,97ko puntuazioa izan zuten eta kanpokoek, 0,96koa.

Dena den, *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n bat egiten zuten albisteek azken-azken unekoak izaten jarraitzen zuten. Horrela, oraingotasunarekiko atxikimendua egiaztatu zuten bi hedabideek. Aldi berean, berri-hornitzaileek zabaldutako nazioarteko albisteekiko dibergentzia ere frogatu zuten.

104. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,97	0,98
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,98	1
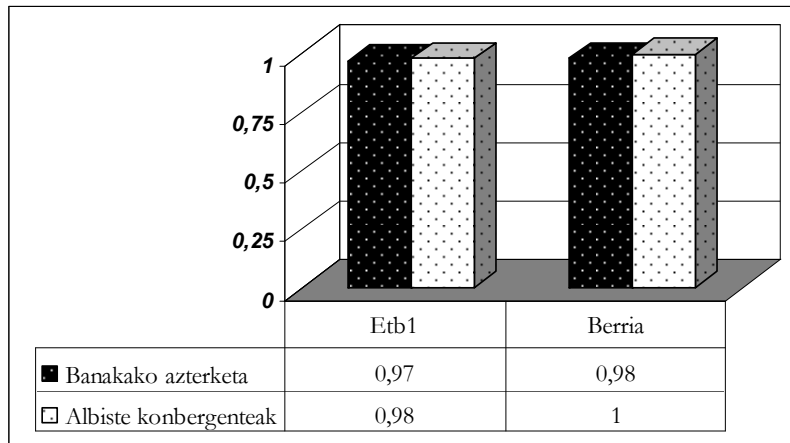
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, gaurkotasunaren araberako informazio-mota hobetsi baino, albisteen oraingotasuna azpimarratzeko joera agertu zuten *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k. Izan ere, ikerketa diakronikoan lortutako puntuazioen arteko aldea ehunen bateko edo bikoa izan zen. Hala ere, 1990-2002ko epean gaurkotasunari zegokionez Politika saila eta Administrazioa gailentzen zen. Oraingoan, ordea, gaurkotasun-puntuazioari modu berean helduta, beste sail batzuetako albisteak (Ekonomia eta Kultura) eta bestelako protagonistak (eragile profesionalak eta eragile autonomoak) agertzen zituzten berrien oraingotasuna nabarmendu zuten hedabideek.

a.4.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa sinkronikoak hiru hedabideetako 2008ko albisteak aztertu ditu. Gaurkotasunari dagokionez, azken-azken uneko gertaerek aurreko urteetako garrantzia galdu zutela egiaztatu ahal izan dugu, *Berria*n batez ere. Ondorioz, gainerako kategoriek ikerketa diakronikoan baino agerpen handiagoa izan zuten: %8,85ko tartea egin zien *Euskadi Irratia*k; %4,17, *Etb1*ek; eta %10,63, *Berria*k. Oraingotasunari lotuta agertzen ez zen informazio hori hedabideak atzeratutakoa izan zitekeen[383], baina hedabideak berak gertaeraren berri izan duen unearekiko mendekotasuna agerian geratu zen. Izan ere, albistea erredakziora heltzean eman egiten zutela egiaztatu zen: dela aspaldiko

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[383] Adibidez, larunbatean Seaskako lehendakari izendatu eta asteartean (ez, igandean) elkarrizketa egin zion *Berria*k ("Paxkal Indo: «Baikor ikusten dut ikastolen geroa, euskararena beltzagoa bada ere»", 2008/01/22).

gertakizuna[384], dela astebeteko iragarpena[385]. Are gehiago, gertaera bera noiz jazotzen den zalantzan ipintzen duen informazioa lantzen hasiak ziren euskarazko hedabideak[386]. Ondorioz, hedabideetara heltzen den berri-hornitzaileek (komunikazio-kabineteek eta albiste-agentziek) zabaldutako informazioak gaurkotasun-iragazkirik jasotzen ez zuela egiaztatuta geratu zen.

Gainera, lehenengoz, datarik agertzen ez zuten albisteak ere zabaldu zituzten, telebistak batez ere. Horiek gaurkotasunik gabeko gaiak aurkezten zituzten[387]. Ildo beretik, hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna azaltzen zuten.

105. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Atzo, gaur, bihar	2-7 egun	Astebetetik aurrera	Datarik ez
■ Euskadi Irr.	90,27	5,75	3,1	0,88
☐ Etb1	94,33	2,06	2,06	1,55
▦ Berria	88,13	5	5,63	1,25
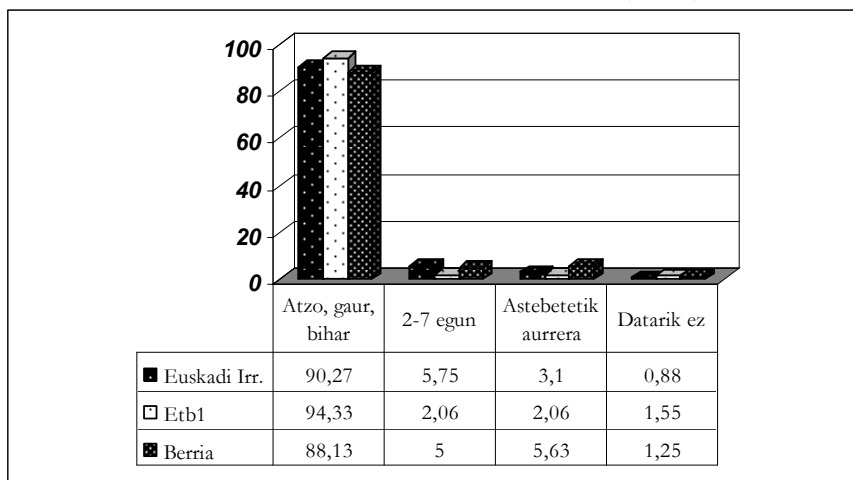
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrela, *Euskadi Irratia*k zabaldutako berriei 0,94 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien, *Etb1*eko informazioak 0,96 puntu lortu zituen eta *Berria*ko albisteek 0,92ko puntuazioa izan zuten. Oraingotasunari lotuta agertzen ez zen informazio gehiago eman eta datarik gabeko albisteak zabaltzearen ondorioz, asteburuko berriek gaurkotasun-maila baxuagoa erakusten zuten. Oporraldietan, baina, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta

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[384] Ertzaintzak hedabideentzako irudiak zabaldu zituenean [EAEko poliziaren ikurra dute], *Euskal Telebista*k aurreko astean atzemandako droga kopuru handiaren berri eman ez ezik, titularretako albiste ere bihurtu zuen ("Droga: Bi tona haxix, lasto artean", 2008/02/06).

[385] Bertsozale elkarteak Bertso Eguna aurkezteko prentsaurrekoa eman zuen eguna aukeratzean, hedabideek ikuskizuna ia astebeteko aurrerapenarekin horren berri ematea baldintzatu zuen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, esaterako, prentsaurrekoa izan zen asteartean bertan ekitaldia iragarri zuen: "Euskal Herriko Bertsozale elkarteak antolatuta, datorren larunbatean Bertso Eguna izango da Donostian […]" (2008/01/22).

[386] *Euskadi Irratia*k zabaldutako Miguel Sanzen adierazpenak, adibidez, noiz jazo ziren zehazteke dago: Eguberritako mezua grabatu zuen egunean, hedabideek horren berri izan zuten unean ala telebistak zabaldu zuenean? ("Miguel Sanz, Nafarroako presidentea, krisiaz aritu da Eguberritako mezuan […]. Gaur grabatu dute mezu hori […]", 2008/12/19).

[387] Besteak beste: "Itsasoko autopistek momentuz gure artean […]" (2008/01/07), *Euskadi Irratia*n; "XXI. mendeko petrikiloei begiratuko diegu […], erretzeari uzteko hipnosia […]" (2008/04/14), *Etb1*ean; eta "Igeldoko Arrano Etxea, animalia zaurituen babes" (2008/09/06), *Berria*n.

*Berria*k unean-uneko azken gertaera hobesten jarraitzen zuten. *Euskal Telebista*, ostera, datarik gabeko albisteak ere plazaratzen hasi zen.

Sailik saileko gaurkotasun irizpideetan bat etorri ziren euskarazko hiru hedabideak. Alde batetik, Politikak eta Ekonomiak erabateko oraingotasuna azaltzen zuten. Gizarte, kultur eta kirol berriek, aldiz, irizpide malguagoak agertzen zituzten. Ondorioz, *Euskadi Irrati*ko azken hiru sail horietako albisteek 0,87 puntu lortu zituzten; *Etb1*ekoek, 0,89; eta *Berria*koek, 0,88.

Protagonista motaren araberako sailkapenean ere, Administrazioaren ordezkariek protagonizatzen zituzten berriak gaurkotasunari lotuen agertzean bat zetozen hiru hedabideak. Ondoren, baina, irizpide kontrajarriak erabiltzen zituzten. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak hobesten zituzten bitartean, *Berria*k eragile profesionalak eta eragile autonomoak agertzen zituen informazioari gaurkotasun handiagoa aitzatesten zioten.

Albisteen sorterriari erreparatuta, Euskal Herritik kanpo jazotako gertaeraren berri emateko gaurkotasunaren irizpideak berriro zorrozteko joera agertu zuten. Bertako albisteek, ordea, iragazki malguagoak zituzten. Horrela, *Euskadi Irratia*k 0,91 puntu lortu zituen bertako informazioan eta 0,98, kanpokoan; *Etb1*ek 0,94ko puntuazioa izan zuen bertako berrietan eta 0,95koa, kanpokoetan; eta *Berria*ko bertako albisteek 0,88 puntu izan zituzten bitartean, kanpokoek 0,95 lortu zituzten.

Horrenbestez, hiru hedabideetan bat egindako albisteek albait gaurkotuenak izaten jarraitu zuten. Horregatik, hirurek banakako azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu zuten.
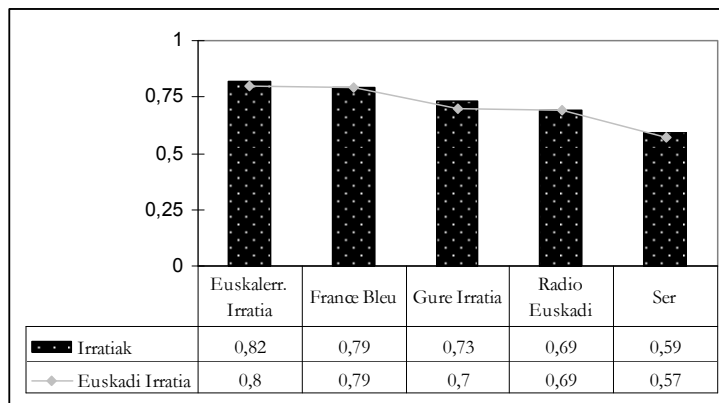
106. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**
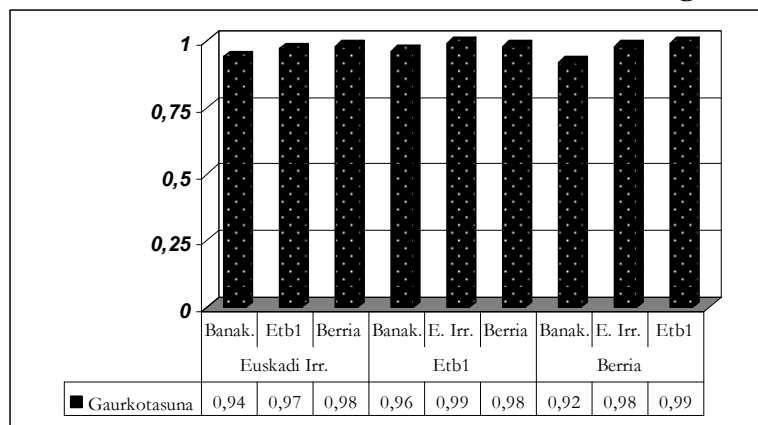
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketan ere, euskarazko hiru hedabideok oraingotasunaren eskakizunari erdarazkoek bezain arin erantzun zioten.

107. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,89	1	1	1	0,97
Euskadi Irratia	0,93	1	1	1	0,97
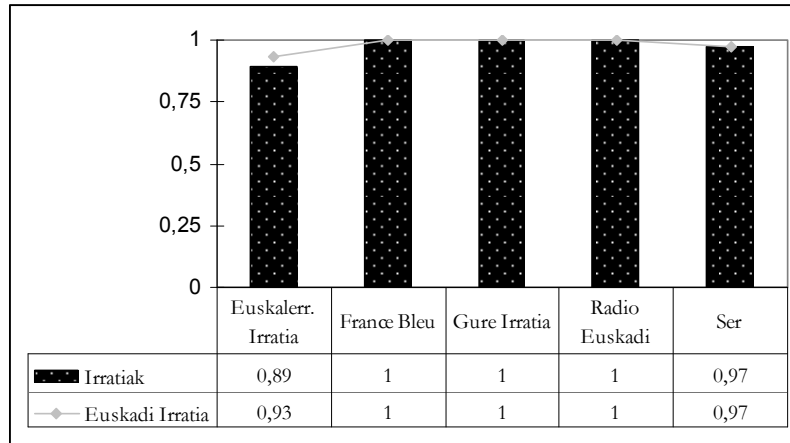
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*ek euskarazko hedabideen alderaketan gaurkotasun-mailarik altuenetarikoa agertu zuen, baina ez zen erdarazko telebistetatik horregatik nabarmendu.

108. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,93	1
Etb1	0,94	0,98
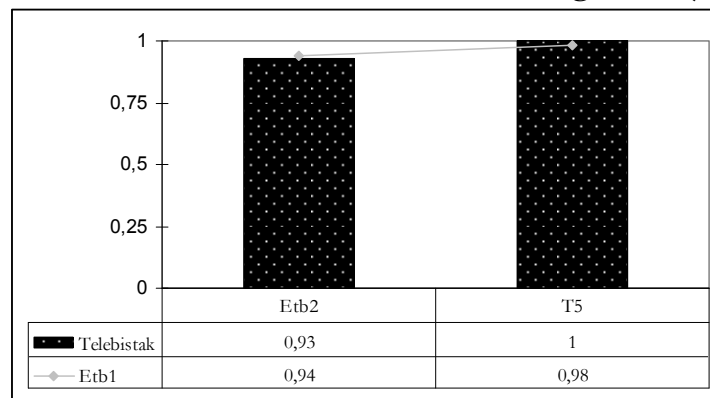
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, euskarazko hedabideen azterketan oraingotasunari atxikimendurik txikiena erakutsi zion *Berria*k erdal egunkariekiko alderaketan haien besteko puntuazioa lortu zuen. Are gehiago, gainerako egunkariak zazpi egunetan kaleratzen zirela kontuan izanik, *Berria*ren denbora-egokitzapenak ahalegin handiagoa eskatu zion. Hortaz, *Le Journal du Pays Basque* egunkariak, ordea, denboraren traba hori argiro agertu zuen[388].

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[388] Adibidez, *Berria*k igandean bertan Aberri Egunerako ekitaldiak iragarri zituen, astelehenean ez delako argitaratzen ("Batasuna, EA, Aralar eta AB batuko ditu Nazio Eztabaidaguneak Aberri Egunean", 2008/03/23). *Le Journal du Pays Basque*k, ordea, igandeko eta asteleheneko hutsuneari aurre eginez,

109. Grafikoa – Gaurkotasuna (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,98	0,98	1	0,98	0,97	0,94
Berria	0,98	1	1	0,98	0,97	1
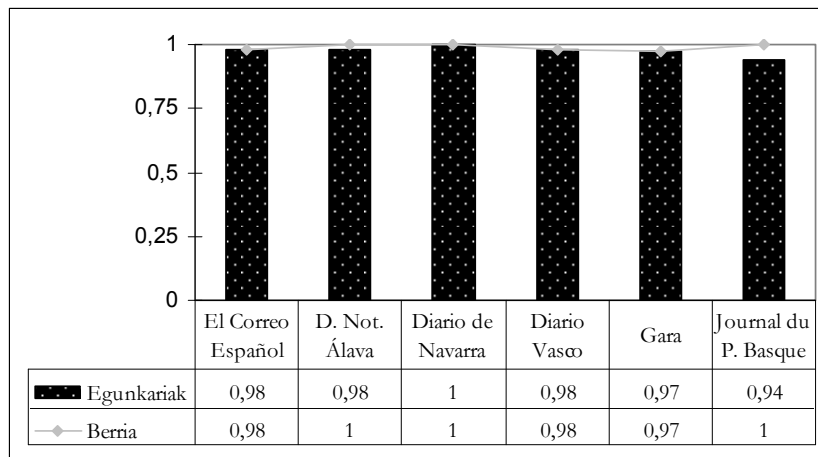
Iturria: Egilea.

Gaurkotasunak informazioaren oraingotasuna nabarmentzen du. Hortaz, gertaera (adierazpenak edo iragarpena) jazo zenetik (edo jazoko denetik) eta hedabideek horren berri eman arteko denbora-tartea neurtzen du. Informazio-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasunak "atzo, gaur, bihar" lehenestea dakar, albistea erredakziora heltzeko unea gertaeraren jazoeratzat hartzen baita. Horrenbestez, bat-batekotasunak gertakizunaren berri izan den unean bertan informazio hori zabaldu eragiten du. Horrela, albiste-hornitzaileek finkatutako informazio-agenda albistearen oinarritzat hartzen dute hedabideek. Jazoera ordezteko prozesu hori kazetaritza lasterrarekin lotu da. Horregatik, gaurkotasunaren adierazleak bat-batekotasuna zigortzen du, gertaeraren jazoera oinarri duelako. *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k 2008an ikerketa diakronikoan baino puntuazio pitin bat txikiagoa lortu izana fenomeno horri atxiki dakioke. Ondorioz, euskarazko hedabideek hobetsitako gaurkotasunak Politika eta Administrazioaren ordezkariak bakarrik nabarmendu zituen.

a.5. Adierazgarritasuna (*Relevance*)

Albisteen *adierazgarritasuna* neurtzeko bost kategoria bereizi ditugu, berrien albistegarritasuna eta ardura kontuan izanik. Lehenengo eta behin, ondorioak hobesten dituzten albisteek gertutasuna (lekuari edo kulturari dagokiela[389]), eragina[390], gizarteari

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hurrengo asteartrean horren berri eman behar izan zuen "L'Aberri Eguna, dans la direction de la souveraineté" (2008/03/25).

[389] Adibidez, *Berria*k azaldutako "Frantziak ondaretzat jo du euskara, baina ez dio ofizialtasunik aitortuko" (2008/07/22).

[390] Gizartearen bizi-kalitatea baldintza dezakeena, kasu: "Krisia: Elikagaiak ere garestituz etengabe" (2008/08/05), *Etb1*ean.

eragindako kaltea edo onura[391] eta gatazka-maila[392] kontuan hartzen dituzte. Horregatik, horrelako informazioak puntu osoa lortuko du. Bigarrenik, gaiaren araberako *adierazgarritasuna*k oihartzuna[393] islatzen du. Horiei 0,75 puntu esleituko zaizkie. Hirugarrenik, garrantziak norbanakoentzako intereseko informazioa[394] ematen duten albisteak bilduko ditu. Horrek puntu erdiko puntuazioa emango du. Laugarrenik, jakin-mina[395] delako kategoriak albisteen alde pribatua, ludikoa eta ikusgarria nabarmentzen ditu. Horrenbestez, 0,25 puntu izango ditu. Azkenik, informazioa irudian bertan[396] agortzen denean, ez da punturik lortuko.

Hortaz, adierazgarritasuna ez dagokio subjektuari edo gaiari, albistearen edukitik ondorioztatzen diren elementuei baizik. Horrela, albiste berak kazetaritza-lanaren araberako adierazgarritasuna izango du[397].

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[391] Hala nola "Seaskak oinarrizko akordioa egin du Frantziako Hezkuntzarekin" (2008/09/06), *Berria*n.

[392] Gurean, ETAren jarduera armatua ("Atentatua: Alderdi Sozialistako zinegotzi ohia hil dute Arrasaten", 2008/03/07, *Etb1*), polizia-etxeetan izandako torturak ("Igor Portu Arrasaten atxilotutako gaztea ospitalean dago, larri, tortura zantzuekin", 2008/01/08, *Berria*), gatazka politikoa ("Estatua trantsizioan adostutako arauak une oro urratzen ari dela dio Jaurlaritzak", 2008/01/23, *Berria*) eta eskubide zibilen urraketak ("Baionan, Batasuneko egoitza miatzen jarraitzen du poliziak […]", 2008/09/25, *Euskadi Irratia* edo "EHAK-ANV: Ilegalizazio bideari berrekin diote", 2008/04/14, *Etb1*) leudeke.

[393] Oro har, gizarte talde edo segmentu bati baino gehiagori eragiten dioten berriak izaten dira ("NBEk gaur adierazi dutenez, janari eskasiak gosea eta gaitzak zabalduko ditu […]", 2008/04/29, *Euskadi Irratia* edo "Santa Luzia: Feriak ematen dio distira egun ilun honi", 2008/12/13, *Etb1*). Dena den, gizarte talde bakarrean eragin handia izango duenean ere, lortuko duen oihartzunagatik, atal honetan sartuko dugu (adib., "EBn, ezustea, 28 militantek alde egitea erabaki dute", 2008/11/26, *Euskadi Irratia*).

[394] Gizarte talde edo segmentu bakarraren egoeraren inguruko albisteak: "Osakidetza: Grebaren eraginaz ez datoz bat" (2008/02/21), *Etb1*ean; "Irizarrek ere Mondragon taldetik ateratzea erabaki du" (2008/05/30), *Berria*n; "Ostalaritza arloa ere krisian sartu da, Euskadiko Osteleria Federazioak emandako azken datuen arabera […]" (2008/10/27), *Euskadi Irratia*n.

[395] Atal honetan pertsonifikazioak ("Txinan Mao Zedong-en ondorengoa […] hil egin da […]", 2008/08/20, *Euskadi Irratia*n), istripuak ("Errepideetan, pertsona bat hil da Zumarragan […]", 2008/09/25, *Euskadi Irratia*n), indarkeria-kasuak ("Tragedia Cuencan…", 2008/29/05, *Etb1*ean), hondamendiak ("Haiti: Hamar egunetan, bi urakan", 2008/09/05, *Etb1*ean) eta kirolak ("Handia egin du Real Unionek", 2008/11/12, *Berria*n) agertzen dira.

[396] Horrelako albisteek eguraldiaren ondorioak ("Elurra!: Maluten lehen bisita Nafarroan", 2008/10/04, *Etb1*ean), bitxikeriak ("«Goiko mendian, elurra dago…», CSIko protagonistaren ahotsa da", 2008/12/19, *Euskadi Irratia*n) edo gertakari ikusgarriak ("Lurrikara: Bi egunez hondakinen azpian, eta bizirik atera dituzte", 2008/05/14, *Etb1*ean) azaldu ohi dituzte.

[397] Adibidez, bi hedabidetan agertutako albiste berak ez du zertan puntuazio bera lortu: "Mexikon SIDA edo IHES gaitzari buruzko konferentzian Bill Clintonek esan du […]" (2008/)08/05), *Euskadi Irratia*n eta "En México, van cumpliendo ya la primera jornada de la conferencia mundial contra el SIDA […]" (2008/08/05), *Radio Euskadi*n. Euskarazkoak Clintonen agerpena nabarmentzen zuenez, 0,25 puntu lortu zituen. Erdarazkoak, aldiz, gizarte segmentu bati erreferentzia egiten dion gaia ekarri zuen. Beraz, 0,5 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion.

a.5.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak epe bi bakarrik izango ditu. Lehenengo, euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak aztertuko ditugu (1990-2002). Ondoren, horien sendotzeari erreparatuko diogu (2003-2007).

a.5.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epe honek 1990eko hamarkadako albisteen adierazgarritasun-motaren berri emango digu. Hortaz, *Euskal Telebista*ren informazioaren herena ondorioek[398] hartzen zuten eta garrantziaren araberako albisteek[399] beste heren bat osatzen zuten. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* sortu berrian, alderantzizko hurrenkera hobesten zen: albiste garrantzitsuak[400], lehenengo eta ondorioak[401], jarraian. Dena den, 1996tik aurrera, *Etb1*en antzera jokatu zuen. Azken herena oihartzuna[402] eta jakin-mina[403] zekartzaten berriei zegokien. Beraz, soberakina irudi-albisteekin[404] betetzen zuten.

110. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Ondorioak	Oihartzuna	Garrantzia	Jakin-mina	Irudia
■ Etb1	31,06	19,7	27,27	16,67	5,3
□ Egunkaria	30,93	17,67	32,93	17,67	0,8
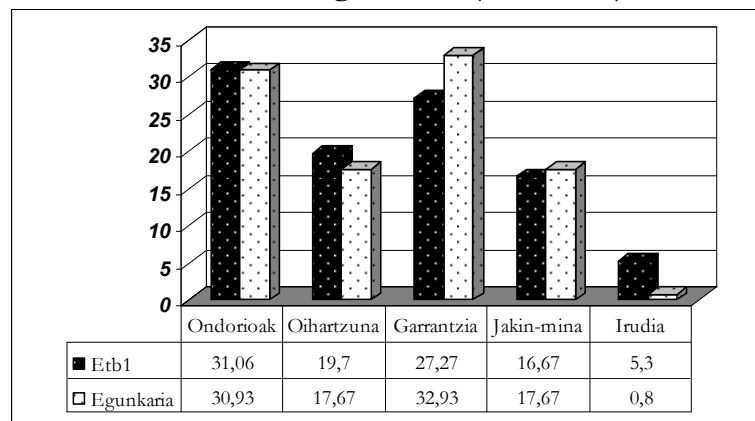
Iturria: Egilea.

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[398] Esaterako, "GAL ikertzeko Baltasar Garzonen ekimena ezinikusi pertsonalari egotzi dio José Barrionuevok" (1995/01/03).

[399] Adibidez, "Euskal Herriko talde feministen 3. Kongresua" (1994/12/10).

[400] Besteak beste, "Ehundaka lagunek bat egin zuten atzo Jose Ramon Etxebarriarekin" (1993/03/26).

[401] Hala nola "1994. urtean 145 milioi gutxiago, Nafarroako Hizkuntza Politikarako" (1993/11/18).

[402] Bi hedabideek Bizkaiko Labe-Garaietako langileen "Burdinaren Martxaren" berri eman zuten: "Burdinaren Martxa Alcobendaseraino heldu da" (1992/10/25), *Etb1*ean eta "Burdinazko langileek Madril hartu zuten" (1992/10/27), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n.

[403] Istripuak, adibidez: "Portugalen Duero ibaiaren gaineko zubi bat behera etortzean, autobusez zihoazen 74 lagun eta autoz zihoazen beste bi hil dira" (2001/03/05), *Etb1*ean eta "Gutxienez 70 lagun hil dira, zubi bat erori eta autobus bat hortik amilduta" (2001/03/06), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n.

[404] Euskal Herria bisitatu zuten Hollywood-eko aktoreak Donostiatik paseatzean lortutako irudiak, esaterako: "Emma Thompson aktorea Donostiako Zinemaldira heldu da" (1995/09/21), *Etb1*ean eta "Susan Sarandonen xumetasuna" (1995/09/22), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n.

Horrenbestez, *Etb1*eko albisteen adierazgarritasuna 0,64koa zen eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko berriena, 0,65koa. Dena den, *Etb1*eko asteburuko eta oporraldietako informazioak adierazgarritasun-maila baxuagoa agertzen zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k asteburuetan eta astelehen ordezko astearteetan aste barruan besteko albiste esanguratsuak plazaratzen jarraitzen zituen. Beraz, kazetak oporraldietan baino ez zuen adierazgarritasunean ehunik galtzen.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epe honetan, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k albisteen adierazgarritasuna agertzeko irizpide bertsuak erabiltzen zituzten. Horrela, sailen edukia aztertuta, Politika eta Kultura atalek albisterik adierazgarrienak biltzen zituztela egiaztatu zen (0,73 puntu, *Etb1*ean eta 0,78, *Egunkaria*n). Jarraian, ekonomia eta gizarte gaiek garrantziaren eta jakin-minaren alde egiten zuten. Ondorioz, 0,60ko puntuazioa lortu zuten bi hedabideetan. Azkenik, kiroletan *Egunkaria*k alde ludikoa nabarmentzen zuen bitartean, telebistak irudiari ere arreta ipintzen zion. Beraz, kazetak argitaratutako kirol berriek 0,25 puntu lortu zituzten eta *Etb1*ekoek, 0,22.

Bigarrenik, Administrazioa protagonistatzat agertzen zuten berriak adierazgarrienak izaten ziren (0,7 puntu, *Etb1*ean eta 0,75, *Egunkaria*n). Ondoren, eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteak zetozen (0,62ko puntuazioa, *Etb1*ean eta 0,57koa, *Egunkaria*n). Azkenik, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteek ez zuten garrantzizko informaziorik zabaltzen (0,57 puntu, *Etb1*ean eta 0,4, *Egunkaria*n).

Hirugarrenik, bi hedabideak bat etorri ziren bertako eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteen adierazgarritasunean, gertukoek 0,71na puntu lortu zutelako. Kanpoko berriak, ordea, ez ziren horren esanguratsuak: *Etb1*ean zabaldutakoek 0,55eko puntuazioa lortu zuten eta *Egunkaria*k plazaratutakoek, 0,59koa. Gainera, zenbat eta urrunagoko albisteak izan, orduan eta adierazgarritasun txikiagoa islatzen zuten.

Dena den, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k zabaltzen zituzten albisteen esangura epaitzeko antzeko irizpideak agertu bazituzten ere, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek banakako azterketan lortutako puntuazioak eraldatu zituzten. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek 0,68 puntu lortu zituen (lau ehunen gehiago), baina *Egunkaria*ri 0,57 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion (zortzi ehunen gutxiago).

111. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,64	0,65
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,68	0,57
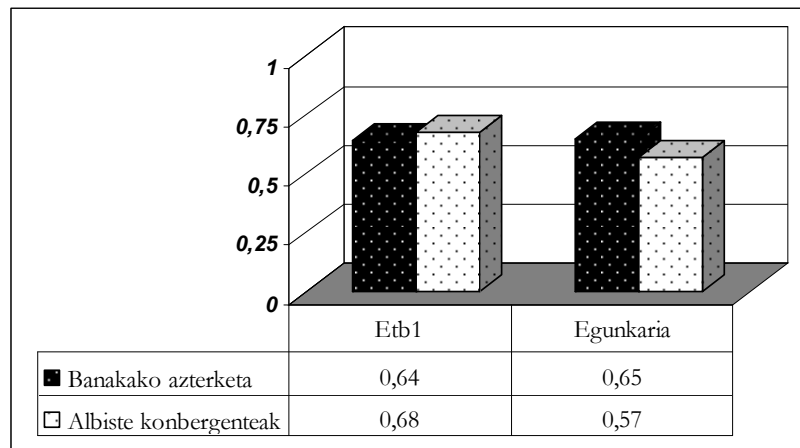
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, *Egunkaria*rekin bat egiten zuen *Etb1*eko informazioak bere albiste esklusiboek baino adierazgarritasun handiagoa agertzen zuen, ondorioei erreparatzen zioten berriak zirelako. Hala ere, ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, *Berria*rekin bat egin zuten albiste gutxiago aireratu zuen *Etb1*ek. Telebista publikoarekin bat egindako *Berria*ko informazioak, baina, adierazgarritasun txikiagoa zuen.

a.5.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Bigarren milurtekoan euskarazko kazetaritzak eraginik handiena jasan zuela egiaztatu du adierazgarritasunaren adierazleak. Aurreko epean albiste esanguratsuen hurrenkera honakoa zen: ondorioak, garrantzia, oihartzuna, jakin-mina eta irudia. Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, ordea, jakin-mina nabarmen gailendu zen. *Berria*n, esaterako, bigarren postua lortu zuen, oihartzunaren aurretik. *Etb1*ean, aldiz, lehen postuan kokatu zen, ondorioen araberako eragina baztertuz. Ildo beretik, telebistak irudia hobesteko jokabide argia erakutsi zuen. Horrela, garrantziaren eta oihartzunaren lekua hartu zuen. *Berria*n azken postuan jarraitu arren, aurreko epearekin alderatuta, irudian oinarritutako albisteek nabarmen gora egin zuten.

Horrenbestez, *Euskal Telebista*k gutxitutako albiste garrantzitsuak jakin-minak eragindako informazioarekin ordeztu zituen. Gainera, ondorioak eta oihartzuna eragiten zituzten berriak murriztutako proportzio berean irudi-albisteak ugaritu zituen. *Berria*k, ostera, albiste garrantzitsuak eta oihartzun handia izaten zutenak gutxitu arren, ondorio larriak eragiten zituzten berriak gehien hobetsi zituen. Ondoren, irudi-albisteak ere ugaritu zituen.

112. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Ondorioak	Oihartzuna	Garrantzia	Jakin-mina	Irudia
■ Etb1	29,21	10,11	13,48	30,35	16,85
□ Berria	40,43	14,89	21,28	18,09	5,31
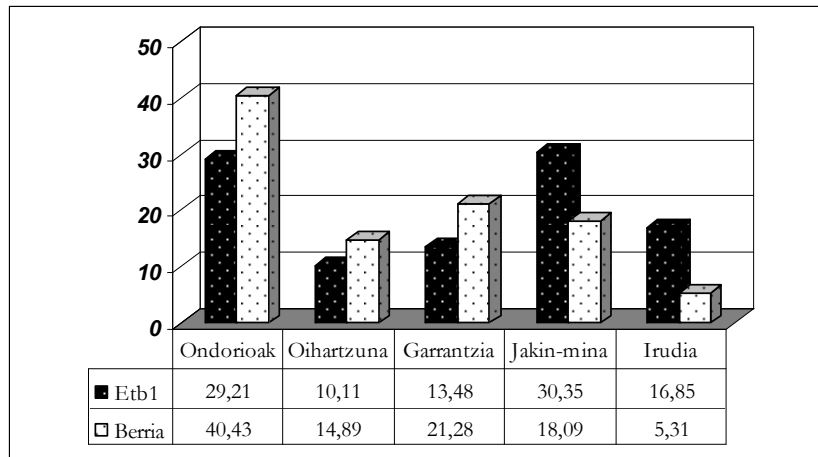
Iturria: Egilea.

Horregatik, *Etb1*ek hamahiru ehunen galdu zituen eta *Berria*k, bi irabazi. Beraz, **Euskal Telebistak aireratutako albisteek 0,51 puntu baino ez zituzten lortu eta *Berria*k zabaldutako informazioak, ordea, 0,67ko puntuazioa izan zuen**. Aurreko epean bezala, *Etb1*eko asteburuetako eta oporraldietako albisteak gero eta hutsalagoak ziren. *Berria*k, ordea, asteburuetan eta astelehen ordezko astearteetan ohiko adierazgarritasunari eusten bazion ere, oporraldietan albiste esanguratsuen kopuruak behera egiten zuen nabarmen.

*Euskal Telebista*k zabaldutako berrien adierazgarritasunak galdutako puntuak albiste garrantzitsuen aniztasun-irizpideen araberako sailkapenean ere eragina izan zuen. Lehenengo eta behin, Politika atalak informaziorik esanguratsuena biltzen jarraitzen bazuen ere, *Etb1*eko kultur gaiek ia bi hamarren galdu zituzten. Horregatik, Ekonomia atal garrantzitsuagoa bihurtu zen. Ildo beretik, telebistako gizarte gaiek puntuazio erdia lortu zuten[405].

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonistei erreparatuta, *Etb1*ek Administrazioaren ordezkariak erakusten zituen informazioaren arreta arindu zuen. Hortaz, *Berria*n ez bezala, eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteak adierazgarrienak izaten ziren. Azkenik, protagonista

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[405] Esaterako, *Etb1*ek islatzen zituen lege-hausteek gero eta albiste estatikoagoak zekartzaten: "Dirua zuritzen zuen Iparraldeko taldearen atxiloketaren ikerkuntzak aurrera dirau" (1991/95/18) eta orain, "Lapurreta bitxia: Ezkontzetarako ehun jantzi ostu dituzte Bilboko denda batetik" (2003/09/05). Era berean, ikerketa diakronikoaren aurreko epean ez zen istripurik agertzen. Oraingoan, ordea, ezbehar bitxiak hobesten zituen, hala nola "Basurdeak: Istripu larria" (2007/09/21).

identifikagarririk ez zuten telebistako informazioak puntuazio erdia lortu zuen, eguraldiaren ondorio-irudiei albiste bihurtu izanaren ondorioz[406].

Hala ere, bi hedabideek bertako albiste esanguratsuak kanpokoak baino gehiago izateari eutsi zioten. Dena den, *Euskal Telebista*k bi kategorietako adierazgarritasunean behera egin zuen bitartean, *Berria*k bertako albisteak ahuldu zituen eta kanpokoak, aldiz, sendotu. Horrela, *Etb1*eko Euskal Herriko albisteek 0,60 puntu lortu zituzten eta kanpokoek, 0,44. *Berria*k zabaldutako bertako informazioak 0,69ko puntuazioa izan zuen eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko berriei 0,63 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan bi hedabideetan bat egindako albisteen adierazgarritasuna banakako azterketaren emaitzekin bat zetorren. Hortaz, *Berria*ko albisteak *Etb1*ekoak baino esanguratsuagoak ziren (0,66 puntu, kazetako informazioak; 0,64, telebistakoak). Are gehiago, *Berria*rekin bat zetozen albisteetan, *Etb1*ek epe honetan bertan iraulitako adierazgarritasun irizpideak alboratu zituen. Horrela, *Berria*ren informazio-ereduarekin bat-egite handiagoa bideratzen zuten albisteetan, telebistak banakako azterketan baino hamahiru ehunen gehiago lortu zituen. Dena den, 2003-2007 tartean *Etb1*ek aurrekoan baino konbergentzia txikiagoa agertu zuen *Berria*rekin. Azken horrek, ostera, adierazgarritasun gutxiko berri gehiagori lekua egin eta horiek telebista publikoarekin bat egin zuten.

113. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,51	0,67
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,64	0,66
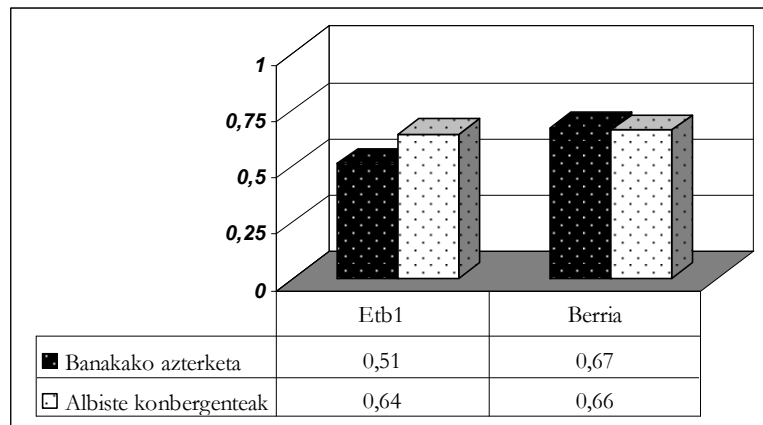
Iturria: Egilea.

Jakin-mina sustatzen zuten berriek ondorioak azaltzen zituzten albisteak alboratu zituzten *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n bigarren postua lortu zuten. Horren ondorioz, telebista publikoak agertutako aniztasun eredu berriak (protagonista identifikagarririk ez

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[406] Hala nola "Elur maila jaitsi egin da […]" (2006/12/10).

zuten gizarte gaiak hobesteak) horien adierazgarritasuna erdira murriztu zuen. Hala ere, asteburuetako eta oporraldietako *Berria*k *Etb1*en eredu horrekin bat egiten zuen.

a.5.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epean (1990-2002) puntuaziorik altuena lortutako albiste esanguratsuen hurrenkera honakoa izan zen: ondorioak, garrantzia, oihartzuna, jakin-mina eta irudia. Ondoren, 2003tik 2007ra *Euskal Telebista* eta *Berria*k hurrenkera hori irauli zuten eta bakoitzaren ereduaren araberako adierazgarritasun-irizpideak garatu zituzten. *Etb1*ek honela sailkatu zuen bere informazioa: jakin-mina (0,25 puntu esleitzen ditu), ondorioak (1), irudia (0), garrantzia (0,5) eta oihartzuna (0,75). Ikerketa sinkronikoan, gainera, garrantzia adierazten zuten albisteak ondorio larriak eragiten zituztenen aurretik hobetsi zituen telebistak. Dena den, irudi-albisteak laurden batean gutxitu zituen.

*Berria*k ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean honela hobetsi zituen plazaratutako albisteak: ondorioak (1), jakin-mina (0,25), oihartzuna (0,75), garrantzia (0,5) eta irudia (0). Ikerketa sinkronikoan, ondorio larriak eragiten zituzten eta oihartzun handia zuten berrien kopurua sendotu ez ezik, jakin-mina pizten zuen informazioa ere gutxitu zuen. Are gehiago, garrantzi soilean oinarritutako berriak eta irudi-albisteak ere urritu zituen. Ondorioz, 2008ko ikerketak *Berria* 1990ko hamarkadako eredura itzuli zela egiaztatu zuen, honelako hurrenkera agertu baitzuen: ondorioak (1), garrantzia (0,5), oihartzuna (0,75), jakin-mina (0,25) eta irudia (0).

*Euskadi Irratia*k, azkenik, berezko eredua ekarri zuen. Izan ere, gainerako beste bi hedabideek ez bezala, irratiak garrantzia islatzen zuten albisteak hobetsi zituen. Ondoren, *Berria* eta *Etb1*en ereduetako ezaugarriak nahastu zituen, kazetatik gertuen bazegoen ere. Beraz, honelako adierazgarritasun-hurrenkera agertu zuen *Euskadi Irratia*k: garrantzia (0,5), ondorioak (1), jakin-mina (0,25), oihartzuna (0,5) eta irudia (0).

114. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Ondorioak	Oihartz.	Garrantzia	Jakin-mina	Irudia
■ Euskadi Irr.	26,55	10,18	37,17	23,89	2,21
☐ Etb1	17,53	12,37	25,77	31,44	12,89
▦ Berria	45,63	15,62	20,63	15,62	2,5
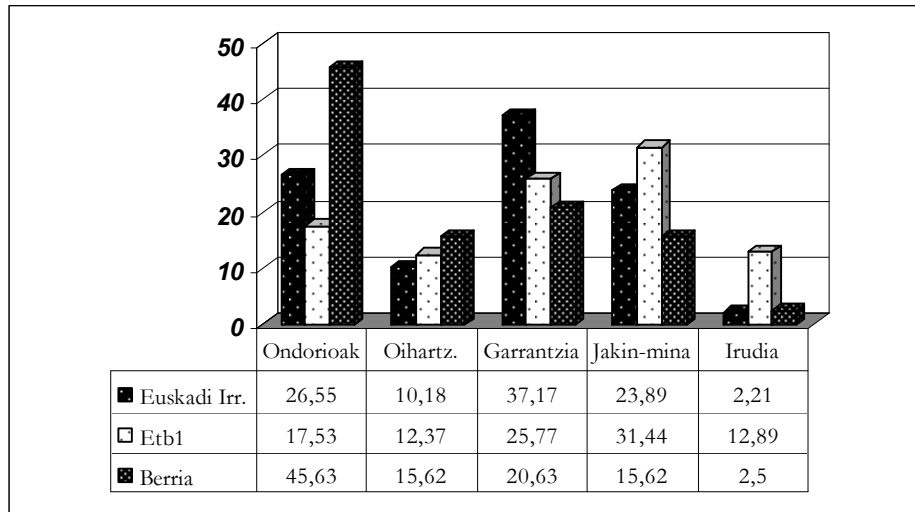
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, **Euskadi Irratiak plazaratutako berriek 0,59 puntu lortu zituzten; *Etb1*eko informazioak, 0,48; eta *Berria*ko albisteek, 0,72**. Hiru hedabideetako asteburuko albisteek puntuazio eskasagoa izaten zuten. Oporraldietan *Euskadi Irratia*k urtean baino puntu gutxiago lortzen zuen bitartean, lehenengoz, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k urte osoan baino albiste adierazgarriagoak zabaldu zituztela egiaztatu zen. Are gehiago, astelehen ordezko astearteetako *Berria*k ere informazio esanguratsuagoa argitaratzen zuen.

Aniztasunaren irizpideen sailkapenak, ohiko puntuazioaren degradazioaz gain, kalitate-adierazle honen kategorien polarizazioa ere islatu zuen. Alde batetik, *Berria*k sailik saileko eta protagonista motaren araberako adierazgarritasun mailakatzeari ekin zion. Bestetik, *Euskal Telebista*k bietan kategoria bana polarizatu zituen. *Euskadi Irratia*ren jokabidea horren muturrekoa izan ez bazen ere, telebistaren ereduarekin bat zetorren. Horrenbestez, sailik saileko hurrenkera *Berria*k bakarrik zaindu zuen. Horrela, Politika eta Kultura atalek albisterik adierazgarrienak (0,82 puntu zituztenak) biltzen zituzten. Ondoren, ekonomia eta gizarte gaien arreta txikiagoa zen (0,63). Azkenik, kirola distrakzioarekin (0,34) lotzen zen. *Euskal Telebista*k, ostera, Politika saila hobesten zuen (0,75 puntu). Gainerako atal guzti-guztiak, aldiz, hutsalagoak ziren (0,35). *Euskadi Irratia*k Politika ez ezik, Kultura ere nabarmendu zuen. Hortaz, bi sail horiek 0,74 puntu lortzen zituzten bitartean, gainerako atalek 0,38ko adierazgarritasuna islatzen zuten.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonista motak haien arteko hurrenkeran islatzeari ekin zion *Berria*k. Beraz, Administrazioak protagonizatutako albisteek

informaziorik esanguratsuena biltzen zuten. Ondoren, eragile autonomoak, protagonista identifikaturik gabeko informazioa eta eragile profesionalak zetozen. Ikerketa sinkronikoan *Berria*k azaldutako eredua, beraz, ez dator 1990eko hamarkadakoarekin bat. Izan ere, bigarren horretan, protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten berriek adierazgarritasun-mailarik txikiena zuten eta oraingoan, ordea, eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako albisteek baino informazio esanguratsuagoa biltzen zuten. *Euskal Telebista*k Administrazioa nabarmentzen zuen bitartean (0,7 puntu lortu zituzten), gainerako protagonista motak berdindu zituen (0,33). Are gehiago, eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteek protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten berriek baino adierazgarritasun txikiagoa islatzen zuten. Beraz, eraldaketa bikoitza izan zen: eragile autonomoak agertzen zituen informazioak adierazgarritasuna galdu ez ezik, protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak gero eta esanguratsuagoak ere bihurtu zituen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, aldiz, Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta eragile autonomoak hobetsi zituen (0,63 puntu). Gainerako protagonistak azaltzen zituzten berriak, baina, funts gutxiagokoak izaten ziren (0,47).

Sorterriaren araberako sailkapenean, aldiz, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Euskal Telebista*k orain arteko bertako albisteen nagusitasunari eutsi zioten bitartean, *Berria*k lehenengoz kanpoko informazioari adierazgarritasun handiagoa aintzatetsi zion. Beraz, *Euskadi Irrati*ko eta *Etb1*eko bertako albisteek 0,61 eta 0,5 puntu lortu zituzten, hurrenez hurren, eta kanpokoek, 0,51 zein 0,44. *Berria*k proportzioak aldatu zituzten: bertako albisteei 0,71 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien eta kanpokoei, 0,73. Kazetaren bertako zein kanpoko albisteek EiTBko bi hedabideetako berriek baino adierazgarritasun handiagoa adierazten zuten.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideek partekatutako albisteen adierazgarritasunak euskarazko komunikazio-esparrurako joerak albiste esanguratsuagoak zekartzala egiaztatu zuen. Horrela, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek banakako azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa izan zuten. Are gehiago, *Etb1*ekiko konbergentziak adierazgarritasun txikiagoa adierazten zuen neurri berean, *Berria*rekin albisteak partekatzean esangura handiagoko informazioa bat etortzen zen.

115. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

	Banak.	Etb1	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Berria	Banaka	E. Irr.	Etb1
		Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria	
■ Adierazg.	0,59	0,59	0,68	0,48	0,61	0,61	0,72	0,74	0,64
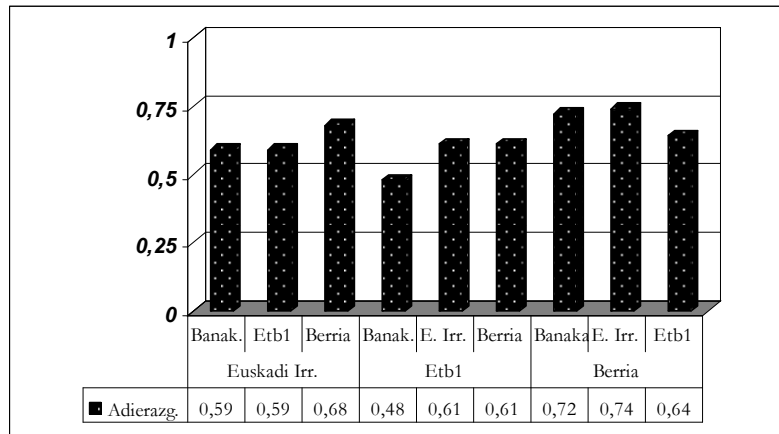
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketan, baina, albisteen adierazgarritasuna agertzeko homogeneitate handiagoa azaldu zuten euskarazko hedabideek. Horrenbestez, erdarazko hedabideen adierazgarritasun adiera bera erakutsi zuten. Dena den, irratien kasuan, euskarazko hedabideetako albisteen adierazgarritasunarekin ere neurri berean bat etorri zen *Euskadi Irratia*. Azken horiekin partekatutako informazioan ondorioak nabarmendu zituen bitartean, erdarazko irratiekin konpartitutako albisteetan (*Ser*rekin, batik bat) garrantziari erreparatu zion. Banakako azterketan ere, *Euskadi Irratia*k garrantziaren araberako adierazgarritasuna azaldu zuen.

116. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
■ Irratiak	0,82	0,79	0,73	0,69	0,59
◆ Euskadi Irratia	0,8	0,79	0,7	0,69	0,57

Iturria: Egilea.

Telebisten alderaketan, antzera gertatu zen. *Etb1* erdarazko hedabideek zabaldutako berrien adierazgarritasunarekin bat etorri zen. Are gehiago, banakako azterketan *Etb1*ek hobetsitako jakin-minean oinarritutako adierazgarritasunak erdarazko hedabideekin partekatutako albisteen herena hartu zuen.

117. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,47	0,79
Etb1	0,47	0,81
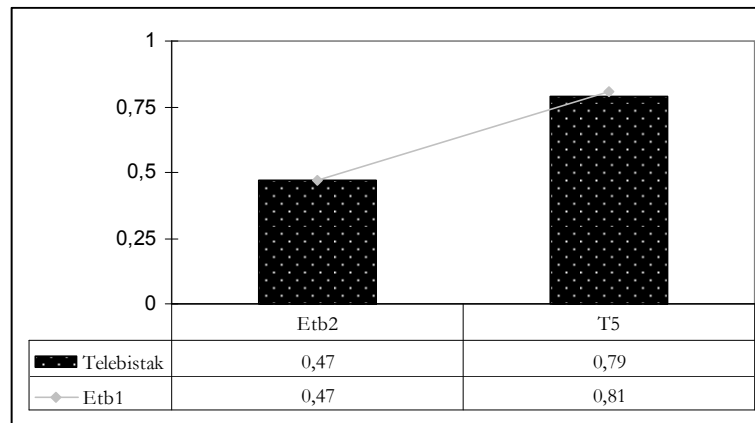
Iturria: Egilea.

Egunkarien alderaketan, azkenik, *Berria*k ere erdarazko hedabide horien adierazgarritasun adierarekin bat egiten asmatu zuen. Alderik handiena *El Correo Español*ekin agertu bazuen ere, bost ehunenekoa baino ez zen izan, baina talde bereko *Diario Vasco*rekin bat etorri zen. Gainerakoekin izandako aldea hutsala izan zen, *Berria*ren beraren banakako azterketan agertutako adierazgarritasun ereduarekin bat zetorrelako. Are gehiago, *Berria*k ez zuen erdarazko hedabideek baino esangura handiagorik ondorioei aintzatetsi eta, beraz, ez zen haietatik bereizi[407].

118. Grafikoa – Adierazgarritasuna (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,65	0,7	0,59	0,64	0,79	0,92
Berria	0,7	0,71	0,62	0,64	0,78	0,95
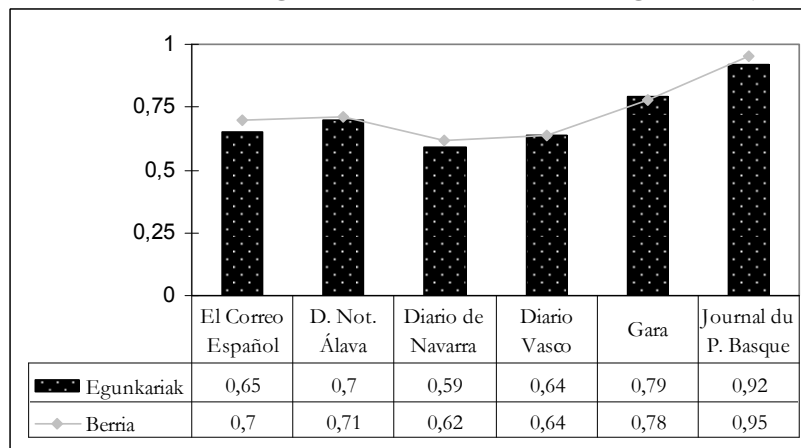
Iturria: Egilea.

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[407] Zenbait egunkarik albiste bera argitaratu arren, informazioaren adierazgarritasuna islatzen duen ikuspuntua zeharo ezberdina izan daiteke. Esaterako, 2008ko San Ferminen aurretik, Iruñean edari baten iragarkia grabatu zuten Ferrari taldeko bi autok entzierroaren bidea egin zuten (2008/06/29). *Gara* jai-ereduez ari zen bitartean ("Goitibeheras y F1, sprint entre dos modelos de Iruñea"), *Berria*k ("Trabarik ez autoei: 1Formulako bi autok entzierroaren bidea egin dute") eta *Diario Vasco*k ("Los «toros rojos» rugen en la Estafeta") bitxikeriaren deskribapen hutsa egiten zuten. Horregatik, *Gara*k 0,75 puntu lortu zituen (oihartzuna) eta bigarrenek, 0,25na (jakin-mina). Azkenik, *Diario de Navarra*k, "La F1 arrasa en Pamplona" izenburupean, argazki-erreportajea eman zuen. Horregatik, ez zuen punturik lortu, irudian agortzen zen albistea baitzen.

Albisteen adierazgarritasunean ikerketa diakronikoan bertan aldaketarik handienak eman ziren. Are gehiago, hedabide bakoitzak bere eredua garatu zuen eta ikerketa sinkronikoan ondoen islatu zen. Euskarazko hedabideen ereduek haien arteko dibergentzia handiak erakutsi zituzten. Hala ere, erdarazko hedabideen adierazgarritasun kontzepzioarekin bat etorri izanetik ondorioztatu zen euskarazko hedabideek ez zutela euskaratik abiatutako adierazgarritasun adierarik. Euskarazko hedabideen arteko dibergentzia, hortaz, euskarriaren araberako ezaugarriei zegokien. Horregatik, euskarri bereko erdarazko hedabideen eredua berezkoago zuten.

a.6. Zehaztasuna (*Accuracy*)

Albistegaien hautaketa prozesua amaitutakoan, albiste bihurtzeko lanketa prozesuaren lehenengo kalitate-adierazlea. Zehaztasunak berriaren titulua albistearen edukiarekin bat ote datorren neurtzen du. Horretarako, hiru kategoria daude. Lehenengo eta behin, titulu laburtzaileak edukia aurreratu edo laburtu egiten du. Orduan, albiste horrek puntu bat izango du. Bigarrenik, berriaren alde bat nabarmentzen duen tituluak puntu erdia lortuko du. Azkenik, albistearen adiera trabatzen badu edo beste esanahi bat eman nahi badio, engainagarritzat hartuko da eta, beraz, ez du punturik izango.

a.6.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Zehaztasuna neurtzeko ikerketa diakronikoak epe bi baino ez ditu izango. Lehenengo, 1990eko hamarkadako euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak aztertuko ditugu. Gero, Hirugarren Milurtekoaren lehen urteetako euskarazko kazetaritzaren ezaugarriak ikertuko ditugu.

a.6.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen fase honek *Euskal Telebista*k *Egunkaria*k baino titulu laburtzaile kopuru altuagoa zuela egiaztatu zuen. Are gehiago, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k alde bateko izenburu[408] eta engainagarritzat[409] har zitezkeen titulu gehiago plazaratzen zituen.

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[408] Alde bateko izenburuek albistearen ezaugarri bat goraipatzen dute. Esaterako, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albiste honek ez du berria laburtzen, haren gako bat titulura darama baizik: "De la Fuente: «Sevillara joan nintzenetik neukan ametsa bete da»" (1991/09/06). Albistea ulertzeko, *Etb1*eko titulua argigarriagoa da (laburtzailea): "Futbola: De la Fuente Athletic-era bueltatu da" (1991/09/05).

119. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Laburtzailea	Alde batekoa	Engainagarria
■ Etb1	88,06	10,45	1,49
□ Egunkaria	74,3	22,09	3,61
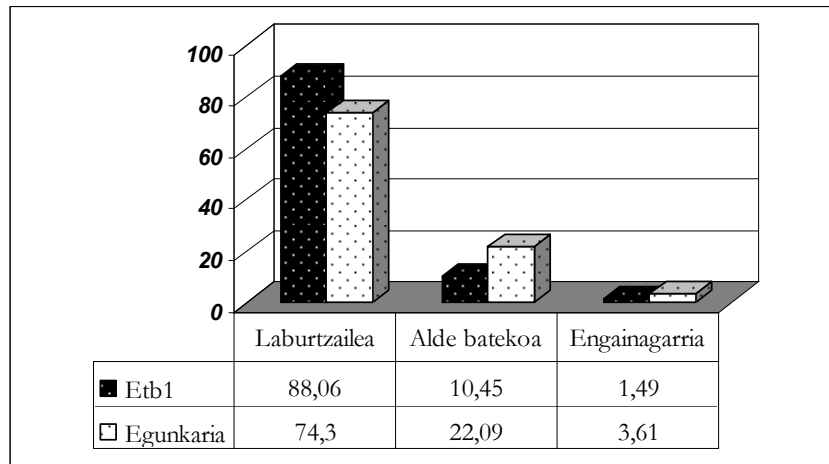
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, *Etb1*eko albisteek 0,95eko puntuazioa lortu zuten eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko berriek, ordea, 0,85ekoa. Asteburuetako eta oporraldietako albisteekin, gainera, ez zegoen zehaztasunaren inguruko ezberdintasunik. Are gehiago, telebistak ez zuen sailen arteko puntuazio alderik erakutsi. *Egunkaria*n, ordea, Politika, Ekonomia eta Gizarte sailek titulu laburtzailerik gehien biltzen zituzten. Ondoren, kultur gaietan zorroztasuna malgutzen zen[410]. Kiroletan, azkenik, tituluen adiera ulertzen trabatzen zuten formulak[411] ere erabiltzen zirela egiaztatu da.

*Etb1*eko albisteen zehaztasunak ez zuen protagonista motaren araberako bereizketarik egin. *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, Administrazioa agertzen zuten albisteetan eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten berrietan titulu laburtzaile gehiago erabiltzen zituen. Eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteetan, ordea, ezaugarri bat nabarmentzen zituzten izenburuak eta titulu engainagarriak ugaritzen ziren.

Sorterriaren araberako irizpideek Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteetan zehaztasun handia erakutsi zuten bi hedabideek (0,97ko puntuazioa, *Etb1*ek eta 0,87koa, *Egunkaria*k). Bertako albisteen tituluгintzan, aldiz, ez ziren horren zorrotzak (0,93 puntu, *Etb1*ek eta 0,85, *Egunkaria*k).

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[409] Engainagarritzat hartzen diren tituluek albistearen adiera ulertzea trabatzen dute. Adibidez, "Jendez lepo, gotorlekua" (2001/07/21), *Egunkaria*n. *Etb1*eko tituluak, ordea, honela zioen: "«Zintzarria» Munduko Musiken Jaialdiaren 2. edizioa, Hondarribian" (2001/07/20).

[410] Esaterako, "Jalgi hadi Bergarako erromeriara!!" (2002/04/25), *Egunkaria*n.

[411] Adibidez, azpititulurik ez zituzten honelako albisteak: "Ardoaren teoria" (1994/12/11) edo "Lau hileko epea jarri du" (200/10/06).

Bi hedabideek partekatzen zituzten albisteetan, baina, banakako azterketetan baino titulu laburtzaile gehiago erakusten zituzten. Horrenbestez, bat egiten zuten informazioan puntuazio altuagoa lortu zuten: 0,97 puntu, *Etb1*ek eta 0,89, *Egunkaria*k.

120. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
_Etb1_en eta _E.Egunkaria_ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,95	0,85
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,97	0,89
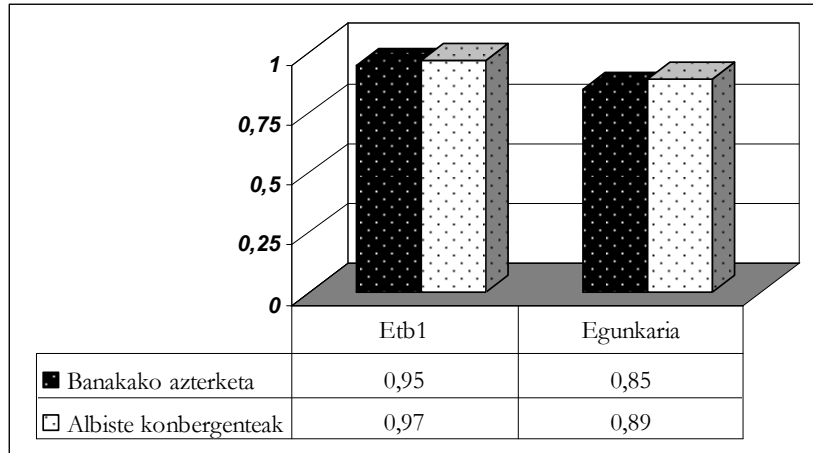
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*k tituligintza eredu bakarra erabiltzen zuen bitartean, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n sailen arteko berezitasunak tituluen ezaugarriak baldintzatzen zituen. Hortaz, garrantzizko atal klasikoek (Politikak, Ekonomiak eta Gizarteak) zehaztasun mailarik altuena agertu zuten. Ildo beretik, Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak aurkezteko tituluak laburtzaileak ziren bitartean, eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berriek alde batekotasunaren jitea tituluan bertan zeramaten.

a.6.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, bi hedabideek titulu laburtzaileen kopurua pitin bat gutxitu zuten. Dena den, *Berria* alde bateko titulurik[412] eta titulu engainagarririk[413] gehien biltzen zituen, *Etb1*en bikoitza alegia.

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[412] Besteak beste, "Ekialde hurbila: Sharon, laboristen zain" (2004/10/26).
[413] Hala nola "Gazteak bidea egiten ari dira Markinan" (2005/03/27).

121. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Laburtzailea	Alde batekoa	Engainagarria
■ Etb1	86,52	11,24	2,25
▫ Berria	73,4	21,28	5,32
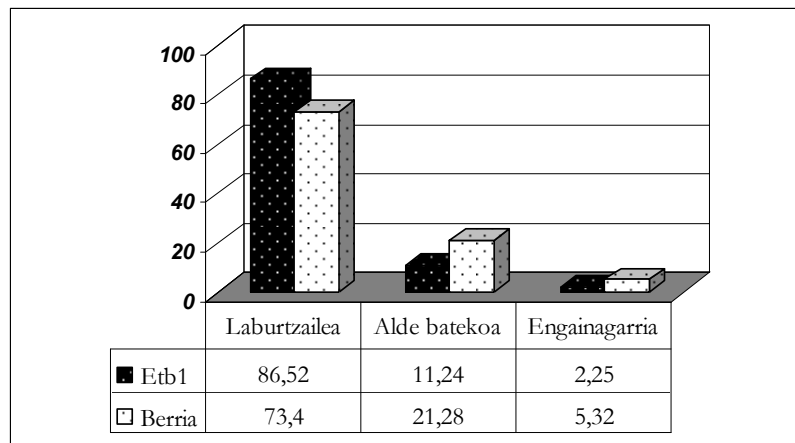
Iturria: Egilea.

Titulu laburtzaileak gutxitu izanaren ondorioz, bi hedabideek puntuazio baxuagoa lortu zuten. **_Etb1_eko berriei 0,92 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien (aurreko epearekin alderatuta, hiru ehunen gutxiago) eta _Berria_ko albisteei, 0,84 (ehunen bat gutxiago)**. Aurreko epean ez bezala, asteburuetako eta oporraldietako *Berria*k oso puntuazio baxua izan zuen (0,67 eta 0,63, hain zuzen), alde bateko tituluak ia-ia laburtzaileen bestekoak izaten zirelako. *Etb1*ek, ordea, beti puntuazio berari eusten asmatu zuen.

Sailen arteko alderik ez zegoen, tituluaren zehaztasunari zegokionez. Hala ere, *Etb1*eko puntuaziorik baxuena gizarte gaietan[414] lortu zuen eta *Berria*k, ordea, kirolen atalean[415]. Protagonista motaren araberako alderik ere ez zuen *Euskal Telebista*k agertu. *Berria*k, baina, eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteetan eta protagonista identifikaturik gabeko berrietan punturik gutxien lortzen zituen.

Sorterriaren araberako zehaztasunak, lehenengoz, ez zien kanpoko albisteei nagusitasunik aintzatesten. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ean lehenengoz bertako albisteen tituluginltza (0,94 puntu) kanpokoena (0,91) baino zainduagoa zen. *Berria*n bi informazio-motak berdinduta agertzen ziren (0,84na puntu).

Amaitzeko, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek banakako azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu zuten (0,93 puntu, *Etb1*ekoek eta 0,88, *Berria*koek). Gainera, aurreko epearekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek lau ehunen galdu zituen eta kazetak, bat.

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[414] Honelako berrien titulu ulergaitzek eraginda: "Schiavo kasua: Berriz ere ezetza" (2005/03/25).

[415] *Berria*ko Kirol sailean, titulu laburtzaileak ("Osasuna, Txapeldunen Ligatik at", 2006/08/23) engainagarriak ("Armstrongen lehen aldeak", 2005/07/03) beste izan ziren. Horregatik, atal horrek 0,5 puntu baino ez zituen lortu.

122. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,92	0,84
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,93	0,88
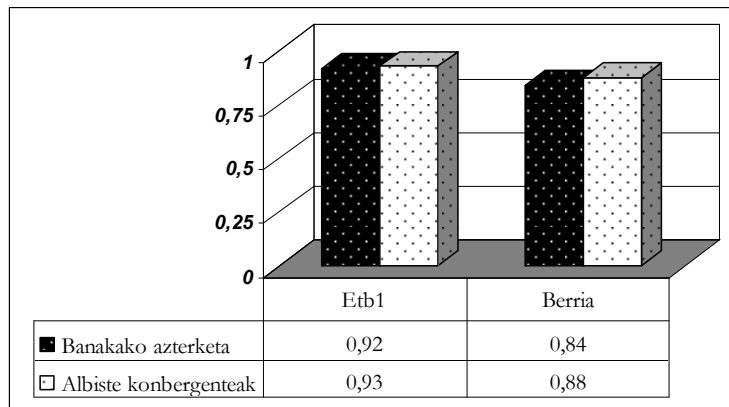
Iturria: Egilea.

Zehaztasunak ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren fasean azaldutako bilakaera hedabideon jarduerarekin bat zetorren. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek albiste arinak ugaritu zituen sasoi berean, gizarte gaien zehaztasunak gero eta puntuazio txikiagoa lortzen zuen. *Berria*k, alderantziz, eragile autonomoak nabarmentzeko estrategian, horiek protagonizatutako albisteak zehatzenak izan ziren.

a.6.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskarazko hedabideek 2008ko ikerketa aldian titulu laburtzaileak hobesteko joera agertu zuten. Gainera, *Euskadi Irratia* titulu mota horietan aitzindari bihurtu zen. Dena den, *Euskal Telebista* eta *Berria*ren arteko titulu laburtzaileen kopurua berdinduz joan zen. Batetik, *Etb1*ek alde bateko tituluen agerpena biderkatu zuen, titulu laburtzaileen kaltetan. Bestetik, *Berria*k aldi berean azken titulu mota horiek sendotu nahi izan zituen. Ondorioz, bi hedabideek antzeko portzentajeak azaldu zituzten.

123. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Laburtzailea	Alde batekoa	Engainagarria
■ Euskadi Irr.	89,38	9,29	1,33
□ Etb1	79,9	17,01	3,09
▥ Berria	78,74	16,88	4,38
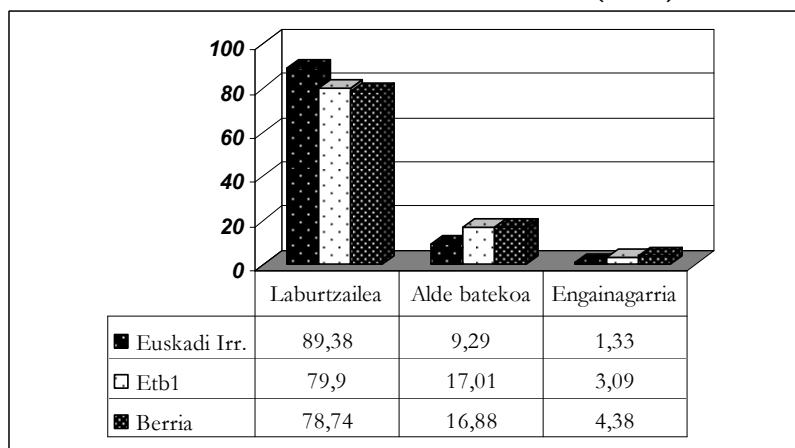
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen zehaztasunik handiena **Euskadi Irratia**k agertu zuen eta **0,94ko puntuazioa egokitu zitzaion. Ondoren, Etb1ek eta Berriak 0,88 eta 0,87 puntu izan zituzten**. Titulu laburtzaileen aldeko *Berria*ren ahaleginaren erakusle dugu asteburuetako eta astelehen ordezko asteartetako egunkarian zehaztasun alderik ez egotea. Oporraldietan, ordea, oraindik kale egiten zuten zenbait titulu azaltzen zituen kazetak. *Euskadi Irratia* zein *Euskal Telebista*, aldiz, urte osoan puntuazio bereko titulugintzan aritzen ziren.

Ildo beretik, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek ez zuten tituluetan sailen arteko edo protagonista motaren araberako alderik agertzen. *Berria*k, ostera, Politika eta Ekonomia ataletan titulu laburtzailerik gehien erabiltzen zituen bitartean, gizarte, kultura eta kirol gaietan irizpideak malgutzen zituen[416]. Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonistei buruzko albisteetan, baina, *Berria*k ez zuen tituluetan ia alderik erakutsi, eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako albisteak kenduta, horietan gainerako kategorietan baino alde bateko titulu gehiago aurki zitezkeen-eta[417]. Sorterriaren araberako sailkapenean, *Etb1*ek aurreko epetik zetorkion joerari eutsi zion eta bertako albisteek kanpokoek baino puntuazio altuagoa izan zuten (0,9 puntu eta 0,85, hurrenez hurren). *Euskadi Irratia*, aldiz, kanpoko albisteetan titulu laburtzailerik gehien biltzen zituen *Berria*rekin bat etorri zen. Horrela, bertako informazioak 0,94 puntu lortu zituen *Euskadi Irratia*n eta 0,83, *Berria*n. Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako albisteei, ostera, 0,95 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien *Euskadi Irratia*n eta 0,94, *Berria*n.

Gainera, hiru hedabideetan bat etorritako albisteetan, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek are titulu laburtzaile gehiago azaltzen zituzten. Bat egiten zuten berri horietan irratiak eta telebistak puntuazio altuagoa agertzen zuten. *Berria*k, ordea, euskarazko hedabideekin bat egiten zuten albisteetako puntuazio txikiagoa izaten zuen.

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[416] Gizarte Sailean, esaterako, tituluak errepikatzen zituen: "Gernika, euripean" (2008/10/28) eta "Santa Luzia, euripean" (2008/12/14). Kultura albisteen titulugintzan, ordea, *Berria*k ("Meryl Streepi begira", 2008/09/26) eta *Etb1*ek ("Ongi etorri!", 2008/09/25) antzeko puntuazioa lortzen zuten. Kiroletan, azkenik, aurreko epearekin alderatuta, dezente hobetu zen *Berria* eta, beraz, Gizartean zein Kulturan beste puntu lortu zituen (0,8 alegia).

[417] Lan-gatazken inguruko albisteak kasurik argiena izan daitezke. Sindikatuek deitutako grebaren berri emateko, *Berria*k alde bateko tituluan Jaurlaritzaren informazioa goraipatu zuen ("Osakidetzak dio beharginen %15ek egin dutela greba, aurrekoan egin zutenen erdiek", 2008/02/22). *Etb1*ek ("Osakidetza: Grebaren eraginaz ez datoz bat", 2008/02/21) eta *Euskadi Irratia*k ("Osakidetzako huelga orokorrak ez du aurrekoak adina jarraitzaile izan […]", 2008/02/21), baina, greban parte hartu zuten beharginen kopuruan sindikatuek eta Jaurlaritzek emandako datuen arteko aldea nabaritu zuten.

124. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

	Banak	Etb1	Berria	Banak	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak	E. Irr.	Etb1
	Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria		
■ Zehaztasuna	0,94	0,95	0,97	0,88	0,94	0,89	0,87	0,88	0,83
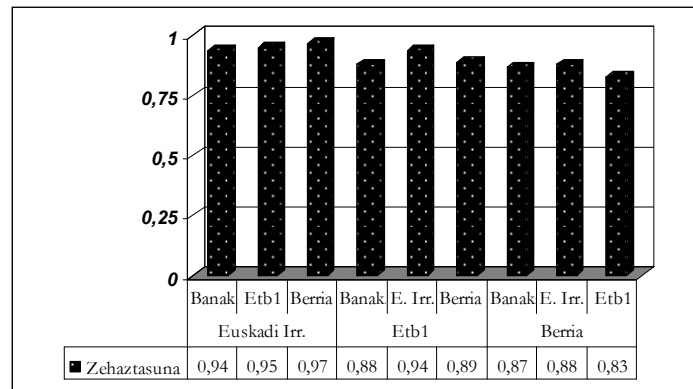
Iturria: Egilea.

Emaitzak emaitza, euskarazko hiru hedabideek erdarazkoek baino arreta handiagoa ipintzen zioten albisteen lanketaren lehenengo adierazle honi. Hasteko, erdarazko irratiek titulu engainagarriak erabili zituztenez, *Euskadi Irratia*ren jarduna gailendu egin zen[418]. Are gehiago, euskarazko gainerako irratiek ez zuen alde bateko titulurik agertu[419].

125. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
▨ Irratiak	1	1	1	0,87	0,90
◆ Euskadi Irratia	0,96	1	1	0,93	0,93
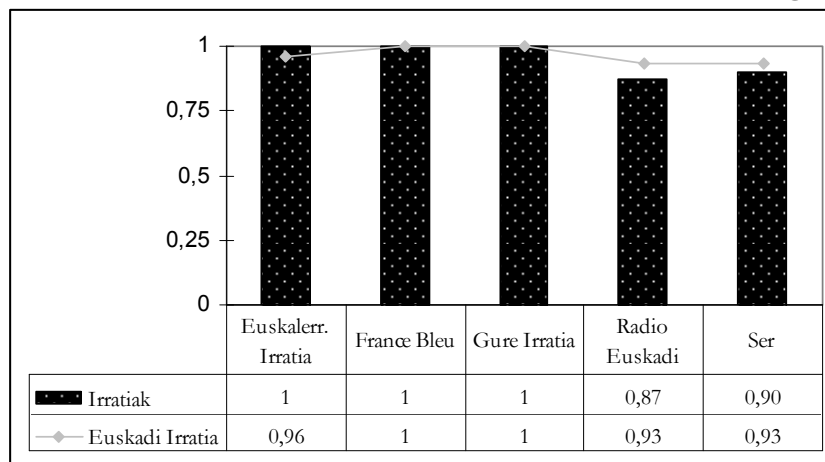
Iturria: Egilea.

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[418] Berrien alde bat nabaritzean, informazioa interpretatzen zuten erdarazko hedabideek, horretarako azalpenik eman barik. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*k titulu laburtzaileak erabiltzen zituen bitartean ("Langabezia eta ekonomiaren egoera dira gaur egun euskal herritarren kexka nagusiak […]", 2008/12/19), *Radio Euskadi*k ("La deslegitimación de la violencia […], algunos de los datos del último Euskobarómetro […]") eta *Cadena Ser*rek ("La mayoría de los vascos cree que puede haber un cambio de ciclo político […], alianza PNV-PSE […]") elementu jakin batzuk goraipatzen zituzten, baita titulura eraman ere.

[419] Esaterako, *Euskalerria Irrati*ko tituluak ("Egungo ikas-ereduek ez dutela euskalduntzen salatzeko manifestaziorako deia egin du gaur «Eskolak euskaldundu ekimenak» […]", 2008/01/22) *Euskadi Irrati*koak baino datu gehiago ematen zituen ("Atxikimendu ugari jaso ditu «Eskolak euskaldundu ekimenak» […]", 2008/01/22).

Euskarazko hedabideen azterketan *Euskal Telebista*k puntuaziorik altuena lortu ez bazuen ere, erdarazko telebistekin alderatuta, kazetaritza-jardunik bikainena aintzatetsi zitzaion. Kazetari berak *Etb1*eko eta *Etb2*ko albiste bera prestatu arren, erdarazko telebistak euskarazkoak baino titulu ulergaitz eta engainagarri gehiago azaltzen zituen (%3,45, *Etb1*ek eta %8,82, *Etb2*k)[420]. Are gehiago, *Telecinco*k izenburu engainagarrien kopururik altuena ez ezik (*Etb1*ek baino zazpi bider gehiago), alde bateko titulu gehien ere agertu zituen (*Etb1*en bikoitza)[421].

126. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,82	0,58
Etb1	0,88	0,88
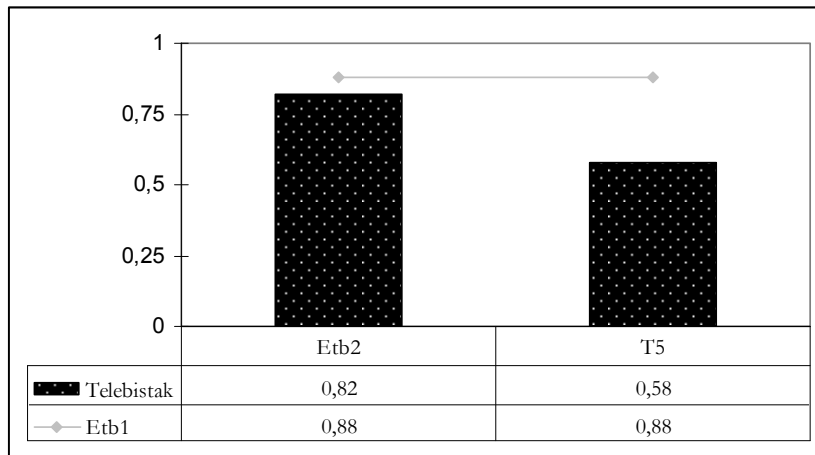
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideen azterketan titulu laburtzailerik gutxien biltzen zuen hedabidea *Berria* izan zen. Hala ere, erdarazko egunkariek baino titulu laburtzaile gehiago azaltzen zituen. Are gehiago, alde bateko titulu gutxien ekarri zituena ere *Berria* izan zen. *Diario Vasco*k[422] eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque*k[423], esaterako, *Berria*k agertutako alde bateko titulu kopuru bikoitza eta hirukoitza zuten, hurrenez hurren eta *El Correo*

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[420] Adibide ugari dago: "Wall Street: Munduko merkatu guztiak New Yorkeko burtsari begira" (2008/01/22) eta "Así de contentos se fueron, el pasado viernes, los brokers de Wall Street […]"; "Mendekotasunak: Teknologia berriak, geroz eta gehiago" (2008/04/06) eta "Adicción y afición: Reportajes EiTB"; "Bilbo turistaz beteta dago […]" (2008/03/22) eta "Contra viento y marea: Los turistas no se acobardan!![sic]".

[421] Besteak beste, Eurokoparen finalaurreko emaitzen berri emateko erabilitako tituluetan nabaritu zen: "Eurokopa: Espainia finalean, aspaldiko partez" (2008/06/27), *Etb1*ean; "Eurocopa: España jugará la final", *Etb2*n; eta "Alemania tiembla", *Telecinco*n.

[422] *Diario Vasco*k, gainera, titulu laburra erabili zuen: "Infierno en Barajas", *Diario Vasco*n eta "150 lagunetik gora hil dira Madril aireportuan, hegazkin bat lehertuta" (2008/08/21), *Berria*n.

[423] Adibidez, *Berria*n: "Baimenik ez duela behar dio Jaurlaritzak, galdeketa ez delako izango loteslea" (2008/05/30) eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque*n: "Madrid s'oppose à la consultation d'Ibarretxe".

*Español*en[424], gainera, alde bateko tituluek albisteen erdia hartzen zuten. Horrenbestez, *Gara*k *Berria*ren titulu engainagarrien kopuru erdia izan zuen[425].

127. Grafikoa – Zehaztasuna (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,72	0,85	0,85	0,81	0,88	0,84
Berria	0,91	0,92	0,91	0,91	0,84	0,94
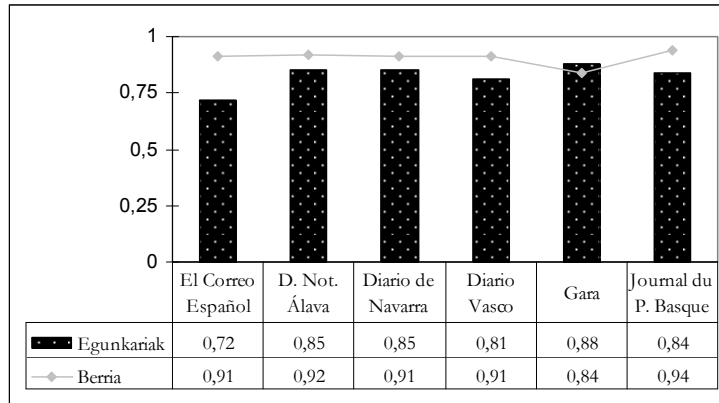
Iturria: Egilea.

Adierazgarritasunaren adierazlean euskarazko hiru hedabideek euskarriaren araberako ezaugarriak euskalduntasunetik abiatutako eredua baino hobetsi zituzten. Oraingoan, tituluen zehaztasunak erdarazko hedabide horietatik bereizi ditu. Are gehiago, urtetik urtera, kalitate-adierazle horrek emaitza hobeak eman zituen.

a.7. Osotasuna (*Completeness*)

Osotasunak albisteak zenbat W galderari erantzuten dien zehazten du. Horrenbestez, zazpi erantzunak eskainiz gero puntu bat lortuko du; bospasei dituzten berriei puntu erdi esleituko zaizkie eta, azkenik, oinarrizko bost galderen bat falta duenak ez du punturik izango.

a.7.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak bi aldi izango ditu kontuan. Batetik, *Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren hasierako urteek (1990-2002) bi kazetaritza ereduen berri emango dute.

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[424] Besteak beste, "Guardia zibil bat hil du ETAk, Legutioko kuartelean bonba-auto bat zartarazita" (2008/05/15), *Berria*n eta "Un cadáver en el cráter del terror", *El Correo Español*en. Are gehiago, *Diario Vasco*ren titulu-eredutik ere urruntzen zen: "Finantza krisiari aurre egiteko planari buruzko oinarrizko akordioa lortu dute AEBetan" (2008/09/26), *Berria*n; "Bush consigue un principio de acuerdo en el Congreso para su plan de rescate", *Diario Vasco*n; eta "Obama y McCain [oraindik hautagaiak besterik ez ziren] unen sus fuerzas contra la crisis", *El Correo Español*en.

[425] Esaterako, ELAko idazkari nagusi José Elorrietak kargua utzi eta iragarritako Txiki Muñoz idazkari nagusi berri izendatzeko sindikatuak antolatu zuen Kongresuan, Elorrietari omenaldia egin zioten. Hala ere, *Berria*k aurretik iragarrita zegoen albistea titulura eraman zuen "Elorrietaren lekukoa, Muñozentzat" (2998/11/27). *Gara*k, ordea, Kongresuaren berri eman zuen: "Agur hunkigarria Elorrietari".

Bestetik, euskarazko kazetaritza sendotzean (2003-2007), agertutako norabidea aztertuko dugu.

a.7.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k lantzen zituzten albisteek, oro har, bospasei kazetaritza-galderen erantzunak biltzen zituzten, hala nola *nork, zer, noiz, non* eta *zelan* edota *zergatik*. Ikus-entzunezkoen bat-batekotasuna osotasunaren aurkakotzat jo izan da. Hala ere, epe honetan *Etb1*ek *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k baino informazio osotuagoa lantzen zuela erakusten dute datuek.

128. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
Etb1 eta _E.Egunkaria_ (1990-2002)

	Zazpi W	Bospasei W	Lau W
■ Etb1	12,12	86,36	1,52
□ Egunkaria	8,03	90,36	1,61
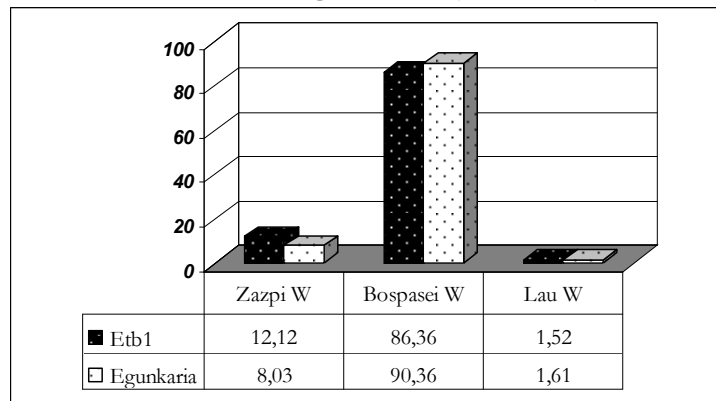
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebistak oinarrizko bost galderen erantzunak eman ez ezik, zazpi galderen erantzun gehiago ere eskaini izan zuen. Are gehiago, oinarrizko bost galderen erantzunak ez zituzten albisteak 1990-1995 bitartean aireratu zituen *Etb1*ek. *Egunkaria*k, ordea, telebistak baino albiste osatugabe gehiago plazaratzeaz gain, horiek 1998tik aurrera ere aurki zitezkeen. Horrenbestez, *noiz* galderaren falta duten albisteak izaten ziren[426]. Gainera, albiste osatugabeak astegunetan zabaldu zituen *Etb1*ek eta *Egunkaria*k,

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[426] "[**Artearen eta zientziaren mugarriak (sic: ,) kolokan Zientziaren Kutxagunean**]
Atapuercakoa itxi ondoren, teknologia berriekin eginiko arteari buruzko erakusketa zabaldu dute Donostiako Zientziaren Kutxagunean: *Arte elektronikoa Euskal Herrian*. Atapuerca gogora ekarri eta orduko gizakiek nahiz egungook arazo berak ditugula <u>adierazi zuen atzo</u> aurkezpenean erakusketa berriaren komisario Josu Rekaldek: «Teknologia asko aurreratu den arren, oraindik leizezuloak margotzen jarraitzen baitugu; ilunpetan gaude».
lluntasun hori argitzeko asmoz-edo, argi, soinu eta irudi asko ageri da Euskal Herriko 31 artista garaikideek egin dituzten 25 artelanetan." (*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, 2001/11/27)
Komisarioak "atzo" adierazpen horiek egin arren, albistearen oinarria erakusketa bera zen. Bestela, komisarioaren adierazpenetan oinarritutako albistea balitz, horren isla tituluan agertuko litzateke. Horregatik, *noiz* galderak honelako datuak argitu beharko zituzkeen: <u>noiz zabaldu zen</u> (zabaldu bazen, beharbada prentsarako saio pribatua izan zen-eta), <u>noiz arte ikusgai egongo zen</u>...

aldiz, albiste osatugabeen erdia. Azken horrek asteburuan plazaratutako albiste osatugabeak guztirako laurdena bakarrik ziren; beste laurden bat astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian argitaratu zuen.

Horregatik, **Etb1eko albisteen *osotasuna* 0,55 puntukoa izan zen eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*koa, aldiz, 0,53koa**. Gainera, bi hedabideek oporraldietan albiste osatuen kopurua pitin bat igotzen zuten: 0,57, *Etb1*ek eta 0,54, *Egunkariak*.

Aniztasunaren adierazleek osotasuna lantzeko joerak azal ditzakete. Hasteko, sailaren araberako bereizketak *Etb1*ek albisterik osatuenak Politika, Ekonomia, Gizartea eta Kirol ataletan biltzen zituela erakutsi zuen. *Egunkaria*k, ostera, Politika eta Ekonomia sailetan berri osatuak bakarrik agertzen zituen. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek ez bezala, gizarte eta kirol albisteetan oinarrizko kazetaritza-galderen baten falta zuten berriak azaltzen zituen. Bi hedabideok Kultura sailean albiste osatugaberik gehien agertzeko joera erakutsi zuten.

Albisteek agertzen zuten protagonista moten araberako degradazioa azaldu zuten bi hedabideek. Horrenbestez, albisterik osatuenak biltzeko kategoriek honelako hurrenkera jarraitu zuten: Administrazioaren ordezkariak, eragile profesionalak eta eragile autonomoak. *Egunkaria*k ez bezala, *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikaturik gabeko berriak ondoen azaltzeko berebiziko ahalegina egin zuen. Horrenbestez, albiste osatuen kopururik altuena bertan biltzen zen[427].

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak berriak lantzeko bi joera agertu zituen. Alde batetik, *Etb1*ek kanpoko albisteak (0,57) bertakoak (0,55) baino sakonago azaltzen zituen. Are gehiago, estatuetako informazioa ondoen aurkezten zuen eta mundukoa (Europakoa eta beste herrietakoa) gertu-gertukoa baino sakonago. Bestetik, *Egunkaria*k alderantzizko jokabidea erakutsi zuen. Bertako albisteek (0,54) kanpokoek (0,52) baino erantzun gehiago biltzen zituzten. Gainera, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako informazioa sakonen aztertutakoa izaten zen, Estatuetako albisteen gainetik.

Bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten berriak, baina, guztirako albisteak baino osatuagoak izaten ziren. Horrenbestez, bat zetorren informazioan albiste landuagoak agertzen zituzten: *Etb1*i 0,57ko puntuazioa esleitu zitzaion eta *Egunkaria*ri, 0,56 (hots, ohikoa baino lau ehunen gehiago).

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[427] Adibidez, "1996an jaiotako umeei zuzendutako meningitisaren aurkako txertoaren kanpaina" sakon azaltzeko ardura erakutsi zuen *Etb1*ek (1996/02/23).

129. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,55	0,53
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,57	0,56
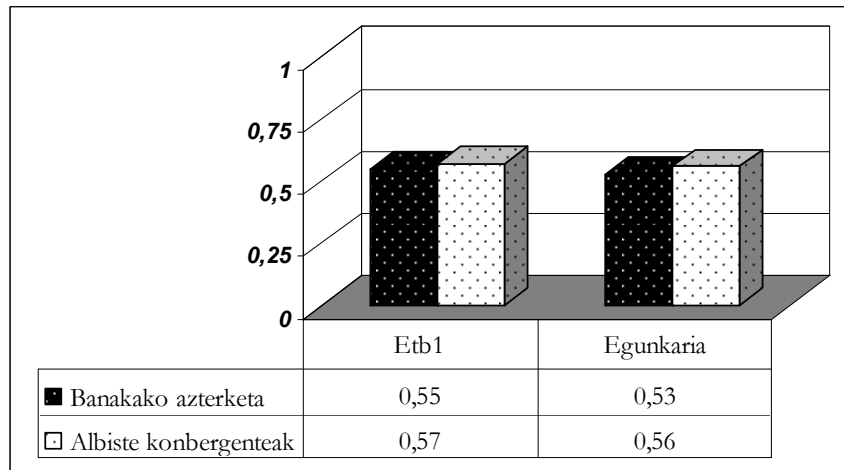
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k oinarrizko bospasei W galderen erantzunak zituen informazioa zabaltzen zuten, batik bat. Hala ere, ez zuten bertako albisteak kanpokoak baino osatuagoak izateko berezko informazio-azpiegiturarik. Horregatik, Euskal Herrian bertan sortutako albisterik gehien Kultura sailak biltzen zituenez, atal horrek berri osatugaberik gehien ere erakusten zuen. Albiste-hornitzaileen informazioa gainerako sailetara hedatzen zenez, berri horietan oinarrizko bospasei galderei erantzuten zieten euskarazko hedabideek, hornitzaileek eurek emandako erantzunak baziren ere.

a.7.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honetan, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k gero eta kazetaritza-galdera gehiagoren erantzunak plazaratzen zituzten. Horrenbestez, telebistak zazpi W galderen erantzunak agertzen zituzten albisteen kopurua heren batean igo zuen, aurreko epearekin alderatuta (%12,12tik %16,86ra). *Berria*k, gainera, ia hirukoiztu egin zituen (%8,03tik %22,34ra). Ondorioz, bospasei erantzunak zituzten albisteak aurreko epean baino gutxiago izan ziren. Era berean, bi hedabideek oinarrizko galderen erantzunak agertzen ez zituzten albisteen kopurua pixkatxo bat gutxitu zuten: *Etb1*ean %1,52 izatetik %1,12ko lekua hartzera pasatu ziren eta *Berria*n, %1,61etik %1,06ra. Albiste osatugabeak, berriro ere, astegunetan eman ziren. Are gehiago, Politika sailera ere hedatu ziren[428].

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[428] "[**Fiskaltzak ez du Bilboko deialdia debekatzeko arrazoirik ikusten**] Espainiako Auzitegi Nazionaleko Fiskaltzak ez du arrazoirik ikusten [*noiztik?*] herritar talde batek autodeterminazio

130. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (1990-2002)**
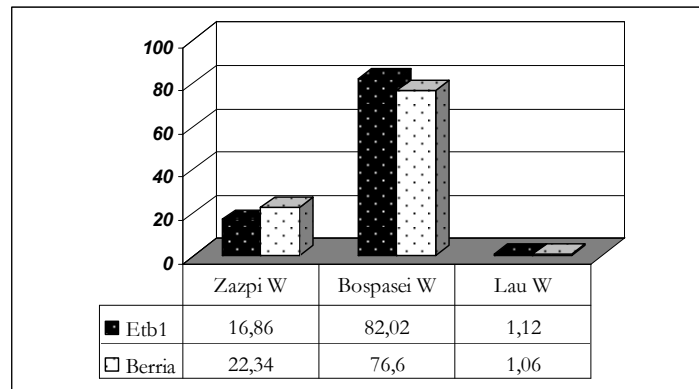
Iturria: Egilea.

Zazpi kazetaritza-galderen erantzunak ematen zituzten albisteen kopurua handitzearen ondorioz, bi hedabideek aurreko epean baino puntuazio hobea lortu zuten. ***Etb1*ek hiru ehunen irabazi zituen (aurrekoan 0,55 puntu lortu zituen eta orain, 0,58). *Berria*k (0,61) *Egunkaria*ren (0,53) emaitzak dezente hobetu zituen, zortzi ehunen gehiago lortu baitzituen**. Hala ere, *Etb1*ek asteburuetan emandako informazioa ez zen horren landua (0,5) eta *Berria*k, aldiz, oporraldietan albiste osatugabe gehien biltzen zituen (0,54).

Sailen arteko banaketari dagokionez, *Berria*k sakonen aztertutako albisteak Politika, Ekonomia, Gizarte eta Kultura ataletan biltzen zituen. Horrenbestez, kirol gaiek trataera arinagoa agertzen zuten. *Etb1*ek, ordea, hiru talde berezi zituen. Albisterik osatuenak Politika eta Kultura sailetan agertzen zituen. Ondoren, Gizartean informazioaren sakontasuna arindu zuen, lantzen hasi zen albisteen nolakotasunarekin

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eskubidearen alde Bilbon ostiralerako deitutako manifestazioa debekatzeko. Eusko Jaurlaritzako Herrizaingo Sailak eta Ertzaintzak manifestazioa baimendu ostean [*noiz?*], hartu du erabakia Fernando Burgos fiskalak [*noiz?*]. Hark idatzitako txostenak [*noiz?*] jasotzen duenez, Espainiako Konstituzioak jasotzen duen manifestazio eskubidea aintzat hartu du ekitaldia ez debekatzeko. Alabaina, ohartarazi du [*noiz?*] manifestazioa egin aurretik legez kanpoko erakunderen batek deitu duen zantzurik agertzen bada, eginbideak abiatuko dituela.

[…] Fiskaltzak Juan del Olmo epaileari igorri dio manifestazioari buruzko txostena [*noiz?*]. Izan ere, Herrizaingo Sailak manifestazioaren berri eman ostean [*noiz?*] irekitako aurretiazko eginbideen harira txostena eskatu baitzion [*noiz?*] Del Olmo epaileak Fiskaltzari." (*Berria*, 2006/08/23)

Hortaz, Fiskaltzak Bilboko manifestazioa ez debekatzeko erabakia *noiz* hartu zuen ebazterik ez dago. Gainera, albisteak ez du *noiz* galdera bati ere erantzuten: Fiskalak txostena noiz idatzi zuen, epaileari noiz eman zion, epaileak Fiskaltzari txostena noiz eskatu zion, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Herrizaingo Sailak manifestazioa noiz baimendu zuen edota epaileak erabakia noiz hartuko zuen. Beraz, ezin daiteke aurreko egintza baten denbora zehaztapenetik oraingo albistearen *noiz* galderaren erantzuna ondorioztatu.

bat zetorren tratamenduak hala eskatuta[429]. Azkenik, ekonomia gaiak kirol albisteen informazio sakontasunera berdindu zituen, hots, Ekonomiari buruzko berriek oinarrizko bospasei galderen erantzunak baino ez zituzten azaltzen.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonista denei buruzko berriek antzeko informazio sakontasuna azaltzen zuten. Dena den, *Etb1*ek eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteei tratamendu arinena ematen zien bitartean, *Berria*n Administrazioari buruzko albisteak gainerakoak baino nabarmen osatuagoak ziren.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bi hedabideen kazetaritza-ereduak berdindu zituen. Biek Euskal Herritik kanpoko informazioa bertakoa baino sakonago aztertzen zuten. *Etb1*ek ehunen bakar bateko aldea agertzen zuen (0,58, bertako albisteek; 0,59, kanpokoek), estatuen informazioaren osotasuna Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetakoarekin parekatu zuelako. *Berria*k, aldiz, bertako eta kanpoko albisteen arteko aldea areagotu zuen (0,59, bertakoek; 0,7 kanpokoek). Izan ere, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboek estatuek baino albiste osatu gehiago biltzen jarraitzen bazuten ere, Europan sortutako berrien %75ek zazpi galderen erantzunak agertzen zituzten. Gainerako sorterrietako albisteak, ordea, kopuru horren erdira ere ez ziren heltzen. Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboen kasuan, adibidez, albisterik osatuenek hartzen zuten portzentajea %30ekoa zen; tokian tokiko albisteetan, %7,41; estatuetatik zetorren informazioan, %27,78; eta nazioarteko berrietan, azkenik, %13,33.

*Euskal Telebista*n eta *Berria*n bat egindako albisteak, ikerketa diakronikoaren aurreko epean gertatutakoaren aurka, banakako azterketan baino osatugabeagoak izan ziren. Hau da, *Etb1*en ereduari jarraitu zionean, osotasun gutxiagoko albisteak landu zituen *Berria*k.

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[429] "Lapurreta bitxia: Ezkontzetarako ehun jantzi ostu dituzte Bilboko denda batetik", *Etb1* (2003/09/05).

131. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)**

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,58	0,61
▢ Albiste konbergenteak	0,55	0,58
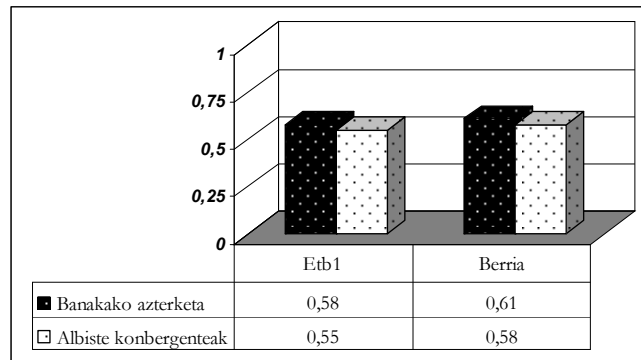
Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, *Euskal Telebista*k eta *Berria*k inoiz baino albiste osatugaberik gutxien plazaratu zituzten. Hala ere, gizarte gaiak gero eta osatugabeak zirela egiaztatu zen. Gainera, bi hedabideek bat egiten zituzten albisteetan ere osatugabeen kopurua ohikoa baino altuagoa zen.

a.7.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskarazko hiru hedabideek 2008an plazaratutako albisteen osotasunak, lehenengo eta behin, zazpi galderen erantzunak ematen zituzten berrien kopurua nabarmen txikitu zen. *Berria*k aurreko epeko joerari eutsi nahi izan zion bitartean (%22,34tik %21,25era jaitsi ziren), *Euskal Telebista*ren kasuan, adibidez, albisterik osatuenek aurreko epean azaldutako tartearen erdia baino ez zuten hartu (%16,86tik %8,76ra). Are gehiago, albiste horiek oinarrizko bost kazetaritza-galderei erantzuten ez zieten berriekin ordeztu zituen *Euskal Telebista*k. Izan ere, bi hedabideetako albiste osatugabeen kopurua biderkatu egin zen. *Euskadi Irratia*k, gainera, horrelako albisteak berri osatuenak baino sarriagotan aireratzen zituen.

132. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Zazpi W	Bospasei W	Lau W
■ Euskadi Irr.	8,41	64,16	27,43
▢ Etb1	8,76	78,35	12,89
▨ Berria	21,25	71,25	7,5
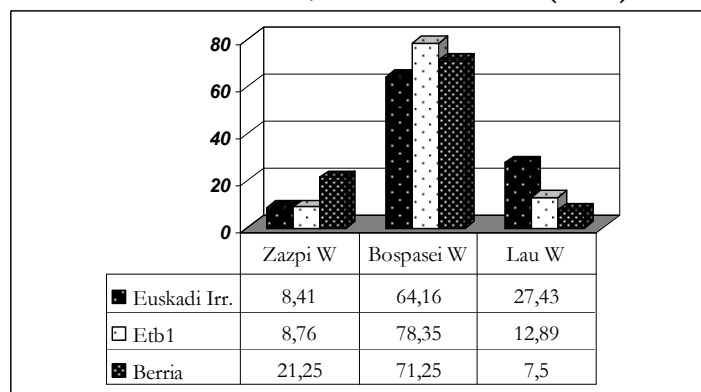
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **Euskadi Irratia**k 0,4 puntu lortu zituen; **Etb1**ek, 0,48; eta **Berria**k, 0,57. Gainera, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek urte osoan antzeko informazio sakontasuna agertu zuten. *Berria*k, baina, asteburu eta oporraldietan albiste osatuenen kopurua erdira jaitsi ez ezik, berri osatugabe gehien ere orduan argitaratzen zituen.

Sailen arteko banaketak hedabide bakoitzak hobesten zituen albisteen nolakotasuna zehazten zuen. Hortaz, hiru hedabideek bi talde agertzen zituzten: berririk osatuenak biltzen zituzten atalak eta albisterik osatugabeenak hartzen zituzten sailak. Hiru hedabideek batzen zituzten ezaugarriek *Etb1*en eredura gerturatzen zituzten. *Euskal Telebista*k Politika sailean albisterik osatuenak agertzen zituen bitartean, berririk osatugabeenak Kulturan ematen zituen. Horretaz gain, beste bi hedabideek eredu horri ñabardurak baino ez zizkioten gehitzen. *Euskadi Irratia*n, batetik, gizarte gaiak albisterik osatuenak ziren eta kirolak, osatugabeenak. *Berria*k, bestetik, kirol albisteen informazio landua hobetsi zuen, politika eta ekonomia gaiez gain, eta Gizarte atalean gero eta albiste osatugabeagoak biltzen zituen.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonistei erreparatuta, ikerketa sinkronikoak hedabideek arinago landutako berriak azaldu zituzten. Horrenbestez, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berriak informazio sakontasunik gutxien zuten bitartean, *Berria*k protagonistarik agertzen ez zuten albisteak azaletik lantzen zituen.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteak bertakoak baino osatuagoak izateko joera egiaztatu zuen. Are gehiago, *Berria*ren kasuan, zenbat eta albisteak urrunagokoak izan, orduan eta osatuagoak izaten ziren. Adibidez, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako berriek nagusitasuna galdu zuten. Hortaz, eremu horietan (EAEn, Nafarroako Foru Erkidegoan eta Iparraldean) gertatutako albisteen %25ek bakarrik zazpi galderen erantzunak ematen zituzten. Europatik zetozen berrien portzentaje hori, ordea, %26,67koa zen (aurreko epean %75 izatera heldu zen) eta nazioartean sortutako albisterik osatuenek hartzen zuten portzentajea guztirako berrien %29,63koa zen. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek aireratutako albisterik osatuenen kopurua txikiagoa izan arren, horietariko gehienek Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako informazioa azaltzen zuten, Europatik zetorrena batez ere. Are okerrago, *Euskal Telebista*k Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan 2008an sortutako albiste batek ere ez zuen zazpi galderen erantzunik agertu. Horrenbestez, bertako informazioak 0,4ko puntuazioa lortu zuen *Euskadi Irratia*n; 0,46, *Etb1*ean; eta 0,54, *Berria*n. Kanpoko albisteei, aldiz, 0,47

puntu esleitu zitzaizkien, *Euskadi Irratia*n; 0,5, *Etb1*ean; eta 0,62, *Berria*n. Hortaz, gertuko informazioa ulertzera emateko gakoak galdu zituzten hedabideek.

Euskarazko hiru hedabideetan bat egindako albisteek banakako azterketan baino emaitza hobeak lortu zituzten. *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat zetorren *Berria*ko informazioak albisterik osatuenak lantzen zituen.

133. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
_Euskadi Irratia_ren, _Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)
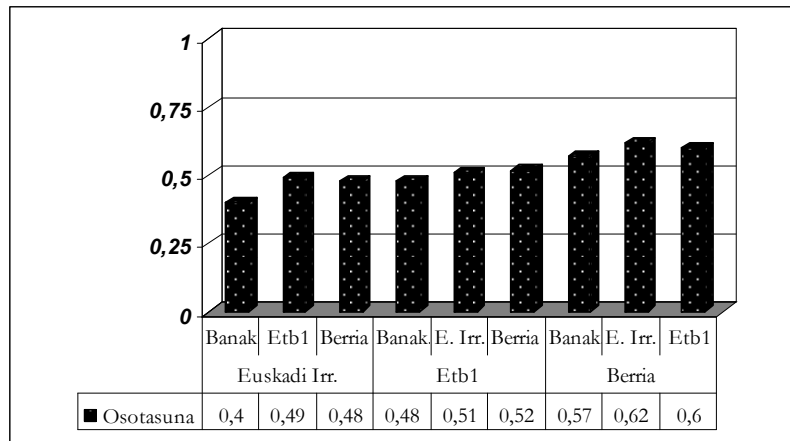
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketan, euskarazko hedabideak bikain aritu ziren. Irratien alderaketan, alde batetik, euskarazkoek zazpi kazetaritza-galderen erantzunak maizago agertzen zituzten. *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat egindako *Euskalerria Irrati*ko albisteen erdia, esaterako, berririk osatuenek hartzen zuten; *Gure Irratia*n ere guztirako %30,77ko lekua zuten. Azken horrek, gainera, ez zuen oinarrizko bost galderen erantzunak biltzen ez zituen albisterik aireratu. Hala ere, *France Bleu* eredu horretatik urrundu zen (zabaldutako berrien %33,33 osatugabeak baitziren). *France Bleu*rekin bat *Euskadi Irrati*ko egindako informazio ere punturik gutxien zuen. Bestetik, erdarazko irratiek bost galderen erantzunen bat falta zutenen albisteen kopururik altuenak agertu zituzten (%24,14, *Cadena Ser*rek eta %35,29k, *Radio Euskadi*k[430]).

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[430] Esaterako, Osakidetzako langileen grebaren inguruko *Radio Euskadi*ko albisteak ez zion *noiz* galderari erantzun: "Hablamos ahora de la huelga [*zer*] en Osakidetza [*non*]. La Dirección del Servicio Vasco de Salud cifra el seguimiento en un 16% [*zelan*], mientras que los sindicatos [*nork*], sin entrar en datos [*zelan*], afirman que ha sido ampliamente secundada, a pesar de que Satse y UGT se hayan descolgado de la convocatoria. El consejero de Sanidad, Gabriel Inclán, reconoce que una huelga supone siempre un fracaso, pero confía en llegar a un acuerdo con todos. Las centrales, pendientes de valorar la última propuesta, acusan a Osakidetza de buscar la división sindical." *Radio Euskadi* (2008/02/21)
  *Euskadi Irratia*k, ordea, zazpi galderen erantzunak bildu zituen: "Osakidetzako [*non*] huelga orokorrak ez du aurrekoen [*nondik*] adina jarraitzaile izan [*zer*], gaur osteguunean Satsek nahiago izan du

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134. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
*Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,71	0,42	0,65	0,34	0,41
Euskadi Irratia	0,46	0,25	0,46	0,46	0,45
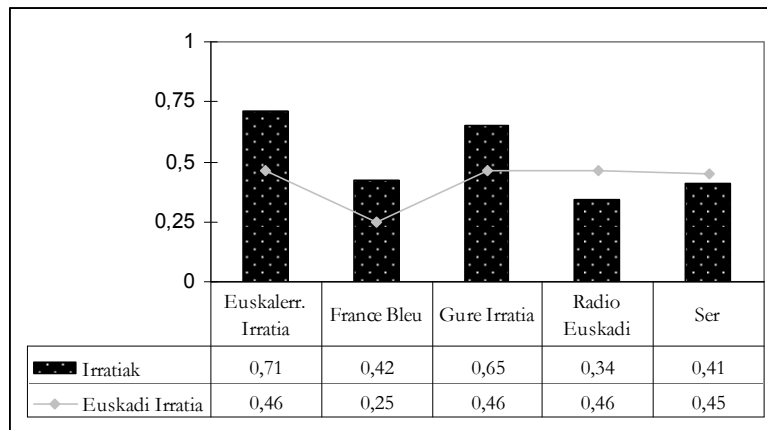
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebisten alderaketan, *Telecinco*ren kasuan, oinarrizko bost galderen erantzunen bat falta zuten berriek *Etb1*ekin bat egindako albisteen %21,05 hartzen zuten (*Euskal Telebista*k baino hiru aldiz gehiago). Hala ere, *Etb2*ren aurrean, euskarazko telebistak ahulezia handiagoa erakutsi zuen. Izan ere, erredakzio bakarrak bi albistegiak ekoizten dituenez, adierazpenetan oinarritutako albisteak erdarazko iturriek ahoz eta irudiz emandako informazioan oinarritzen ziren. Albiste-iturri erdaldunekin landutako berrietan, jatorrizko hizkuntzan aritzen direnek ez dute erdarazko albistegian adinako denbora tarterik hartzerik. Horregatik, albisteok osatugabe geratzen dira, jatorrizko bertsio luzeak kazetaritza-galderen erantzun gehiago biltzen dituelako[431].

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negoziaketarako tartea utzi eta ez du bat egin [*zergatik*] gaurko deialdian [*noiz*]. Beste sindikatuek [*nork*], berriz, baikor [*zelan*] ikusten dute gaur izan duten indarra eta *tempoak* beraiek jarriko dituztela negoziaketan esan dute denek batera Bilbon egin duten agerraldian.

[…] Osakidetzako Zuzendaritzaren esanetan, jarraipen eskasa izan du gaurko huelgak: %15,7ko datua [*zer*] eman digute Osakidetzako iturriek." *Euskadi Irratia* (2008/02/21)

[430] Esaterako, "Fran Yestek onartu du Klubak espedientea zabaldu diola […]", *Etb1*ean, (2008/02/6) edo "Respuesta de Fran Yeste a quienes han criticado sus salidas nocturnas", *Etb2*n. Era berean, Espainiako Gobernuak EAEko Kontsulta Legeari helegitea ipintzeko Espainiako Presidenteordearen iragarpena albiste oso bihurtu izanak erdarazko katearen albistegiari mesede egin zion eta euskarazkoa, aldiz, kaltetu: "Erreakzioa: Auzitegiko bidea lehenbailehen", *Etb1*ean, (2008/06/27) edo "Reacciones: Recurso inminente", *Etb2*n.

[431] Esaterako, "Fran Yestek onartu du Klubak espedientea zabaldu diola […]", *Etb1*ean, (2008/02/6) edo "Respuesta de Fran Yeste a quienes han criticado sus salidas nocturnas", *Etb2*n. Bigarren horrtean, Yestek berak bere egoera luze azaldu zuen. Horrenbestez, bere adierazpenak ez ezik, gorputzaren adierazpenak ere albistea osatzeko gakoak eskaintzen zituen.

Era berean, Espainiako Gobernuak EAEko Kontsulta Legeari helegitea ipintzeko Espainiako Presidenteordearen iragarpena albiste bihurtu zuen *Etb*k. Erdarazko katearen albistegiari mesede egin zion, Presidenteordeak berak iragarpearen nondik norakoak azaldu zituelako. Euskarazko albistegia, aldiz, kaltetuta geratu zen, erdarazko adierazpenetatik sortutako albiste legez, gabeziak azaleratu zituelako ("Erreakzioa: Auzitegiko bidea lehenbailehen", *Etb1*ean, (2008/06/27) edo "Reacciones: Recurso inminente", *Etb2*n).

135. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,51	0,5
Etb1	0,48	0,54
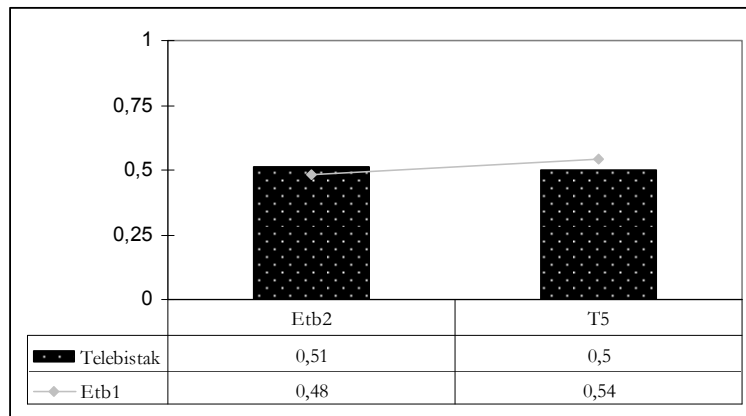
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskal Herriko egunkarien arteko alderaketa, azkenik, zazpi galderen erantzunak ematen zituzten berriek egunkarien sailkapena ahalbidetu zuen. Lehenengo eta behin, *Diario Vasco*n zazpi galderen erantzunak biltzen zituzten albisteen portzentajea %30etik gorakoa izan zen (%37,5 alegia). Ondoren, %20tik %30ra bitarteko albiste osatuenen tartea azaldu zutenen artean, *El Correo Español* (%26,47), *Diario de Navarra* (%22,22), *Diario de Noticias de Álava* (%21,21) eta *Gara* (%20) agertu ziren. *El Correo Español*ek, baina, oinarrizko bost galderei erantzuten ez zieten berrien kopururik altuena ere zuen (%17,65, hots, *Berria*k baino sei bider gehiago). *Diario de Noticias de Álava*rekin ere antzera gertatu zen. *Gara*k baino albiste osatu gehiago bildu arren, azken horretan oinarrizko bost galderei erantzuten ez zieten albisteen kopurua %2koa zen bitartean, *Diario de Noticias de Álava*n %6,06koa zen. Hortaz, albisterik osatuenen portzentajerik txikiena *Le Journal du Pays Basque*k erakutsi zuen (%12,5), baina albiste guzti-guztiek gutxienez oinarrizko bost galderen erantzunak agertzen zituzten.

136. Grafikoa – Osotasuna (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,54	0,58	0,59	0,66	0,59	0,56
Berria	0,54	0,56	0,52	0,59	0,59	0,63
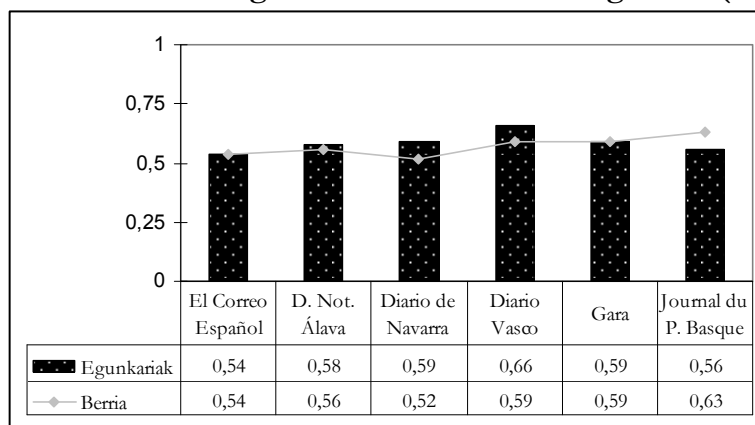
Iturria: Egilea.

Oinarrizko bost galderei erantzuna ematen dieten albisteek, kalitatea ekoitzi baino, kazetaritza-jarduna egingarri bihurtzen dute. Horregatik, bost galderen erantzunik falta duten berriek ez dute beharrezko gutxieneko informaziorik zabaltzen. Are gehiago, albiste osatugabe horiek kiroletan bakarrik agertzeari utzi egin zioten. Horrenbestez, sail guztiek berri osatugabeak azaldu zituzten. Aldi berean, zazpi galderen erantzunak ematen zituzten albisteak ikus-entzunezkoetan gero eta gutxiago izateko joera berretsi zuten *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek, irratien eta telebista-kateen alderaketak ere bai.

a.8. <mark>Ikuspegi-kopurua</mark> (*Number of perspectives*)

Adierazle honek berriek zenbat ikuspegi arrazoitzeko argudioak ematen dituzten neurtzen du. Hortaz, ez da bi ikuspegi agertzeaz ari, azaltzen diren ikuspegiei eusteko argudioak erakutsi behar dituzte albisteek. Horren arabera, ikuspegi bakarra lantzen duten berriek 0,25 puntu izango dituzten, jarrera horri eusteko argudioak azaltzen badituzte. Bestela, ez dute punturik izango. Albistearen bi ikuspegiak agertzen dituzten berriek puntu erdia lortuko dute. Gaia hiru ikuspuntutatik azaltzen duten albisteei puntu osoa esleituko zaie.

a.8.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak bi epe hartuko ditu kontuan. Batetik, euskarazko kazetaritza ereduei erreparatuko die, *Egunkaria*ren sorreratik bertatik (1990-2002). Bestetik, euskarazko kazetaritza-proiektuen sendotzea aztertuko du, hau da, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko aldia.

a.8.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k zabaldutako albisterik gehienek ikuspegi bakarra azaltzen zuten, baina jarrera hori argudiatzeko azalpena ematen zuten. Ondoren, albisteen bi ikuspuntuak eskaintzen zituzten albiste kopuru bikoitza agertu zuen *Egunkaria*k. *Etb1*ek, ostera, argudiorik gabeko ikuspegi bakarreko berrien portzentaje altua erakutsi zuen (%11,36). Izan ere, hiru ikuspegiak agertzen zituzten albisteen kopurua hutsal-hutsala zen bi hedabideetan.

137. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Hiru ikuspegi	Bi ikuspegi	Ikuspegi bakarra	Ikuspegi bat (argudiorik ez)
■ Etb1	0,76	11,36	76,52	11,36
□ Egunkaria	0,4	20,08	75,5	4,02
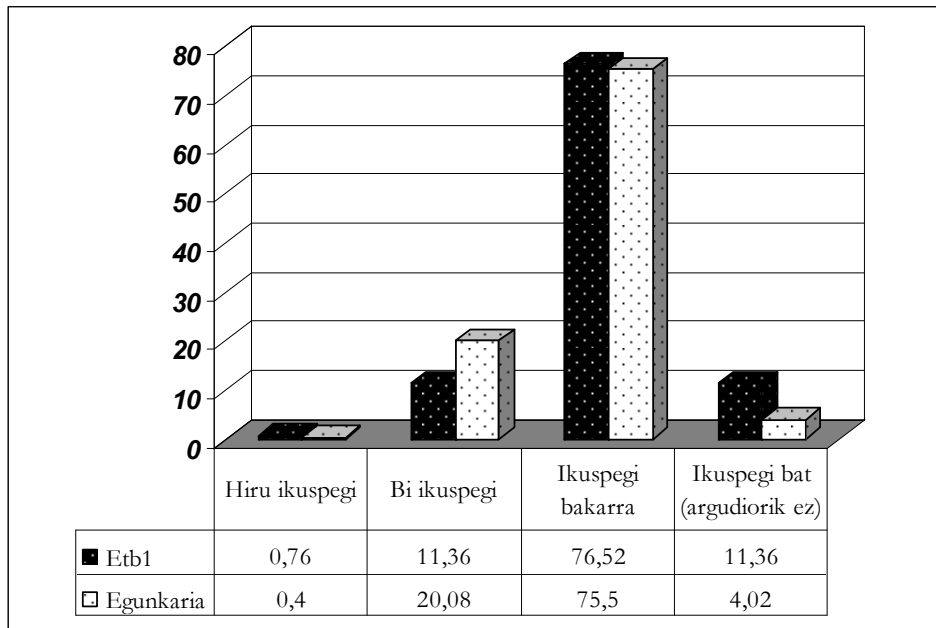
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, albisteek azaltzen zuten ikuspegi-kopurua zela-eta, ***Etb1*ek 0,26 puntu lortu zituen eta *Egunkaria*k, 0,29**. Dena den, asteburu eta oporraldietan puntuazio baxuagoa izaten zuten.

Sailen araberako gai-banaketa zeharo argigarria bihurtu zen. Bi hedabideek ikuspegi gehien agertzen zituzten albisteak Politika eta Ekonomia sailetan biltzen zituzten. Ondoren, Kultura eta Kirol atalak zetozen. Azkenik, Gizarte sailak politika albisteen puntuazio erdia izaten zuen.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonista motaren arabera ere ikuspegi-kopurua aldatzen zen. Alde batetik, Administrazioa azaltzen zuten berrietan puntuaziorik altuena lortzen zuten bi hedabideek. Bestetik, eragile profesionalek eta autonomoek ohiko puntuazioa izaten zuten. Dena den, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak zero (0) balioarekin parekatzeraino heldu ziren (0,07, *Etb1*ean eta 0,06, *Egunkaria*n).

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteek bertakoek baino ikuspegi-kopuru gehiago agertzen zituztela egiaztatu zuen. *Etb1*ek aireratzen zituen kanpoko albisteek bertakoek baino puntu gehiago izaten bazituzten ere (0,022, bertakoek; 0,27, kanpokoek), *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n aldea zabalagoa zen oraindik (0,25, bertakoek; 0,30, kanpokoek). Are gehiago, zenbat eta urrunagoko albistea izan, orduan eta ikuspegi gehiago azaltzen zituen. Beraz, gertuko errealitatearen perspektiba soila azaltzen zuten.

Hala ere, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteen azterketak idatzizko prentsak ikuspegi gehiago agertzeko joera zuela azaldu zuen. Horrela, *Etb1*ek 0,27ko puntuazioa izan zuen (ehunen bat irabazi zuen) eta *Egunkaria*k, ordea, 0,32 (banakako azterketan baino hiru ehunen gehiago).

138. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,26	0,29
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,27	0,32
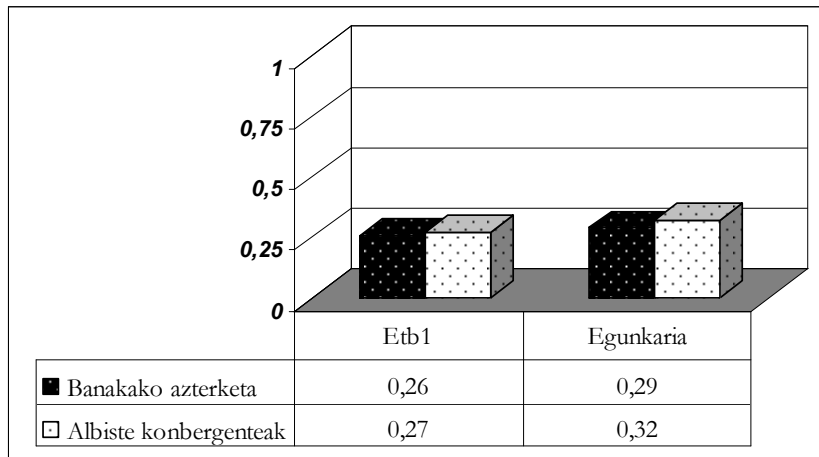
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k 1990tik 2002ra bitartean, ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak hobetsi zituzten. Hortaz, bi ikuspegi ematen zituzten berriak Politika sailean agertzen ziren edota Administrazioaren ordezkariak erakusten zituzten albisteak ziren. Hala ere, Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako berriek bertakoek baino ikuspegi gehiagoren berri emateak bertako albisteekiko esku-hartze maila murritzagoa erakusten zuen.

a.8.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, *Etb1*eko albisteek agertzen zuten ikuspegi-kopuruak muturreko bi joera agertu zituen. Alde batetik, *Berria*k bi ikuspegi plazaratzen zituzten albisteen kopurua sendotu zuen eta lehenengo informazio mota osatzen zuten (%20,08tik %57,14ra). Era berean, bi hedabideek hiru ikuspegidun berriak zabaltzeari ekin zieten. Beste aldetik, bi hedabideek ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak ere indartu zituzten, jarrera ulertzeko argudiorik eman gabe, gainera. Hortaz, hedabideen bostena horrelako informazioa izaten zen.

139. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Hiru ikuspegi	Bi ikuspegi	Ikuspegi bakarra	Ikuspegi bat (argudiorik ez)
■ Etb1	2,25	7,87	71,9	17,98
□ Berria	2,86	57,14	20,00	20,00
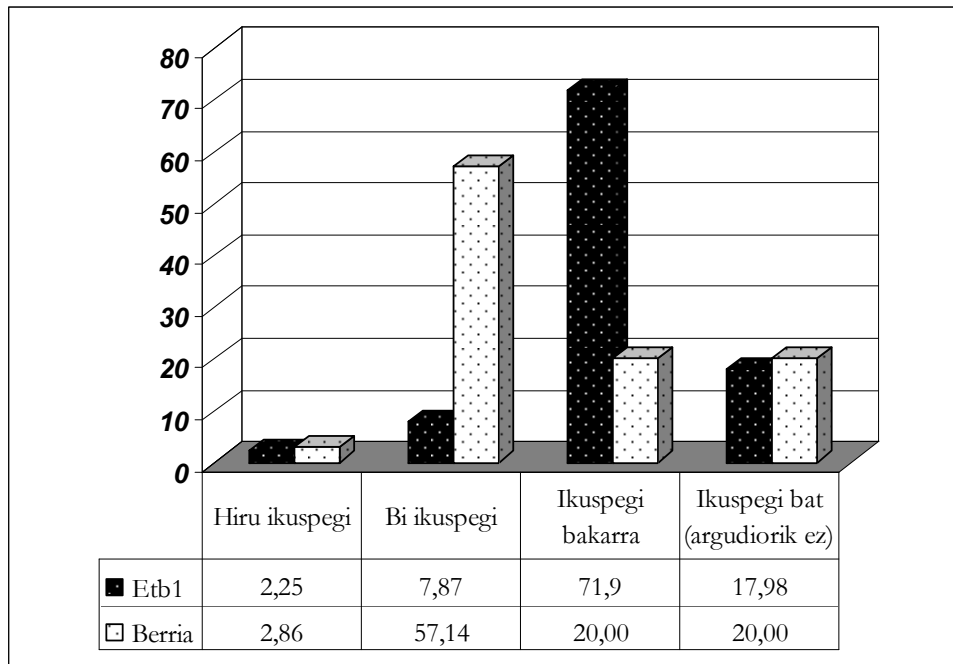
Iturria: Egilea.

Horregatik, ***Etb1*eko albisteek 0,24 puntu lortu zituzten eta *Berria*koek, 0, 29**. Hortaz, aurreko epearekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek bi ehunen galdu zituen. *Berria*k, ostera, aurreko epeko puntuazioari eutsi zion, plazaratzen zuen albiste-ereduak bi ikuspegi zabaltzeko ahalegin handia egin bazuen ere. Izan ere, bere egoera argudiatzen ez zuen perspektiba bakarreko informazioari aurrekoan baino bost bider handiagoko lekua egiten zion. Gainera, asteburu eta oporraldietan puntuazio horiek oraindik apalagoak izaten ziren.

Sailen araberako banaketak Politika eta Ekonomia ataletan ikuspegi gehiago zituzten albisteak biltzen zirela erakutsi zuen. Horrenbestez, perspektiba bakarreko albisteek gizarte gaien berri ematen zuten.

Albisteek azaltzen zituzten protagonista moten arteko dikotomiari modu berean eutsi zioten. Batetik, Administrazioa agertzen zuten albisteek ikuspegi gehien integratzen zituzten. Bestetik, protagonista identifikaturik ez zuten berriak ikuspegi bakarrekoak izaten ziren, egoera horri eusteko argudiorik azaldu barik.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak epe honetako aldaketarik nabarmena izan zuen. *Berria*n kanpoko albisteek bertakoek baino ikuspegi-kopuru altuagoa agertzen zuten bitartean (0,28, bertakoek; 0,32, kanpokoek), *Etb1*ek Euskal Herriko bertako albisteetan ikuspegi gehiago azaldu zituen. Horrela, kanpoko berriek baino puntu

gehiago lortu zituzten (0,26, bertakoek eta 0,23, kanpokoek). Are gehiago, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan sortutako albisteek (EAEkoek, batik bat) ikuspegi gehien agertzen zituzten.

Hala ere, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek puntu gutxiago lortu zituzten. *Etb1*i 0,25 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion (banakako azterketan baino ehunen bat gutxiago) eta *Berria*ri, 0,27 (bi ehunen galdu zituen). Beraz, *Berria*rekin bat egiten zuen *Etb1*eko informazioak kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa agertzen zuen bitartean, telebistarekin bat zetorren *Berria*ko albisteek ikuspegi bakarra azaltzen zuten, horixe argudiatu gabe. Hala ere, epe honetan, *Berria*k *Etb1*ekiko konbergentzia areagotu zuen.

140. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
_Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,24	0,29
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,25	0,27
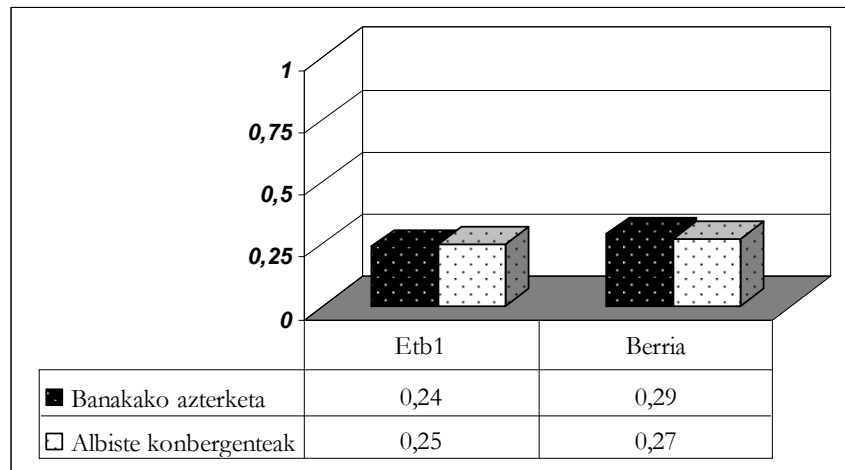
Iturria: Egilea.

Aurreko epean ez bezala, zenbait ikuspegi zabaltzeko ahalegina egin zuten bi hedabideek. Hala ere, albiste horiek Politika eta Ekonomia ataletan biltzen ziren. Era berean, Administrazioaren berri ematen zuten, batik bat. *Etb1*ean, zegoeneko, gizarte gaiek gero eta ikuspegi-kopuru murritzagoa aurkezten zuten (ia politika albisteen puntuazio erdia esleitu zitzaien).

a.8.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

*Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k 2008an plazaratutako albisteak inoiz baino ikuspegi bakarrekoagoak izan ziren. Hortaz, ikuspegi bakarraren nagusitasuna ekarri zuten. Alde batetik, *Berria*k berriro albiste-eredu horri heldu zion. Hala ere, argudiorik gabeko ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak gutxitu zituen eta bi ikuspegi emateari sendoei eutsi zion hedabidea izan zen. Beste aldetik, *Euskadi Irratia*k ere ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak

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aireratu zituen. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ekin bat etorri zen. Azken hori, baina, argudioak eskaintzen zituen ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak alboratzen hasia zen. Ondorioz, telebista publikoak argudiorik zabaltzen ez zuten ikuspegi bakarreko berriak indartu zituen.

prentsa idatziaren ezaugarriei jarraituz, *Berria*k hiru ikuspegi emateko joerari eutsi zion, baina albistearen alde biak agertzeko eskakizuna malgutu zuen. Irratiaren bat-batekotasunak dakarren ikuspegi bakarrerako nagusitasuna, baina, ez zuen *Euskadi Irratia*k agertu, *Etb1*ek baino.

141. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Hiru ikuspegi	Bi ikuspegi	Ikuspegi bakarra	Ikuspegi bat (argudiorik ez)
■ Euskadi Irr.	0,88	9,29	77,88	11,95
□ Etb1	1,03	8,25	62,37	28,35
▨ Berria	1,88	15,63	71,25	11,24
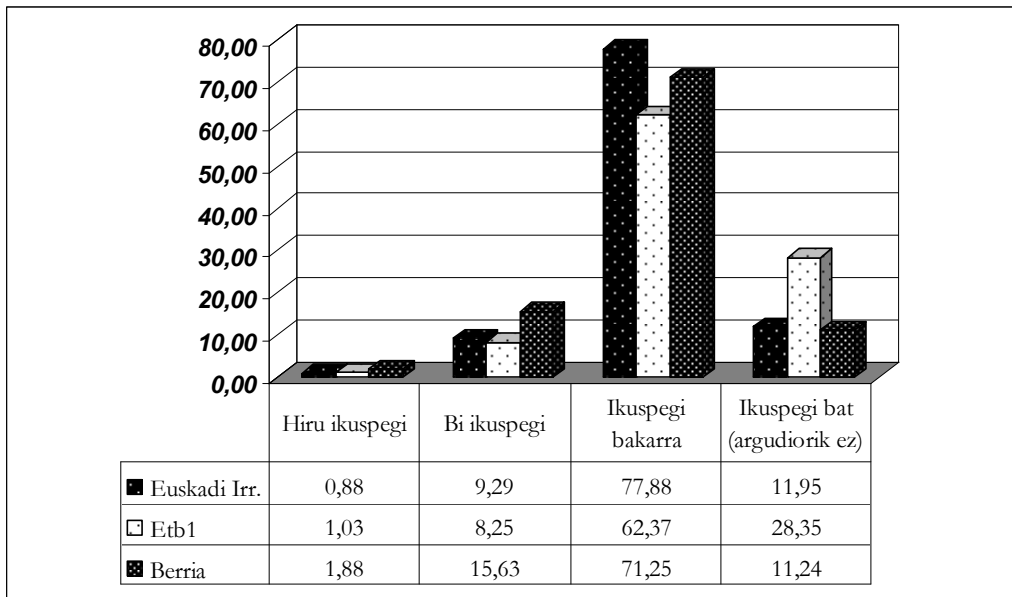
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **Euskadi Irratia**k 0,25 puntu lortu zituen; **Etb1**ek, 0,21; eta **Berria**k, 0,28. Gainera, asteburuetan oporraldietan baino puntuazio nabarmen txikiagoa izaten zuten.

Aniztasunaren adierazleek ikerketa diakronikoaren joerak baieztatu zituzten. Sailkako gai-banaketak Politika eta Ekonomia ataletako albisteek ikuspegi gehien eskaintzen zutela egiaztatu zuen. Gainera, puntuaziorik txikiena Gizarte saileko berriek ez ezik, kultur gaiek ere ikuspegi bakarreko eredu hori hartu zuten.

Albisteek agertzen zuten protagonista motaren arabera, Administrazioari buruzko albisteek ikuspegi-kopururik altuena azaltzen zuten hiru hedabideetan. Are gehiago, puntuazio hori ohikoa baino altuagoa izaten zen. Aldi berean, protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak zero (0) baliotik gero eta gertuago azaltzen ziren (0,1, *Euskadi Irratia*n; 0,07, *Etb1*ean; eta 0,08, *Berria*n).

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bertako eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteak parekatu zituen. Tokiko informazioak lekua galtzean, *Berria*k ere informazio-eredu hori onartu zuen. Horrela, kazetak plazaratutako bertako albisteek 0,27 puntu lortu zituzten bitartean, kanpokoek 0,29 izan zituzten. Ildo beretik, *Etb1*ean ere bertako berriek kanpokoek baino puntuazio txikiagoa erakusten zuten (0,21 eta 0,23, hurrenez hurren). Azkenik, *Euskadi Irratia*k joera horrekin bat egin zuen, baina alderik txikiena agertu zuen: 0,25 puntu, bertako berriek eta 0,26, kanpokoek.

Hiru hedabideek berezko duten euskarazko komunikazio-esparruko gaiek kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa suspertzen zutela egiaztatu zuten hiru hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek. Izan ere, banakako azterketan baino emaitza hobeak lortzen zituzten, *Etb1*ekin bat egin zuen *Berria*ko albisteak izan ezik.

142. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
_Euskadi Irratia_ren, _Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)

	Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria		
	Banak.	Etb1	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Etb1
■ Ikuspegiak	0,25	0,29	0,29	0,21	0,24	0,26	0,28	0,29	0,27
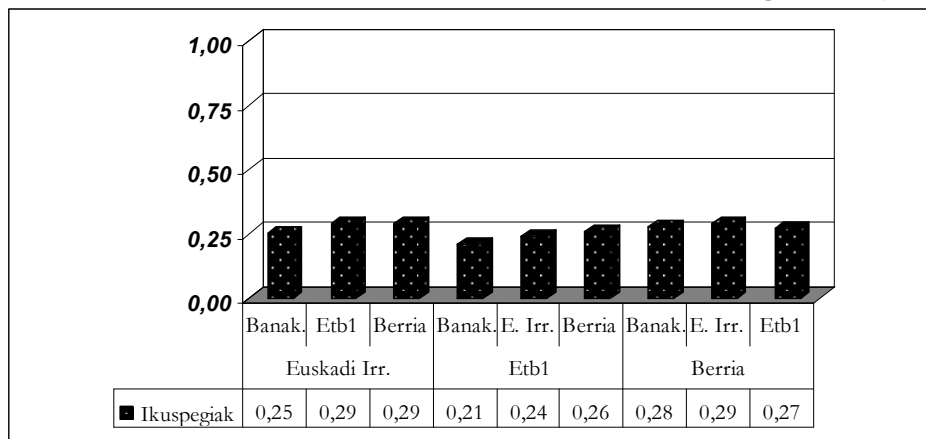
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketak, azkenik, euskarazko hedabideek erdarazkoek baino informazioaren ikuspegi gehiago lantzen zituztela egiaztatu zuen. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia* ikuspegirik gehien zabaltzen zuen irratietako bat zela frogatu zuen. Horrenbestez, *Euskalerria Irratia*k puntuaziorik altuena lortu zuen, bi eta hiru ikuspegidun albisteen kopururik altuena zabaltzen zuen irratia zelako. Aldi berean, ikuspegi bakarreko albistea oso urriak ziren (erdia baino ez). Gainerako hedabideetan, ordea, ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak %80tik gorakoak izaten ziren. Are gehiago, *Cadena Ser*rek eta *France Bleu*k ez zuten hiru ikuspegi agertzen zituen albisterik agertu.

143. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,39	0,29	0,29	0,26	0,26
Euskadi Irratia	0,25	0,33	0,30	0,28	0,27
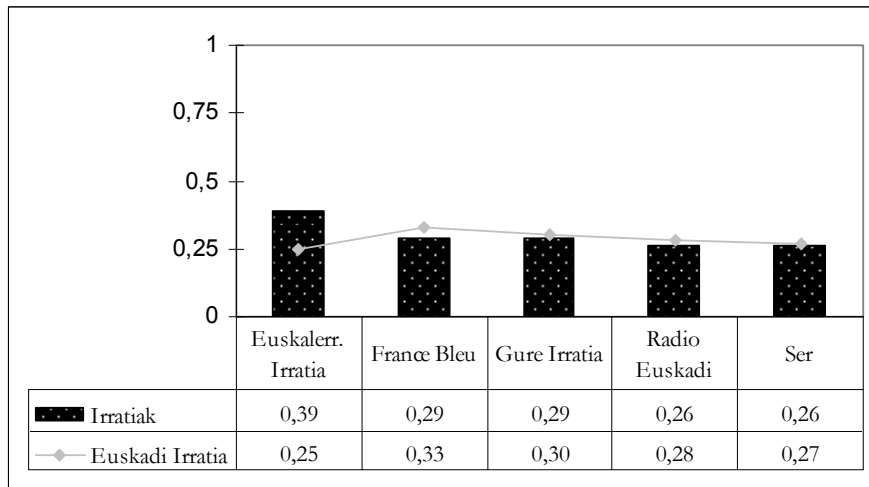
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebistek aireratutako albisteek ikuspegi bakarra agertzeko joera handia erakutsi zuten. Horrenbestez, horrelako berriak guztirako %85etik gora ziren hiru telebistetan eta aldiz, hiru ikuspegiko berriak urri-urriak ziren. *Telecinco*k, esaterako, ez zuen horrelakorik aireratu. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek *Etb2*k baino puntuazio altutxoagoa lortu zuen, albiste bera eman arren, lehenengoak bi aldeen argudioak azaltzen zituelako eta gaztelerazko kateak, ordea, ikuspegi bakarra hobesten zuelako. Aurreko atalean albiste-iturri erdaldunekiko ahulezia azaldu dugun moduan, euskarazko albistegian erdarazko adierazpenak tartekatzen zirenean, haiek ez zuten informazio osoa ematen, *Etb2*koak baino laburragoak izaten ziren-eta. Berriek zabaltzen duten ikuspegi-kopuruari dagokionez, *Etb1*ek euskaraz lortutako adierazpenak ez zituen *Etb2*k aireratzen, albisteari bigarren ikuspegia ekarri arren. Esaterako, Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteei bertako ikuspegia gaineratzen dion testigantza euskaraz jasota zegoenean[432], *Etb2*k euskarazko adierazpenak zabaltzeari uko egin zion. Dena den, hiru telebista horiek argudiorik eskaintzen ez zuten ikuspegi bakarreko albisteei gainerako hedabidek baino tarte handiagoa egiten zieten.

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[432] Adibidez, "Esku bionikoa: Bartzelonan jarri diote ume bati" (2008/01/22) albistean, guraso euskaldun batek azaldutako bere umearen egoera eta ebakuntza horrek ekarriko dizkion onurak *Etb1*eko albisteak bakarrik zabaldu zituen. Horregatik, albiste bera eman zuten erdarazko telebistek ikuspegi bakarra agertu zuten: "Mano biónica: A una niña de 13 años", *Etb2*n edo "Primera niña biónica", *Telecinco*n.

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144. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,21	0,23
Etb1	0,22	0,24
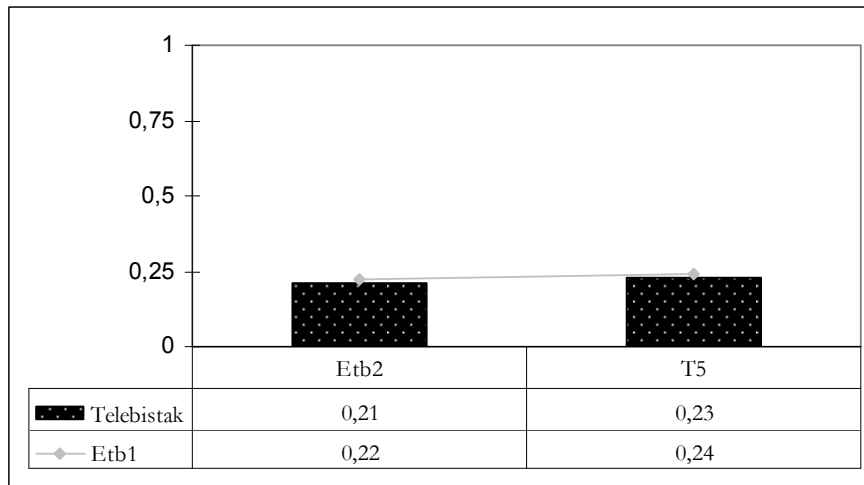
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, idatzizko prentsari iritzi-sortzaile esaten zaio, albistean agertzen diren ikuspegiei eusteko argudioak ematea berezko duelakoan. Hala ere, Euskal Herriko erdarazko egunkarien kazetaritza-jarduna ez dago ezaugarri horren arabera azaltzerik. Alde batetik, *Gara*n eta *Diario de Noticias de Álava*ren ikuspegi bakarreko albisteek guztirako %80ko tartea hartzen zuten. Are gehiago, *El Correo Español*ek, *Diario Vasco*k eta *Diario de Navarra*k albisteen %90etan ikuspegi bakarreko informazioa ematen zuten. Bestetik, hiru ikuspegien argudioak eskaintzen zituzten albisteak oso urriak ziren. Gainera, bat egin zuten berrietan horrelako albisterik eman ez zuten zenbait hedabide ere badago (hala nola *Le Journal du Pays Basque, Diario Vasco, Diario de Noticias de Álava* eta *Diario de Navarra*). Emaitzarik onenak zituzten hedabideek adina puntu lortu zituen *Berria*k eta gainerakoen markak, gainera, gainditu egin zituen.

145. Grafikoa – Ikuspegi-kopurua (%):
***Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,27	0,29	0,22	0,24	0,28	0,33
Berria	0,28	0,32	0,29	0,28	0,28	0,33
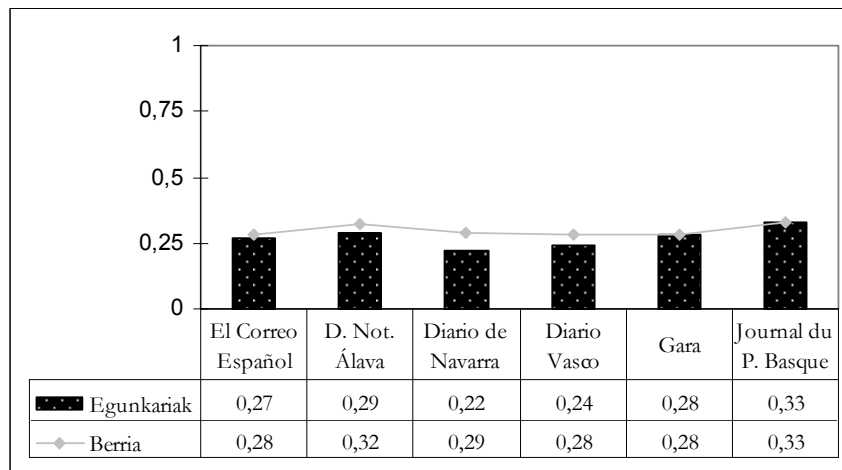
Iturria: Egilea.

Gertaeraren bi ikuspegi azaltzen duten albisteak gero eta urriagoak dira. Alderantziz, ikuspegi bati ere heltzeko argudiorik eskaintzen ez duten berriak nabarmen ugaritu dituzte hedabideok. Hortaz, kazetaritza lasterra komunikazio-jarduaren mehatxu handienetarikoa da. Gainera, bien bitartean, Gizarte saileko albisteek zein protagonista identifikaturik ez dutenek ikuspegi bakarra baino ez dute eskaintzen. Are gehiago, bertako albisteek ez dute kanpoan sortutakoek baino ikuspegi gehiago azaltzeko gaitasunik erakutsi.

a.9. Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (*Adequacy of additional informational elements*)

Informazio-elementu gehigarriek albistea osatzea dute helburu. Irratian hotsak izaten dira (leku publikoetako soinuak, lagun baten ahotsa...). Telebistak, gainera, albistearen berri ematen duten irudi eta hots editatugabeak zabaltzen ditu. Egunkariek, azkenik, irudia baino ez dute erabiltzen. Horregatik, informazio-elementu gehigarriek albistean bertan landutako zenbat kazetaritza-galderen erantzun biltzen dituzten neurtuko da atal honetan. Irudien bitartez bost kazetaritza-galdera baino gehiago erantzutea ezinezkotzat jotzen denez, lauzpabost galderei erantzuteko gai diren informazio-elementuek puntu osoa lortuko dute ("oso esanguratsuak"). Bigarrenik, bizpahiru galderen erantzunak biltzen dituztenak "esanguratsutzat" hartuko dira eta, beraz, puntu erdi esleituko zaie. Hirugarrenik, albistearen galdera bakarra erantzuten dutenek ez dute punturik izango, "betelan" eginkizuna dutelako. Hortik aurrera, gainera, puntu negatiboak ekarriko dituzten informazio-elementu gehigarriak ere aurreikusten ditu Albisteen Kalite-Indizeak. Horrela, elementuak ez badu galdera bat ere erantzuten edo albiste horrekiko desegokia bada, puntuazio osoari puntu erdi kenduko dio. Are gehiago, desegokia izatez gain, teknikoki eskasa ere bada, puntu osoa kenduko dio.

a.9.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Aurreko adierazleetan bezala. ikerketa diakronikoak bi epe aztertuko ditu. Batetik, 1990-2002 bitartean, euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak ikertuko ditu. Bestetik, 2003-2007 bitartean, *Etb1* eta *Berria* proiektuen sendotzeari erreparatuko dio.

a.9.1.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epe honetan, *Etb1*en albisteen %46,67k eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko %97,99k informazio-elementu gehigarriak agertu zituzten. Horien nolakotasuna ere hedabide motaren arabera azaltzen zen. *Euskal Telebista*k elementu esanguratsuak erabiltzen zituen, batik bat (%75,81). *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* sortu berriak, ordea, albistearen kazetaritza-galderen erantzun bakarra ematen zuten elementuak hobetsi zituen (%42,21). Ondoren, elementu esanguratsuak zetozen (%33,61), baina erabilitako zenbait informazio-elementu gehigarri ere desegokiak izan ziren (%17,21).

146. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%): *Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)

	Oso esangur.	Esangu-ratsuak	Betelana	Desegokia	Eskasa
■ Etb1	8,06	75,81	9,68	6,45	0
□ Egunkaria	5,33	33,61	42,21	17,21	1,64
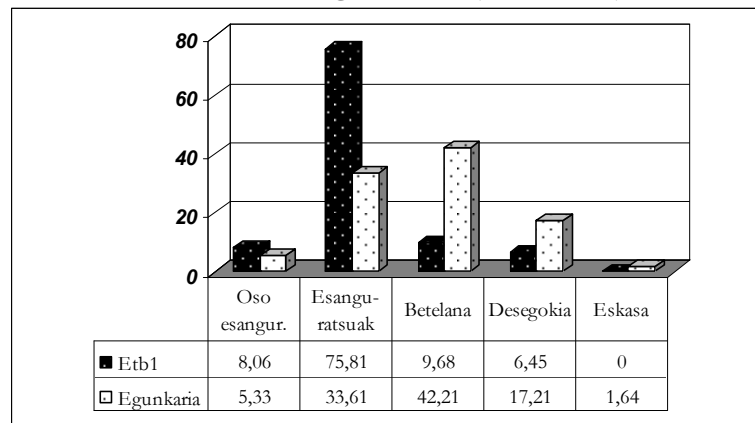
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, ==*Etb1*ek erabilitako informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna 0,43koa izan zen eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko berriena, 0,12koa==. Hala ere, asteburu eta oporraldietan, gainera, albisteen elementu gehigarriek puntuazio txikiagoa izaten zuten, elementurik zekarten berriak inoiz baino gehiago ziren sasoietan, hain zuzen. Hala ere, *Egunkaria*k 1996tik aurrera informazio-elementu eskasak erabiltzeari utzi zion[433]. Are gehiago, elementu desegokirik gehien ere ordura arte eman ziren. Esaterako, honelako argazkiak Felipe González (Espainiako orduko presidentea) identifikatzeko balio zuen, baina ez zuen albistean landutako kazetaritza-galdera bati ere erantzuten. Gainera, irudiak ez du Gonzálezen jarrerarik islatzen:

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[433] Adibidez, "Carlos Soltxaga gobernu berrian sartzea aztertzen ari da Gonzalez" albistea aurreko egunean Espainiako Erregeak izandako bilera batetik ateratzean grabatutako bideo batetik lortutako argazki batekin osatu zuen *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k (1994/07/04).

["**Europako Kontseiluak Espainiaren arrantza eskubideak onartu ditu**"]
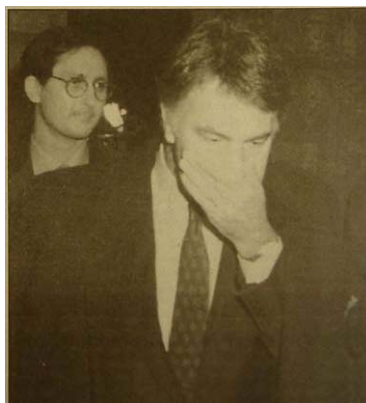
Iturria: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (1994/12/11).

Sailkako gaien banaketak albisteen garrantziaren araberako bi ereduren berri ematen zuen. Bi hedabideek atal jakin batzuetan ohikoa zuten puntuazioa baino puntu gehiago lortzen zituzten albisteak biltzen zituzten. *Etb1*ek, horrela, Ekonomia hobesten zuen eta *Egunkaria*k, Gizartea eta Kirolak. Ondoren, ohiko puntuazioaren besteko puntuak izaten zituzten berriak Politika eta Kirol sailetan agertzen zituen *Etb1*ek; Ekonomia eta Kultura ataletan, *Egunkaria*k. Azkenik, ohiko puntuazioa baino txikiagoa esleitu zitzaien albisteek informazio-elementu gehigarririk hutsalenak zituzten. *Etb1*ek horrelako elementuak Gizartean eta Kulturan azaltzen zituen bitartean, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k Politika sailean erabiltzen zituen, batez ere. Ondorioz, informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasunaren araberako garrantzian, *Etb1*ek honelako hurrenkera erakutsi zuen: Ekonomia, Politika, Kirolak, Gizartea eta Kultura. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, ordea, honelako hurrenkera hobetsi zuen: Gizartea, Kirolak, Ekonomia, Kultura eta Politika.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonista motei dagokienez, eragile profesionalek eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berrietan bi hedabideak ohiko puntuaziodun berriak biltzean bat etorri ziren. Hala ere, *Etb1*ek informazio-elementurik esanguratsuenak Administrazioaren ordezkarien albisteak osatzeko erabiltzen zituen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k protagonista identifikaturik gabeko berriak argitzeko baliatzen zituen. Are gehiago, *Etb1*ek gutxien landutako informazio-elementuak protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak laguntzeko azaldu zituen eta *Egunkaria*k, aldiz, Administrazioaren ordezkariek protagonizatutako berriak.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bertako albisteen informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna azpimarratu zuen. *Etb1*en kasuan, bertako berriek erabilitako elementuen esangura (0,46) Euskal Herritik kanpokoenaren (0,26) ia bikoitza zen;

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n, bertako albisteen informazio-elementuen egokitasuna (0,18) kanpoena (0,05) baino ia lau bider handiagoa zen.

Azkenik, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteek agertutako informazio-elementuen esangura gero eta handiagoa zen. Horregatik, *Etb1*eko berrien puntuazioa ohikoa baino zortzi ehunen altuagoa zen (0,55) eta *Egunkaria*ko albisteena, bost ehunen altuagoa (0,17).

147. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%): *Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,43	0,12
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,55	0,17
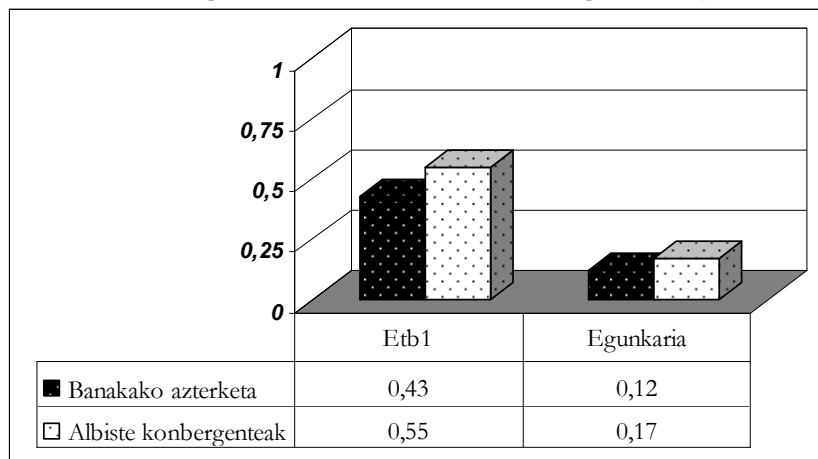
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen informazio-elementu gehigarriek berriak osatzeko osagaiak dira. Telebistan erabilitakoak esanguratsutzat jo baziren ere, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren argazkiek betelan eginkizuna zuten nagusi. Are gehiago, irudi desegokia zekarten elementuak eta teknikoki eskasak ziren informazio-osagarriak ere argitaratu zituen.

a.9.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k informazio-elementuak erabiltzeko aurkako ereduak jarraitu zituzten. Alde batetik, telebistak gero eta informazio-elementu gehigarri gehiago eskaintzen zituen (%46,67, lehen; %55,06, orain). *Berria*k, aldiz, horiek gutxitu zituen (%97,99tik %93,62). Bestetik, *Etb1*ean elementu desegokiek guztirako albisteen laurdena hartzen zituzten bitartean, *Berria*k ez zuen apenas horrelakorik erabili. Beraz, telebistako albisteen informazio-elementu gehigarri gehienak esanguratsuak eta desegokiak ziren bitartean, egunkarikoak esanguratsuak eta betelanekoak izaten ziren.

148. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Oso esangur.	Esangu-ratsuak	Betelana	Desegokia	Eskasa
■ Etb1	8,16	51,02	16,33	24,49	0
□ Berria	9,09	44,32	43,18	3,41	0
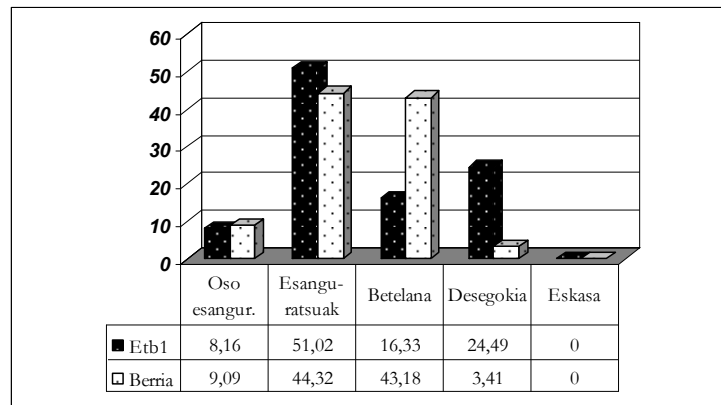
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **_Etb1_eko albisteei 0,21 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien eta _Berria_koei, ostera, 0,3**. Aurreko epearekin alderatuta, *Etb1*ek puntuazio erdia galdu zuen bitartean, *Berria*k ia-ia hirukoiztu egin zuen. Are gehiago, oporraldietako telebistako albiste den-denek informazio-elementu gehigarriak erabiltzen zituzten, baina horien puntuazioa ohikoa baino baxuagoa izaten zen. *Berria*k datu horri egonkor eutsi zion.

Sailen arteko banaketak hedabideen araberako gaien garrantzia berretsi zuen. Oraingoan, *Etb1*ek ekonomia albisteak osatzeko erabilitako informazio-elementu gehigarriak guztiz desegokiak izan ziren[434] eta sail horrek -0,25eko puntuazioa lortu zuen. Ondorioz, Ekonomia atalak aurreko epean zuen postua galdu zuen. *Berria*k ere kirolak baztertu zituen, *Egunkaria*k horiek ilustratzeko informazio-elementu egokiagoak erabiltzen bazituen ere.

Berriek agertzen zituzten protagonista moten araberako ereduan ere ez zetozen bi hedabideak bat. Batetik, *Etb1*ean eragile profesionalek protagonizatutako albisteek informazio-elementurik esanguratsuenak erabiltzen zituzten. Bestetik, *Berria*k protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteak azaltzeko elementurik egokienak hobesten zituen, baina *Etb1*ek gutxien landutako berriak izaten ziren. Izan ere, protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteek irudian bertan berria agortzen zuten. Horregatik, egunkarian aparteko informazioa ematen zuten, baina telebistan berez azaltzeko modukoak izan behar zuten, kazetariak editatutako irudiak eta soinuak ez baitira

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[434] Adibidez, "Turismoak gora: 220.000 bisitari uztailean" albistea azaltzeko kaleko irudiak erabili zituen *Etb1*ek, baina ez zegoen turistarik identifikatzerik (2006/08/22).

elementu osagarritzat hartzen[435]. Dena den, eragile autonomoak agertzen zituzten berriekin antzeko puntuazioa lortu ez ezik, bi hedabideetan Administrazioaren ordezkariek protagonizatutako albisteei ere ohiko puntuazioa baino txikiagoa aintzatestean bat zetozen bi hedabideak.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak *Etb1*en eredu berriaren zantzuak antzeman zituen. *Berria*k aurreko epean agertutako joerari eutsi zion. Horrenbestez, bertako albisteek (0,33) Euskal Herritik kanpokoek (0,28) baino informazio-elementu egokiagoak erabiltzen zituzten. *Etb1*eko berriek, ordea, joera hori hautsi zuten, estatuetako informazioak erabateko garrantzia eskuratzearen ondorioz. Gainera, Euskal Herriko tokian tokiko albisteen informazio-elementuak nazioarteko berrien elementuek beste puntu lortu zituzten; eta eremu administratibokoek, Europakoen adina. Horregatik, bertako albisteek 0,19eko puntuazioa lortu zuten eta kanpokoek, 0,25ekoa.

Azkenik, *Etb1*ean eta *Berria*n bat egiten zuten albisteen alderaketan, bi hedabideek informazio-elementuak erabiltzen zituzten berri kopuru altuagoa agertu zuten. Horien egokitasuna, gainera, ohikoaren bestekoa izaten zen.

149. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%): *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,21	0,3
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,17	0,25
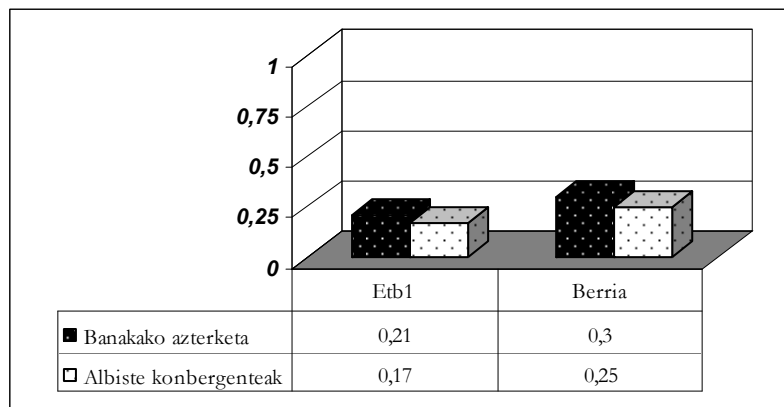
Iturria: Egilea.

Albistea osatzen duten informazio-elementu gehigarrien desegokitasuna, lehenengoz, ezin zitzaion traba teknologikoei egotzi. Hortaz, *Etb1*ek erabilitako elementu gehigarrien %24,49 eta *Berria*ren %3,41 desegokiak ziren. Telebistaren kasuan, 2003tik aurrera indarkeriaren berri emateko ezaugarriek informazio-elementu

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[435] Adibidez, San Blasetako azokaren berri emateko giroa eta ohiturak jasotzen zituzten irudia eta soinuak behar zituen *Etb1*ek. *Berria*k, ordea, argazki adierazgarri batekin (bizpahiru W biltzen zituena) *Etb1*en adina puntu lortu zituen (2004/02/03, *Etb1*ean; 2004/02/04, *Berria*n).

gehigarrietan eragin zuzena izan zuten[436]. *Berria*n, ordea, albisteak azaltzen zuen edukiarekin zerikusirik ez zuen irudiak izaten ziren, hots, berriaren zehaztasunik identifikatzen laguntzen ez duten argazkiak[437].

a.9.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikus-entzunezko hedabideetako albisteen erdiak baino gehiagok 2008ko ikerketa sinkronikoan informazio-elementu gehigarriak erabili zituen. *Berria*ren kasuan, argazki gutxiago azaltzeko joera agertu zuen (albisteen %96,88k). Gainera, bi hedabide motek eta bi komunikazio-proiektuek informazio-elementuen egokitasunaren inguruko berezko ezaugarriak erakutsi zituzten. EiTBko ikus-entzunezko hedabideek elementu esanguratsuak hobetsi zituzten bitartean (%61,75, *Euskadi Irratia*n eta %48,05, *Etb1*ean), *Berria*k betelan eginkizuna agertzen zuten elementuak erabili zituen (%75,48).

150. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
Euskadi Irratia, _Etb1_ eta _Berria_ (2008)

	Oso esangur.	Esangu-ratsuak	Betelana	Desegokia	Eskasa
■ Euskadi Irr.	1,68	61,35	34,45	1,68	0,84
□ Etb1	8,82	48,05	33,33	9,8	0
▨ Berria	6,45	12,26	75,48	5,81	0
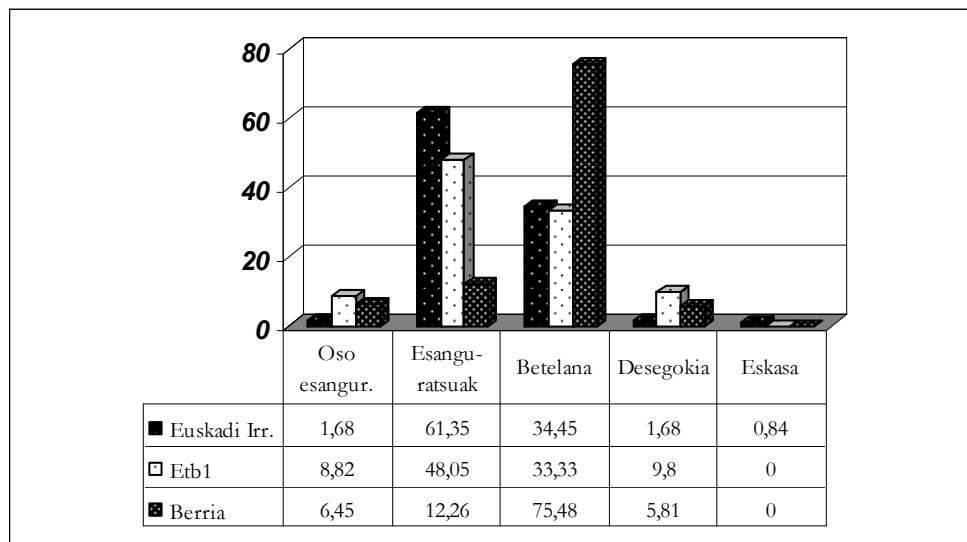
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, **_Euskadi Irrati_ko albisteek 0,31 puntu lortu zituzten; _Etb1_ekoek, 0,28; eta _Berria_koek, 0,1 baino ez**. Dena den, EiTBko bi hedabideek asteburuetan eta

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[436] Adibidez, "Sutea Irunen: Bi suhiltzaile zaurituta" (2007/01/03) albistean herritar anonimo batek sutea ijitoek piztutakoa zela baieztatu zuen gizonaren adierazpenak eman zituen *Etb1*ek. Ildo beretik, mutil lagunak hildako emakumearen inguruko datuak auzokoei galdetu zizkion *Etb*ko kazetariak, bikotearen harremanaren nondik norakoak alegia ("Zortzi hilabeteko zegoen emakumezko bat hil da Bilboko Irala auzoan", 2004/02/03).

[437] Esaterako, "Gobernuan parte hartzeko eskaintza aztertzen ari da Hamas" (2005/07/03) albistea ez zuen *Berria*k Gobernuko buruzagien edo Hamaseko kideen argazkiekin ilustratu. Alderantziz, albistearen informazioarekin zerikusirik ez zuen argazkia zen, balizko gaurkotasunak bere agerpena justifikatuta. Honela zioen argazki oinak: "Polizia palestinarrak [sic: ,] entrenatzen atzo Zisjordaniako Hebron hirian".

oporraldietan aireratzen zituzten berriek puntuazio baxuagoa izaten zuten. *Berria*, ordea, egonkor azaltzen zen.

Sailen arteko banaketan ez zetozen hiru hedabideak bat. *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteek Gizartea eta Kultura ataletan elementurik esanguratsuenak erabiltzen zituzten bitartean, kiroletan ohiko puntuazioa baino baxuagoa lortzen zuten. *Etb1*ek gainerako bi hedabideek egoki osatutako gizarte gaiak alboratu zituen. *Berria*k lehenengoz Politika saileko argazkien esangura zaindu zuen, baina ekonomia albisteak ilustratzeko baliabiderik desegokienak erabili zituen[438].

Albisteek erakusten zituzten protagonista motek komunikazio-proiektuaren araberako bereizketa ahalbidetu zuten. Alde batetik, hedabide publikoetan Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten berrietako elementuak egokienak izaten ziren. Bestetik, *Berria*k eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteak ilustratzeko baliabiderik esanguratsuenak erabiltzen zituen. Gainera, telebistak protagonista identifikaturik gabeko albisteetako informazio-elementuen egokitasuna alboratu zuen bitartean, *Euskadi Irrati*ko eta *Berria*ko horrelako albisteek ohiko puntuazioa baino ez zuten lortzen.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak hiru hedabideak berdindu zituen. Bertako albisteen eta Euskal Herritik kanpokoen arteko oreka oso antzerakoa izan zen hiruretan. Horrenbestez, *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Etb1*ean bertako berrien informazio-elementuak (0,32 puntu eta 0,26, hurrenez hurren) kanpokoenak (0,31 eta 0,23, hurrenez hurren) baino egokiagoak ziren bitartean, *Berria*n zegoeneko kanpoko albisteen baliabideen esangura (0,11) bertakoena (0,09) baino agerikoagoa zen.

Hiru hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteen informazio-elementuen egokitasuna banakako azterketan azaldutakoa baino altuagoa izan zen. Hala ere, *Berria*rekin bat egindako *Etb1*eko albisteek ohi baino puntu gutxiago lortu zituzten.

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[438] Besteak beste, "FAOren arabera, elikagaien krisiak beste hamar urtez garestituko ditu prezioak" albistea osatzeko, bi esku agertzen zituen argazkia argitaratu zuen *Berria*k (2008/05/30). Honela zioen argazki oinak: "Irakeko emakume baten eskuan [sic: ,] elikagaiak banatzen dituen kamioi bateko atari gogor eusten diotela, Bagdad hiriburuan, iragan maiatzaren 8an". Aurrerago ikusiko dugunez, horrelakoetan *El Correo Español*ek eta *Diario Vasco*k zehaztasunak hobeto islatzeko grafikoak erabiltzeak puntuaziorik altuena eman zien.

151. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
*Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)

	Banak.	Etb1	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak.	E. Irr.	Etb1
	Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria		
■ Elementuak	0,31	0,32	0,35	0,28	0,32	0,24	0,1	0,13	0,13
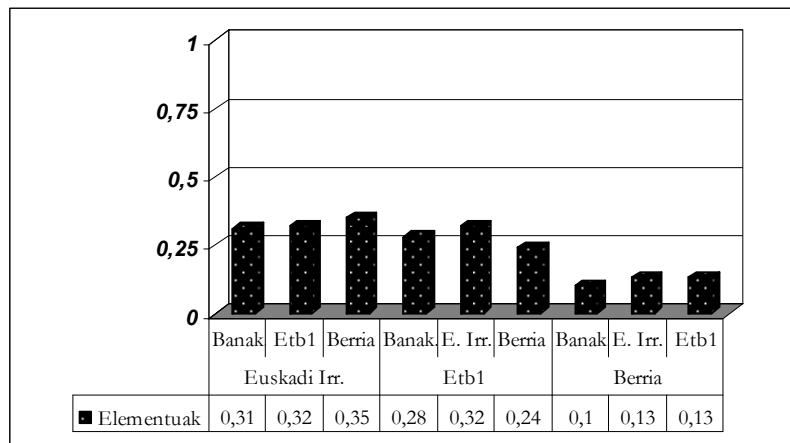
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskal Herriko gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketan, ostera, Iparraldeko irratiek ez zuten betelantzat har zitezkeen elementurik agertzen eta *Euskalerria Irratia*n ere betelan eginkizuna zuten baliabideek albisteen %28,57 baino ez zuten hartzen. Horregatik, *Euskadi Irratia*k haiekiko adierazle honen puntuaziorik baxuena lortu zuen. *France Bleu*rekiko, gainera, zero puntu izan zituen, teknikoki eskasak ziren adierazpenak aireratu zituelako[439]. *Radio Euskadi*k ez zuen oso esanguratsuak izan zitezkeen elementurik erabili eta bai, ordea, desegokiak zirenak[440]. *Cadena Ser*ren, azkenik, betelan eginkizuna zuten informazio-baliabideek ia albisteen erdia hartzen zuten.

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[439] Frantziako lehendakari Sarkozy Pauera egindako bisitan emandako adierazpenetan oinarritutako albiste batek puntu osoko puntuazio negatiboa ekarri zion *Euskadi Irratia*ri, *France Bleu*rekiko alderaketan. Izan ere, gainerako albisteetako informazio-elementu gehigarri gehienek betelan eginkizuna zutenez, egoki erabili arren, teknikoki eskasak ziren informazio-elementuek puntu negatiboa ekarri zioten. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia*k kale soinuko kalitatearekin grabatutako Sarkozyren adierazpenak aireratu zituen, Euskal Herrian adierazgarriak zirelako eta, horrexegatik, Espainiako albiste agentziek jaso ez eta irratiak formatu profesionalik ez zuen grabazioa emititu behar izan zuen ("Frantziako presidentea Pauen izan da gaur goizean, jendarme antiterroristei babesa emotera […]", 2008/01/22).

[440] Hedabide bakoitzak albistea bideratzen zuen erara ondoen egokitzen ziren adierazpenak eskatzen zituen. Albiste-iturri berak adierazpen esanguratsuak edo berritasunik ez dakartenak eman ditzake. Honela mintzatu zen *Euskadi Irratia*n EAJko Gipuzkoa Buru Batzarreko lehendakari Joseba Egibar Azpeitiko ANV-EAEko alkateari, EArekin batera, zentsura mozioa aurkezteko bi alderdiek izandako harremanen inguruan:

"«Guk joan den ostiralean entregatu genien [EAkoei] dokumentua, non azaltzen diren gure zortzi sinadurak eta zentsura mozioaren formalismo guztia eginda dago. Orain, udal horretako idazkaritza nagusira joan behar da, *verificatu* eta autentifikatu behar dira firmak eta hortikan hasten da epea. Legeak esaten du aurkeztu ordutik hamar egunera, hamar egun abil horietan, eguerdiko 12:00etan ospatzen dela zentsura mozioaren saioa. Eta horretarako, ba gu [EAko] bi sinadura horien zain gaude.»"

*Radio Euskadi*k, ordea, bestelako adierazpenak hartu zizkion Egibarreri, haiek landutako albistearen aldeei ondoen egokitzen zitzaizkiela:

"La dirección de EA ha reiterado su compromiso de presentar una moción de censura contra el alcalde de ANV en el Ayuntamiento de Azpeitia, pero ha negado que existiera un plazo pactado con el PNV. Desde ese partido, Joseba Egibar ha dicho que no dudan de la voluntad de EA de suscribir esa moción y también ha dicho que no es oportuno presionar con plazos:

152. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
*Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	0,36	0,5	0,08	0,29	0,25
Euskadi Irratia	0,35	0	0,11	0,40	0,43
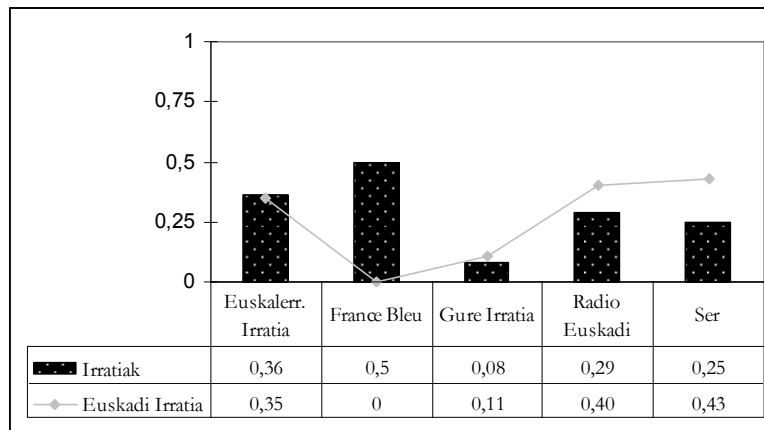
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebisten arteko alderaketan ere, euskarazko hedabideak jarduerarik bikainena agertu zuen. Izan ere, informazio-elementu gehigarrien desegokitasunak hedabideen hurrenkera zehaztu zuen. Horrela, kazetari berak *Etb1*eko eta *Etb2*ko albistea garatu arren, albiste-iturrien adierazpenen erabilerak informazio-elementuetan bi kateen arteko aldea nabarmendu zuen. Hortaz, *Etb2*ko albisteetan informatzen duten irudi editatugabeen jatorrizko bertsioa gazteleraz egoten da. Horregatik, euskarazko albistea editatzeko, informazio-elementuak itzuli behar izaten ditu kazetariak edo, bestela, aldi batez bakarrik eman (ez osorik, horrelakoak gaztelerazko katean emititzen baititu). Indarkeria kasuen berri emateko, *Euskal Telebista*k kaleko lagunei iritzia eskatu ohi zien. Horiek, baina, erdaraz mintzatzen zirenez, *Etb2*ko albistegian baino ez ziren agertzen[441]. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ean landutako indarkeriari buruzko berriek ez zuten oinarri bako iritzirik biltzen. Beraz, informazio-elementurik ez zuten neurrian, *Etb1*eko albisteek ez zuten punturik lortzen (zero balioaren besteko puntuazioa, hain zuzen). Dena den, *Etb2*ko erabilera oker horrek puntu erdi negatiboa zekarren. Ondorioz, gaztelerazko albisteek puntuazio txikiagoa zuten. Azken batean, hizkuntzaren trabak horikeria euskarazko berrietara ere hedatzea saihestu zuen.

[Joseba Egibar] «Yo creo en la palabra de EA, que ha dicho que favorecerá la moción de censura, el primer apartado. No así, no garantizan la gobernabilidad. Y, bueno, pues estamos esperando a la cumplimentación de eso, tampoco vamos a ser nosotros quienes vayamos ahora a presionar, a apretar innecesariamente. »"

[441] Adib.: "Prostituzioa: Legez kanpoko sarea deseginda" (2008/03/07) eta "Red de prostitución que acaba de ser desarticulada…"; "Indarkeria: Bi emakume gehiago zerrenda beltzean" (2008/08/05) eta "Violencia machista: Asesinadas dos mujeres en Cataluña"; "Tragedia Cuencan…" (2008/09/05) eta "Tragedia en Cuenca: Dos niños mueren calcinados"; nahiz "Ustezko bortxatzailea: Ertzaintzak atxilotu du" (2008/10/27) eta "Detenido: Presunto autor de la violación".

*Telecinco*ko albisteek erabiltzen zituzten informazio-elementuen erdia esangura-tsuak eta oso esanguratsuak baziren ere, kasuen %33,33tan desegokitzat hartu ziren, hau da, *Etb1*en kopuru hirukoitza agertu zuen. Gainera, soinurik ez zuen albiste baten informazio-elementu gehigarria jasotzen zuen bideoa zuzeneko albistegian bertan erretiratu behar izan zuten[442].

153. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	0,25	0,08
Etb1	0,28	0,3
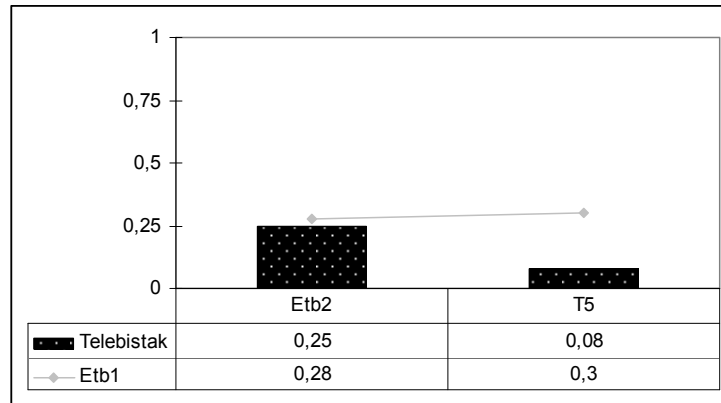
Iturria: Egilea.

Amaitzeko, *El Correo Español*ek eta *Diario Vasco*k agertutako albisteen erdiak informazio-elementu esanguratsuak eta oso esanguratsuak biltzen zituen. Izan ere, zenbait albiste osatzeko baliabide grafikoak erabiltzen zituzten[443]. *El Correo Español*ek, gainera, ez zuen desegokitzat emandako elementurik. Horregatik, zenbat eta betelan eginkizun zuten informazio-elementu gehigarri gehiago izan, orduan eta puntuaziorik txikien lortzen zuten *Berria*k. Horregatik, Vocento taldeko bi egunkari horien jarduerak bikaintasun-maila altuagoa azaldu zuen.

*Diario de Noticias de Álava*k eta *Diario de Navarra*k informazio bera osatzeko *Berria*k baino elementu desegoki gehiago plazaratu zituzten. Gainera, betelan eginkizun hutsa zuten elementu gehiago ere aurkeztu zituzten. *Le Journal du Pays Basque* egunkariaren kasuan, azkenik, betelaneko irudiek albisteen %92,31 osatzen zuten. Hortik aurrerako berriek desegokitzat jotako informazio-elementuak zituzten. Horregatik, puntuazio negatiboa lortu zuen. Adibidez, hurrengo igandeko Frantziako Errugbi Txapelketaren finalerdiko partida iragartzeko albisteak honelako argazkia zeraman egunkariaren lehen orrian:

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[442] "Temporal de nieve" (2008/12/13).
[443] Esaterako, Gernikako urriko azken azokaren berri emateko, *Berria*k albistea argazkiekin osatu zuen ("Gernikan, euripean", 2008/10/28). *El Correo Español*ek, ostera, azokako produktuen salneurriak azaltzen zituen grafikoa garatu zuen ("El caserío resiste a la crisis").

**36. Argazkia – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna:
Elementu desegokien adibidea**
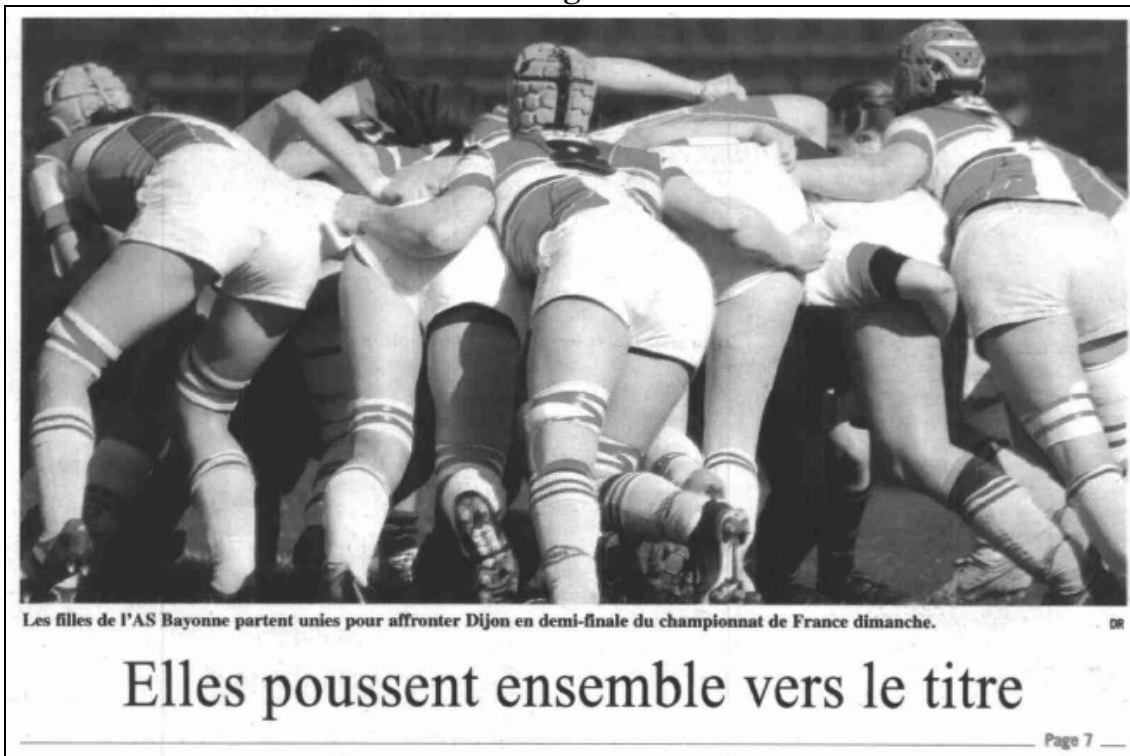
Iturria: *Le Jounal du Pays Basque* (2008/05/30).

Erdarazko egunkarietan bat egiten zuten *Berria*ko albisteen alderaketak honelako emaitzak azaldu zituen:

**154. Grafikoa – Informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna (%):
*Berria*k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,35	0,13	0,11	0,28	0,18	-0,04
Berria	0,16	0,21	0,29	0,15	0,22	0,28
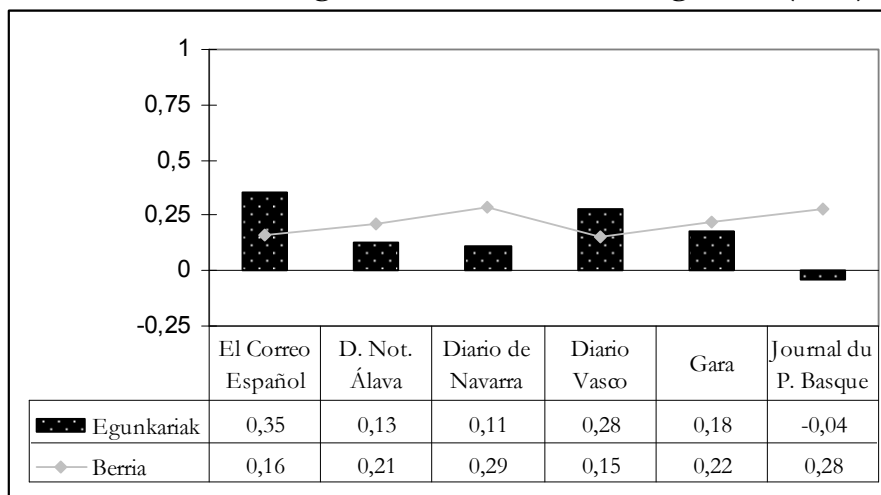
Iturria: Egilea.

Hitz gutxitan, euskarazko ikus-entzunezko hedabideek erabiltzen zituzten informazio-elementu gehigarriak haien euskarriari ondoen egokitzen zitzaizkion

elementuetan asmatu zuten. Izan ere, gehienetan, esanguratsutzat jo ziren. *Berriak*, ostera, betelan eginkizuna aitzatesten zien argazkiei. Horrenbestez, EiTBko bi hedabideek erdarazko hedabideek baino puntuazio handiagoa lortu zuten, EiTBko erdarazkoen gainetik. *Berria*, aldiz, baliabideen erabilera egokia egiaztatzen zuten hedabideen atzetik kokatzen zen. Gainerako kasuetan, *Berria* nagusitu zen, adierazle horrek horikeria areagotzen duten informazio-elementu gehigarrien erabilera okerra zigortzen duelako.

a.10. Hizkuntzaren erabilera (*Appropriate use of language*)

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen azken adierazleak hizkuntzaren erabilera ebaluatzen du. Horretarako, hizkuntza erabileraren bi aldeei erreparatuko die. Batetik, hizkera egoki, jator edo zuzen kategorien arabera ebaluatuko da. Zuzena hizkuntzaren gramatika arauak errespetatzen duen hizkera da. Hortaz, ez du punturik esleituko. Jatorra, ostera, hizkuntzatik ondorioztatutako kontzeptuak darabiltzan hizkera da, euskaldun-senaren ondorioa alegia. Horrenbestez, puntu erdia emango du. Egoki, azkenik, helburuari ondoen egokitzen zaion hizkera da. Horregatik, hizkera egokia kazetaritza hizkera izango da eta, beraz, hizkera egokia darabilten albisteek puntu osoa lortuko dute.

Bestetik, akatsek hizkeran duten eraginarengatik, puntu negatiboak ekarriko dituzte. Hortaz, ortografia edota gramatika akatsok testuan ematen badira, oker bakoitzeko 0,1 puntu kenduko dio hizkuntzaren erabilerari. Are gehiago, tituluan, goitituluan, azpitituluan, tartekian, leihoetan, zintan, zatiduraren tituluan zein argazki oinean ortografia edota gramatika akatsik balego, oker bakoitzeko -0,2 puntuko zigorra jasoko luke.

a.10.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Hizkuntzaren erabilerak ikerketa diakronikoko lagina aztertuko du. Euskararen eta kazetaritza hizkeraren zenbait arau ikertutako sasoian indarrean zegoen ebatzi ezin daitekeenez, ikerketa diakronikoko bi epeak (1990-2002 eta 2003-2007) aztertzeko oinarrizko ezaugarriak baino ez ditugu kontuan izango, hala nola deklinabidea, aditzaren komunztadura zein subjektuaren eta aditzaren arteko koma bakoitien eza.

a.10.1.1. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Etb1*eko eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albisteek antzeko hizkera kategoriak erabiltzen zituzten. Hortaz, gehienetan hizkera jatorra azaltzen zuten. Ondoren, berriek kazetaritza hizkera zerabilten. Azkenik, hizkera zuzenaren mailan aritzen ziren albisteak oso urriak ziren, *Euskal Telebista*n batez ere.

155. Grafikoa – Hizkera (%):
Etb1 eta E.Egunkaria (1990-2002)

	Egokia	Jatorra	Zuzena
■ Etb1	28,03	66,67	5,3
□ Egunkaria	38,16	51	10,84
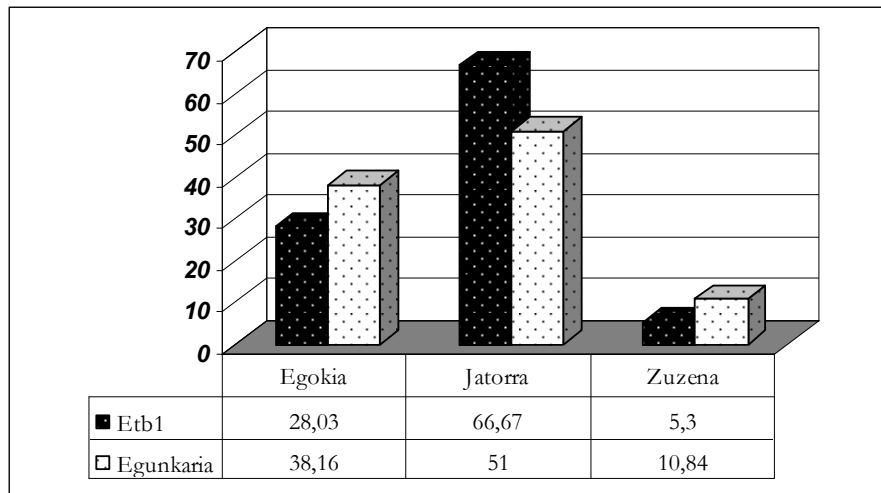
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak *Egunkaria*k albait gehienetan hizkera egokia erabili izanak saritu zuen. Horregatik, *Etb1*ek baino hiru ehunen gehiagoko puntuazioa esleitu zion. *Etb1*en hizkerak 0,61 puntu lortu zituen bitartean, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*koak 0,64 izan zituen. Hala ere, bi hedabideotako albisteek agertzen zuten akats kopuruari erreparatuz, hizkuntzaren erabileraren puntuazioa osatuko da. *Etb1*eko berriek 0,03na akats zituzten. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albisteek, ordea, bina akats agertzen zituzten eta horien laurdena, gainera, tituluan bertan edo bestelako osagarri grafiko esanguratsuetan ematen zen. Ondorioz, **Etb1eko berrien hizkuntzaren erabilerak 0,61 puntu lortu zituen eta Egunkariakoak, 0,38**. Gainera, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan, batik bat, *Egunkaria*ko albisteen hizkuntzaren erabilerak puntuazio erdia baino ez zuen izaten. Dena den, 1996tik aurrera, bi hedabideek berrien hizkera hobetu zuten. Are gehiago, *Egunkaria*k akats kopuru altu hori erdira murriztu zuen.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epean *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k azaldutako hizkuntza akatsak bost taldetan bil daitezke. Lehenengo eta behin, deklinabide kasuek ahozkotasunaren eragina azaldu zuten[444]. Gainera, zenbaitetan ergatibo marka oker

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[444] "Aurreko atzeralditan [sic: atzeraldietan] batez beste %1,1 egin du behera enpleguak" (2001/11/27).

erabiltzen zen[445]. Bigarrenik, hitz bera bi ortografia arauren arabera idatzita agertzen zen[446]. Hirugarrenik, aditzaren komunztadura ez zen kontuan hartzen[447]. Laugarrenik, elipsien komarik ez agertzeko joera agertu zuen *Egunkaria*k, tituluetan eta argazki oinetan batik bat[448]. Azkenik, koma bakoitien erabilpen okerra zabaldua zen[449].

Dena den, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren "Estilo Liburua" euskarazko kazetaritza hizkera garatzeko ezinbesteko tresna bihurtu zen. Eguneroko informazio-jardunak, aldi berean, etorkizuneko Euskal Herriak oinarri izango zuen hizkera-ereduari ekinez heldu zion kazetak[450].

Aniztasunaren adierazleek horietako kategorien araberako hizkuntzaren erabileran alderik ote zegoen ebatz dezakete. Hortaz, sailkako banaketak Politika, Ekonomia eta Gizarte ataletako albisteek kultur eta kirol gaien ingurukoek baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu zuten.

Albisteek agertzen zuten protagonista motaren araberako garrantzian, *Etb1*ek eta *Egunkaria*k Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten albisteetan hizkuntzaren erabilera ondoen zaintzen zuten. Ondoren, eragile profesionalak azaltzen zituzten

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[445] Testuan ager zitekeen ("EAJko EEBko lehendakariak [sic: lehendakaria] haserre agertu zen igandean Araiako batzokiaren inaugurazioan […]", 1992/10/27) edo albistearen azpititubuluan bertan ("Juan Mari Atutxa [sic: Atutxak] eta Ramon Jauregi [sic: Jauregik] biktimekin izan den jarrera hobetu eta haien eskubideak behar bezala defenditu beharra dagoela azpimarratu zuten", 1996/10/15).

[446] "PP eta PSE-EEko **bozeramaleen** hitzaldien artean ezberdintasun gutxi izan ziren" eta, testu berean, "[…] Horren erantzuletzat Eusko Jaurlaritza, EAJ eta EA jo zituzten PPk eta PSE-EEko **bozeramaile** ezberdinek" (2000/10/06).

[447] "[…] Euskal Herrian Historia irakasteko erabiltzen diren zenbait ikasliburuk «arrazismoa eta bazterketa» sustatzen dutela [sic: dituztela] dio txostenak […]" (2000/06/29) eta "[…] Normala deritzot zaleengan sortu duen kezka [sic: kezkari]" (2000/10/06).

[448] Egun bereko *Egunkaria*ko bi tituluek elipsia erabili zuten; batek ez zuen komarik erabili ("Elian Gonzalez [sic: ,] Kubara") eta besteak, aldiz, honela zioren: "Frantzia, lehen finalista" (2000/06/29).

[449] "[…] Eta horren ostean esan zuen, [sic] guztiz bat zetorrela «naziorteko [sic: nazioarteko] terroristen kontrak [sic: kontrako] ekintzarekin»" (1998/08/22) edo "Belgiarrak, [sic] hasiera-hasieratik gorabehera guztiak azaldu zituen" (2000/10/06).

[450] Gertaera berriek euskaratik sortutako terminologia propioa behar zuten. Horregatik, euskarazko kazetaritza hizkeraren inguruko eztabaidak jendaurrean aurkezten zituen *Egunkaria*k:

  "[**Ardi kontu**]

  Gaitz zaharrak, izen zaharra: azkenaldian denon ahotan dabilen *sukar aftosoa*, zoritxarrez ez da berria euskaldunontzat, eta makina bat izen eman zaio euskaraz: *aheria, nafarmina, nafarreria, hankamina, ahomina*… Hona hemen zer zioen *Egunaria*-k 1961. urtean: «Aheriak (fièvre aphteuse) egiten dauku kabaletan, bana bertze, urtekal lau miliarren makurra». Eta *Herria* aldizkariak, berriz, hauxe 1957. urtean: «Duela bortz urthe ahoeriak undtu baizituen abereak». Ez da oraintxeko kontua horregatik, esaera zaharretan ere ageri baita zorioneko gaitza!: «Ardia erosi baino lehen hankaminaz kezkatua».

  Izen horietako batzuk beste zenbait eritasun izendatzeko ere erabiltzen direnez gero –esaterako, baztangari eta elgorriari ere *nafarreria* deitzen zaie–, *Egunkaria*k ere *aheri* esango dio sukar horri, gure zaharrek bezala. Haiek baino gutxiago erabili beharra izango ahal dugu, behintzat!" (2001/03/06)

berriak, protagonista identifikaturik gabekoak eta eragile autonomoek protagonizatutakoak zetozen.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bertako albisteek Euskal Herritik kanpokoek baino hizkuntza jasoagoa erabiltzen zutela egiaztatu zuen. *Etb1*eko bertako berriei 0,63 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien bitartean, kanpokoek 0,57 lortu zituzten. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko bertako albisteek ere Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutakoek baino puntu gehiago izan zituzten (0,24 eta 0,21, hurrenez hurren).

Nahiz eta bertako albisteen hizkuntzaren erabilerak kanpoko berriak lantzeko erabilitakoak baino puntuazio hobea izan, *Etb1*ean eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*n bat egiten zuten albisteek egunkariari gero eta puntuazio baxuagoa esleitzen zioten. Horrenbestez, 0,31ko puntuazioa lortu zuen (ohikoa baino zortzi ehunen gutxiago). *Euskal Telebista*ko albisteek, ordea, bi ehunen irabazi zituzten.

156. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
***Etb1*en eta *E.Egunkaria*ren arteko konbergentzia (1990-2002)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,61	0,38
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,63	0,31
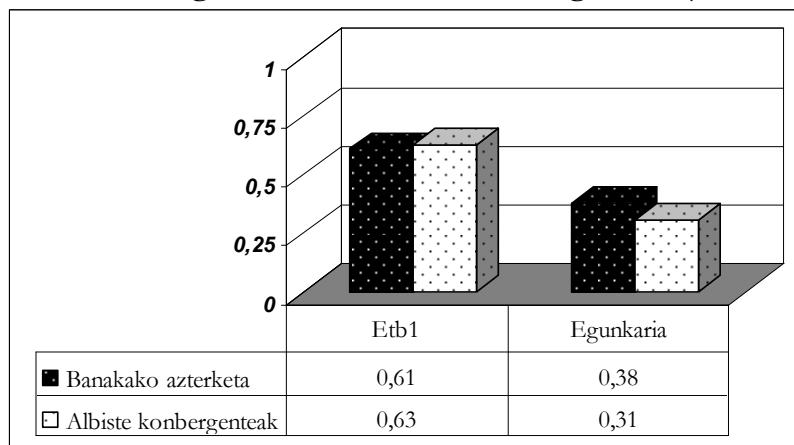
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskarazko hedabideek normalizatu bako hizkuntza erabiltzen zuten. Hortaz, kazetaritza hizkera estandarizatu aurretik, jatortasuna islatzen zuen hizkuntzaren erabilera sustatu zuten eta, neurri handi batean, hizkera egokia ere bai. Dena den, ortografia eta gramatika akatsak oso ohikoak ziren eta, gainera, adierazle horrekiko puntuazio negatiboa zekarten.

a.10.1.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epeak *Etb1*ek hizkera egokia erdira murriztu zuela erakutsi zuen. Ondorioz, telebista publikoaren ezaugarria hizkera jatorra izango

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zen (%66,67tik %76,4ra). Hizkera egokia arindu izanaren ondorioz, hizkera zuzena ere sendotu zuen *Etb*k (%5,3 %11,24ra). *Berria*k, ordea, hizkera egokia zuen helburu. Horregatik, horixe pixka bat hobetu ez ezik (%38,16tik %42,55era), hizkera zuzeneko albisteak ere murriztu zituen (%10,84tik %9,57ra).

157. Grafikoa – Hizkera (%):
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Egokia	Jatorra	Zuzena
Etb1	12,36	76,4	11,24
Berria	42,55	47,88	9,57
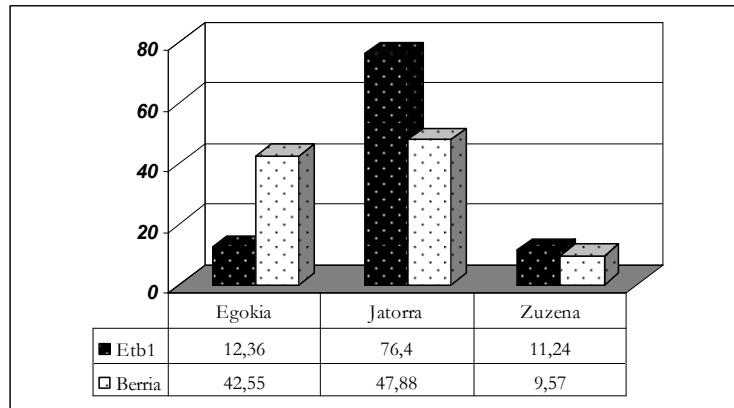
Iturria: Egilea.

*Berria*k, gainera, ortografia eta gramatika akatsak erdira murriztu zituen. Ondorioz, ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean albisteko 1,12 akats agertzen zituen. *Etb1*ek, aldiz, akatsok biderkatu zituen, titularren diseinu berriak hizkuntza idatziari ematen zion neurriarekin bat. Albisteko 0,03 akats izatetik 0,26 aurkeztera heldu zen. Hortaz, *Berria*ko tituluek eta gainerako elementu grafikoek gero eta akats gutxiago agertzen zuten bitartean (%17,14 alegia), *Etb1*ean akatsik ikusgarrienak ziren eta, ondorioz, tarterik handiena ere hartzen zuten (%65,22). Horregatik, *Etb1*eko berriek aurreko epeko puntuazioaren hamasei ehunen galdu zituzten. **Etb1eko albisteei 0,46 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien eta *Berria*koei, ordea, 0,52**. Dena den, asteburuetan zabaldutako albisteek oraindik puntuazio txikiagoa lortzen zuten *Berria*n (0,47 puntu) eta oporraldietan, *Etb1*ean (0,37, hain zuzen).

Beraz, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko euskarazko informazio-jardunak, zegoeneko, kazetaritza hizkerako ortografia eta gainerako arauak finkatuta eta onartuta zituen. Horregatik, akatsok nabarmen gutxitu ziren. Hortaz, urte horietako erronka hizkerak azal zezakeen horikeriari aurre egitean zetzan. *Etb1*ek eguraldi-ondorioak albiste bihurtu zituen sasoian, *Berria*ko hemerotekak hizkerak har zezakeen jite horren zantzuak agertzen ditu. Izan ere, albisteen informazio-helburuekin bat ez datorren hizkera

dakar[451]. Hizkuntzaren erabilerak, baina, ez du hizkera desegokia zigortzen, ortografia eta gramatika arauak betetzen dituen bitartean. Horregatik, informazio-helburuak lortzeko gai ez den hizkerak ez du puntu negatiborik esleituko. Horrenbestez, ikerketa diakronikoko epe honetako hizkera zuzenaren kategoriak idazkera soilaz gain, horia ere barneratu zuen. Dena den, hizkerak ez du gai garrantzitsuen idazkera bakarrik ebaluatzen. Are gehiago, edozein sailetako albisteek kazetaritza hizkera egokia erakuts dezakete, hizkuntzarekin jolastearen ondoriozko maila jasoa, hain zuzen[452]. Hortaz, sailen arteko gai-banaketak atal bakoitzean bildutako albisteek erabilitako hizkuntza maila agertuko du.

Gai-aniztasunaren adierazleek hedabideek politika albisteen hizkera egokiari eutsi ziela egiaztatu zuten. Ondoren, *Etb1*ek gizarte, kultur eta kirol gaiei erreparatzen zien. Azkenik, puntuaziorik eskasena Ekonomia sailean bildutako albisteek izan zuten. *Berria*k, ordea, ekonomia albisteek hizkerarik egokiena zerabilten, politika gaiekin batera. Jarraian, Kultura eta Gizarte sailetako berriak zetozen. Horrenbestez, hizkera-mailarik baxuena kirol albisteek izaten zuten (0,26ko puntuazioa).

*Etb1*eko albisteen hizkerak bereiztutako protagonista moten hurrenkera ez zen aurreko epetik aldatu. Telebista publikoan Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten albisteak ondoen zaindutakoak ziren. Gero, *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikagarririk ez zuten albisteak eta eragile profesionalei buruzkoak parekatu zituen. Eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berriek, beraz, punturik gutxien eragiten zuten. *Berria*k ere bere ohiko hurrenkeraren ezaugarriei eutsi zien. Horregatik, eragile autonomoei buruzko albisteak hobetsi zituen.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak *Etb1*ean Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako albisteen hizkera bertakoena baino egokiagoa zela erakutsi zuen (0,45 puntu esleitu zitzaien bertako berriei eta 0,51, kanpokoei). *Berria* ere bertako eta kanpoko albisteen hizkera parekatze bidean zegoen. Horregatik, ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epearekiko

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[451] Horren adibide Ekonomia saileko honako albistearen *lead*-a da:
  "[**Sozietate zergarik gabe utzi dituzte berriro Araba, Bizkaia eta Gipuzkoa**]
  'Euskal arau fiskalak epaitegietan' telesailaren enegarren kapituluan, beste auzi batean kautelaz bertan behera utzi dituen arau berberak indargabetu ditu auzitegi berberak. EAEko Auzitegi Nagusiak 2004ko abenduaren 9ko Espainiako Auzitegi Gorenaren epaiaren betearazteko lana hartu du oraingoan, Errioxako Enpresaburuen Federazioak eskatuta." (2005/11/18)

[452] Hona hemen hizkeraren maila jasoa agertu zuen berri baten *lead*-a:
  "[**Gazte Topagunea, indar erakustaldia**]
  Gazte Topaguneak milaka eta milaka gaztek Etxarri Aranatzen (Nafarroa) topo egiteko eta, batez ere, topa egiteko aukera eskaini du asteburu ez hain santu honetan [Aste Santuko oporregunak ziren]. Lau egunez jarraian, independentzian topa egin dute; independentziari, tipi-tapa, bidea irekiz." (2006/04/18)

alderik handiena *Berria*ren hizkuntzaren erabileran bertan izandako hobekuntza aipagarria zen (ia puntuazio bikoitza). Bertako albisteek 0,53 puntu izan zituen eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko berriek, azkenik, 0,57 lortzera heldu ziren.

Hala ere, bi hedabideetan bat egiten zuen informazioak aurreko epearekiko bi hamarreko aldea agertu zuen. *Etb1*ek egunkariarekin dibergenteagoa izan zen epe horretan, bat etorritako berriek hizkera pitin batean hobetu zuten. Aurreko epearekiko, *Etb1*eko hizkerak bi hamarren galdu zituen. *Berria*k, ordea, telebistarekiko gero eta konbergenteagoa zen, baina horien hizkerari ez zion apenas aldaketarik eragin. Dena den, aurreko ikerketa aldiarekin alderatuz gero, *Berria*ren hizkerak *Egunkaria*renak baino bi hamarren gehiago lortu zituen.

158. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
_Etb1_en eta _Berria_ren arteko konbergentzia (2003-2007)

	Etb1	Berria
■ Banakako azterketa	0,46	0,52
□ Albiste konbergenteak	0,49	0,53
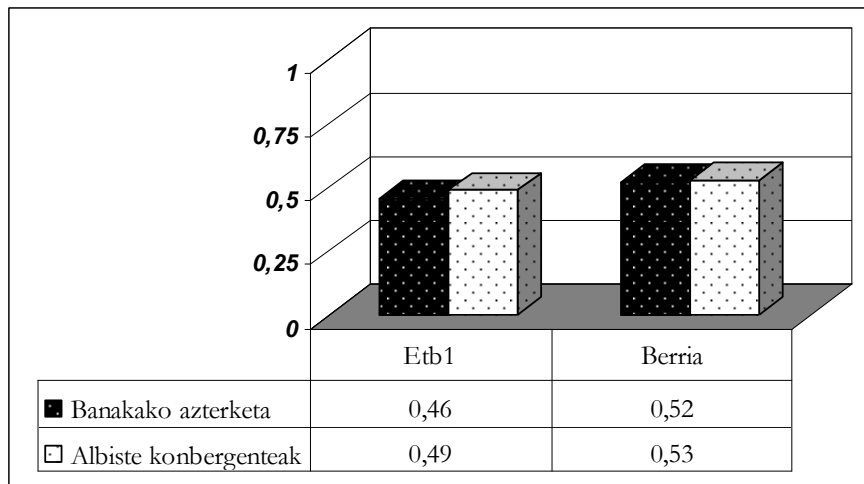
Iturria: Egilea.

Laburbilduz, euskarazko hedabideek hamarkada bakar batean kazetaritza hizkera estandarizatu zuten. Behin horixe garatutakoan, nazioarteko kazetaritzak zituen arrisku berberei hizkuntza ez-normalizatuaren eremutik aurre egin behar izan zieten. Horrela, horikeria hedatu berriaren ondorioz, *Etb1*ek hizkera jatorra alboratu eta zuzena sendotu zuen. Ildo beretik, *Berria*ko albisteek hizkera zuzena zerabilten, idazkera egokiaren helburua bete ezinik. Izan ere, puntuazio negatiboa gainditu zuen kazetak eta zenbait arlotan, gainera, hizkuntzaren erabilerari zegozkion puntu positiboak ere agertu zituen (astelehen ordezko astearteko zenbakian, adibidez). Ikerketa sinkronikoak hizkera zuzenaren (ez-egokiaren) beste alde bat erakutsiko digu, irratikoa hain zuzen. Are

gehiago, hizkuntza normalizatuetako hedabideek horikeriari aurre egiteko baliabide gehiago eta eraginkorragoak garatu ote zituzten aztertuko dugu.

a.10.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren azterketan, hizkuntzaren erabileraren azterketa aurreko epean baino handiagoa izan zen. Hortaz, euskarazko kazetaritza-arauen betetzeko ere eskatu genuen. Adibidez, lehen hamaika zenbakiak idatziz ematea, "desberdin" baino "hainbat" eta "zenbait" erabiltzea etab. Horregatik, ikerketa sinkronikoaren azterketa hau aurreko epekoa baino zorrotzagoa izan zen. Ondorioz, ikus-entzunezko hedabideen berezko hizkera jatorra zela egiaztatu zen (%87,61, *Euskadi Irratia*n eta %61,34, *Etb1*ean). Gainera, *Euskal Telebista*k hizkera egokiari tarterik handiena egiten zion hedabidea izan zen (%17,53). *Berria*k, ordea, hizkera zuzenaren[453] ezaugarriak zituzten albisteak ugaritu zituen (%54,38). Horrenbestez, egunkaria bera *Euskadi Irrati*tik eta *Etb1*etik bereizten zituen hizkera kategoria zen.

159. Grafikoa – Hizkera (%):
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2008)

	Egokia	Jatorra	Zuzena
■ Euskadi Irr.	7,52	87,61	4,87
□ Etb1	17,53	61,34	21,13
▨ Berria	13,13	32,5	54,38
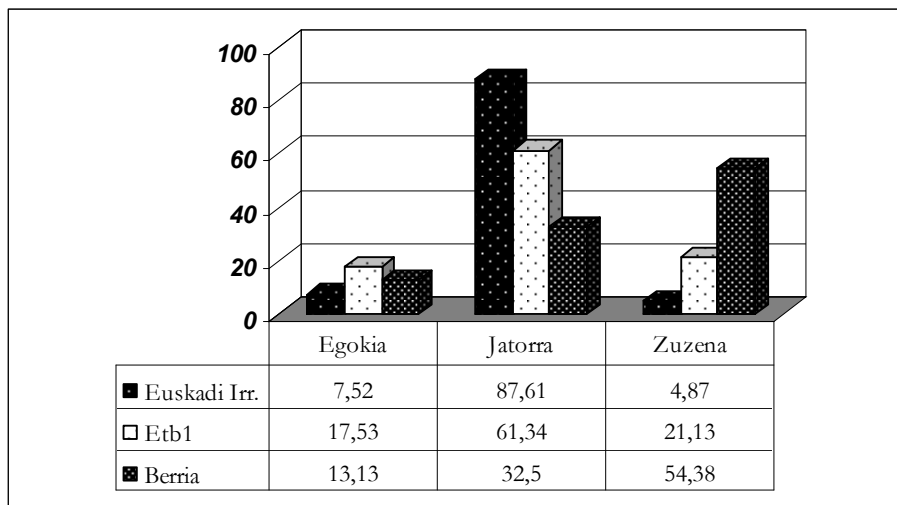
Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa sinkronikoaren azterketak aurreko epeetan kontuan hartu ez ziren arauak ere aplikatu zituen. Zorroztasun horrek, baina, ez zuen akatsen kopuruan ia

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[453] Hiru hedabideek titularretan edo lehen orrian agertzen zuten hizkera albistearen beraren hizkera baino egokiagoa izaten zen. Esaterako, 2008ko martxoaren 23ko *Berria*ren azalak honela eman zuen ETAren azken atentatuaren berri: "ETAk Calahorran zaratarazi zuen autoak 70 kilo leherkari zituen" zioen tituluan eta "Bostehun herritar ingururi kalteak egin dizkie bonbak", azpitituluan. Ondoren, artikulua 7. orrian agertzen zen. Han, honela agertzen zen: "<u>70 kilo</u> lehergai zituen ETAk zartarazitako bonba-autoak", tituluan; "Calahorrako Guardia Zibilaren kuartelaren ondoan <u>izan da</u> leherketa, eta kalte ugari <u>eragin ditu</u>", azpitituluan; eta "Ostiralean ETAk Calahorran jarritako leherketak kalte handiak <u>eragin zituen</u> etxebizitza batzuetan", argazki oinean. Barruko artikuluan, esaldia zifraz idatzitako zenbaki batekin hasten da. Gainera, argazki oineko aditzen aldia ez dator titulu eta azpitituluekin bat.

alderik erakutsi. Hiru hedabideek oinarrizko gramatika akatsak egiten jarraitzen bazituzten ere[454], horien zigortzeak ez zuen albisteen hizkeraren utzikeria azaltzen[455], bereizitako parametroak osatzen zituztelako. Ikerketa sinkronikoan, *Euskadi Irratia*k albiste bakoitzeko 0,16 akats agertzen zituen; *Etb1*ek, 0,33; eta *Berria*k, 1,23.

Ondorioz, *Euskadi Irrati*ko berrien hizkuntzaren erabilera 0,45ekoa izan zen, *Etb1*eko albisteek 0,43ko puntu lortu zituzten eta *Berria*ri 0,16ko puntuazioa esleitu zitzaion. Gainera, *Etb1*eko eta *Berria*ko oporraldietako albisteen hizkuntzaren erabilerak horien puntuazio erdia baino ez zuen izaten. Are gehiago, *Berria*ko oporraldietako albisteen hizkerak, batez besteko 2,04na akats artikulu bakoitzeko, puntuazio negatiboa zuen (-0,12).

Sailkako gai-banaketak kirol albisteen jatortasuna nabarmendu zuen. Politika gaiek, ordea, hizkera egokiagoa izaten zuten. Gizartea eta kultura atalak ere arindu egin zituzten hedabideek. Azkenik, Ekonomia sailak *Euskadi Irratia*n baino ez zuen hizkera egokirik azaltzen.

Albisteek agertzen zituzten protagonista motei zegokienez, eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako berriek hizkuntzaren erabilerarik bikainena erakutsi zuten. Ondoren, Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten berriak eta protagonista identifikagarririk ez zutenak hiru hedabideek bigarren postura eraman zituzten. Azkenik, eragile profesionalak agertzen zituzten albisteen hizkuntzaren erabilera eskasa

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[454] Euskal deklinabidea *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Berria*n bertan oraindik oker iturri izaten zen. Irratian, ergatiboaz gain ("Mariano Rajoiek [sic: Rajoik edo Raxoik] adierazi du", 2008/09/05), mugagabea ere akats gehienetan azaltzen zen ("Euskal Herriko 31 herrietan [sic: herritan]", 2008/11/11).

Egunkariak ere zortzi ergatibo marken falta zuen albistea argitaratu zuen (2008/11/27). Are gehiago, akats hori lehen orriko berri batek ere agertu zuen: "Zorra barkatzeko Al Malikik eginiko deia [sic: deiak] ez du babesik izan nazioartean" (2008/05/30).

*Etb1*ean, gainera, izenburuan bertan agertzen ziren ortografia akatsak ikusgarrienak ziren: "Txirrindularitza: UCI-ren mehatsu [sic: mehatxu]" (2008/03/07).

[455] Esaterako, honela zioen ETAk Arrasaten PSE-EEko zinegotzi ohi bat hil eta horren berri ematen zuen albistearen lehen lerroak: "Isaias Carrasco PSE-EEko militantea eta Arrasateko (Gipuzkoa) zinegotzi ohia hil du ETAk, bost tiro botata." (*Berria*, 2008/03/08). Geroago, artikuluak informaziorik ematen ez zuten topikoak jaso zituen, hala nola "[...] Udaletxean egin zuten bozeramaileen batzordera begira jarri ziren begi guztiak [...]" eta "Atentatua gertatu eta segituan hasi ziren politikariak Arrasateko erietxera iristen, kanpainiako egitekoak utzita. Aurpegi serioekin joan ziren [...]".

Gainera, albisteak erdal egiturak islatu zituen, besteak beste: "minutu batzuk beranduago [sic: geroago] iritsi ziren" edota "hilotza han egongo da, harik eta [gaur] 17:00etan Arrasateko Juan Bautista Parrokian hileta egiten [sic: egingo] dioten arte".

Ildo beretik, udalbatzaren iraupenari "legegintzaldi" esan zion kazetariak. Dena den, udalek lege-ahalmenik ez dutenez, arauak baino ezin dituzte onartu eta, beraz, "agintaldi" esaten zaio.

Horregatik, albiste horrek hizkuntzaren baliabideak garatzen ez zituenez, ezin zitekeen hizkera egokitzat hartu. Gainera, hizkera jatorra ere ez zen, erdal egituretan oinarritzen zelako. Beraz, idazkera zuzentzat jo genuen.

izan zen *Euskadi Irratia*n eta *Berria*n (-0,02 puntu lortu zituen), baina *Etb1*eko bikainena suertatu zen.

Sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak bertako albisteak hobesteko joeraren berri eman zuen. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia*k zabaldutako bertako berriek 0,52 puntu izan zituzten bitartean, kanpokoek 0,49 lortu zituzten. *Etb1*ek hiru ehunenen aldea erakutsi zuen: bertako berriei 0,38 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien eta kanpotik zetozenei, 0,35. *Berria*k bi kategoriak parekatuen agertu zituen: bertako albisteek 0,16 puntu zekartzaten eta Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutakoek, ordea, 0,17.

Hala ere, hiru hedabideetan bat egiten zuten albisteak euskarazko hedabideen arteko konbergentziaren araberako hizkera zerabilten. Esaterako, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat egindako *Berria*ko albisteek ia puntuazio bikoitza lortu zuten. Aldiz, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat egindako *Etb1*ek berriek banakako azterketan baino hizkuntzaren erabilera okerragoa azaltzen zuten.

160. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*ren, *Etb1*en eta *Berria*ren arteko konbergentzia (2008)**

	Banak	Etb1	Berria	Banak	E. Irr.	Berria	Banak	E. Irr.	Etb1
		Euskadi Irr.			Etb1			Berria	
■ Hizkuntza	0,45	0,51	0,51	0,43	0,4	0,46	0,16	0,28	0,17
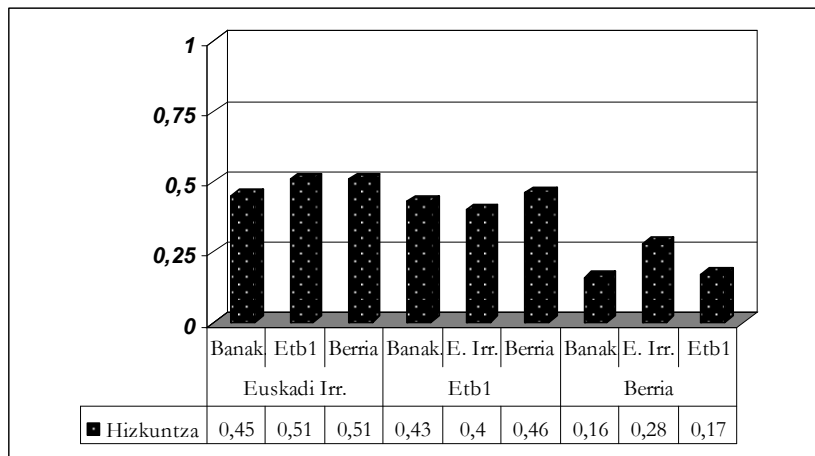
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, gainerako hedabideekiko alderaketan, euskarazko hiru hedabideek hizkera egokiari tarterik handienetarikoa egiten zieten. Irratien kasuan, adibidez, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Gure Irratia*k baino ez zuten hizkera egokiko albisterik aireratu (%7,69, lehenengoak eta %7,59, bigarrenak). Dena den, *France Bleu*ko 'Euskarazko Emankizuna' albistegiak eta *Cadena Ser*rek ez zuten gramatika akatsik aireratu.

161. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
***Euskadi Irratia*k euskarazko eta erdarazko irratiekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
■ Irratiak	0,43	0,5	0,52	0,49	0,48
◆ Euskadi Irratia	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,53	0,47
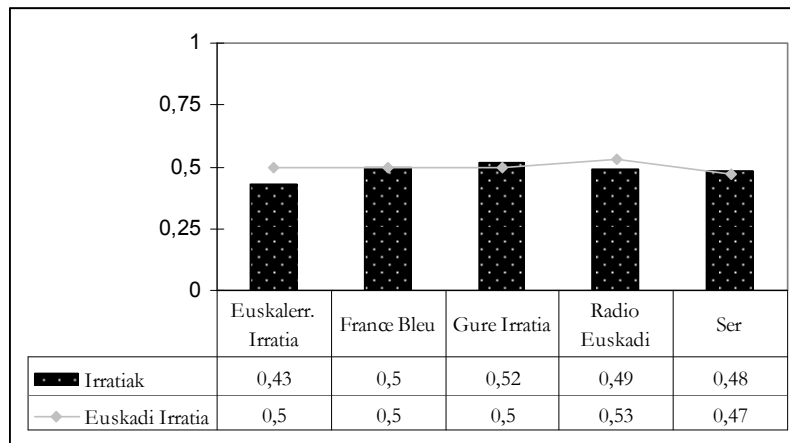
Iturria: Egilea.

Telebisten arteko alderaketan ere, EiTBko bi kateek baino ez zuten hizkera egokia azaltzen zuten albisterik aireratu: %16,67, *Etb1*ek eta %3,49, *Etb2*k. Hala ere, euskara akatsek bien arteko aldea parekatu zuten, *Etb2*ko albisteek ere zenbait akats zabaldu arren[456]. Ildo beretik, *Telecinco*k ez zuen hizkera egokirik erabili. Are gehiago, albisteen %33,33tan hizkera zuzena nabaritu zen, hau da, *Etb1*en tarte bikoitza. Berriro ere, azken horren akatsek bien aldea murriztu zuten.

162. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
***Etb1*ek erdarazko telebistekin duen konbergentzia (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
■ Telebistak	0,41	0,35
◆ Etb1	0,42	0,44
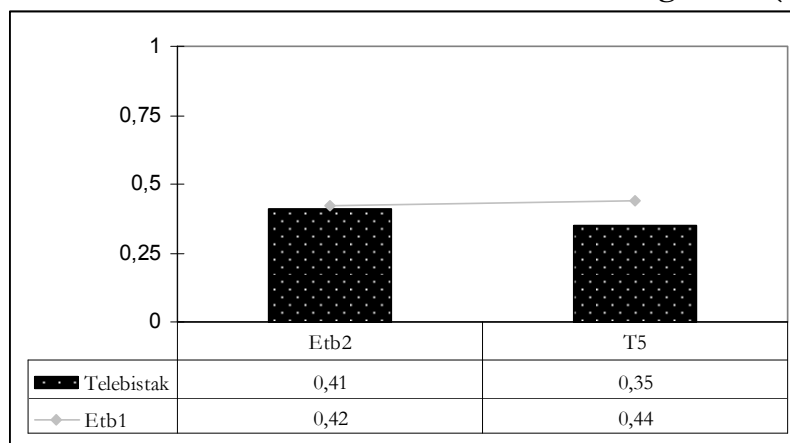
Iturria: Egilea.

Egunkariek ikus-entzunezkoek baino tarte handiagoa egiten zieten hizkera egokia agertzen zuten albisteei. Hortaz, aztertutako egunkari den-denek hizkera egokia lantzen zuen berririk bazuten. Are gehiago, hizkera egokia zerabilten albisteen kopururik altuena *Diario de Navarra*k (%14,81) eta *Berria*k (egunkari guztiekiko

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[456] Titularretan ("Alijo particular: El reventón de una de ellas, [sic] casi le mata", 2008/06/28) zein albistearen kontakizunean ("no existe riesgo ninguno [sic: alguno]", 2008/09/25).

alderaketan, *Diario de Navarra* salbu) erakutsi zuten. Hala ere, tarterik txikiena *El Correo Español*ek egiten zien. Aldi berean, *Berria* hizkera zuzen soila gehien erabilitako egunkaria izan zen.

Dena den, egunkari guzti-guztiek ortografia[457] edota gramatika akatsak (aditzaren komunztadura[458], komen erabilpen okerra[459]) agertu zituztenez, den-denek puntu negatiboak izan zituzten. Hala ere, *Berria*k ez zion gainerako egunkarien akats gutxiagoko hizkera mailari eutsi. *Le Journal du Pays Basque*k agertzen zituen mendeko perpausen puntuazio akatsek ekarritako puntu negatiboen ondorioz[460], *Berria*k baino puntuazio txikiagoa izan zuen. Dena den, gainerako hedabide guzti-guztiek erdaraz jarduten zutela kontuan izan behar da, *Gara*n agertzen ziren albiste apur batzuk izan ezik.

163. Grafikoa – Hizkuntzaren erabilera (%):
_Berria_k erdarazko egunkariekin duen konbergentzia (2008)

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	0,19	0,23	0,29	0,33	0,21	0,17
Berria	0,16	0,08	0,2	0,2	0,17	0,24
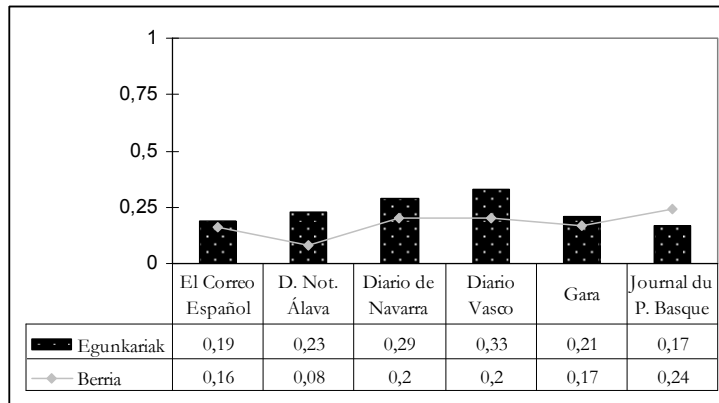
Iturria: Egilea.

Hizkuntzaren erabileraren adierazleak, hedabide motaren arabera, azaleko edo sakoneko azterketa dakar. Horrenbestez, irratien bat-batekotasunak bultzatuta, horien akatsak oharkabean gertatzen dira. Telebistan, titularrek horrelakorik agertzean, askoz

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[457] Besteak beste, *Diario de Navarra*n ("las imagenes [sic: imágenes] grabadas en la memoria", 2008/06/28), *Diario de Noticias de Álava*n ("Arcoiris" jaso zuen tituluak eta "Arco Iris" agertzen zen argazki oinean nahiz testuan [sic: arcoíris], 2008/06/29) eta *Diario Vasco*n (artikulu berean "Fernando Fernán-Gómez" agertzen zen azpitituluan eta "Fernando Fernán Gómez" testuan; horrez gain, honelako ortografia akatsa ere azaltzen zuen: "La actriz cubana Mirtha Ibarra, coguionista y directora de *Titlón, de la habana* [sic: Habana] *a Guantanamera*, documental sobre quien fuera su marido", 2008/09/06).
[458] Adibidez, *Gara*n ("Tanto el debate como la votación resultaron mucho menos crispados de lo que gran parte de los medios venían [sic: venía] vaticinando", 2008/06/29) eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque*n ("Le syndicat ELA a également dénoncé que sur le chantier où cet ouvrier travaillait «des mesures de sécurité était [sic: étaient] absentes»", 2008/07/15).
[459] *El Correo Español*: "Mientras, Barack Obama, [sic] está dispuesto a seguirle el órdago a McCain hasta el mismo estrado" (2008/09/26).
[460] Adib.: "«Nous avons appris le blocage de nos comptes en lisant *Sud-Ouest*» [sic: ,] souligne-t-elle. [sic:]" eta "«Les partis, les syndicats, les associations, les élus, toute la société civile doit se mobiliser», souligne A. Funose […]" (2008/04/30).

ere ikusgarriagoak dira. Horregatik, idatzizko prentsak akats kopururik altuena erakutsi zuen. Dena den, hedabideen ezaugarrien neurri bereko azterketa da. Hau da, egunkarietako akatsak edo telebistako titularretakoak ikusterrazenak badira, horiexek saihestu beharko lituzkete hedabideek. Gainera, hizkuntza normalizatuetan aritzen diren hedabideek ere ortografia eta gramatika akatsak agertu zituzten. Euskarari dagokionez, 2003tik aurrerako kazetaritza-jardunaren hizkuntzaren erabilerak hizkeran eragin handiagoa izan zuen. Hortaz, euskarazko hiru hedabideek erdarazkoek baino hizkera egokiagoa azaldu arren, ortografia eta gramatika akatsen ondorioz, puntuazio txikiagoa lortu zuten. *Euskal Telebista*ren kasuan are argiagoa da. *Etb2*k egindako zenbait akats dokumentatu arren, eduki bereko euskarazko albistegiak puntuazio hobea izan zuen, horikeria zabaltzen zuen hizkerarik erabiltzen ez zuelako. Ildo beretik, *Euskadi Irratia*k *Radio Euskadi*k baino puntuazio hobea izan zuen. Hala ere, *Berria* gainerako egunkariekiko alderaketan kaltetuen atera zen. Dena den, egunkarien artean hizkera egokiaren ratio handienetarikoa agertu arren, akatsez gain, *Berria*ko albisteen hizkuntzaren erabileraren puntuazio baxua hizkera zuzena hobesteari ere badagokio.

b. *Laburbilduma:* Edukiaren funtsa

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak zenbait alderaketa ahalbidetzen du. Hortaz, eduki-kalitatearen interpretazio osotua hainbat alderi erreparatzen diona delakoan gaude. Horregatik, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen emaitzak albistegintza prozesuaren arabera, aniztasun-adierazleen ikuspegitik, euskarazko hedabideekiko konbergentziatik eta erdarazko hedabideekiko alderaketaren testuinguruan aztertuko ditugu.

b.1. Albistegintzaren prozesuak

Albistegintzak bi prozesu ditu: informazioa hautatzen duen lehen urratsa eta berria lantzen duena. Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen lehenengo bost adierazleek (*informazioaren jatorria, albiste-iturri motak, gertaeraren egitate-maila, gaurkotasuna* eta *adierazgarritasuna*) hautaketa prozesua aztertzen dute. Azken bost adierazleek albisteen lanketa prozesua neurtzen dute, hala nola *zehaztasuna, osotasuna, ikuspegi-kopurua, informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna* eta *hizkuntza erabilera*. Aurreko atalean horiek banan-banan aztertu ditugunez, orain albistegintzaren prozesuaren ikuspegitik erreparatuko diegu.

b.1.1. Hautaketa prozesua

Hautaketa prozesuaren berri ematen duten Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen bost adierazleek, gehienez, bost puntu eslei diezaizkieke atal horri. Hortaz, indizeak banatzen duen puntuazioaren erdia hautaketari dagokio.

i. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Albistegintzaren bi prozesuak aztertzeko, metodologian zehaztutako ikerketa aldiak jarraituko ditugu. Hortaz, ikerketa diakronikoak bi epe kontuan izango ditu: *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren sorrerak abiatutako hamarkada (1990-2002) eta bi kazetaritza ereduen sendotzea (2003-2007).

i.1 Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

*Euskal Telebista*ko eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albisteak hautatzeko prozesuek antz handia zuten. Biek puntuaziorik altuena gaurkotasunean lortzen zuten. Ondoren, gertaeraren egitate-mailaren eta adierazgarritasunaren adierazleek oinarrizko kazetaritza-jardueraren parametroak gainditzen zituzten. Hortaz, bi hedabideetako albisteen adierazgarritasunean bat zetozen. Amaitzeko, informazioaren jatorriak eta albiste-iturri motek punturik gutxien esleitzen zizkieten. Azken bi adierazle horietan *Egunkaria*k *Etb1*ek baino hobeto jardun arren, albisteen jatorri aipatuaren eskakizuna baino ez zuen betetzen. Horregatik, **Etb1eko albisteen hautaketak 3 puntu lortu zituen** (zerotik bosterako eskalan) **eta Euskaldunon Egunkariako berrien aukeraketak, 3,08 puntu.**

164. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua:
Etb1 eta E.Egunkaria (1990-2002)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
■ Etb1	0,39	0,23	0,76	0,98	0,64
□ Egunkaria	0,5	0,3	0,67	0,96	0,65
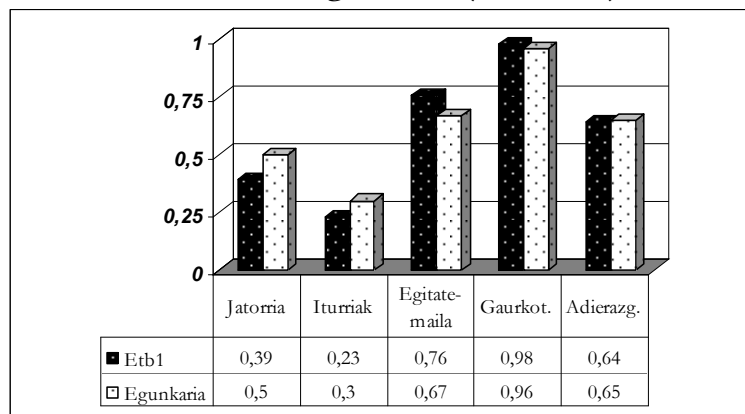
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*ko albistegien erredakzioan bi lan-taldek dihardute. Euskaraz eta erdarazko albisteak lantzen dituzten taldeak astebarruko eta asteburuko kazetariek osatzen dituzte. Horregatik, asteburuko albisteek ez dute, Kalitate-Indizeari dagokionez, alde nabarmenik agertzen. Hala ere, informazioaren jatorriaren eta albiste-iturri moten adierazleen gainbehera argia da. Esaterako, asteburuko albisteen %75ek ez zuten informazio-iturririk agertzen. **Asteburuko hautaketa prozesuaren guztirako puntuazioak, beraz, bi hamarren galdu zituen**: 2,8 puntu izan zituen.

Oporraldietan, aldiz, kazetari gutxiago dago eta haien zenbait lan-ordezkapen Kazetaritza Fakultateko ikasleei dagokie. Hortaz, asteburuko jarduerarekin edota aste barrukoarekin alderatuta, oporraldietako albisteen hautaketa prozesuak informazioaren jatorri ezkutuaren areagotzea eta asteburuetan baino albiste-iturri gehiagoren erabilpena egiaztatu zituen; iturri konfidentzialak alboratu eta zeharka identifikatutakoak hobesten ziren. Ondorioz, **oporraldietako albisteen hautaketa prozesua asteburuetan agertutakoari gailendu zitzaion**, 2,83 puntu lortu baitzituen.

165. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Etb1* (1990-2002)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
Asteburuak	0,33	0,13	0,77	0,98	0,59
Oporraldiak	0,29	0,17	0,78	1	0,59
Etb1	0,39	0,23	0,76	0,98	0,64
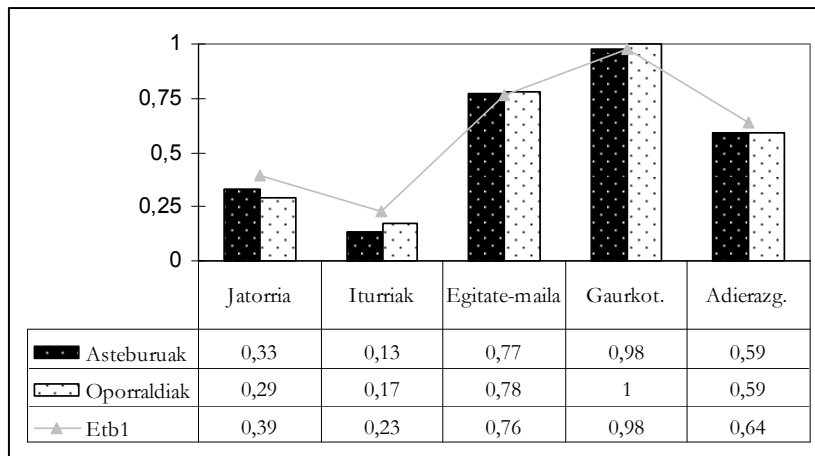
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k, telebista publikoak ez bezala, ezin dio bi erredakzio-talde izateari eutsi. Are gehiago, langileen atsedenerako asteko eguna ziurtatzeko, astelehenetan kazeta plazaratzeari uko egin zion *Egunkaria*k. Horregatik, asteburuko zenbakiak prestatzeko lan-taldearen zati batek bakarrik jarduten du. Hala ere, asteburua irakurle gehien biltzen duen denbora-tartea da. Hortaz, astegunetako albisteekin alderatuta, asteburuetan informazioaren jatorria gutxiagotan aipatzen zen. Gainera,

kultura eta kirol iragarpenek aste barruan baino tarte handiagoa hartzen zuten[461]. Asteburuko berriek ere, ondorioak nagusitzen zituen adierazgarritasuna baino, oihartzunari tarte handiagoa egiten zioten. Horregatik, asteburuko berrien hautaketa prozesuak 2,93 izan zituen (**astegunetako albisteek baino hamabost ehunen gutxiago**).

Asteburuko erredakzio-talderik sortzerik ez zegoenez, udan langileen txandakako oporrak tartekatzearekin batera, behargin batzuk ordezteko Kazetaritza Fakultateko ikasleek dihardute. Oporraldietako albisteek astegunetakoek informazioren jatorria baino gutxiagotan aipatzen zuten: asteburuko berriek adina, hain zuen. Ildo beretik, gehien agertzen ziren albiste-iturriak zeharka identifikatutakoak eta konfidentzialak ziren. Adierazgarritasunak, azkenik, udan garrantziari erreparatzen zion. Hala ere, oporraldietan inoiz baino gertakizunetan oinarritutako albiste gehien biltzen zen. Ondorioz, uztaileko eta abuztuko berriek 3 puntu lortu zituzten, hau da, **ohiko albisteek baino zortzi ehunen gutxiago**, baina asteburuko informazioak baino bi ehunen gehiago.

166. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
Asteburuak	0,43	0,29	0,6	0,96	0,65
Oporraldiak	0,43	0,27	0,74	0,98	0,58
Egunkaria	0,5	0,3	0,67	0,96	0,65
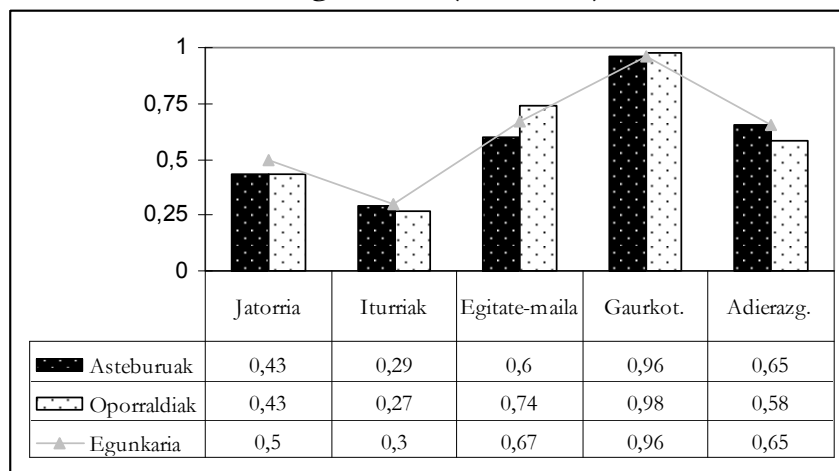
Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epean, bi hedabideek albisteak hautatzeko antzeko parametroak azaldu zituzten. Ondorioz, biek puntuazio berdintsua lortu zuten. Are gehiago, oporraldietako albisteek asteburukoek baino puntu gehiago izan zituzten. Horrenbestez, hartzailerik gehien dagoen denbora-tartean publikorik gutxien egoten den sasoian baino kalitate gutxiagoko albisteak plazaratzen zituzten *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k.

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[461] Bizkaiko Bertsolari Txapelketaren emaitzen inguruan espekulatzeko ("Iturriaga ala txapeldu berria?", 1998/12/27) edo futbol partiden agendaren berri emateko ("Urteko lehen Kopa, Meridan", 1995/01/04).

i.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epe honek informazioaren jatorri aipatuaren eta erabilitako albiste-iturrien aldea bi hedabideetan areagotu zela egiaztatu zuen. Hala ere, *Berria*k ez zituen bi adierazleok hobetu. Alderantziz, *Euskal Telebista*k jatorria eta iturriak gutxiagotan aipatzeari utzi zion. Ildo beretik, *Etb1*ek iragarpenetatik eratorritako gero eta berri gehiago zabaltzeari ekin zion. Horrela, adierazle horrek ere *Berria*ri besteko puntuazioa esleitu zion. Azkenik, 2003tik aurrerako telebista publikoak zabaldutako albiste gehienek jakin-mina zuten adierazgarritasunaren ezaugarri. *Berria*k, ordea, ondorioetan oinarritzen zen adierazgarritasuna hobetsi zuen.

167. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua:
***Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)**

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
■ Etb1	0,25	0,19	0,7	0,97	0,51
□ Berria	0,53	0,32	0,71	0,98	0,67
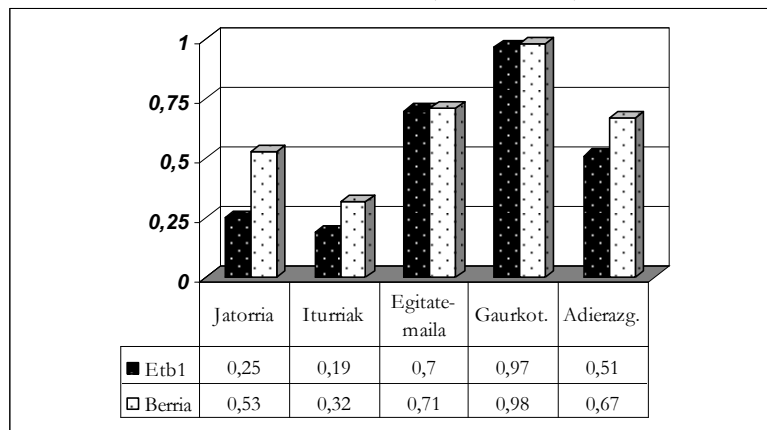
Iturria: Egilea.

Horregatik, bi hedabideetako albisteen puntuazioa, hautaketa prozesuari zegokionez, aldatu zen. **Berria**ri hobetutako kazetaritza-jarduerak 3,21 puntu eman zizkion, aurreko epean baino hamabi ehunen gehiago, hain zuzen. **Etb1k,** ostera, ia lau hamarreneko galera izan zuen; **guztira, 2,61 puntu lortu zituen.**

168. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (bilakaera):
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	Etb1	Egunkaria / Berria
■ 1990-2002	3	3,08
□ 2003-2007	2,62	3,21
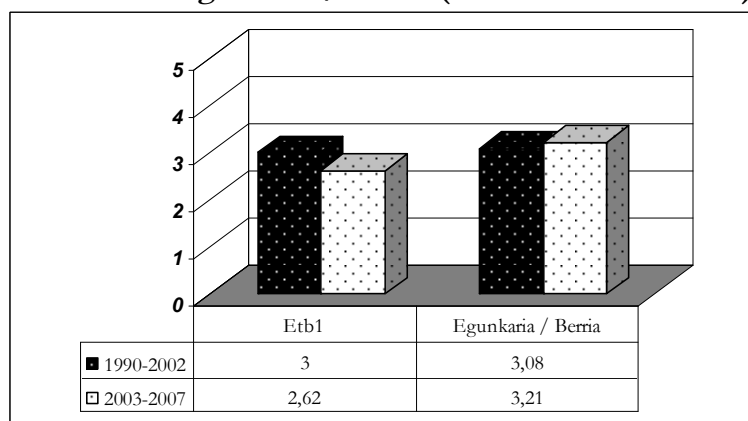
Iturria: Egilea.

Aurreko epean bezala, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko asteburuko *Etb1*eko albisteen eta astegunetako berrien arteko aldea informazioaren jatorriaren eta iturri moten adierazleek zehazten zuten. Asteburuko albisteen %71,45ek, berriro ere, ez zuten ezelango informazio-iturririk azaldu, aste-barruan kopuru hori %50ekoa zen bitartean. Aldiz, asteburuko albisteek informazioaren jatorria sarriagotan aipatzeari ekin zioten. Ondorioz, asteburuko berrien hautaketa prozesuari 2,60 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion. Hortaz, **asteburuko eta astegunetako albisteen puntuazioa parekatu zen (bi ehunen aldea baino ez)**. Aurreko epearekin alderatuta, baina, bi hamarren galdu zituen, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko albisteen puntu-galeraren proportzioan.

Oporraldietako *Etb1*eko berriek albiste-iturrien batez besteko erabilerari eta gainerako adierazleei eutsi zieten. Are gehiago, informazioaren jatorria aste barruan baino maizago aipatzen zuten. Dena den, udako albisteen ia erdiak jakin-minari lotutako adierazgarritasuna aurkezten zuen. Horrenbestez, berrien %36,36k esanguraren garrantzia nabarmentzen zuten. Horregatik, **oporraldietako albisteek 2,56 puntu izan zituzten** hautaketa prozesuan; beraz, **asteburukoek baino puntuazio txikiagoa lortu zuten**.

169. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Etb1* (2003-2007)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
Asteburuak	0,36	0,1	0,71	0,95	0,48
Oporraldiak	0,36	0,18	0,68	0,95	0,39
Etb1	0,25	0,19	0,7	0,97	0,51
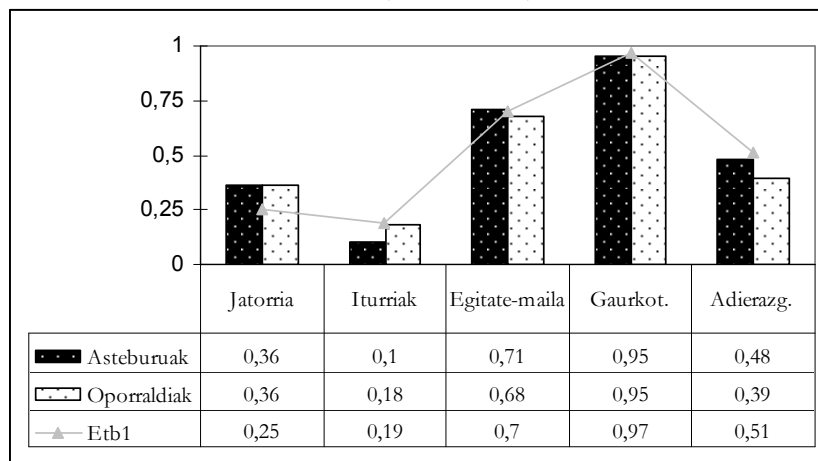
Iturria: Egilea.

Astegunetan *Berria*k 1990-2002 bitarteko kazetaritza-jarduerari eutsi bazion ere, asteburuetan informazioaren jatorriaren eta albiste-iturri moten adierazleek utzikeria nabarmentzen zuten. Lehenengoaren kasuan, jatorri aipatua zuten albisteak erdira murrizten zituen *Berria*k. Aldi berean, asteburuko berrien ia erdiak ez zuen albiste-iturririk adierazten. Gainera, gertakizunetan oinarritzen ziren berri gehiago zabaldu arren, iragarpenetatik sortutakoen kopurua ere bikoizten zen. Horrela, **asteburuko**

albisteek 2,91 puntu lortu zituzten, aurreko epearen moduan. Dena den, astegunetako berriek izandako kalitate hobekuntzarekiko aldea, beraz, gero eta handiagoa zen.

*Berria*k oporraldietan zabaltzen zituen albisteen herenak ez zuen informazioaren jatorririk aipatzen. Era berean, berrien herenak baino ez zuen albiste-iturririk azaltzen. Gainera, albisteen herena ere adierazpenetan oinarritutako informazioa zen. Berrien erdiak, azkenik, jakin-mina pizten zuen adierazgarritasuna agertu zuen. Horregatik, **oporraldietako albisteen hautaketa prozesuak 2,57 puntu izan zituen**. Horrenbestez, asteburuko albisteak oporralditakoen aurretik gailendu ez ezik, haien arteko aldea ere zabaldu zuten. Gainera, oporraldietako berriek aurreko epearekiko ere puntuazio txikiagoa izan zuten. Beraz, 2003tik 2007ra bitartean *Berria*k hobetu ez zuen datu bakarra izan zen.

170. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Berria* (2003-2007)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
Asteburuak	0,37	0,22	0,77	0,93	0,62
Oporraldiak	0,21	0,21	0,67	1	0,48
Berria	0,53	0,32	0,71	0,98	0,67
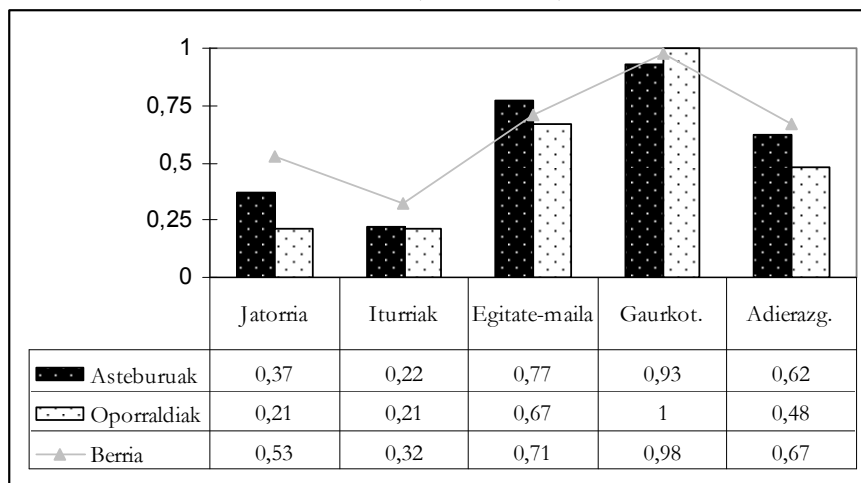
Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean asteburuko albisteak oporraldietako informazioaren aurretik nagusitu ziren. Hortaz, lehenengoek astegunetako berriekiko alderik txikiena agertzen zuten. *Etb1*en kasuan, telebista publikoaren informazio-jardunaren gabeziak azaldu zituzten. *Berria*k zabaldutako asteburuko albisteek ez zieten kalitate adierazleei astegunetakoen moduan eutsi.

ii. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

*Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k 2008an zabaldu zituzten albisteen hautaketa prozesuak informazioaren jatorria eta albiste-iturri mota adierazleetan emaitzarik baxuenak lortu zituen. Izan ere, gainerako hiru adierazleetan euskarazko hedabideek

gainditzeko beste puntu lortu zituzten. Horrenbestez, informazioaren jatorria gehien ezkutatu zuena *Euskadi Irratia* izan zen. Hala ere, telebistak albiste-iturririk gabeko berri kopururik altuena zabaldu zuen. Gainera, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k albisteen jatorria aipatzeko joera agertu zuten, nahiz eta albistearen egiazkotasuna sustatzeko informazio-iturririk aipatu ez[462]. Azkenik, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek 2008an zabaltzen zituzten albisteen adierazgarritasunak garrantzia eta jakin-mina azaltzen zituen. *Berria*k, ordea, ondorioen araberako adierazgarritasuna hobesten jarraitu zuen.

171. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua:
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2008)

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurko-tasuna	Adierazg.
■ Euskadi Irr.	0,2	0,26	0,6	0,94	0,59
☐ Etb1	0,32	0,2	0,7	0,96	0,48
▧ Berria	0,46	0,33	0,69	0,92	0,72
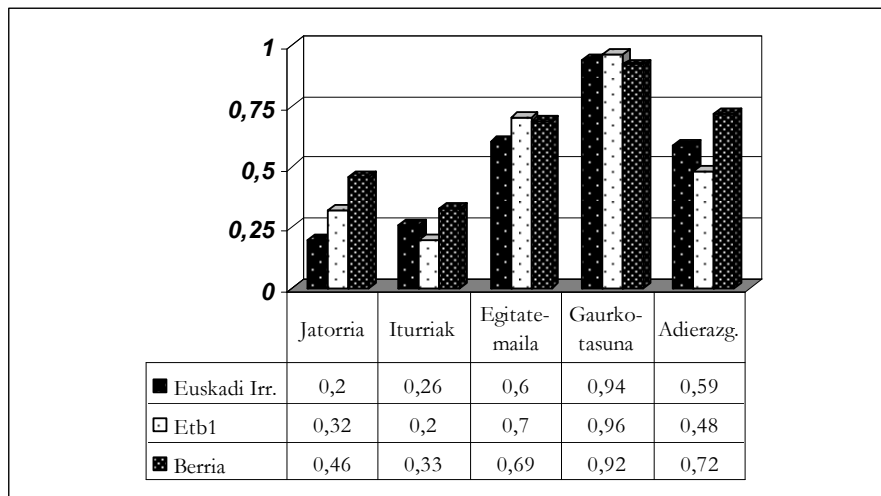
Iturria: Egilea.

Horregatik, **_Euskadi Irratia_k 2008an aireratutako berrien hautaketa prozesuak 2,59 puntu izan zituen. _Etb1_eko albisteen kasuan, 2,56 puntukoa izan zen. _Berria_k plazaratutako informazioaren atal honek punturik gehien lortu zituen: 3,12.** Horrenbestez, 2,5etik aurrerako balioek bikaintasuna adierazten zuten, guztirako puntu-esleipena bostekoa baitzen.

*Euskadi Irratia*k asteburuetan zabaltzen zituen albisteek astegunetakoek baino albiste-iturri gutxiago aipatzen zuten oraindik. Hortaz, albisteen %97,50 "atzo, gaur,

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[462] *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k albiste-agentziek zabaldutako informazioa bere horretan zabaltzen zuten, ezelango iturrirekin albistea osatu barik, ez eta adituen iritzirik ere. Funtsean, bi hedabideek berri-agentziak albiste-iturrien antzera erabiltzen zituzten eta ez, informazio-hornitzaile soil legez. Horregatik, aginte publikoen inguruko berriak Espainiako Efe agentzia publikoak emandako informazioarekin osatzen zuten, agintearen komunikazio-kabinete legez jardun balezakeen ere. Ondorioz, epaitegietako iragarpen-albisteak iturri konfidentzialetan oinarritzen zituzten:

"[**Ekainaren 16an hasiko da Gorena EHAK eta ANVren aurka frogak egiten**]
[…] Efe agentziak zabaldu duenez, aurkeztutako frogen artean, Iruñako Anaitasunako ekitaldian esandakoarengatik Auzitegi Nazionalak Marian Beitialarrangoitia Hernaniko alkatearen aurka kaleratutako autoa dago" (2008/05/30).

bihar" kategoriakoak ziren. Aste barruko batzuk, ordea, irratiak iragarpenaren berri izan eta oraingotasuna egintza horrekin lotzen zuen, gertakizuna noiz jazoko den erreparatu barik. Ondorioz, asteburuko albisteen eta aste barrukoen hautaketa prozesuek antzeko puntuazioa lortu zuten: 2,59, lehenengoak eta 2,57, bigarrenak.

Oporraldietako albisteek, ordea, orokorreko berrien parametroei eutsi zien informazioaren jatorriaren eta gaurkotasunaren adierazleetan. Gainera, gertaeraren egitate-mailan nagusitu zen *Euskadi Irratia*. Hala ere, ondorioen adierazgarritasuna kontuan hartzen zuten albisteak hiru aldiz gutxitu zituen. Horregatik, hautaketa prozesuan **2,47 puntu izan zituzten**, hots, *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteen emaitzarik eskasena. Gainera, oinarrizko kazetaritza-jarduerak hautaketa prozesuari gutxienez 2,50 puntu eskatzen dizkio.

172. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Euskadi Irratia* (2008)**
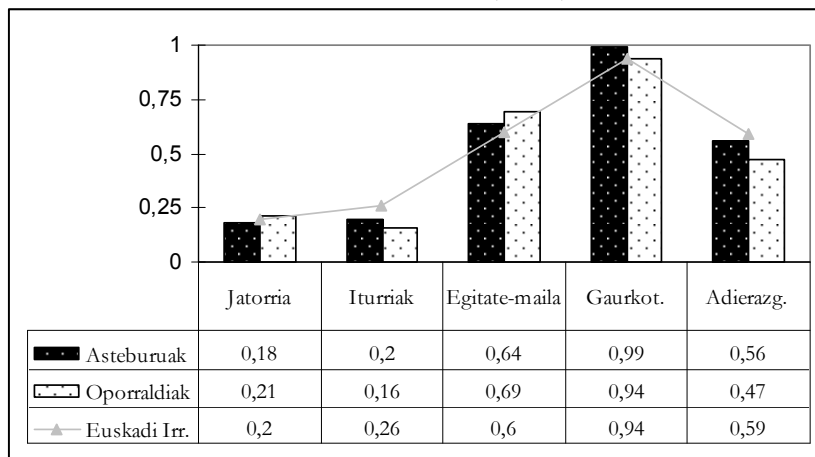
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*ko asteburuko albisteek datarik gabeko informazio gehiago ematen zuten[463] eta, ondorioen adierazgarritasunaren aurrean, esanguraren garrantzia nabarmentzen zuten berriak ziren. Ondorioz, **astegunetako berrien hautaketa prozesuak baino puntuazio txikiagoa izan zuen: 2,66koa, lehenengoak eta 2,53koa, bigarrenak.**

Oporraldietako albisteek, ordea, astegunetako berriekin antz handiagoa zuten. Hasteko, bien arteko aldea bi adierazle horiek ere azaltzen zuten. Batetik, udako albisteek datarik gabeko informazio gehiago ematen zuten. Bestetik, berrien bi herenek garrantziaren eta jakin-minaren araberako adierazgarritasuna hobesten zuten.

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[463] Adibidez, "Bardea: Berde eta hezea zen" (2008/07/13).

Horregatik, **oporraldietako albisteen hautaketa prozesuari 2,63 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion.**

173. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Etb1* (2008)**

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
Asteburuak	0,32	0,17	0,73	0,87	0,44
Oporraldiak	0,27	0,17	0,75	0,92	0,52
Etb1	0,32	0,2	0,7	0,96	0,48
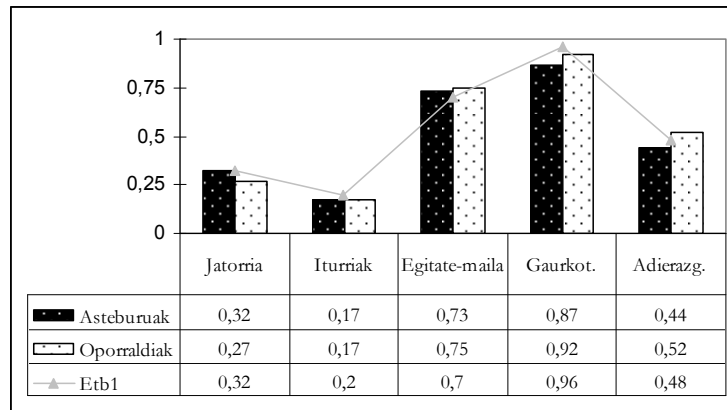
Iturria: Egilea.

Zegoeneko, 2008ko ikerketa aldian *Berria*k ez zuen asteburuetan eta astegunetan argitaratzen zituen albisteen arteko alderik agertzen. Asteburuetan informazioaren jatorria eta erabilitako albiste-iturriak gehiagotan aipatzen bazituen ere, datarik gabeko informazio gehiago[464] eta irudiaren adierazgarritasuna azpimarratzen zuten berri gehiago[465] plazaratzen zituen. Horregatik, ***Berria*ko asteburuko albisteen hautaketa prozesuak 3,11 puntu izan zituen, asteguneko berriek baino ehunen bat bakarrik gutxiago.**

Oporraldietako albisteek, ordea, informazioaren jatorriaren, iturri moten eta gertaeraren egitate-mailaren adierazleetan emaitza eskasagoak izan zituzten. Izan ere, zeharka aipatutako jatorridun albisteen kopurua udan urteko bikoitza izaten zen. Egoki identifikatu gabeko berrien zenbatekoa ere bikoitza zen. Azkenik, iragarpenetan oinarritutako informazioak tarte bikoitza hartzen zuen, adierazpenak neurri horretan gutxitzen zituelako. Ondorioz, **oporraldietako albisteen hautaketa prozesuak 3,04 puntu lortu zituen.** Hortaz, egunkaria astegunetako eta asteburuko albisteekiko aldea ere murrizten ari zen.

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[464] *Etb1*ean bezala, denbora errreferentziarik gabeko erreportajeak izaten ziren: "Brcko, etnia anitzeko barruti bakarra Bosnia eta Herzegovinan" (2008/20/05).

[465] Adib., "Euria, txingorra eta azkenean elurra iritsi da errepidera" (2008/03/23).

174. Grafikoa – Hautaketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Berria* **(2008)**

	Jatorria	Iturriak	Egitate-maila	Gaurkot.	Adierazg.
■ Asteburuak	0,53	0,37	0,68	0,85	0,68
▫ Oporraldiak	0,37	0,29	0,65	1	0,73
▲ Berria	0,46	0,33	0,69	0,92	0,72
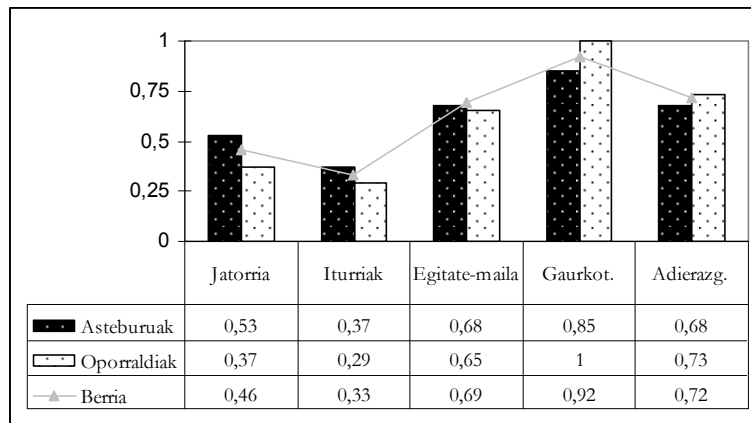
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen hautaketa prozesuak bi joera egiaztatu ditu. Lehenengo eta behin, *Etb1*ek gero eta ardura gutxiago erakutsi du. Izan ere, 1990etik hona adierazleen etengabeko gainbehera agertu du: telebistak gero eta informazioaren jatorri gutxiago aipatzen du eta iragarpenetan oinarritutako albiste gehiago ematen ditu. Aldi berean, jakin-minaren zein garrantziaren araberako adierazgarritasunak ondorioak eta oihartzuna azaltzen dituzten berriak alboratzea ekarri du. Prozesu horretan, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan aireratutako albisteen puntuen galera neurri berean ematen da. Hala eta guztiz ere, asteburuetako berriekiko alde handiegia izaten jarraitzen du, oporraldietako albisteek aste barruko ereduarekin antz argiagoa baitute.

Bigarrenik, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k alderantzizko joera azaldu du. Urtetik urtera alde batzuk hobetzeari ekin dio, hala nola iturrien identifikazioa sustatzeari eta ondorioetan oinarritutako adierazgarritasuna hobesteari. Hala ere, 2008ra arte ez zituen asteburuko albisteen kalitatea normalizatu. Horrenbestez, udako berriek hobetzeko zenbait alde badute oraindik. Dena den, hautaketa prozesuaren emaitza orokorra 3,12 puntukoa da eta horrek bikaintasunaren zati bat eginda baduela adierazten du.

*Euskadi Irratia*k, azkenik, 2008ko ikerketa aldian lortutako puntuazioaren arabera, informazioaren jatorria eta albiste-iturriak argiago azaldu beharko lituzke. Gainera, albisteen laurdena iragarpenetan oinarritzen ditu. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideetako daturik altuena agertzen du. Ondorioak baztertu eta jakin-mina pizten duen berrien adierazgarritasunak albisteen hautaketa prozesua bera 2,5 puntuko mugara gerturatu du. Are gehiago, oinarrizko kazetaritza-jarduna adierazi nahi duen 2,5

puntuko muga horrek (zerotik bosteko eskalan), dagoeneko, oporraldietako *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteak gaitzetsi ditu (2,47 puntu lortu baitzituzten).

b.1.2. Lanketa prozesua

Albisteak lantzeko prozesuak informazioaren hautaketa osatzen du. Are gehiago, lanketa prozesua eskasa denean, hautaketaren luzapentzat hartzen da. Izan ere, lanketarik gabeko kazetaritza ereduak albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna agertzen du. Gurean, gainera, lan handiagoa dakar, sarritan lanketak edukia euskaratzeko eskatzeaz gain, gehienetan horixe euskalduntzeko beharra ere badagoelako.

i. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoan aztertutako bi epeek lanketa prozesuaren garrantziaren berri emango digute. Hortaz, euskarazko kazetaritza hizkera estandarizatu artean albistegintzaren zein aldek pisu handiagoa zuen ebatziko du.

i.1. Euskarazko bi kazetaritza ereduak (1990-2002)

Euskal Telebista eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* bat zetozen albisteen lanketa prozesuaren hiru adierazletan. Horrenbestez, 1990etik 2002ra bitarteko euskarazko kazetaritza oso zehatza zen (titulu laburtzailea ohi zuen), oinarrizko bost W galderen erantzunak plazaratzen zituen eta ikuspegi bakarreko albiste argudiodunak hobesten zituen. Hortik aurrera, telebista publikoa informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasunean eta hizkuntzaren erabileran nagusitu zen. Izan ere, *Egunkaria* sortu berriaren ondoan, telebista publikoak zazpi urteko eskarmentua zuen. Horregatik, **Etb1eko albisteen lanketa prozesuak 2,8 puntu lortu zituen eta *Egunkaria*ko berrienak, ordea, 2,17.** Azken horrek oinarrizko kazetaritza-jardunaren gabezia nabarmentzen du, ez baita 2,5eko mugara heltzen (zerotik bosterako eskalan).

175. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua:
***Etb1* eta *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
■ Etb1	0,95	0,55	0,26	0,43	0,61
□ Egunkaria	0,85	0,53	0,29	0,12	0,38
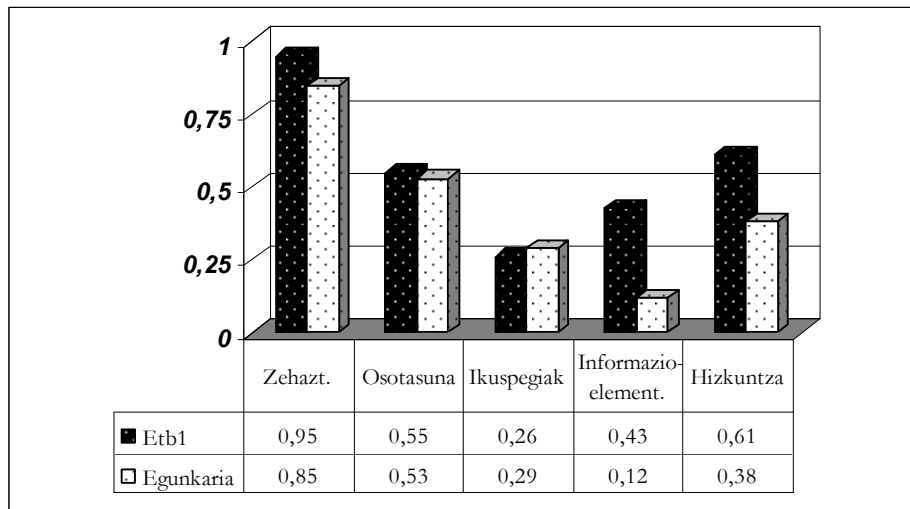
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskal Telebista*ko 1990tik 2002ra bitarteko asteburuko eta astebarruko albisteen aldeak adierazle denak ukitzen zituen. Horrenbestez, adierazgarrienak honakoak ziren: ikuspegi bakarreko albisteak ugaritzea, betelan eginkizuna zuten informazio-elementuen kopurua larunbatean zein igandeetan sendotzea, eta hizkera jatorra zuten berrien erdia hizkera zuzenarekin ordeztea. Horregatik, **Etb1eko asteburuko albisteen lanketa prozesuak 2,63 puntu lortu zituen**. Are gehiago, ohiko jarduerarekiko hamazazpi ehuneneko aldea agertzen zuen.

Oporraldietako *Etb1*eko albisteek aste barruko berrien eredua jarraitzen zuten. Hortaz, asteburuko albisteek baino puntu gehiago izan zituzten: **2,77ko puntuazioa** esleitu zitzaien.

176. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Etb1* (1990-2002)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
■ Asteburuak	1	0,53	0,24	0,36	0,5
▢ Oporraldiak	0,95	0,57	0,23	0,43	0,59
▲ Etb1	0,95	0,55	0,26	0,43	0,61
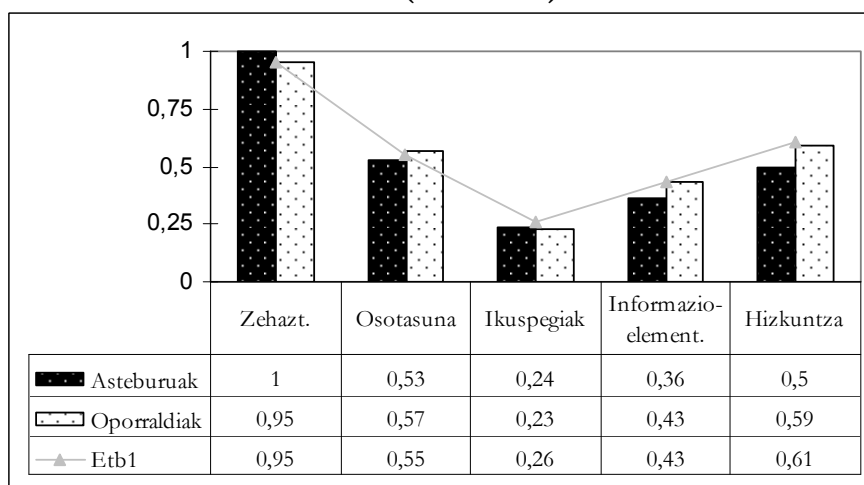
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k aste barruko eta asteburuko albisteen alde handia erakutsi zuen hautaketa prozesuan. Albistearen lanketak, ordea, irudi bateratuagoa islatzen du. Izan ere, honako hiru adierazleek informazioaren trataera bereizten zuten: ikuspegi-kopurua, informazio-elementuen egokitasuna eta, batez, hizkera zuzena sendotzea. Ondorioz, **asteburuko albisteen lanketa prozesuak 2,09 puntu izan zituen, aste barruko puntuazioak baino zortzi puntu gutxiago oraindik.**

Oporraldietan zabaldutako albisteek adierazle gehiagoren urraketa azaltzen zuten. Horrela, 1990etik 2002ra bitarteko uda sasoian *Egunkaria*k plazaratutako albisteek ikuspegi bakarra azaltzen zuten, teknikoki eskasak izan ziren informazio-elementuen erdia oporraldietan argitaratzen zuten eta hizkera zuzenak aurrekoetan baino tarte bikoitza hartzen zuen. Horregatik, **oporraldietako albisteen lanketa prozesuak** oinarrizko kazetaritza-jarduerari eskatzen zaizkion parametroen ia erdia bakarrik bete zuen. Beraz, **1,95 puntu baino ez zitzaizkion esleitu**.

177. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *E.Egunkaria* (1990-2002)

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
Asteburuak	0,85	0,54	0,28	0,1	0,32
Oporraldiak	0,84	0,54	0,25	0,1	0,22
Egunkaria	0,85	0,53	0,29	0,12	0,38
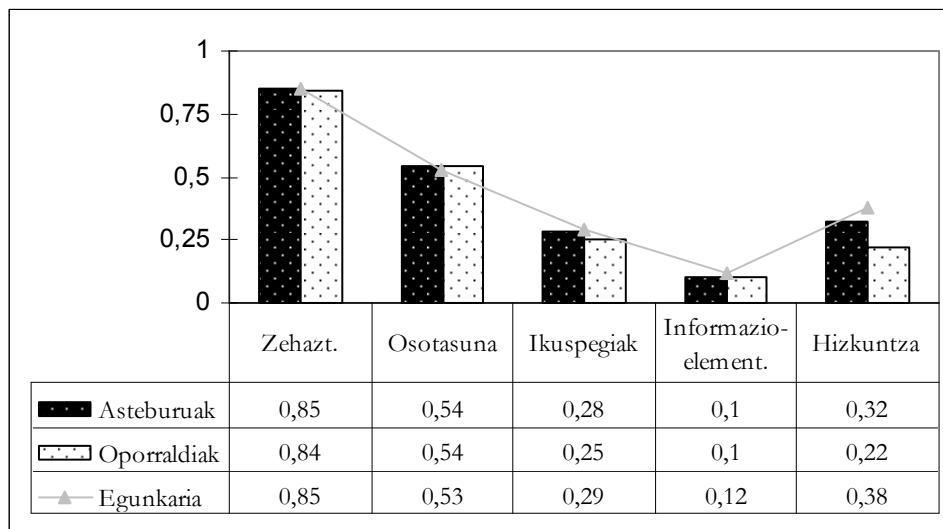
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k hautaketa prozesuan baino puntuazio txikiagoa izan zuten albisteen lanketan bertan. Gainera, telebista publikoak ez zuen astegunetan eta asteburuetan irizpide bertsuko albisterik aireratzen. Are gehiago, asteburuko emanaldiak ez zuen, lanketaren prozesuari zegokiola, oinarrizko kazetaritza-jardueraren eskakizunak bete. Hortaz, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren albisteek (aste barruko zein asteburuko eta oporraldietakoek) gabezia horiek azaltzen zituzten.

i.2. Euskarazko kazetaritzaren sendotzea (2003-2007)

Ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean, bi hedabideok haien jardunaren zenbait alde hobetu zuten. Alde batetik, *Euskal Telebista*k titularren zehaztasunean ardura handiagoa erakutsi zuen. Bestetik, *Berria*k albisteen osotasuna sendotu zuen eta hizkuntzaren erabilera nabarmen zaindu ere, akats-kopuru erdia agertzen zuen-eta. *Etb1*ek, aldiz, gero eta hizkuntz akats gehiago azaltzen zituen, formatu idatzian batik bat. Era berean, informazio-elementu gehigarrien erabilera desegokia zuzendu zuen *Berria*k. Horrela, 2003tik aurrera, informazio-elementuon erdia esanguratsua izan zen. *Etb1*ek alderantzizko jokabide izan zuen. Esanguratsuak ziren informazio-elementuak laurden batean gutxitzeaz gain, horien erabilera desegokia ere aurreko epean baino lau aldiz handiagoa izan zen. Gainera, bi hedabideek ez zuten ikuspegi-kopuruaren inguruko daturik hobetu. Alderantziz, bi ikuspegi azaltzen zituzten albisteak sendotu arren, argudiorik ez zekarten ikuspegi bakarreko berriak ere indartu zituzten. Horregatik, **Etb1eko albisteen lanketa prozesuak, 2,80 puntu izatetik, 2,41 baino ez zituen lortu. Berriak, ia lau hamarren irabazita, 2,56 puntu izan zituen.**

178. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua: *Etb1* eta *Berria* (2003-2007)

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
■ Etb1	0,92	0,58	0,24	0,21	0,46
□ Berria	0,84	0,61	0,29	0,3	0,52
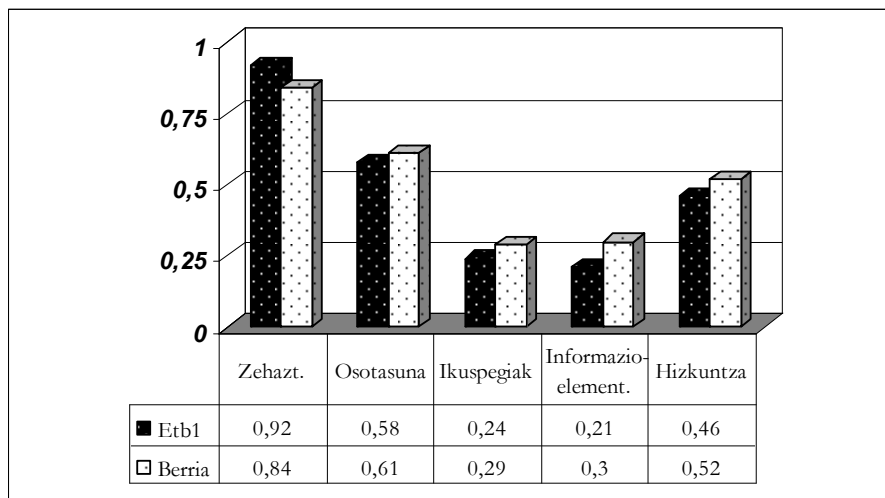
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrela, *Etb1*en jarduna okertu egin zen bitartean, *Berria*k albisteen lanketa prozesuari ardura handiagoa ipini zion. Dena den, bien aritzea oraindik oinarri-oinarrizkoa zen.

179. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (bilakaera):
***Etb1*eko eta *E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
■ Etb1	2,17	2,23
□ Egunkaria / Berria	1,98	2,39
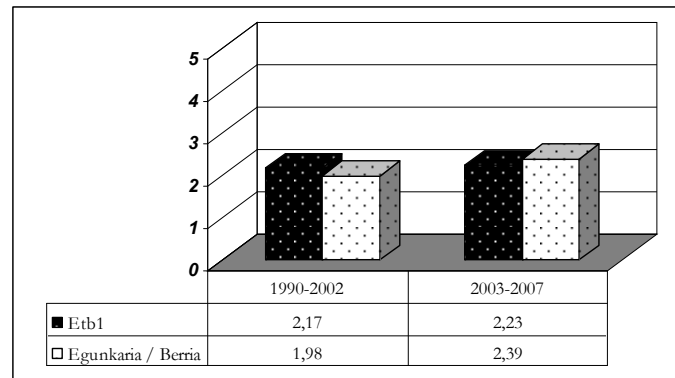
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*eko asteburuko eta aste barruko albisteek oso alde txikia agertu zuten. Bi adierazlek baino ez zuten bi taldeak bereizten. Izan ere, zazpi W galderen erantzunak azaltzen zituen berri osoturik ez zen asteburuan eman, baina hizkera zuzena jatorrarekin ordeztu izanak hizkuntzaren erabilera hobetsi zuten asteburuko albisteek. Guztira, **2,45 puntu lortu zituzten, hots, aste barruko berrien lanketa prozesuak baino hiru ehunen gehiago.**

Oporraldietako albisteek, ostera, hizkera zuzenaren agerpena indartu zuten. Gainera, udako berrien informazio-elementu gehigarrien herena desegokia zen eta albiste guzti-guztiek ikuspegi bakarra baino ez zuten eman. Azkenik, berri denek oinarrizko bost galderei erantzun arren, **oporraldietako albisteen lanketa prozesuak 2,27 puntu baino ez zituen izan.**

180. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Etb1* (2003-2007)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
▨ Asteburuak	0,95	0,5	0,26	0,22	0,52
▢ Oporraldiak	0,91	0,59	0,23	0,17	0,37
▲ Etb1	0,92	0,58	0,24	0,21	0,46
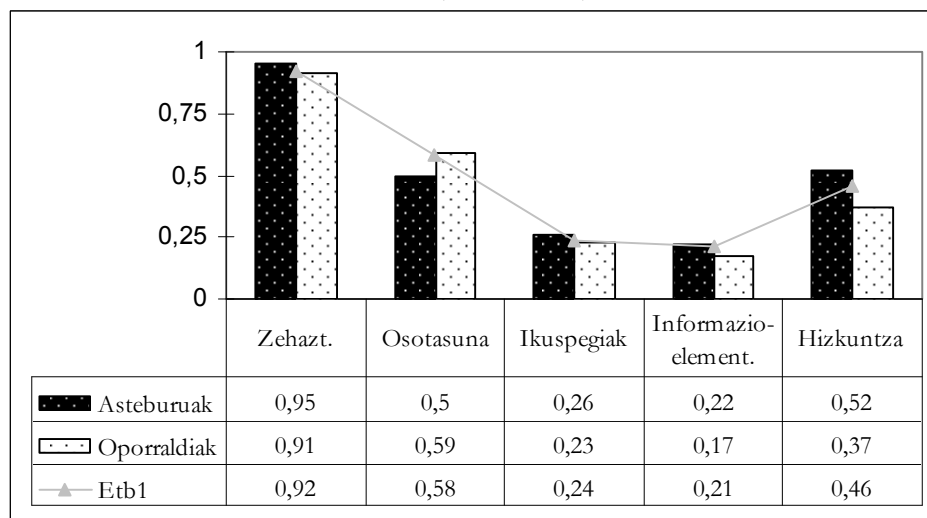
Iturria: Egilea.

*Berria*k argitaratutako asteburuko albisteek hiru gabezia aurkezten zituzten. Lehenengo eta behin, aste barruan baino titulu laburtzaile gutxiago eta, aldiz, engainagarri gehiago plazaratzen zituen egunkariak. Bigarrenik, hiru ikuspegiko albisterik ez zuen asteburuan zabaldu. Azkenik, hizkera egokia zerabilten berri gutxiago argitaratzen zituen. Hiru gabezia horien ondorioz, **asteburuko albisteen lanketa prozesuak 2,28 puntu izan zituen.** Beraz, egunkaria oinarrizko kazetaritzaren helburutik gero eta urrunago aldentzen zuten utzikeria horiek.

Horrenbestez, oporraldiko albisteek ikuspegi gehiago, informazio-elementu oso esanguratsu gehiago eta hizkera jatorragoa azaldu zituzten. Zehaztasunak eta osotasunak asteburuko berrien pareko emaitzak zituzten. Beraz, **Berria**k oporraldietan plazaratutako albisteen lanketa prozesuak asteburukoak baino puntuazio altuagoa izan zuen: 2,36 puntu, hain zuzen.

181. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): _Berria_ (2003-2007)

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Informazio-element.	Hizkuntza
Asteburuak	0,67	0,6	0,25	0,29	0,47
Oporraldiak	0,63	0,54	0,23	0,38	0,58
Berria	0,84	0,61	0,29	0,3	0,52
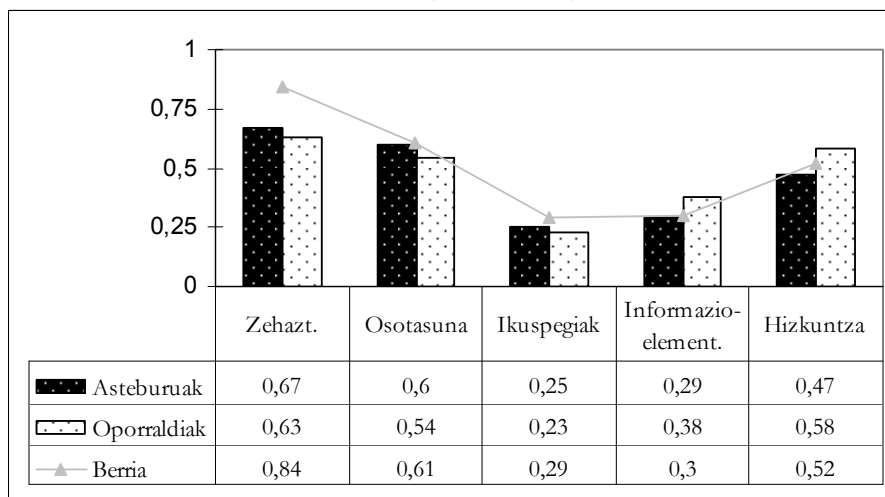
Iturria: Egilea.

Euskarazko hedabideek plazaratzen zituzten albisteen lanketa prozesuak kazetaritza-jarduraren oinarrizko informazio-helburuei doi erantzuteko zailtasun handiak agertu zituen. Gabezia nagusiak ezin zitzaizkien hizkuntzari berari egotzi, ikuspegi-kopuru urriari eta informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasun txikiari baizik. Are gehiago, bi alde horiek zuzentzeko ahalegin nahikorik ez zuten egin. *Etb1*en kasuan, gainera, gero eta informazio-elementu gehigarri desegokiagoak zerabiltzan, guztirako laurdena hartzen baitzuten.

ii. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskarazko hedabideek 2008ko ikerketa aldian zabaldutako albisteen lanketari dagokionez, haiek definitzen zituen lehen ezaugarria tituluen zehaztasuna zen. Gainera, berririk zehatzen plazaratutako hedabidea *Euskadi Irratia* zen. Bigarrenik, osotasunak hiru hedabideotako albisteen nolakotasuna zehazten zuen. Alde horretatik, *Berria* nagusitu zen eta *Etb1*ek bigarren postua lortu zuen. Hirugarrenik, hedabideok oso ikuspegi gutxi zabaltzen zuten. Gehien-gehienetan, ikuspegi bakarreko berriak plazaratzen zituzten. Laugarrenik, informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna ikus-entzunezko hedabideek *Berria*k baino hobeto kudeatzen zuten. Azkenik, hizkuntza gutxituan jarduten zuten hedabideak izanda, hizkuntzaren normalizaziorik ezaren ondorioz, hizkuntz akats gehienak idatzizko euskarrietan azaltzen ziren. Beraz, irratiak hizkuntza erabilera egokiagoa agertu zuen.

Ondorioz, *Euskadi **Irratia*k zabaldutako albisteen lanketa prozesuari 2,32 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion; *Etb1*eri, 2,28; eta *Berria*ri, 1,98.** Hortaz, hedabide batek ere ez zuen 2,5eko muga gainditu. Horretatik albisteek gizartean parte hartzeko informazio nahikorik lantzen ez zutela ondorioztatzen da. Gainera, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k inoizko puntuaziorik txikiena lortu zuten. Telebistak 1990-2002 epean 2,8 puntu izan zituen eta hurrengo epean, 2,41. Ordutik 2008ra bitartean, ordea, hizkuntzaren erabilerak punturik gehien kendu zien. Are gehiago, *Etb1*en jarduerak tituluen zehaztasunari, albisteen osotasunari eta informazio-elementuen egokitasunari aurreko ikerketa aldian baino ardura gutxiago ipini zien. *Berria*k ere 2,17 eta 2,56ko puntuazioak izan zituen ikerketa diakronikoan. Horrenbestez, 2003-2007ko epean kazetaritza-jarduera hobetzeko ahalegina egin zuen egunkariak eta 2,5eko muga gainditzen asmatu zuen. Hala ere, erabilitako hizkeraren gainbeherak ez ezik, gainerako adierazleekiko utzikeriak ere puntuazio eskas hori ekarri zuen (hala nola ikuspegi-kopurua eta informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna).

182. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua:
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Inf.-elem.	Hizkuntza
■ Euskadi Irr.	0,94	0,4	0,25	0,31	0,42
□ Etb1	0,88	0,48	0,21	0,28	0,43
▨ Berria	0,87	0,57	0,28	0,1	0,16
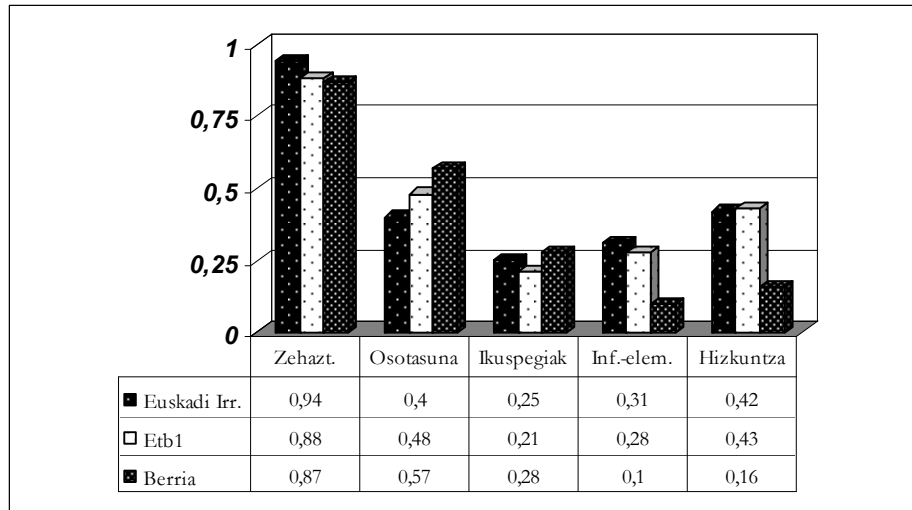
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskadi Irrati*ko asteburuko eta aste barruko albisteek antzeko lanketa prozesua azaltzen zuten, informazio-elementuen egokitasuna salbu, asteburuetan oso esanguratsuak izan zitezkeen elementurik ez baitzuen aurkeztu. Horregatik, bi albiste kategoriek antzeko puntuazioa erakutsi zuten: **asteburuko albisteek bi ehunen gutxiago izan zuten.**

Oporraldietako albisteek ere informazio-elementuen gabezia bakarra agertu zuten. Gainera, hizkera egokiagoa erabili zuten. Horrenbestez, **oporraldiko albistegintzaren lanketa prozesuak aste barrukoak baino lau ehunen gehiago lortu zituen: 2,36, hain zuzen.** Hala ere, datu hori azaltzeko *Euskadi Irratia*k udan albiste sendoak biltzen zituen sailak indartzen zituela azpimarratu behar da.

183. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Euskadi Irratia* (2008)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Inf.-elem.	Hizkuntza
▨ Asteburuak	0,99	0,43	0,23	0,21	0,44
▨ Oporraldiak	0,96	0,44	0,26	0,21	0,49
▲ Euskadi Irr.	0,94	0,4	0,25	0,31	0,42
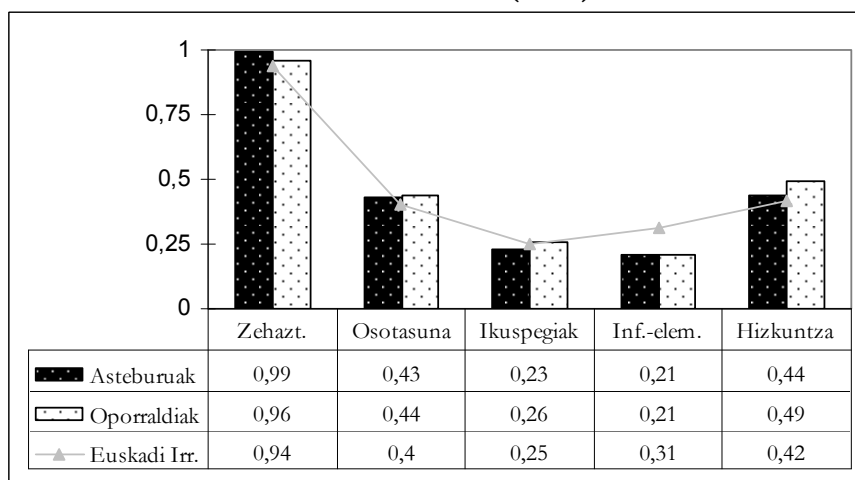
Iturria: Egilea.

*Etb1*eko asteburuko eta aste barruko albisteek lehenengoz pareko ezaugarriak azaldu zituzten. Horrenbestez, informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasunak puntuazio erdia ekarri zuen. Izan ere, **asteburuko berriek** informazio-elementu desegokien kopuru bikoitza erakusten zuten. Horregatik, **2,1 puntu esleitu zitzaizkien.**

Oporraldietan, gainera, zehaztasun maila altuagoa agertu eta informazio-elementu desegoki gutxiago aireratzen zuten berriek. Hala ere, ikuspegi urritasuna eta hizkera jatorraren gainbeheraren ondorioz **2,23 puntu lortu zituen albisteon lanketak.**

184. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina):
***Etb1* (2008)**

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Inf.-elem.	Hizkuntza
Asteburuak	0,9	0,48	0,19	0,14	0,39
Oporraldiak	0,94	0,5	0,21	0,21	0,37
Etb1	0,88	0,48	0,21	0,28	0,43
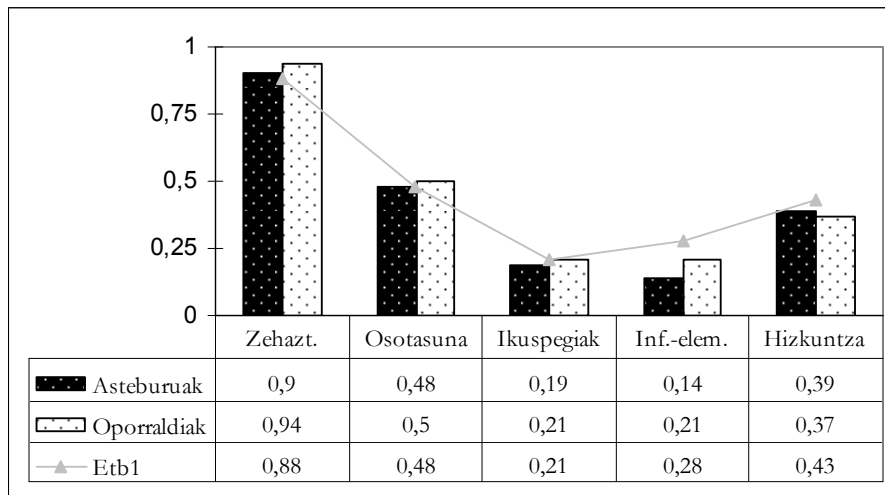
Iturria: Egilea.

*Berria*k plazaratutako asteburuko albisteek zehaztasun eta osotasun maila txikiagoak agertu zituzten, egunkariak irakurlerik gehien zituen egunetan. Ildo beretik, ikuspegi-kopuru urria ere oraindik gehiago murriztu zuen. Hala ere, informazio-elementuak eta hizkera pitin batean hobetu zituen. Lehenengoei zegokienez, asteburuan elementu desegokiak erdira mugatu zituen. Asteburuan ere hizkera egokiak tarte handiagoa hartzen zuen. Horregatik, **1,89ko puntuazioa izan zuen, orokorrak baino bederatzi ehunen gutxiago.**

Hala ere, oporraldietako albisteek lanketa prozesuko adierazleen gainbehera erakutsi zuten. Lehenengo eta behin, alde bateko titulurik gehien argitaratu zituen *Berria*k. Bigarrenik, zazpi W galderei erantzuten zion albiste bat ere ez zen udan argitaratu. Are gehiago, ikuspegi-kopuru urria oraindik murritzagoa izan zen, berri batek ere ez baitzuen hiru alderik agertu. Hirugarrenik, informazio-elementuen betelan

eginkizuna udan areagotu egin zen. Azkenik, oporraldietako albisteen %82,61ek hizkera zuzena erabili zuen. Artikulu bakoitzak 2008ko udan batez besteko bina akats zituela kontuan izanda, adierazle horrek puntuazio negatiboa eragin zuen. Ondorioz, **oporraldiko albistegintzaren lanketa prozesuak ez zuen 1,5 puntu baino izan.**

185. Grafikoa – Lanketa prozesua (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Berria* (2008)

	Zehazt.	Osotasuna	Ikuspegiak	Inf.-elem.	Hizkuntza
Asteburuak	0,83	0,5	0,24	0,14	0,18
Oporraldiak	0,78	0,5	0,25	0,09	-0,12
Berria	0,87	0,57	0,28	0,1	0,16
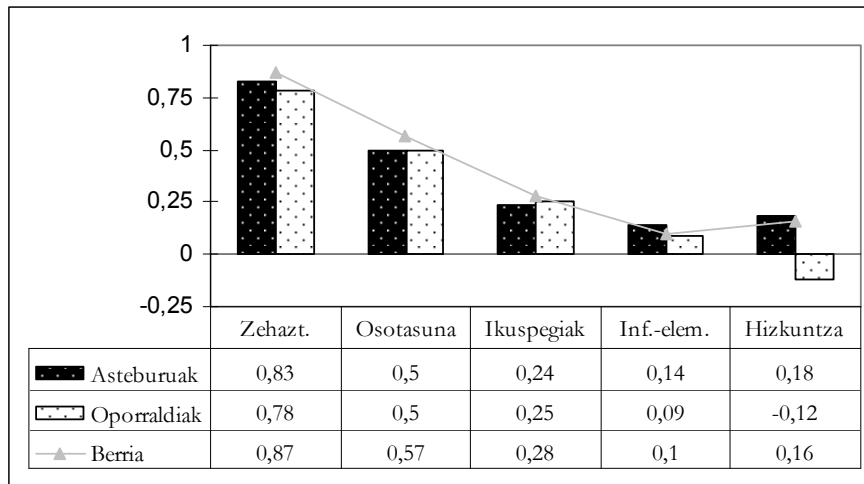
Iturria: Egilea.

Hedabideek gutxien zaintzen zuten albistegintzaren aldea lanketa prozesua bera izan zen. Gainera, urtetik urtera adierazleen gainbehera egiaztatu da, asteburuko albisteek hiru hedabideetan informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasunean huts egiten baitzuten. Dena den, albisteen lanketa prozesua hedabideek hobesten duten eduki motari lotuta agertzen zaio. Esaterako, *Euskadi Irrati*ko oporraldietako albisteek batez besteko puntuazioa baino lau ehunen gehiago lortu zituzten, irratiak albiste sendorik gehienak orduantxe zabaltzen dituelako. Beste bi hedabideetan, ostera, oporraldiek adierazleen aplikazio malgua dakartela egiaztatu da. Horrenbestez, *Berria*k hizkuntza erabileran puntuazio negatiboa izan zuen.

b.1.3. Guztirako Kalitate-Indizearen emaitzak

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak albistegintzaren hautaketa eta lanketa prozesuak neurtzen ditu. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideek hautaketan emaitza onak lortu arren, berrien lanketa maila baxuak guztirako bosteko puntuazioaren orekan ipini zituen hedabideak. Horregatik, lanketa neurtzen duten adierazleek izandako gainbeherak guztirako ebaluaketa baldintzatu zuen. Esaterako, ikerketa diakronikoak egiaztatu zuen legez, *Etb1*ek albisteen hautaketa sendoa arindu zuen 2003tik aurrera. Aldi berean, lanketa adierazleak malgutzearen ondorioz, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko azterketa horretan

ez zuen bost punturik lortu. *Berria*k, alderantziz, ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean hautaketa prozesuko adierazleekiko ardura sendotu zuen (informazioaren jatorria eta gertaeraren egitate-maila, batez ere). Gainera, lanketa prozesuko osotasuna, informazio-elementuen egokitasun eta hizkuntza bera hobetu zituen. Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek baino puntu gehiago lortu zituen. Are gehiago, euskarazko hedabideen puntuaziorik altuena izan zen (5,77).

186. Grafikoa – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea:
Etb1 eta _E.Egunkaria/Berria_ (ikerketa diakronikoa)

	1990-2002	2003-2007	1990-2002	2003-2007
	Etb1		Egunkaria/Berria	
☐ Hautaketa	3,00	2,62	3,08	3,21
■ Lanketa	2,80	2,41	2,17	2,56
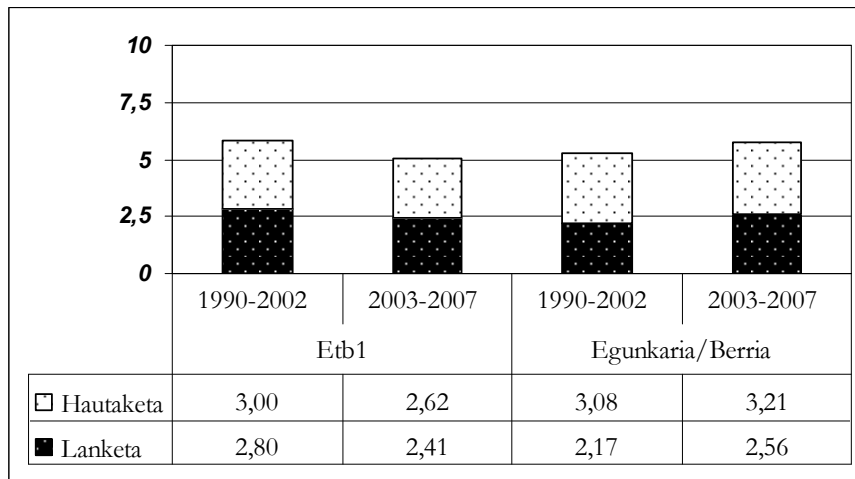
Iturria: Egilea.

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak gainditzeko puntuazioa esleitzeko albistegintzaren prozesu bietan ala bietan bikain aritzeko beharrik ez dagoela egiaztatu zuen *Etb1*en eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ren azterketak. Hortaz, bi hedabideek hautaketa prozesuan lanketan baino adierazleekiko ardura handiagoa erakutsi zuten. Gainera, biek alderantzizko norabidea zehaztu zuten. *Etb1*en jardunak hautaketa eta lanketa prozesuetako adierazleak malgutzen zituen bitartean, *Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k bietako zenbait adierazle hobetzearen ondorioz 2003-2007ko epean emaitzarik onenak lortu zituen. Are gehiago, asteburuko eta oporraldietako albisteek baliabide urriagorekin produktu bera ekoitzi behar izaten dute. Horrelakoetan, baina, kazetaritza-jarduerak adierazleekiko begirunea galtzen zuen.

Laburbilduz, *Etb1*ek eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k ikerketa diakronikoan plazaratutako albisteak kalitatezkoak zirela berretsi da. Hala ere, *Berria*k informazioaren bikaintasuna hobetzeko ahaleginak egin zituen bitartean, *Etb1*eko albisteek kalitate-adierazleekiko gero eta utzikeria ageriagoa azaldu zuten. Gainera, bi hedabideetan oporraldiek eraginik handiena dute. Horrenbestez, herritarrek hedabideak jarraitzeko asti gehiago dutenean, horiek kalitatean kale egiten zuten.

116. Taula – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)

Ikerketa aldia	Garaia	Hautaketa	Lanketa	Guztira
1990-2002	*Etb1*	**3,00**	**2,80**	**5,80**
	Asteburuak	2,80	2,63	**5,43**
	Oporraldiak	2,83	2,77	**5,60**
2003-2007	*Etb1*	**2,62**	**2,41**	**5,03**
	Asteburuak	2,60	2,45	**5,05**
	Oporraldiak	2,56	2,27	**4,83**

Iturria: Egilea.

117. Taula – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)

Ikerketa aldia	Garaia	Hautaketa	Lanketa	Guztira
1990-2002	*Egunkaria*	**3,08**	**2,17**	**5,25**
	Asteburuak	2,93	2,09	**5,02**
	Oporraldiak	3,00	2,23	**4,95**
2003-2007	*Berria*	**3,21**	**2,56**	**5,77**
	Asteburuak	2,91	2,28	**5,19**
	Oporraldiak	2,57	2,36	**4,93**

Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa sinkronikoak hirugarren hedabide baten azterketa ekarri zuen. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia* hautaketa prozesua lehenestean gainerako bi hedabideekin etorri zen. Hala ere, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k albistegintzaren lanketa prozesuko adierazleekiko utzikeriak (hizkuntza eta informazio-elementuak, batez ere) berez oso landua ez zen arloari puntu negatiboak ekarri zizkion. Lanketa prozesuko adierazleen utzikeriak euskarazko hedabideen kazetaritza-jarduneraren une kritikoa ekarri du. Izan ere, **Euskadi Irratia**ri **4,91 puntu esleitu zitzaizkion; Etb1i, 4,67; eta Berriari, 5,1.**

187. Grafikoa – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea: *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)

	Euskadi Irr.	Etb1	Berria
☐ Hautaketa	2,59	2,66	3,12
■ Lanketa	2,32	2,28	1,98
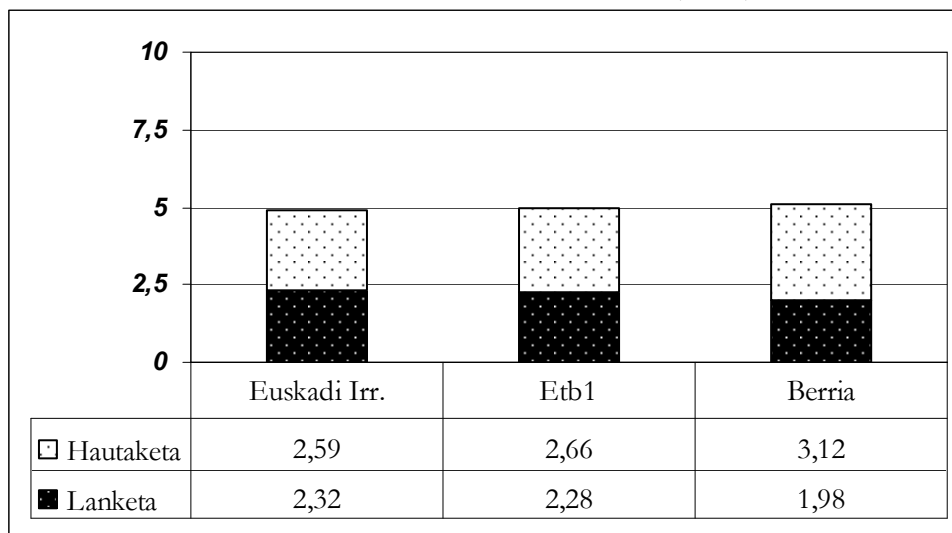
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainera, asteburuko eta oporraldietako albisteek puntu gutxiago lortu zituzten oraindik. Hortaz, euskarazko egunkari batek ere ez zuen hartzaile gehiago izan zitzaketenean 5-eko puntuaziorik lortu (asteburuko *Berria* salbu).

118. Taula – Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea (asteburu eta oporraldien eragina): *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)

Hedabidea	Garaia	Hautaketa	Lanketa	Guztira
Euskadi Irratia	**Batez bestekoa**	**2,59**	**2,32**	**4,91**
	Asteburuak	2,57	2,30	**4,87**
	Oporraldiak	2,47	2,36	**4,83**
Etb1	**Batez bestekoa**	**2,66**	**2,01**	**4,67**
	Asteburuak	2,53	1,86	**4,39**
	Oporraldiak	2,63	1,93	**4,56**
Berria	**Batez bestekoa**	**3,12**	**1,98**	**5,10**
	Asteburuak	3,11	1,89	**5,00**
	Oporraldiak	3,04	1,5	**4,54**

Iturria: Egilea.

Beraz, asteburuak hedabideen albisteetan eragin handiegia du. Are gehiago, *Berria*k oporraldietan oraindik emaitza kaskarroagoak izaten ditu. Hala ere, Kalitate-Indizeak puntuazio txikiagoa esleitzea lanketa prozesuko adierazleekiko gainbeherari dagokio. Izan ere, ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epeak *Euskal Telebista*ren jardun ona nabarmendu zuen. Ordutik aurrera, baina, *Etb1*ek lanketa prozesuan gainbehera argia izan zuen. Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak 2,80 puntu esleitu zizkien 1990tik 2002ra bitarteko *Etb1*eko albisteen lanketari; 2,41, 2003-2007ko epean; eta 2,01 baino ez, ikerketa sinkronikoan. Hautaketa prozesuak puntu gutxiago lortu bazituen ere (3,00 eta 2,62, hurrenez hurren), ikerketa sinkronikoak joera hori zuzendu zuen.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k, ordea, ikerketa diakronikoaren bigarren epean hobera egin zuen, albisteen lanketari zegokionez batez ere. Horregatik, ikerketa sinkronikoan alde horrek kale egin izanak (ez zituen sorrerako emaitzak gainditu, 1990-2002ko epekoak alegia), puntuazio osoari eragin zion.

Azkenik, *Euskadi Irratia*k hautaketa prozesuan hiru hedabideetatik puntuaziorik baxuena lortu bazuen ere, albisteen lanketan jarduerarik bikainena gauzatu zuen. Horrenbestez, albistegintzaren bi prozesuen arteko alderik txikiena erakutsi zuen hedabidea izan zen.

Hortaz, lanketa prozesuko adierazleen gainbehera azaltzeko, aniztasunari (gaien, protagonisten eta sorterrien araberakoa) eta hedabideen arteko konbergentzia-mailari erreparatuko diegu. Horrela, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen emaitzak haien argitara interpretatuko ditugu.

b.2. Aniztasuna eta Kalitate-Indizea

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea osatzen duten adierazleek ez dute gai, protagonista eta sorterri guztiekin emaitza bera azaltzen. Horregatik, aniztasunaren adierazleek Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen emaitzak interpreta ditzakete. Ildo beretik, ulerkera horretan aldaketarik egon ote den argituko dute.

a. Sailkako gai-banaketa

Hedabideek egituratzen dituzten sailen tamaina ikerketa diakronikoan aldatzen joan zela egiaztatu dugu. Hortaz, atal horien sailkapenak albisteen kalitatean eraginik ote duen aztertuko dugu. Izan ere, Gizarte saileko albisteen ezaugarriek horikeria areago dezaketela frogatu dugu.

Ikerketa diakronikoan albisteak biltzen zituzten sailak inoiz baino anitzen izan ziren. Gainera, Politika atalak tarterik handiena hartzen zuen. Ondoren, *Etb1*ek gizarte gaiei gero eta leku handiagoa egin zien. Politika gaiak nagusi ziren lehen epeko albisteei 5,8 puntu esleitu zizkien Kalitate-Indizeak; bigarren epean, ordea, berriek 5,03ko puntuazioa lortu zuten.

Horrenbestez, bigarren epean nagusitutako sailek biltzen zituzten albisteen kalitateak guztirako puntuazioa baldintza zezakeen. Azken batean, kalitate eskaseko berriak ugaritzeak guztirako bikaintasunean eragina izango zukeen. *Euskal Telebista*ri dagokionez, Gizarte eta Kirol atalen tamaina handitzea sail horietako albisteen kalitatearen gainbeherarekin bat etorri zen. Nagusitutako sailek biltzen zituzten albisteak eskasagoak zirela egiaztatzen du datu horrek. Izan ere, Gizarte saila nagusitzean, albiste arinen kopurua biderkatu zuen telebistak. Kiroletan ere, albiste gehiago aireratu arren, horien kalitateak behera egin zuen. Gizarte eta kirol gaiekin batera, Kulturari tarte handiagoa egin bazion ere, atal horretako albisteek aurreko epeko bikaintasunari eutsi zieten. Gainera, berri sendoak bildu ohi dituzten Politika eta Ekonomia sailen tamaina txikitu zuen *Etb1*ek. Beraz, nagusitutako sailek albiste arinak areagotu ez ezik, alboratutako ataletako berrien kalitateak ere behera egin zuen. Ondorioz, lehenengoak horikeria zabaldu zuen ere, *tabloidization* prozesuari jarraituz. Sail sendoetako albisteen kalitatean ere gainbeherak, ostera, kazetaritza lasterraren eredua barneratu izana frogatzen du. Horregatik, ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epean guztirako 5,8 puntu izan zituen; baina, bilakaera horren ondorioz, bigarren epean 5,03ko puntuazioa baino ez zuen lortu.

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188. Grafikoa – Sailaren tamaina eta Kalitate-Indizea:
Etb1 **(Ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	Politika	Ekonomia	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
Sailaren tamaina (1990-2002)	38,96%	14,72%	29,44%	9,96%	6,93%
Sailaren tamaina (2003-2007)	36,67%	5,56%	32,22%	15,50%	10%
Kalitate-Indizea (1990-2002)	6,01	6,28	5,47	5,65	4,82
Kalitate-Indizea (2003-2007)	5,54	4,89	4,71	5,57	4,3
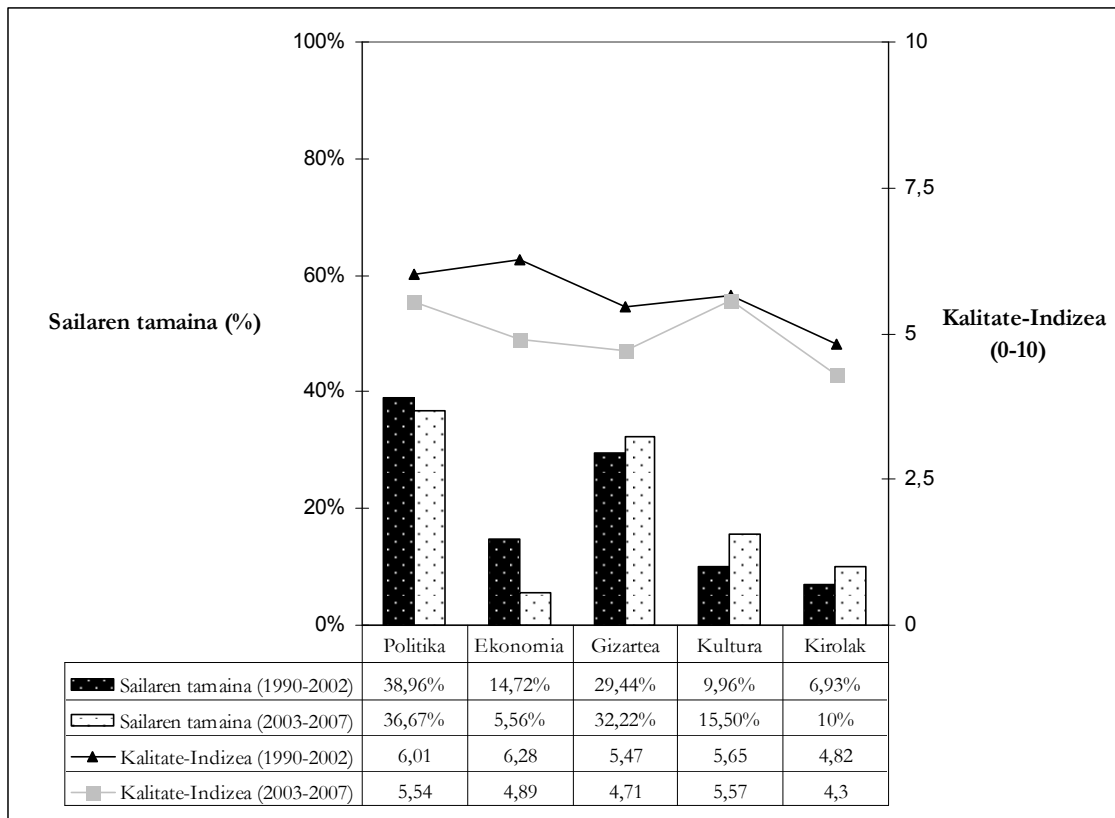
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren/*Berria*ren bilakaera, ordea, alderantzizkoa izan zen. Lehenengo eta behin, guztirako kalitateak hobera egin zuen (5,25 puntu, lehen epean eta 5,77, bigarrenean). Alde batetik, kazetak ere Gizarte saila indartu arren, atal horretako albisteek ez zuten bikaintasunik galdu. Izan ere, Kalitate-Indizeak ez zuen apenas esleitutako puntuaziorik aldatu. Horretatik Gizarte atalak albiste sendoei eusten ziela ondoriozta daiteke. Era berean, politika gaiak ugaritzearekin batera albisteen kalitateak behera ez egitean, *Berria*k oraindik kazetaritza lasterrerako joerarik agertu ez zuela baiezta daiteke. Dena den, Ekonomia sailetako albisteek baino ez zuten behera egin. Horrenbestez, ekonomia gaiek lanketa prozesuan puntuaziorik altuena zuten, sakon aztertuak izanaren erakusle. Beraz, sail horretako albisteen kalitateak puntuazio txikiago lortu bazuen, atal horretan agenda hori onartu izanaren ondorioa izan daiteke, kontsumoari buruzko albisteen ugaritzea kasu.

Beste aldetik, *Berria*ren lehen orrian kultura eta kirol gaiak *Egunkaria*n baino gutxiagotan azaltzen ziren. Hala ere, biek ala biek bikaintasuna nabarmen hobetu zuten. Ondorioz, Kultura saileko albisteak *Berria*ren indargune bihurtu ziren.

189. Grafikoa – Sailaren tamaina eta Kalitate-Indizea:
E.Egunkaria/Berria (Ikerketa diakronikoa)

	Politika	Ekonomia	Gizartea	Kultura	Kirolak
Sailaren tamaina (1990-2002)	41,80%	18,75%	8,93%	17,86%	14,29%
Sailaren tamaina (2003-2007)	48,78%	4,88%	24,39%	14,63%	7,32%
Kalitate-Indizea (1990-2002)	5,56	6,28	5,56	5,21	4,14
Kalitate-Indizea (2003-2007)	5,71	5,93	5,63	6,15	4,86
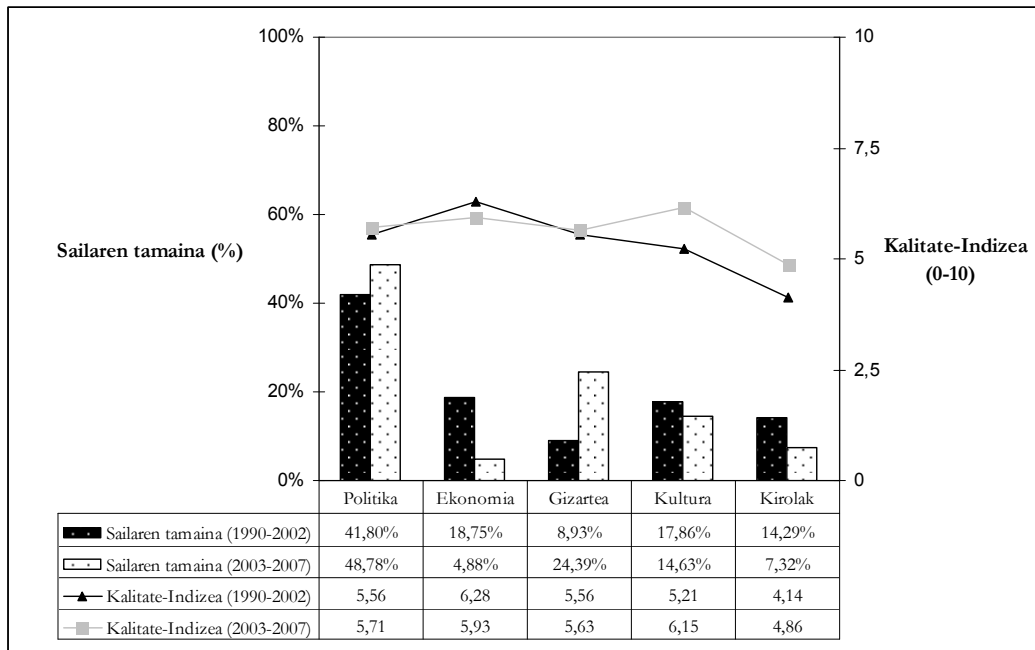
Iturria: Egilea.

Ikerketa diakronikoak, aldiz, _Etb1_ek eta _Berria_k sail jakin batzuetako albisteak lantzeko eredu bertsua erabiltzen zutela egiaztatu zuen. Gainera, euskarazko hedabideek 2008ko azterketan emaitzarik eskasenak izan zituzten: _Euskadi Irratia_k, 4,91ko puntuazioa lortu zuen; _Etb1_ek, 4,67koa; eta _Berria_k, 5,1ekoa. Horrenbestez, Politika saileko albisteek hiru hedabideetan puntuaziorik onena lortzen bazuten ere, _Etb1_ek gero eta leku txikiagoa egiten zion, gainerako bietan ia eguneko lehen albisteen erdia hartzen zuen bitartean. Ildo beretik, ekonomia gaiek antzeko emaitzak zituzten hiru hedabideetan. Are gehiago, Gizarte sailean ere hirurek antzeko puntuazioa lortu zuten, telebista publikoak lekurik handiena egiten bazion ere. Beraz, zegoeneko _Berria_k telebistaren gizarte gaien eredua barneratu zuen. Hala ere, Kultura saila egunkariaren berezko ezaugarria zen. Ikerketa sinkronikoan ere lekurik handiena egiten zion hedabidea zen eta, gainera, puntuaziorik altuena irabazi zuena. _Etb1_eko kultur albisteek, ordea, oso puntuazio eskasa lortu zuten. Horrenbestez, euskal kulturatik urruntzeak ez zion telebistari kalitate handiagorik ekarri, alderantziz baino. _Etb1_eko kirol albisteek, azkenik, guztirako puntuaziorik baxuena izan zuten. Hala ere, telebistak kultura gaiei baino leku handiagoa egiten zien. _Berria_k, ordea, abiatutako gizarte gaien ereduak kirol albisteek baino bikaintasun txikiagoa agertu zuten. Are gehiago, egunkariak Gizarte sailean plazaratu zituen albiste sendoek (hots, atal horretako landuenek) 4,65eko puntuazioa baino ez zuten lortu; kirol albisteek, ordea, 4,81 puntu izan zituzten.

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190. Grafikoa – Sailaren tamaina eta Kalitate-Indizea:
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Politika	Ekonomia	Gizartea eta eguraldia	Kultura	Kirolak
Sailaren tamaina: E. Irr.	42,11%	22,81%	19,30%	12,28%	3,51%
Sailaren tamaina: Etb1	30,93%	22,16%	29,38%	5,67%	11,86%
Sailaren tamaina: Berria	41,25%	13,75%	21,26%	16,88%	6,88%
Kalitate-Indizea: E. Irr.	5,13	5,02	4,83	4,81	4,03
Kalitate-Indizea: Etb1	5,54	4,92	4,66	4,62	4,3
Kalitate-Indizea: Berria	5,41	4,91	4,6	5,15	4,81
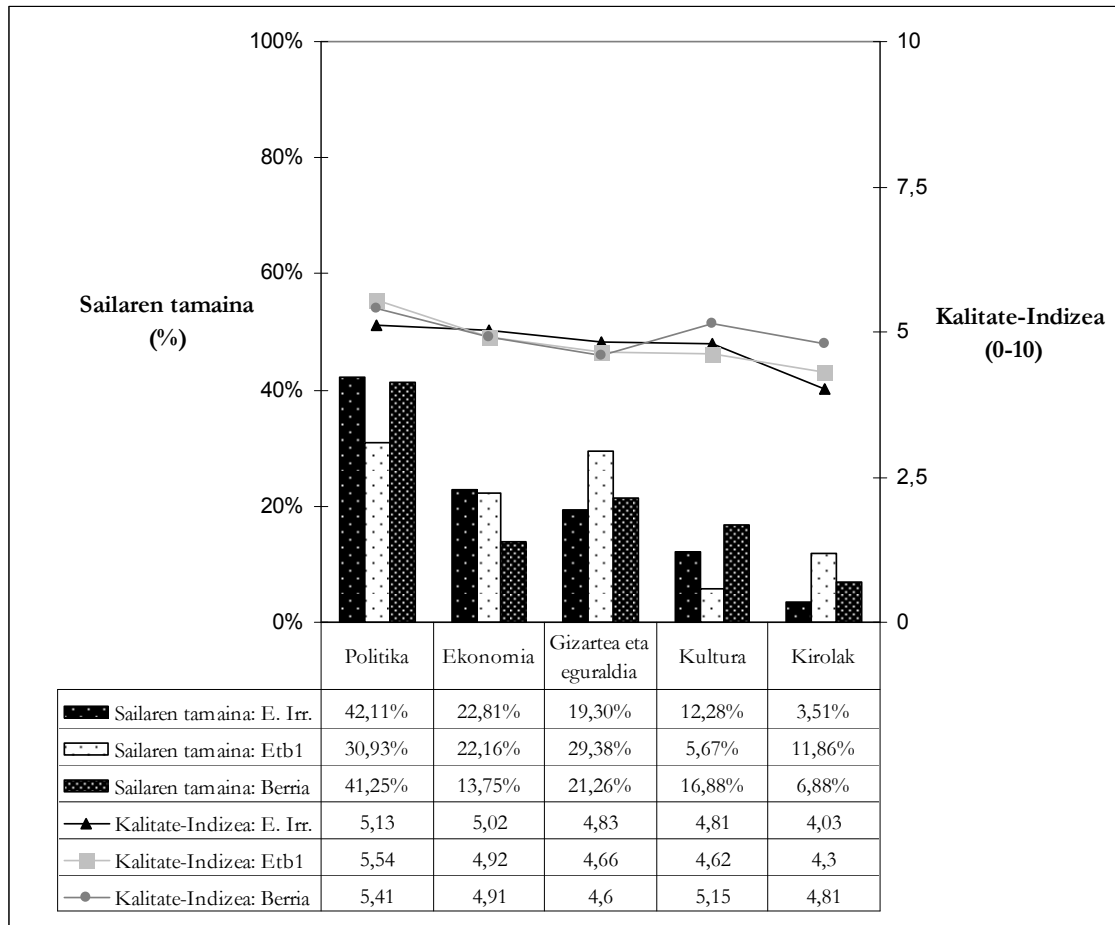
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, euskarazko hedabideek ibilbide historikoan izan duten kalitate gainbehera nagusitutako sailetako gaiei egotz dakieke. Hau da, albiste arinak areagotzen dituzten sailak indartu ahala, berrien kalitateak behera egiten du. Gizarte atala horren paradigma bihurtu bazen ere, ekonomia gai jakin batzuek bide berri sail berri batean zabal dezaketela egiaztatu da. Gainera, politika albiste sendoek ere kalitate irizpideekiko utzikeria azaldu dute.

b. Nagusitutako protagonista motak

Aniztasunaren bigarren adierazle honek albisteak agertzen duen protagonista azaltzen du. Horrenbestez, hiru hedabideotako berri gehienek Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen dituzte. Kalitatearen ikuspegitik, eragile autonomoek protagonizatutako albisteen eta protagonista identifikaturik ez duten berrien arteko harremanari helduko diogu.

Izan ere, sorrera-urteetan eragile autonomoek azaltzen zituzten albisteak euskarazko hedabideetan agertutako bigarren protagonista mota osatzen zuten. Hala ere, hurrengo hamarkadan *Etb1*ek protagonista identifikagarririk gabeko albisteak hobetsi zituen. Ikerketa diakronikoak erakutsi duen legez, *Etb1*eko albisteen kalitate-gainbehera orokorra izan zen. Hala ere, eta protagonista identifikaturik agertzen ez zuten albisteak gero eta kalitate eskasagokoak izaten ziren. Are gehiago, telebista publikoak puntuaziorik txikiena lortu zuten albiste horiek Gizarte saila handitzeko erabili zituen. Horren ondorioz, albiste arinak lantzeko kazetaritza-eredua gainerako berrietara heda daiteke. Horren arabera, eragile autonomoak azaltzen zituzten berriak arintzeko joera agertu zuen *Etb1*ek. Administrazioaren ordezkariak eta eragile profesionalak, aldiz, gai sendoak biltzen zituzten sailekin lotuta agertzen ziren. Hortaz, puntuazio orokorra dezente murriztu bazen ere, azken albiste horiek informazio arinean agertzen ziren protagonisten berriek baino puntu gehiago lortu zituzten.

191. Grafikoa – Protagonisten agerpena eta Kalitate-Indizea:
Etb1 (ikerketa diakronikoa)

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
Protag. agerpena (1990-2002)	51,52%	6,49%	25,11%	16,88%
Protag. agerpena (2003-2007)	47,78%	2,22%	22,22%	27,78%
Kalitate-indizea (1990-2002)	5,98	5,97	5,58	4,93
Kalitate-indizea (2003-2007)	5,16	5,63	4,6	4,47
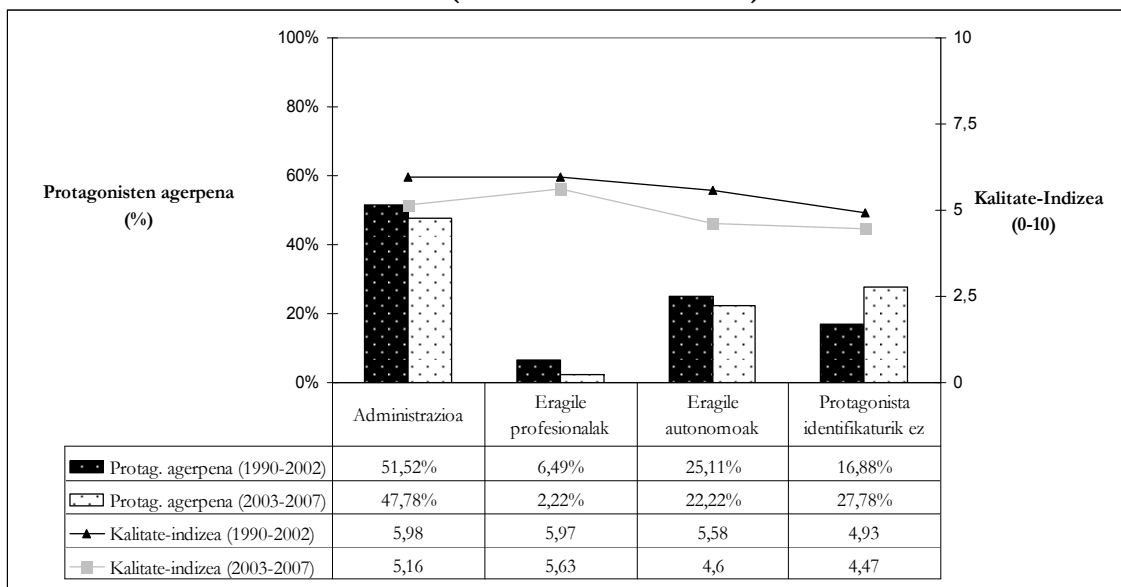
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k, ostera, albiste guztien kalitatea hobetu zuen, protagonista identifikaturik agertzen ez zuten berriak salbu. Hala ere, horiexek indartu zituen. Gainera, 1990-2002ko epean protagonista identifikagarririk agertzen ez zuten albisteak ez zuten 2003tik aurrerakoen gai arinik azaltzen. Ondorioz, horikeria areagotzen zuten albisteen kopurua gehitu arren, horien kalitateak ez zuen hobera egin. Alderantziz, 1990-2002ko emaitzak gainditu ez zituen protagonista mota bakarra izan zen hori.

192. Grafikoa – Protagonisten agerpena eta Kalitate-Indizea:
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
Protag. agerpena (1990-2002)	47,79%	14,46%	32,93%	4,82%
Protag. agerpena (2003-2007)	50,00%	9,57%	29,79%	10,64%
Kalitate-indizea (1990-2002)	5,62	4,83	4,97	5,12
Kalitate-indizea (2003-2007)	5,87	5,61	5,87	4,95
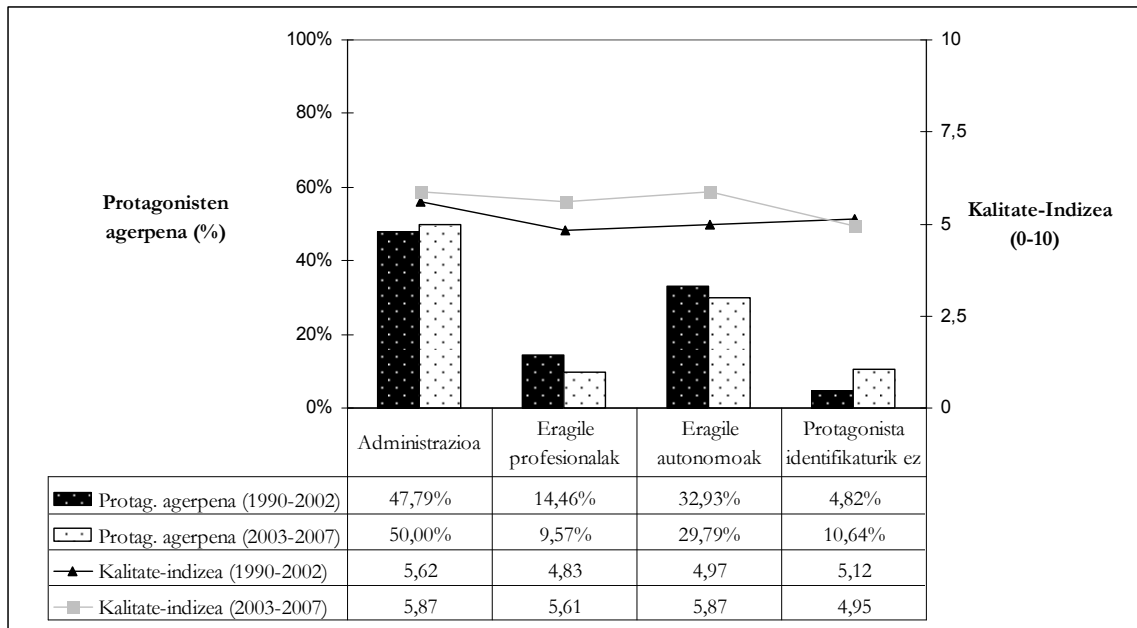
Iturria: Egilea.

Horren ildotik, ikerketa sinkronikoak protagonista identifikaturik azaltzen ez zuten albisteak gero eta ohikoagoak zirela egiaztatu zuen. Dena den, protagonistaren ikuspegitik, hiru hedabideek ez zuten plazaratutako albisteen kalitatean alderik, eragile autonomoei ez bazegokien. Bertan, bikaintasunerako giltza aurkitu zuen *Berria*k.

193. Grafikoa – Protagonisten agerpena eta Kalitate-Indizea:
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Administrazioa	Eragile profesionalak	Eragile autonomoak	Protagonista identifikaturik ez
Protag. agerpena: Eusk. Irr.	55,70%	11,84%	14,04%	18,42%
Protag. agerpena: Etb1	37,63%	8,76%	19,07%	34,54%
Protag. agerpena: Berria	48,13%	12,50%	23,75%	15,62%
Kalitate-Indizea: Eusk. Irr.	5,07	4,66	4,9	4,95
Kalitate-Indizea: Etb1	5,4	5,05	4,34	4,6
Kalitate-Indizea: Berria	5,12	4,85	5,34	4,77
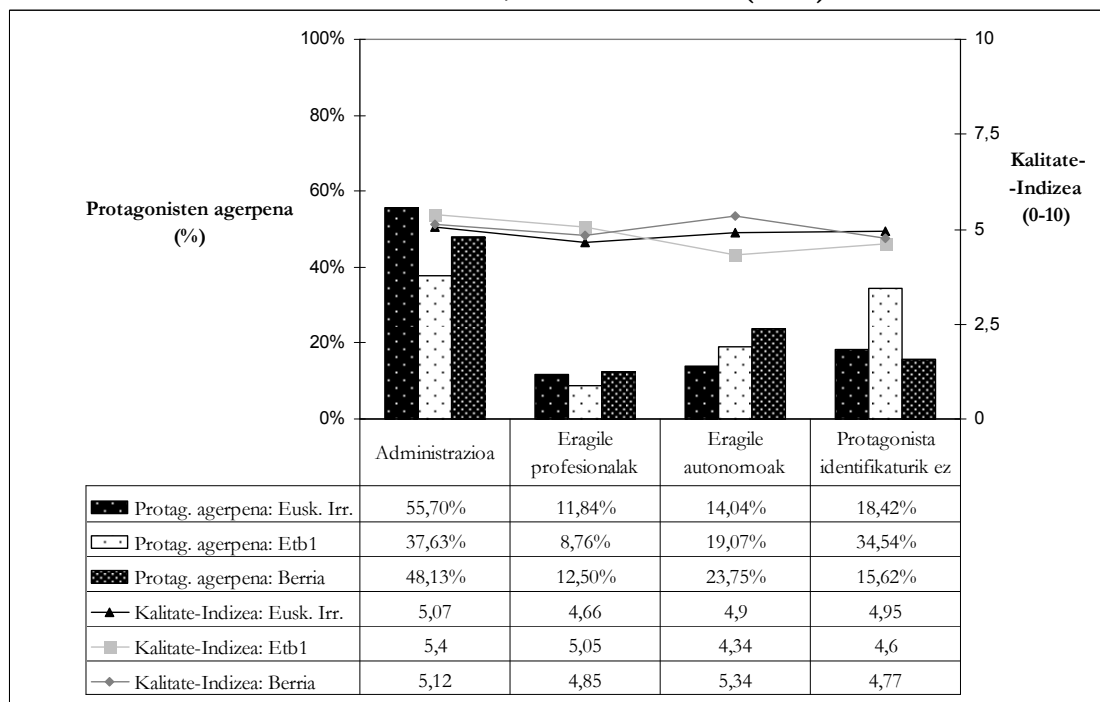
Iturria: Egilea.

Gainera, kalitaterik handieneko albisteek Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertu arren, haien artean ere gobernua azaltzen zutenean puntuazioa hobea lortzen zuten. Beraz, hiru hedabideetan ikerketa guztietan egiaztatu dugunez, gobernuei leku gehiago egiten dieten neurrian, ordezkari ofizialak agertzen dituzten berriek oposizioa aurkezten dutenek baino puntu gehiago lortzen dituzte. Horrenbestez, Administrazioak ez du albisteen adierazgarritasunean bakarrik eragiten, lanketa prozesuan ere bai. Horregatik, Administrazioaren informazioak albiste-hornitzaileen ondorio bertsuak dakartzakie hedabideei, albiste kalitate adierazleekiko utzikeria, ikuspegi-kopurua eta informazio-elementu osagarrien egokitasuna baldintza ditzaketelako.

c. Hobetsitako albisteen sorterria

Aniztasunaren azken adierazleak albistean non sortu diren zehazten du, bertako eta kanpoko berrien arteko aldea kalitateak eraginik ote duen aztertzeko. Euskarazko hedabideek Euskal Herriko udalerri, herrialde eta eremu administratiboetan sortutako albisteak izan ohi dituzte oinarri. Hortaz, Euskal Herritik kanpotik datozen gainerako albisteek titularretako edo lehen orriaren %40-45 inguru hartu ohi dute. Gainera, hedabide guztietan ematen diren beste bi ezaugarri azaldu ditu adierazle honek. Alde batetik, bertan sortutako albisteek kanpokoek baino puntuazio hobea lortu ohi dute. Bestetik, kanpoko berrien indargunea albistegintzaren lanketa prozesuan datza. Izan ere, kanpotik datozen albisteek bertakoek baino ikuspegi-kopuru altuagoa azaltzen dute eta haiekin batera hedabideek agertzen dituzten informazio elementu osagarriak ere egokiagoak izaten dira. Horregatik, *Etb1*ek Euskal Herritik kanpoko edukiak gehitzean, bertako albisteetan kalitate adierazleek izandako gainbehera apaldu ahal izan zuen.

194. Grafikoa – Sorterriaren garrantzia eta Kalitate-Indizea:
***Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	Tokian tokikoak eta Euskal Herria	Estatuak, Europa eta beste herriak
Sort. garr. (1990-2002)	56,71%	42,39%
Sort. garr. (2003-2007)	53,34%	46,67%
Kalitate-indizea (1990-2002)	6,055	5,29
Kalitate-indizea (2003-2007)	5,33	4,82
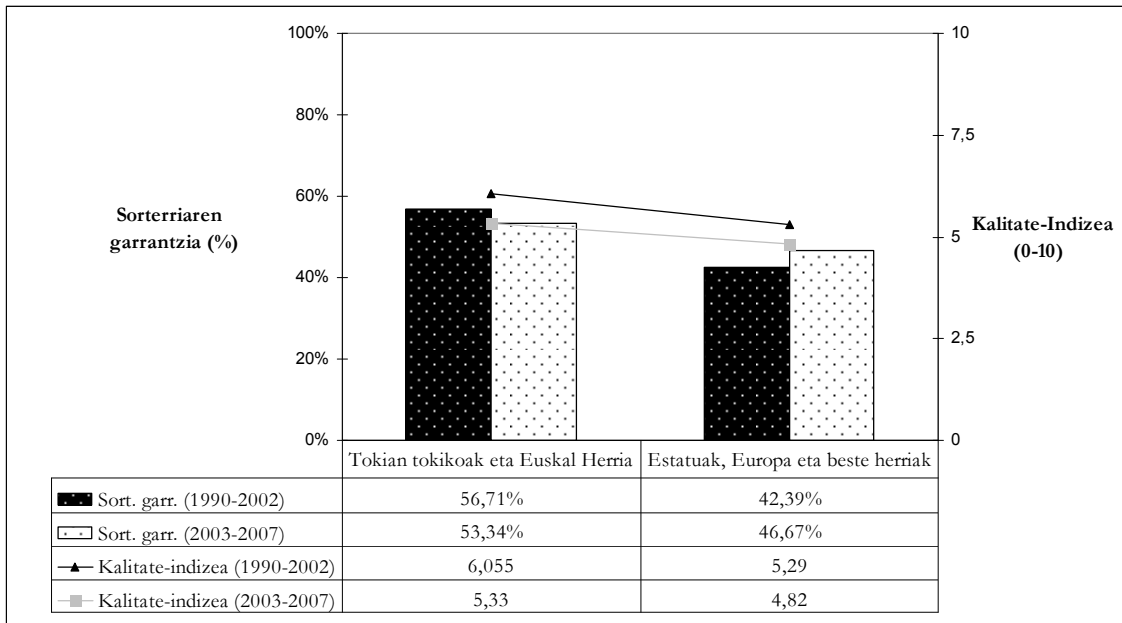
Iturria: Egilea.

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k/*Berria*k, aldiz, bertako albisteak indartu zituen. Hala ere, tokiko aniztasun gutxiago agertu zuen lehen orrian. Ondorioz, bertako berriek leku handiago izateak ez zuen kanpoko albisteekiko aldea suspertu.

195. Grafikoa – Sorterriaren garrantzia eta Kalitate-Indizea:
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	Tokian tokikoak eta Euskal Herria	Estatuak, Europa eta beste herriak
Sort. garrantzia (1990-2002)	57,03%	42,97%
Sort. garrantzia (2003-2007)	60,49%	39,51%
Kalitate-indizea (1990-2002)	5,295	4,99
Kalitate-indizea (2003-2007)	5,99	5,57
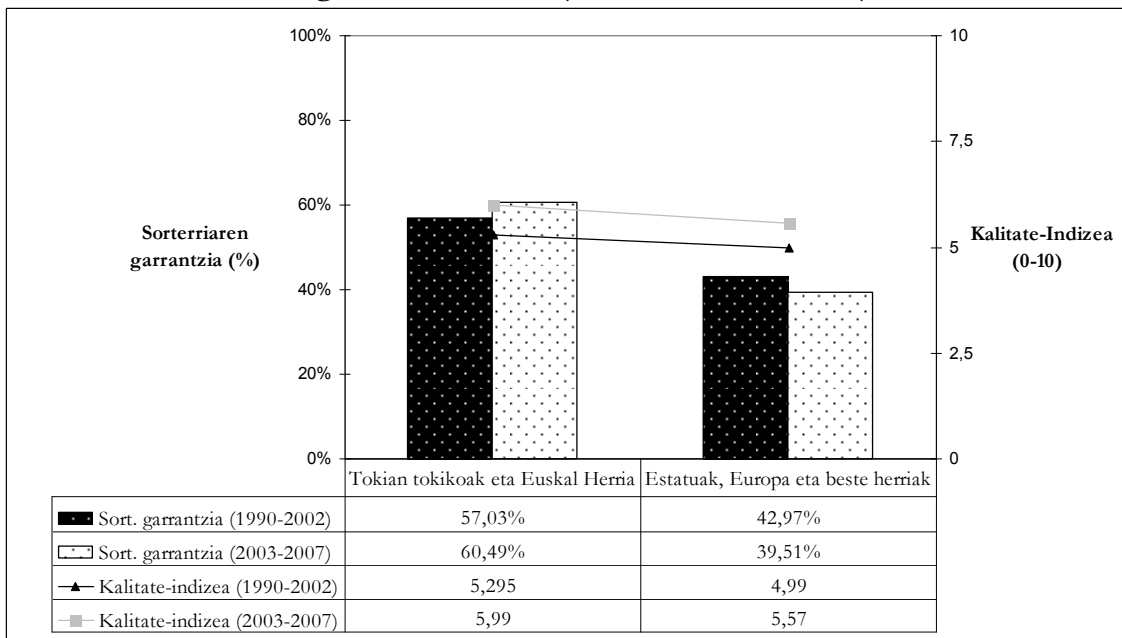
Iturria: Egilea.

Izan ere, euskarazko hedabideek bertako albisteen kopuruari eutsi badiote ere, kanpoan sortutako berriekiko aldea gero eta txikiagoa da. Kanpoko albisteen

indargunea lanketa prozesuan aurkitu izan da, ikuspegi-kopuru altuagoa eta informazio-elementu gehigarri egokiagoak agertzen zituztelako. Izan ere, bertakotasunak albisteen lanketa prozesuan eragiteko aukera gehiago eman arren, hedabideek ez dute gertutasuna horrela baliatzen. Esaterako, *Berria*k 2008an plazaratutako bertako albisteen informazio-elementu gehigarriek puntuazio negatiboa ekarri zuten (-0,04, hain zuzen). Are gehiago, kanpoko berriak osatuenak ere izaten hasiak dira. Beraz, hedabideek haiek informatiboki asetzen duten komunitatetik kanpoko albisteak sakonago azaltzen dituzte. Hala ere, hedabideok ez dituzte kanpoko berriak hemengo berriak bezain garden aurkezten. Horrenbestez, ez dute horien jatorririk edota albiste-iturririk aipatzen. Beraz, adierazle bi horietan bertako berriak nagusitzen dira. Ondorioz, bertako eta kanpoko albisteek lortzen duten puntuazioa parekoa da. Dena den, informazioaren gardentasunik ezak albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna areagotzen du, lanketa prozesuko zenbait adierazle azken horien jarduerari baitagokie.

196. Grafikoa – Sorterriaren garrantzia eta Kalitate-Indizea:
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 eta _Berria_ (2008)
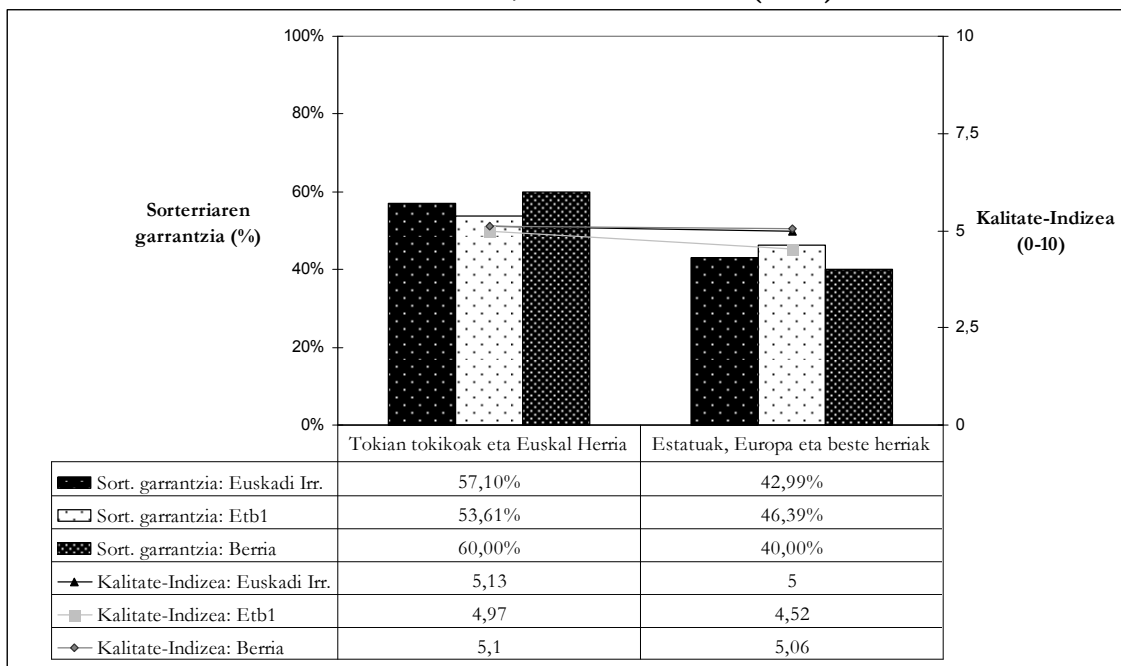
Iturria: Egilea.

b.3. Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua

Euskarazko hedabideen jarduna euskalduntasunetik abiatzen dutela zehazten dute haien sorrera-dokumentuek. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideek proiektatzen duten hitzezko eremuari Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua esaten zaio. Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideetan bat egiten duten berriek Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruko

muina osatuko lukete, hedabideok albistegai bertsuak euskarazko eztabaida publikora ekarri dituztelako. Are gehiago, Kalitate-Indizea aplikatzen badiegu, bat datozen berri horiek hedabideen banakako azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu ohi dute.

b.3.1. Ikerketa diakronikoa

Ikerketa diakronikoak erakutsi duenez, *Etb1*ek 2003tik aurrera horikeria zantzuak agertu zituen. Albistegaien aukeraketan, adibidez, Gizarte sailean informazio arina gehitu zuen. Gainera, eguraldiaren ondorio-irudiei albiste itxura eman ziren. Are gehiago, albistegiko titularretan agertzeari ekin zioten. Beraz, *Etb1*ek hartutako bide horretan *Berria*rekin bat egiten zuen informazio gutxiago aireratu zuen. Hala ere, euskarazko egunkariarekin bat zetozen albisteei *Etb1*en banakako azterketako berriei baino puntuazio altuagoa esleitzen zien Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak.

197. Grafikoa – Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua:
Etb1 (ikerketa diakronikoa)

	1990-2002	2003-2007
Etb1	100%	100%
Egunk./Berriarekin	32,00%	26,66%
Indizea: albiste guztiak	5,8	5,25
Indizea: alb. konberg.	6,05	5,17
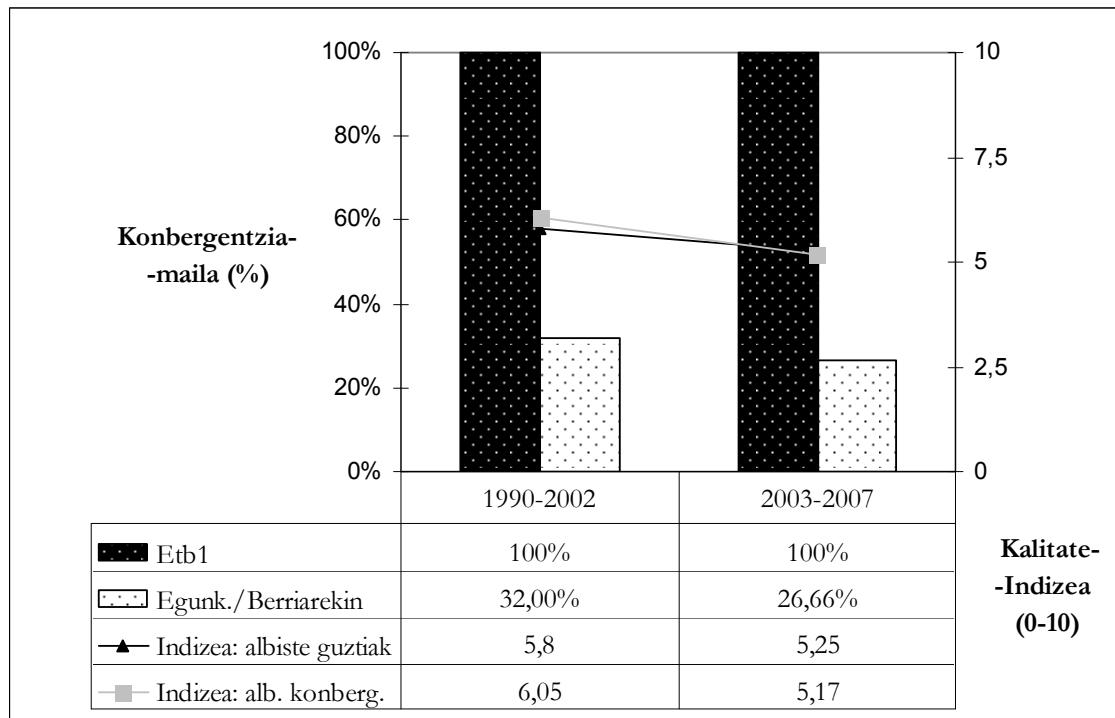
Iturria: Egilea.

Ildo beretik, *Etb1*en albisteekin bat zetozen *Egunkaria*ko berriek puntu gehiago izaten zituzten. Arestian ikusi bezala, *Etb1* 2003an azaldu zuen kazetaritza-jarduerak *Berria*tik aldendu zuen. Hala ere, *Berria*k *Etb1*ekiko konbergentzia areagotu zuen. Horrenbestez, telebista publikoak aireratutako albisteen ezaugarri berriekin bat egiten zuen *Berria*ren informazioak ohiko albisteek baino kalitate eskasagoa zutela egiaztatu da. Euskarazko bi hedabideen arteko konbergentziak zenbait adierazletan bat etorritako

euskarazko berrien bikaintasunaren gainbehera identifikatu ditu, besteak beste, osotasuna, ikuspegi-kopurua eta informazio-elementu osagarrien egokitasuna. Ondorioz, Kalitate-Indizeak hobetsitako albisteen sorterriak zehaztu duen legez (b.2.3 atala), bertako albisteen ahuleziak dira horiek. Horrela, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruak eredu autozentratua bultzatzen badu, mota horretako albisteen ahuleziek ere eremu hori baldintza dezakete. Azken batean, euskalduntasunetik sortutako berrietan kalitate-adierazleekiko utzikeria antzeman daiteke. Izan ere, albiste-hornitzaileen jardunak kazetaritza-ekimenari eragindako kalte kolaterala da: hedabideek haien albisteen lanketa prozesua hornitzaileen jarduraren menpe utzi izanaren ondorioa, hain zuzen ere.

198. Grafikoa – Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua:
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
Egunkaria/Berria	100%	100%
Etb1ekin	22,89%	25,53%
Indizea: albiste guztiak	5,03	5,77
Indizea: alb. konberg.	5,56	5,74
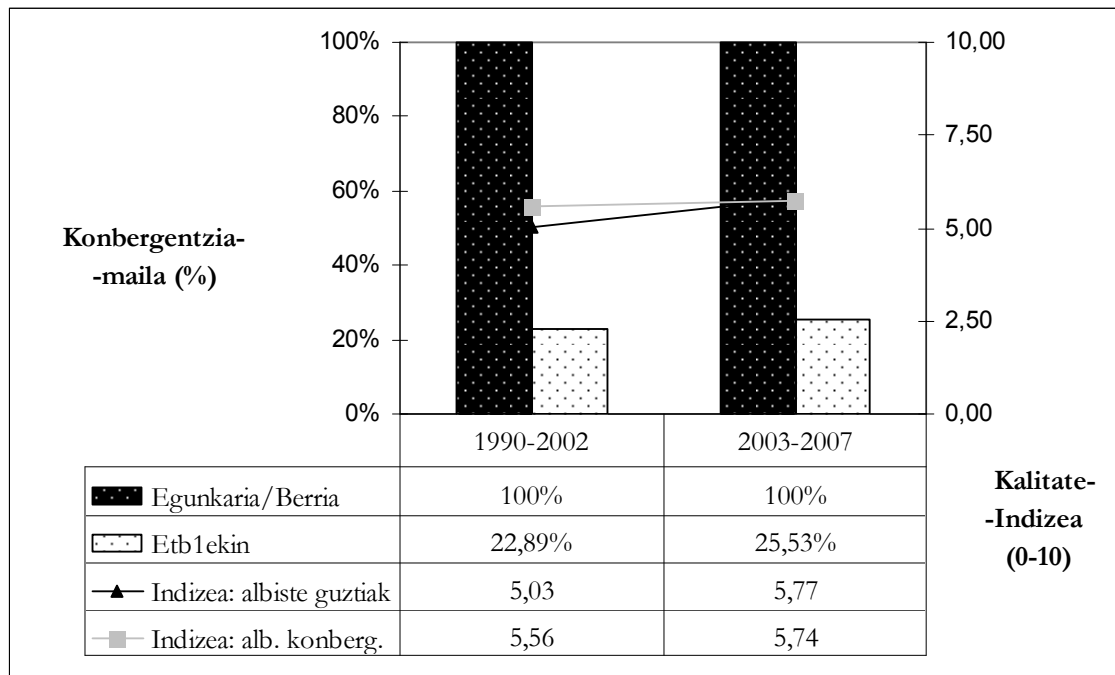
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, ikerketa diakronikoak albisteen kalitatean izandako gainbehera identifikatu du. Prozesua, baina, bikoitza da. Alde batetik, euskarazko hedabideetan bat egiten duten albisteak ez dira dagoeneko euskalduntasunetik sortutakoak bakarrik. Izan ere, *Etb1*ek bertakotasunaren irizpideak alboratu zituen. Horrela, *Berria*k plazaratutako albisteekin telebistak zabaldutako informazio gutxiago bat etorri zen. Hala ere, *Berria*k *Etb1*ekin konbergentzia handiagoa agertu du, telebistaren eredu horretako zenbait ezaugarri barneratzearen ondorioz. Izan ere, Kultura saileko albisteek bi hedabideotan

bat-egiterik txikiena izan zuten. Bestetik, berri-hornitzaileen jardunak eragindako mendekotasunak bertako albisteen lanketa kaltetu du. Ondorioz, eredu autozentratuko berriek ere kalitate-adierazleekiko utzikeria azaldu dute.

b.3.2. Ikerketa sinkronikoa

Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua osatzen duten albisteei dagokienez, ikerketa sinkronikoak berrien bat-egiterik altuena zehaztu du. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideak haien artean konbergenteago azaldu dira. *Euskadi Irratia*k aireratutako informazioa, esaterako, talde bereko telebista publikoak zabaldutakoarekin agertu du bat-egite tasarik altuena. Are gehiago, gainerako euskarazko hedabideek plazaratutako albisteekin bat datozen berriek *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteen puntuazioa gainditzen dute.

199. Grafikoa – Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua:
Euskadi Irratia (2008)

	Etb1ekin	Berriarekin	Euskadi Irratia
Konbergentzia	29,39%	21,49%	100%
Kalitate-Indizea	5,42	5,42	4,94
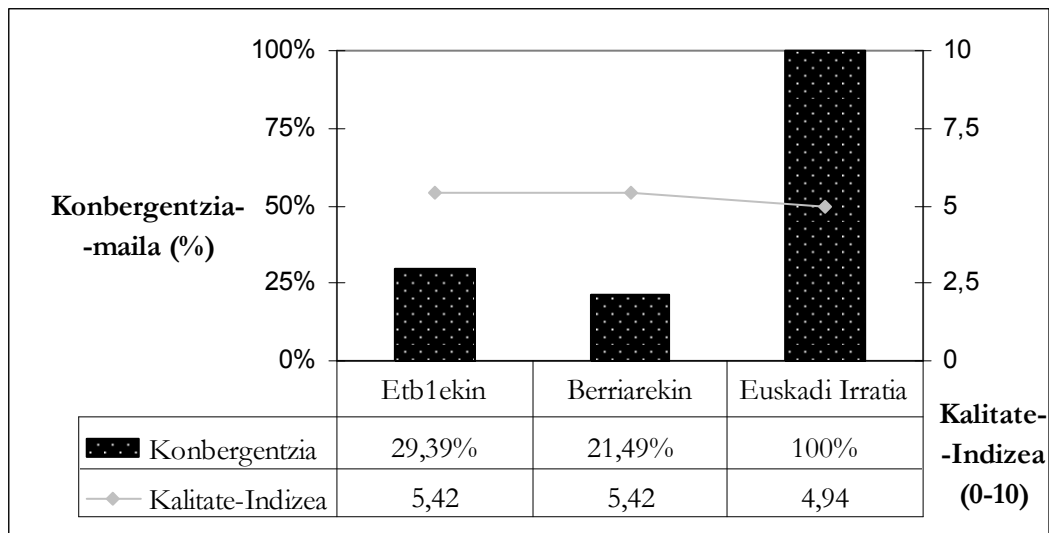
Iturria: Egilea.

Era berean, telebista publikoak *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat-egiterik altuena agertzen du. Are gehiago, *Berria*rekiko konbergentzia inoiz baino handiagoa denean, EiTBko bi hedabideen arteko bat-etortzeak izaera publikoko kazetaritza-jardueraren ezaugarria izan daiteke.

200. Grafikoa – Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua:
***Etb1* (2008)**

	Euskadi Irratiarekin	Berriarekin	Etb1
Konbergentzia	36,60%	30,63%	100%
Kalitate-Indizea	5,28	5,04	4,92
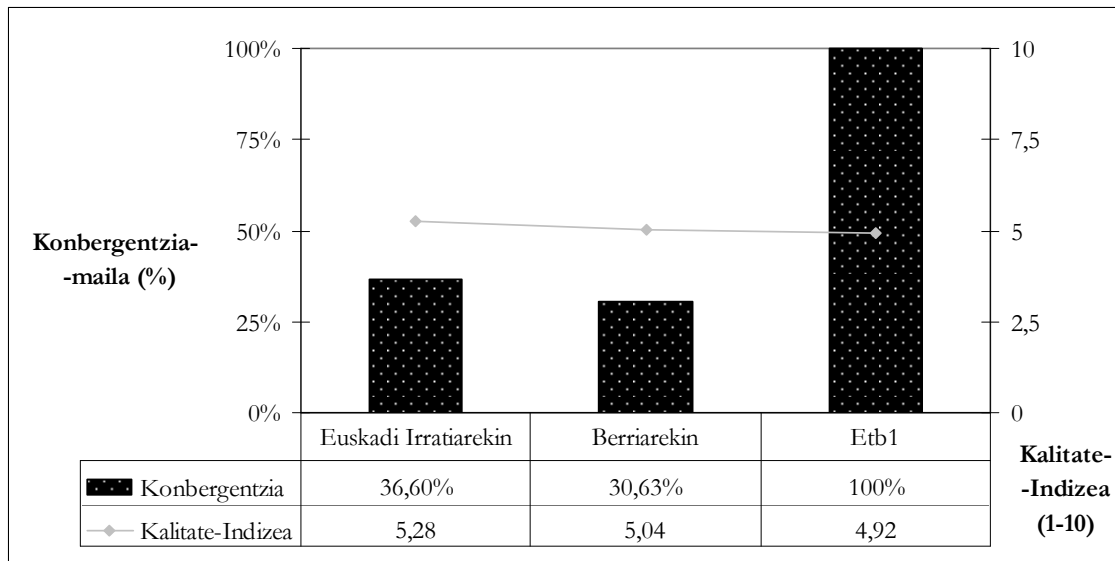
Iturria: Egilea.

*Berria*k, azkenik, konbergentzia-maila altu hori ere erakusten du. Ildo horretatik, bat-egite horrek *Euskadi Irratia*rekin bat egiten duten *Berria*ko albisteek puntuazio hobea lortzen dute. Hala ere, *Etb1*eko berriekin bat-egiteak *Berria*ko albisteen kalitatea pixka bat kaltetzea dakar, aurreko epean baino proportzio txikiagoan. Izan ere, ikerketa sinkronikoak *Berria*ko albisteen kalitatearen gainbehera egiaztatu zuen.

201. Grafikoa – Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua:
***Berria* (2008)**

	Euskadi Irratiarekin	Etb1ekin	Berria
Konbergentzia	30,63%	32,50%	100%
Kalitate-Indizea	5,41	5,05	5,1

Iturria: Egilea.

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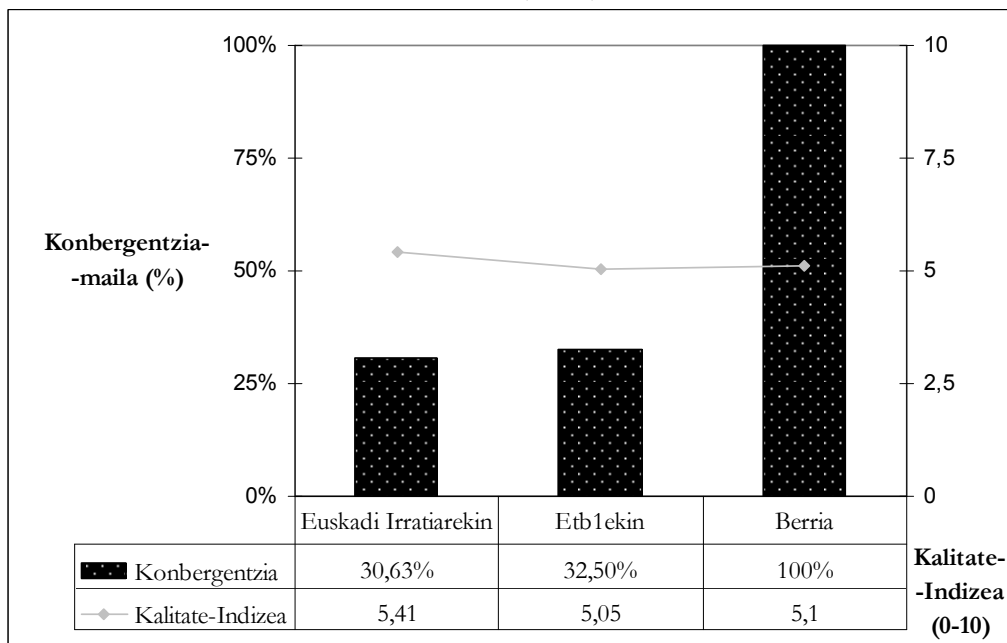
Euskarazko hedabideon jardunak Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua sortzen du. Dena den, haien kazetaritza-jarduera euskalduntasunetik aldendu denean, zabaltzen dituzten berriek kalitate eskasagoa agertu dute. Izan ere, banakako azterketan hiru hedabideetako albisteek bikaintasunaren gainbehera Kalitate-Indizearen puntuazio orokorrean islatu dute. Horrenbestez, euskalduntasuna alboratu dituzten euskarazko berriek Komunikazio-Esparrua ere eraldatzen dute, eztabaida publikoari ekarritako edukietan euskaldunek ezin dezaketelako eragin.

Gainera, berri-hornitzaileen mendekotasunak eragindako kazetaritza-jarduaren ondorioak bertako albisteetara ere hedatu dira. Kalitate-Indizeak euskarazko hedabideen arteko albiste konbergenteek banakako azterketan baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu ohi dute. Beraz, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruak albisteen kalitatearen gainbehera orokorra apaldu du. Zenbait kasutan, hizkuntzarekiko atxikimenduak kalitate-adierazleekiko utzikeria trabatu du. Esaterako, nabarmendu diren albisteek puntuazio baxuagoa izan dutenek baino ikuspegi-kopuru altuagoa zabaltzen zuten. Hortaz, gertutasunak kazetaritza-ekimena suspertzen du. Ondorioz, autozentramentuak kalitateari eusteko giltza izan daiteke.

Beraz, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparru autozentratuak kalitateari eusten dion bitartean, albisteen kalitate-galera dakarten berriek eztabaida publikoaren eremua ahultzen dute. Hala ere, euskarazko hedabideek kalitate gutxiagoko berriak plazaratzeak ez du ekarri erdarazko kazetaritza-jarduera lehenestea. Dena den, kalitateak behera egin arren, euskarazko hedabideen arteko konbergentzia ez da apaldu, Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideekiko bat-egitea baino handiagoa izaten jarraitzen duelako.

b.4. Gainerako hedabideekiko konbergentzia

Euskarazko hiru hedabideek ikerketa sinkronikoan plazaratutako albisteak epe berean EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako euskarazko hedabideekin eta Euskal Herrian gehien jarraitutako hedabideekin alderatu ditugu. Alderaketa horren helburua ez da azken hedabide horiek plazaratutako albisteen kalitatea aztertzea. Hortaz, ikerketa sinkronikoak zehaztutako laginean, euskarazko hedabideek zabaldutako titularretako edo lehen orriko albisteekin bat datozen beste hedabide horietako titularretako edo lehen orriko berriak aztertu ditugu. Horregatik, ezin daiteke hedabideon arteko datuak alderatu, emaitzek ez dutelako zehazten zein hedabidetako kazetaritza-jarduera den

bikainena. Izan ere, erdarazko hedabideek landutako albisteen alderaketa horretan, euskarazko berrien bikaintasuna alderatu nahi izan dugu: informazio bera bi hedabideetan agertzen denean, euskarazkoak edo erdarazkoak hobeto lantzen duen zehaztu nahi izan dugu.

Horrenbestez, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin alderatutako hedabideak hizkuntzaren arabera bereizi behar ditugu. Alde batetik, EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako irratiek euskaraz jardun ez ezik, beste hedabide horiek aireratutako albisteetan bat datozen *Euskadi Irrati*ko berriei puntuazio baxuagoa esleitu dielako Kalitate-Indizeak. Beraz, *Euskalerria Irratia*rekin bat datozen *Euskadi Irrati*ko berriek ia puntu osoko aldea azaltzen dute. Bi hedabideen arteko konbergentzia Nafarroari buruzko albisteek areagotzen dute. Beraz, gertutasunak kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa dakarkio *Euskalerria Irratia*ri. Dena den, Iruñerriko irratiaren berezko ezaugarria hautaketa prozesuaren gardentasuna litzateke: informazioaren jatorri aipatua eta albiste-iturri identifikatuen erabilera, hain zuzen. Gainera, EAEz gaindiko eskualdeetako hiru irratiek (Nafarroako *Euskalerria Irratia*k zein Ipar Euskal Herriko *Euskal Irrati*ek eta *France Bleu*k) osotasunaren adierazlean *Euskadi Irratia*rekiko alderik handiena erakutsi dute. Beraz, gertutasunak ez ezik, kazetaritza-ekimenak ere kalitate hobeagoko albisteak dakartza. Izan ere, informazio-hornitzaileen jardunak eremu horietan ez du estatuetako Politika saileko albisteen aurkez dezakeen eragina. Ondorioz, hornitzaileen jardunak oraindik hartu ez dituen eremuetan albisteen osotasuna hedabideon kazetaritza-ekimenari dagokio.

Beste aldetik, EAEz gaindiko eremu administratiboetako euskarazko irratiekin bezala, *Euskadi Irratia*ren jarduera aztertzeko EAEn gehien jarraitutako erdarazko bi irratiekin alderatu dugu: *Radio Euskadi* eta *Cadena Ser*rekin, hain zuzen. Horiekiko azterketan *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteek kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa agertu dute. Are gehiago, euskarazko irratiak ustez hizkuntzak muga ditzakeen kalitate-adierazleetan gailendu da. Horrenbestez, *Radio Euskadi*rekiko eta *Cadena Ser*rekiko banakako azterketan, *Euskadi Irratia*k osotasun handiagoko albisteak eta ikuspegi-kopuru altuagoa azaltzen duten berriak aireratu ditu. Datuok oraindik azpimarragarriagoak dira *Cadena Ser*rekin bat egiten duten *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteak Espainiako Gobernukoak izan ohi direlako, batik bat. Gainera, komunikazio-talde bereko *Radio Euskadi*ko albisteekiko puntu erdiko aldea agertu du *Euskadi Irratia*k. Ondorioz, euskarak ez du erdarazko

hedabideek aireratutako erdal jatorriko albisteak lantzeko prozesua trabatzen. Alderantziz, kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa ahalbidetu du.

202. Grafikoa – Konbergentzia eta Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea:
***Euskadi Irratia* eta euskarazko nahiz erdarazko irratiak (2008)**

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Irratiak	6,44	5,46	5,65	4,93	5,09
Euskadi Irratia	5,47	5,03	5,33	5,46	5,28
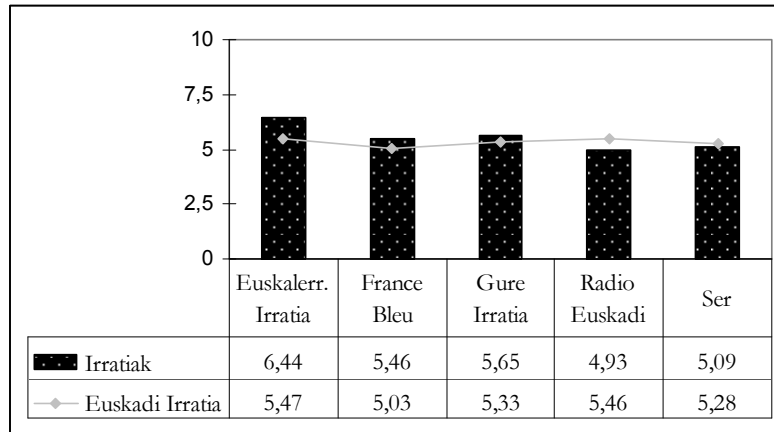
Iturria: Egilea.

Horren ildotik, banakako azterketak egiaztatu duenez, *Etb1*eko albisteen ahulezia nagusiak, euskarazko gainerako bi hedabideekin alderatuta, informazioaren jatorri ezkutua, albiste-iturri konfidentzialen neurriz kanpoko erabilpena eta informazio-elementu gehigarrien egokitasuna dira. *Euskadi Irratia*ren azterketak egiaztatu duen bezala, euskarazko hedabideen alderaketan nabarmendutako ahuleziak erdarazko hedabideetako albisteetan are handiagoak dira. Beraz, *Telecinco*rekin alderatuta, hiru kalitate-adierazle horietan *Etb1*en kazetaritza-jarduerak bikaintasun handiagoa agertzen du. Are gehiago, euskarak hizkera jatorra ahalbidetu duen bitartean, erdarazko telebistak horikeriak eragindako hizkera zuzena baino ez darabil. Hortaz, berriro ere, euskarak horikeriaren hedapena trabatu du. Guztira, *Telecinco*k aireratutako albisteekin bat datozen *Etb1*eko berriek 0,85 puntuko aldea lortu dute. Gainera, bat egindako albiste gehienak Espainiako gobernuaren ingurukoak izaten ziren. Horrenbestez, eremu horretan eragiteko aukera zabalagoa duen Espainiako telebistak albisteen kalitate-irizpideekiko utzikeria handiagoa agertu du. Izan ere, euskarazko telebistak informazio-elementu gehigarri egokiagoak lortu ditu.

Era berean, *Etb1*ek eta *Etb2*k %95,87tan kazetari berak landutako euskarazko eta gaztelerazko albisteak zabaltzen dituzte. Hala ere, euskarazko telebista titulu zehatzagoak eta informazio-elementu gehigarri egokiagoak erabiltzeagatik nabarmendu da. Horrenbestez, euskarak kazetaritza-jarduera bikaina babesteko eremua osatu duela egiaztatu da, horikeriari traba egin diolako. Dena den, *Etb2*k euskarazko telebistak baino albiste osoagoak aireratu ditu, erdarazko adierazpenetan oinarritutako berriak

izaten baitziren. Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek erdal adierak sortutako albisteak ere zabaldu ditu. Horietan euskarazko telebistak *Etb2*rekiko gabezia handiagoak erakutsi ditu. Beraz, erdarazko hedabideekiko euskarazkoek agertzen dituzten ahuleziak ez dagozkio sorterriari, erdaratik mundua ikusteko adierari baizik. Azken batean, Espainian sortutako albisteetan ere euskarazko telebistak kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa azaldu du, *Telecinco*rekiko alderaketak egiaztatu duenez. Hizkuntzak, baina, komunitate horren erreferentziak bateratzen ditu. Gazteleraren kasuan, nortasun erdalduna areagotzen duen adierak beste hizkuntza komunitateetan albiste izango ez litzatekeen gertaeraren berri ematera darama. Horrela, *Etb2*k berezko duen erdal eremuko albisteak ere zabaltzen ditu euskarazko telebistak; baina, erdal komunitatearen nortasuna indartzeko berri horietan, euskarak ez du erdarak adinako gako.

203. Grafikoa – Konbergentzia eta Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea: *Etb1* eta erdarazko egunkariak (2008)

	Etb2	T5
Telebistak	4,83	4,62
Etb1	4,89	5,47
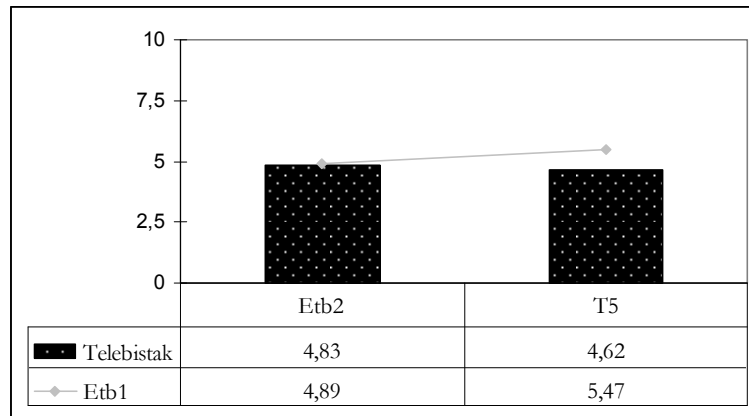
Iturria: Egilea.

Azkenik, *Berria*ko albisteen alderaketak ere antzeko ondorioak plazaratu ditu. Hortaz, euskarazko egunkariaren ahulezia nagusiak informazioaren jatorri ezkutua, albiste-iturri konfidentzialen erabilpena, informazioaren 7W galderak erantzuten dituzten berrien kopuru txikia eta informazio-elementu gehigarrien betelan eginkizuna dira. Hala ere, erdarazko zenbait hedabidek gabezia horiek are proportzio handiagoan agertu dituzte. Era berean, ahuleziarik erakutsi ez duten egunkaririk bada, baina ez dago ahulezia guzti horietatik bat ere ez duen erdarazko hedabiderik. Beraz, kazetaritza-jarduraren gabezia horiek neurri handiagoan dituzte erdarazko egunkariek. Horrelakoetan, *Berria*ri erdibideko lekua dagokio. Esaterako, *El Correo Español*ek informazioaren jatorria *Berria*k baino gehiagotan ezkutatzen du; *Diario de Navarra*k, ordea, adierazle horretan *Berria*k baino bikaintasun handiagoa azaldu du. Ildo beretik, Vocento taldeko *Diario Vasco*k eta *El Correo Español*ek *Berria*k baino albiste-iturri

konfidentzial gehiago erabiltzen dituzte informazio beraren berri emateko. *Le Journal*ek, ordea, albiste-iturriak *Berria*k baino sarriagotan identifikatzen ditu. *Le Journal*ek, aldiz, *Berria*k baino albisterik osatuenen kopuru urriagoa argitaratzen du. Adierazle horretan, *Berria*k eta *El Correo Español*ek antzeko emaitzak lortu dituzte, baina *Diario Vasco*k eta *Diario de Navarra*k *Berria*k baino puntuazio altuagoa izan dute. Era berean, *Diario de Navarra*k, *Diario de Noticias de Álava*k eta *Le Journal*ek, albiste bera osatzeko, Berriak baino betelan eginkizuna duten informazio-elementu gehigarri gehiago plazaratzen dituzte, baita desegokiagoak ere. *El Correo Español*ek eta *Diario Vasco*k argitaratutako informazio-elementu gehigarriak, aldiz, *Berria*k zekartzanak baino landuagoak izan dira.

Ondorioz, *Diario de Navarra*k *Berria*k baino kazetaritza-jarduera sendoagoa erakutsi badu ere (0,15eko aldea), oro har, *Berria*k erdarazko egunkarien pareko emaitzak izan ditu (*Diario de Noticias de Álava, Diario Vasco* eta *Gara*). Gainera, beste bi egunkarik baino kalitate altuagoko albisteak plazaratu ditu: *El Correo Español* (0,4ko aldea) eta *Le Journal du Pays Basque* (0,6koa).

Beraz, uste daitekeenaren kontra, euskarak ez du kazetaritza-ekimenik trabatzen. Izan ere, *Berria* tituluen zehaztasunari eta ikuspegi-kopuruari buruzko kalitate-adierazleetan nagusitu da. Hala ere, ikus-entzunezkoek ez bezala, *Berria*k hizkera zuzena baino ez du erabili erdarazko egunkariekin bat etorri diren albisteetan. Gainera, zenbait akats ere agertu ditu.

204. Grafikoa – Konbergentzia eta Albisteen Kalitate-Indizea: *Berria* eta erdarazko egunkariak (2008)

	Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Egunkariak	4,97	5,27	5,59	5,33	5,43	5,29
Berria	5,34	5,27	5,44	5,3	5,4	5,92
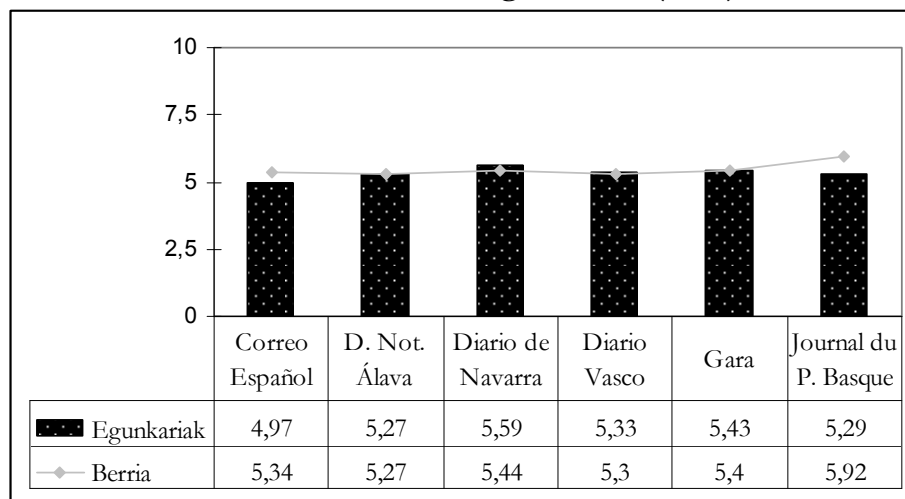
Iturria: Egilea.

Ondorioz, euskarazko hedabideetako albisteen kalitatea erdarazkoen parekoa dela egiaztatu dugu. Zenbaitetan, gainera, erdarazko hedabideen jarduera baino hobeagokoak izan dira. Horrenbestez, erdarazko hedabideek informazio-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasun handiagoa agertu dute. Euskarak, hortaz, kazetaritza-ekimenari eusteko baliabideak garatu ditu, hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna apalduz. Izan ere, euskaratik albiste zehatzagoak, ikuspegi anitzagokoak eta informazio-elementu gehigarri egokiagoak azaldu dituzte euskarazko hedabideek, hau da, informazioaren lanketa bikainagoa. Beraz, euskarazko kazetaritzaren gabezia endemikotzat har zitezkeen adierazleetan nagusitu dira euskarazko hedabideak. Horregatik, erdarazko egunkariek euskalduntasunaren inguruko albisterik plazaratzen ez dutenez, bat egindako berriek euren berezko eremukoak izan dira. Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideek eremu gehiagoetako informazioa zabaltzen dute eta, hala ere, zenbaitetan kazetaritza-jarduera bikainagoa gauzatzen dute.

4.3. GIZARTE-KALITATEA

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizearen hirugarren atalak gizarte-kalitatea neurtzen du. Hortaz, formatu-kalitatearekin eta eduki-kalitatearekin batera, gizarte-kaliateak hedabidearen ekimena eta komunitatearekiko atxikimendua adierazten ditu. Gizarte-atxikimenduak hedabideak informazioarekiko duen jarrera (aldekoa edo positiboa, neutroa eta aurkakoa edo negatiboa) aztertzen du.

4.3.1. IKERKETA DIAKRONIKOA

Ikerketa diakronikoak aztertutako bi epeak (1990-2002 eta 2003-2007) hedabidearen arabera azalduko ditugu. Lehenengo, *Euskal Telebista*ko berrien bilakaerari erreparatuko diogu eta, ondoren, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*ko albisteei.

a. *Etb1*

Euskarazko telebista publikoa 1983an sortu zen. Beraz, ikerketa diakronikoak aztertuko duen lehen epean zegoeneko zazpi urteko ibilaldia egina zuen. Hala ere, sorrera urteko lehen epe horren inguruko azterketarik ezin izan dugu gauzatu. Hortaz, 1990eko hamarkadan *Etb1*eko albiste gehienak neutroak ziren (%82,54). Horrek adierazi nahi du telebista publikoak ez zuela horiekiko aldeko ezta aurkako jarrerarik. Izan ere, *Etb1*ek albisteen %13,49an aldeko jarrera azaldu zuen eta aurkakoa, %3,97an (hiru aldiz gutxiagotan, alegia). Aldeko jarrera agertzen zuten albisteei, gainera, aurkakoa nabaritzen zutenei baino puntuazio altuagoa esleitu zien Kalitate-Indizeak: 5,33 puntu, lehenengoei eta 4,28, bigarrenei. Horrenbestez, guztirako albisteen batez besteko puntuazioa 5,60koa zen.

Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehenengo epean aldeko jarrera islatzen zuten *Etb1*eko albisteak Gizarte sailekoak izaten ziren (%41,18), eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat hartzen zituzten (%53,33) eta bertan sortutakoak ziren (%50, tokian tokikoak eta %37,5, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetakoak)[466].

Aurkako jarrera adierazten duten berriak, ostera, Politika sailean biltzen ziren (%60) –ondoren, Gizartean eta Kulturan–, Administrazioaren ordezkariak protagonistatzat agertzen zituzten (%60) eta kanpoan sortutakoak izaten ziren (%50, estatuetan eta %50, nazioartean)[467].

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[466] Hala nola "«Ongi heldu Euskal Herrian» Iparraldeko kanpaina" (1990/04/25).
[467] Adib.: "Serbiako ejerzitoa Gorazden sartu da" (1994/04/17).

Hala ere, 2003-2007ko epean, *Etb1*ek albisteen neutraltasunerako jarrera areagotu zuen. Horrela, aldeko jarrera islatzen zuten berririk ez zen eman. Ildo beretik, aurkako jarrera adierazten zuten berriak hiru aldiz gutxitu zituen (%1,11). Aurkako jarrera nabarmentzen zuten albisteak, baina, aurreko epean ez bezala, Gizarte saileko albiste arinak ziren (istripuak), ez zuten protagonistarik agertzen eta, lehenengoz, tokian tokikotasunak lehentasuna bereganatu zuen[468]. Gainera, Kalitate-Indizean puntuaziorik baxuena lortu zuen (3,75 puntu), batez bestekoa 4,85 puntukoa zen sasoian.

Hortaz, azterketa diakronikoak *Etb1*en gizarte-atxikimenduak neutraltasunera jo zuela egiaztatu zuen eta, horretarako, aldeko zein aurkako jarrerak murriztu zituen:

205. Grafikoa – Gizarte kalitatea (%):
***Etb1* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
▨ Aldekoa	13,49	0
☐ Neutroa	82,54	98,89
■ Aurkakoa	3,97	1,11
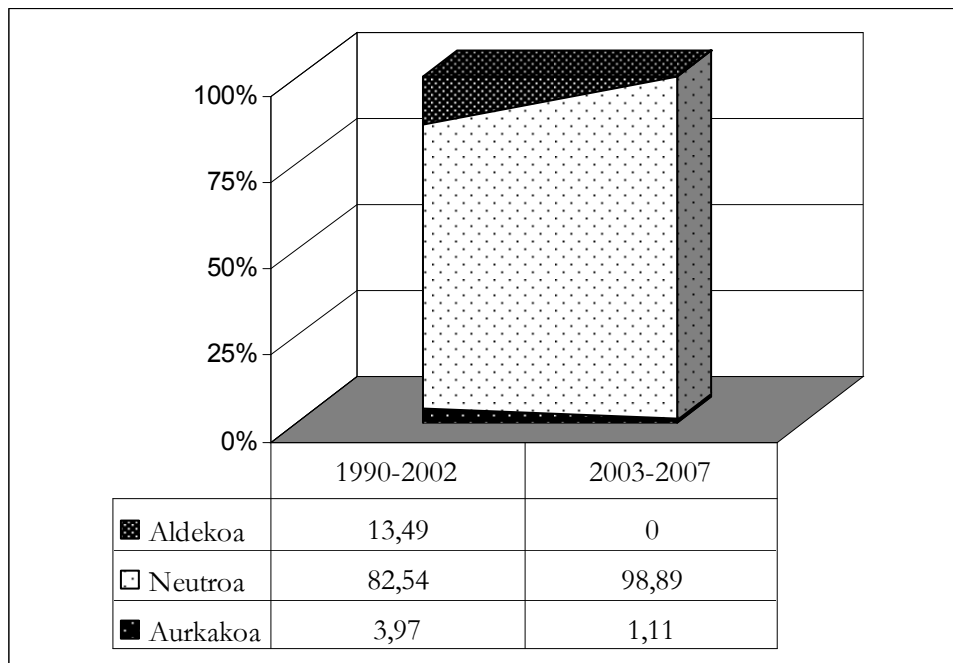
Iturria: Egilea.

Murrizteaz gain, aurkako jarrera erakusten zuten *Etb1*eko albisteen nolakotasuna ere aldatu zen. Lehenengo epean, Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako eta Administrazioaren ordezkariek protagonizatutako politika gaiak ziren. Bigarrenean, aldiz, bertako albiste arinak nagusitu ziren: Gizarte saileko protagonista identifikaturik gabeko berriak, hain zuzen.

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[468] Esaterako, "Txirrindulariak: Istripuaren ondorioak" (2004/10/25).

b. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria*

*Egunkaria*k telebista publikoak baino neutraltasun handiagoa erakutsi zuen 1990-2002ko epean. Hortaz, aldeko jarrera islatzen zuten albisteak %9,24 ziren, %2,41ek baino ez zuten aurkako jarrera agertzen eta gainerakoek, hots, %88,35ek, edukiarekiko neutraltasunetik informatzen zuten. *Etb1*en kasuan, neutraltasuna islatzen zuten albisteak guztirako %82,54 izan ziren.

Aldeko jarrera eragin zuten albisteak Kultura sailekoak ziren (%59,09), eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat agertzen zituzten (%83,33) eta, *Etb1*ean bezala, Euskal Herrian bertan sortutakoak izaten ziren (%68,18 tokian tokikoak ziren eta %18,18, eremu administratiboetakoak)[469]. Horrenbestez, aldeko jarrera erakutsi zuten albisteek Kalitate-Indizean ohi baino puntu gutxiago lortu zituzten (4,28ko puntuazioa), batez bestekoa 5,06 zenean.

Aurkako jarrera islatu zuten *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ko albisteak *Etb1*eko tankera bereko berriekin bat zetozen. Horrenbestez, Politika sailean biltzen ziren (%66,67), Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten (%83,33) eta gehienak Euskal Herritik kanpo sortuak ziren (%33,33, estatuetan eta %33,33, nazioartean)[470]. Gainera, aurkako jarrera nabarmendu zuten albisteek Kalitate-Indizearen puntuaziorik altuena lortu zuten (5,99 puntu, hain zuzen).

*Berria*k 2003tik aurrera *Egunkaria*k aldeko jarrera agertutako albisteen kopurua bikoiztu zuen (%18,09) eta aurkako jarrera nabaritutakoen zenbatekoa ia hirukoiztu egin zuen (%6,38). Horregatik, neutraltasuna gordetzen zuten berriak gero eta urriagoak ziren (%75,53).

Aldeko jarrera eragin zuten albisteek, *Egunkaria*n bezala, Kultura sailekoak ziren (%41,18), eragile autonomoak protagonistatzat agertzen zituzten (%58,82) eta bertan sortuak ziren (%58,82, tokian tokikoak eta %35,29, eremu administratiboetakoak)[471]. Gainera, 2003tik 2007ra bitarteko epean, aldeko jarrera nabaritu zuten albisteek Kalitate-Indizean aurreko epean baino puntu gehiago izan arren, oraindik ez zuten gainerako berriek baino puntuazio altuagoa lortu (5,53 puntu).

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[469] Besteak beste, "«Obabakoak» liburuaren frantseserazko bertsioa datorren hilabetean argitaratuko da Frantzian" (1991/09/06) eta "Kultura gogoeta eta debate premian" (1996/02/24).

[470] Adibidez, "PPk eta PSOEk galarazi dute Intxaurrondori buruzko ikerketa" (1995/09/22) eta "AEBek eta Londresek arma deklarazio «faltsua» egitea egotzi diote Bagdadi" (2002/12/19).

[471] Esaterako, "«Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia», altxor bat" (2005/11/18).

Aurkako jarrera islatu zuten *Berria*ko albisteak, aurreko epean bezala, Politika sailekoak ziren (%83,33) eta Administrazioaren ordezkariak erakusten zituzten (%83,33). Hala ere, zegoeneko Estatuan sortutako aurkako berriak erdia baino ez ziren, gainerakoak Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan (%33,33) eta tokian tokiko (%16,67) sortuak zirelako[472]. Berriro ere aurkako jarrera azaltzen zuten albisteek batez besteko puntuazioa gainditzen zuten (5,76 puntu).

Ondorioz, *Berria*k *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k baino gizarte-atxikimendu handiagoa zuela egiaztatu da:

206. Grafikoa – Gizarte kalitatea (%):
***E.Egunkaria/Berria* (ikerketa diakronikoa)**

	1990-2002	2003-2007
▨ Aldekoa	9,24	18,09
☐ Neutroa	88,35	75,53
▤ Aurkakoa	2,41	6,38
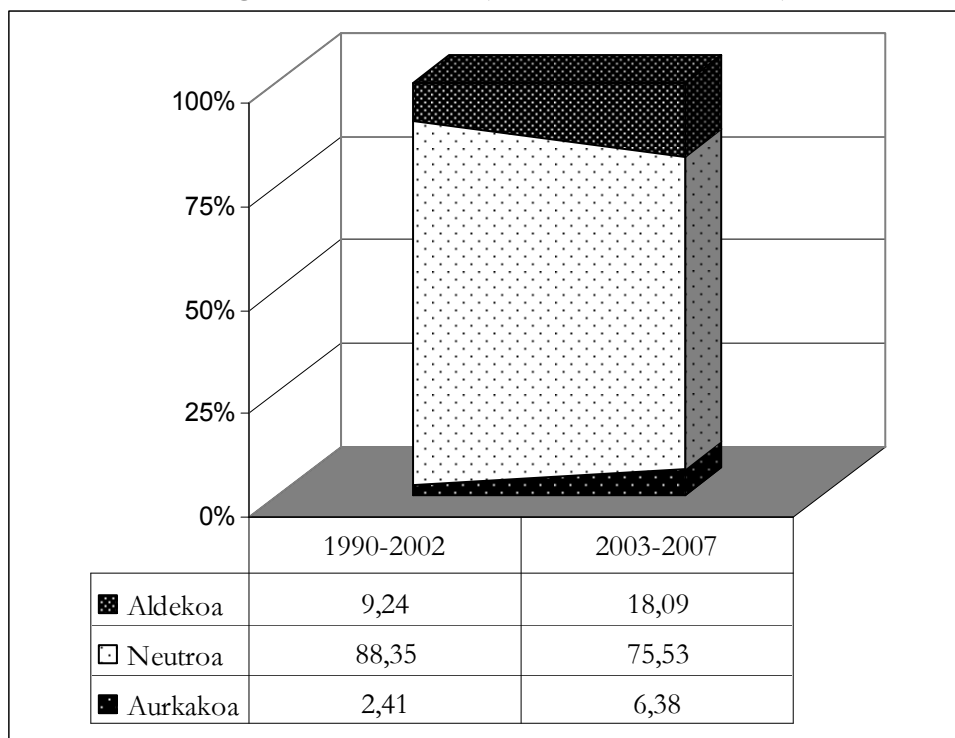
Iturria: Egilea.

Hortaz, euskarazko bi hedabideek alderantzizko bilakaera izan zuten. *Etb1*ek gero eta gizarte-atxikimendu txikiagoa erakusten zuen bitartean, *Egunkaria* eta *Berria*, batez ere, albisteen edukiarekiko kritikoagoak agertzen ziren. Hala ere, 1990eko

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[472] Legez kanpoko Egunkariaren itxieraz ez ezik ("«Egunkaria»-ren itxiera beste lau hilabetez luzatu du Del Olmok", 2004/06/10), euskal gatazkaren aurkako albisteak ere izaten ziren. "Salaberriari urtebeteko espetxea eta 7 urteko inhabilitazioa ezarri diote [sic: dizkiote]" (2003/09/06) albisteak honela zioen:

"Hala, [EAEko Justizia Auzitegi Nagusiko] epaimahaiak [Sozialista Abertzaleen taldeko Jon] Salaberriak [Eusko Legebiltzarrean] egindako adierazpenen interpretazioa egiten du eta mehatxuak ere ikusten ditu bere hitzetan. Adierazpenek «gizarteari egindako ohartarazpena» direla dio. Gainera, epaiketan [Legebiltzarreko] eztabaidaren bideorik ikusi ez bazuten ere, Salaberriak bere jarrera «sutsuki» defendatu zuela interpretatzen du; «eta horrek erakusten du erabat ados dagoela defendatzen zuen tesiarekin»."

hamarkadako *Etb1* bat etorri zen euskarazko kazetak argitaratzen zituen aurkako jarrera zuten albisteekin: Euskal Herritik kanpoko Administrazioaren ordezkariak agertzen zituzten politika albisteak izaten ziren. Izan ere, informazio arinari tarte handiagoa egin ez ezik, gainerako berriekiko jarrera kritikoa ere aldi berean apaldu zuen *Etb1*ek. Ildo horretatik, *Euskal Telebista*k sekula ere ez zuen Kultura saileko albisteak nabarmendu. Horixe, ostera, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren eta *Berria*ren ezaugarri nagusia izan zen.

4.3.2. IKERKETA SINKRONIKOA

Euskarazko hiru hedabideen ikerketa sinkronikoak *Euskadi Irratia*ri gizarte-atxikimendurik txikiena aintzatetsi zion (albisteen %99,12tan edukiekiko jarrera neutroa agertu zuen); ondoren, *Etb1*i (%95,85etan); eta, azkenik, *Berria*ri ekimenik handiena zuela azaldu zuen (%88,13tan).

Lehenengo eta behin, *Euskadi Irratia*k ez zuen aldeko jarrera nabaritzen zuen albisterik aireratu. Horrenbestez, aurkako jarrera islatu zuten berrien kopurua %0,88koa izan zen. Horiek Gizarte sailean biltzen ziren (%100), den-denek protagonista anonimoa agertzen zuten (lege-hauslea, hain zuzen) eta tokian tokiko berriak (%50) zein estatuetan sortutakoak (%50) izaten ziren. Aurkako jarrera erakutsi zuten *Euskadi Irrati*ko albisteek 4 puntu lortu zituzten Kalitate-Indizean, batez besteko puntuazioa baino txikiagoa alegia.

Bigarrenik, *Etb1*ean aldeko jarrera agertzen zuten albisteak aurkakoa erakusten dutenak baino sarriagotan aireratu ziren. Ikerketa diakronikoaren lehen epean ere, aldeko jarrera aurkakoa baino gehiagotan azaltzea ezaugarritzat bazuen ere, bigarrenean ez zuen horrelako berririk plazaratu. Hortaz, aldeko jarrera azaltzen zuten 2008ko albisteak Kirol sailekoak (%40) ez ezik, Ekonomia (%20) eta Gizarte (%20) atalekoak ere baziren. Hala ere, gehienetan ez zuten protagonistarik agertzen (%80). Sorterriari zegokionez, bertakoak Euskal Herritik kanpokoak baino gehiago izaten ziren (%60 eta %40, hurrenez hurren), baina sailaren araberako sailkapena izaten zen. Horrenbestez, Kirol eta Ekonomia ataletako berriak Euskal Herrian sortuak ziren bitartean, Gizarte saileko albisteak kanpokoak izaten ziren. Kalitate-Indizeak aldeko jarrera agertu zuten *Etb1*eko albisteei 3,71 puntu esleitu zizkien, batez besteko puntuazioa baino baxuagoa.

*Etb1*en aurkako jarrera eragin duten albisteak, ordea, oso urriak izan dira. Horrenbestez, Administrazioaren ordezkariak protagonistatzat zituzten Espainian

sortutako politika eta kirol berriak ziren, baina euskal gatazka politikoa zuten hizpide[473]. *Etb1* kritiko agertu zen albisteetan Kalitate-Indizeak ohi baino puntuazio baxuagoa esleitu zion, baina aldeko albisteek lortu zutena baino altuagoa: 4,52 puntu, hain zuzen.

  *Berria*k, azkenik, *Etb1*ek baino gizarte-atxikimendu handiagoa agertu zuen. Dena den, bi hedabideek aurkako jarrera zuten oso albiste gutxi plazaratu zuten. Horrenbestez, *Berria*ren gizarte-atxikimendua aldeko jarreren bitartez gauzatu zen. Beraz, aldeko berriak albiste guztien %10 hartzen zuten. Ikerketa diakronikoan egiaztatu bezala, aldeko jarrera azaltzen zuten albisteak euskalduntasuna sustatzen zutenak izaten ziren[474]. Gainera, ikerketa sinkronikoan, *Berria*k kulturaz gaindiko gizarte eginkizunak ere hartu zituen, hala nola emakumeen ikusgarritasuna[475], urritasun fisikodun lagunak[476] eta torturaren aurkako gaitzespena[477]. Horregatik, aldeko jarrera agertzen zuten albisteak Politika, Gizarte eta Kultura sailetan eman ziren. Horietan Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak puntuaziorik bikainena esleitu zion *Berria*ri: 5,49 puntu, hain zuzen.

  Egunkariaren aurkako jarrera eragin zuten berriak *Etb1*ean bezain urriak izan ziren (%1,87). Dena den, horiek ere *Berria*ren jokabidearekin bat datoz, euskal kulturan[478] eta gizartean[479] eragiten zuten albisteak baitziren. Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak, baina, aurkako jarrera agertzen zuten berriei 4,3 puntu baino ez zizkien esleitu, hau da, aldeko iritzia azaldu zutenek eta *Berria*ren guztirako azterketak baino puntu gutxiago.

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[473] Adibidez, "Kiroletan, euskal selekzioak eta Irangoak jokatu beharreko partidak airean jarraitzen du […]" (2008/11/26).

[474] Esaterako, "Euskal Unibertsitateak Tolosan izango du egoitza, eta 2009rako zehaztuko ditu titulazioak" (2008/06/29).

[475] "Kulturgileen gogoetak: Kulturan emakumeek duten eta izan beharko luketen presentziaz aritu dira kulturgileak" (2008/03/08).

[476] "Gorrak, oztopoen gainetik gizarteratzeko lanean" (2008/11/12).

[477] Torturak salatzeko ("Igor Portu Arrasaten atxilotutako gaztea ospitalean dago, larri, tortura zantzuekin", 2008/01/08) eta gelditzeko ("Inkomunikazioa amaitzeko eskatu du NBEko kontalari bereziak", 2008/05/15) asmoarekin, batez ere.

[478] "Inoiz baino diru gutxiago emango du Nafarroako Gobernuak euskararentzat" (2008/11/03).

[479] "Trabarik ez autoei: 1Formulako bi autok entzierroaren bidea egin dute" (2008/06/29).

207. Grafikoa – Gizarte kalitatea (%):
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* eta *Berria* (2008)**

	Euskadi Irr.	Etb1	Berria
▨ Aurkako jarrera	0,00%	1,55%	1,87%
☐ Jarrera neutrala	99,12%	95,85%	88,13%
■ Aldeko jarrera	0,88%	2,60%	10,00%
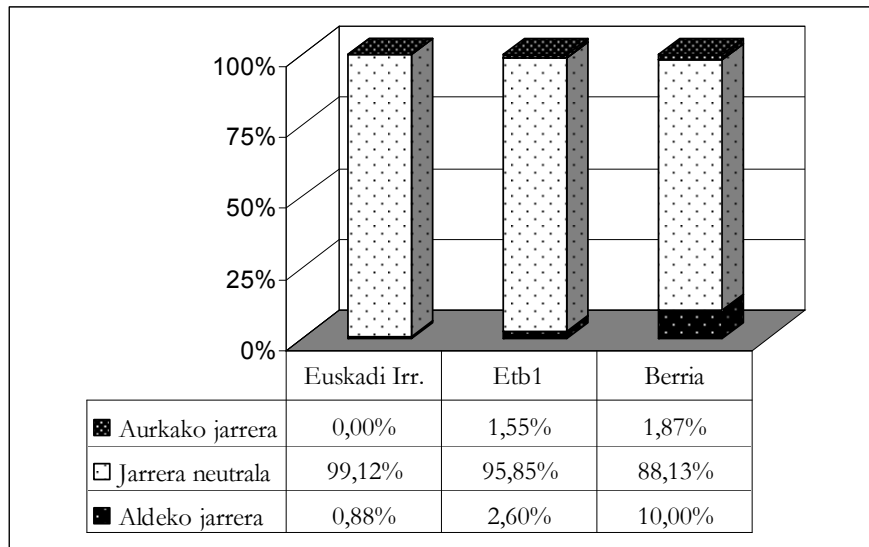
Iturria: Egilea.

Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideek albisteen neutraltasunari eusten zioten. Aurkako jarrera eragiten zuten berriak oso urriak ziren. Gainera, Kalitate-Indizeak puntuazio txikiagoa esleitzen zien. *Etb1*ek alderantzizko joera azaldu zuen, aurkako jarrera zuten berriek gizarteari eragiten ziotelako eta aldeko iritzia zutenek, ordea, espektakularizazioa areagotzen zuten. Aldiz, *Berria*k aldekotasuna kazetaritza-jarduераren bitartez gauzatzen zuen. Horietan, Kalitate-Indizeak jarduera bikainagoa aintzatetsi zion. Are gehiago, *Berria*k ez zuen egunkaria berezko helburuen mende ipini. Horrela, *Berria*k etakideen tortura kasuak salatu baditu ere, 'Egunkaria' auziaren ondorioz guardia zibilak eragindako tortura kasuek trataera neutroa izan dute:

> **"[Iñaki Uriaren tortura salaketa behin betiko artxibatu dute Madrilen]**
>
> Madrilgo epaitegiak behin betiko artxibatu du Iñaki Uria Egunkaria-ko kontseilari ordezkariak 2003. urtean aurkeztutako tortura salaketa. Uriaren salaketek ez dutela sinesgarritasunik esan eta auzia amaitutzat jo du.
>
> 2003ko otsailaren 20an atxilotu zuten Uria, Egunkaria-ren aurkako operazioan. Guardia zibilek bost egunez eduki zuten inkomunikatuta, eta egun horietan torturak jasan zituela salatu zuen. 2003ko martxoaren 27an aurkeztu zuen tortura salaketa Donostiako Instrukzio Epaitegian, Aranjuezeko (Espainia) espetxean preso zutela.
>
> Salaketa aurkeztu eta lau urte, 2007ko otsailean, lau guardia zibil inputatu zituen Nekane Rodriguez Donostiako Instrukzioko 1. Epaitegiko epaileak. […] Horien kontrako epaiketa egin behar zela erabaki zuen epaileak.
>
> Uriaren torturak sinesgarriak zirela eta auzitegiko medikuaren txostenek zein Xabier Oleaga auzipetuaren lekukotasunak Uriaren salaketa berresten zutela ondorioztatu zuen.
>
> […] Baina guardia zibilen abokatuak eta fiskalak helegiteak aurkeztu eta auzia Madrilgo epaitegiaren esku uzteko eskatu zuten.
>
> […] Donostiako epailearen ustez, auzitegiko medikuek egindako txostenek Uriaren tortura salaketa berresten zuten arren, Madrilgoen ustez ez du halakorik egiten.

> Zauri horiei buruz Uriak "gezurra" esan zuela ebatzi dute epaileek, eta, beraz, gainontzeko zauriei buruz eman zituen azalpenek ere ez dutela sinesgarritasunik. Horiek horrela, guardia zibilak ez epaitzeko erabakia berretsi dute." (2008/07/22)

Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabideek albisteen trataera neutroa hobetsi zuten. Horregatik, gizarte-atxikimendua albistegaien aukeraketan gauzatzen zuten. *Berria*k, esaterako, 'Egunkaria' auziaren inguruko albisteak plazaratzen zituen, testuan horiekiko atxikimendurik eragin barik[480]. Ondorioz, albistegaiak aukeratzeko irizpide autozentratuek Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua egituratuko dute. Alderantziz, eduki asimilatzaileek eremu hori desnaturalizatu ez ezik, txikitu ere egiten dute.

4.4. RESEARCH RESULTS

The application of the News Quality Scheme determines three levels of assessment. First of all, Formal Quality will detect errors in supply and appearance. Secondly, Content Quality will evaluate news in relation to diversity and the News Quality Index. Moreover, the latter will also analyse the most followed media in the Basque Country, in order to assess whether they inform better than Basque news on the same issues. Finally, Social Quality will denote media's social engagement.

4.3.1. FORMAL QUALITY

The first stage of the News Quality Scheme measures errors in supply and appearance. On the one hand, it has been evidenced that audiovisuals are particularly susceptible to Technical Quality. In effect, as *Euskadi Irratia* was followed on-line. Thus, webpage updating led to interruption of signal reception nearly every five minutes. However, minor defects in broadcasting by *Etb1* were related to TV jamming in live reports. Although it is a journalistic model in trend in *Etb1*, all defects were detected only between January and July 2008. Finally, *Berria* supplied error-free news, since this level of assessment hardly affects print media, unless blots of ink hinder reading itself.

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[480] Besteak beste, "«Egunkaria»-ren itxiera beste lau hilabetez luzatu du Del Olmok" (2004/06/10), "«Egunkaria auzia» artxibatzeko eskatu du Eusko Jaurlaritzak ere" (2005/11/18) eta "«Egunkaria auzian» epaiketa egitea ebatzi dute, fiskalak ixteko eskatu bazuen ere" (2007/05/11).

Table No. 119 – Technical Quality: Error rates

	Euskadi Irratia	*Etb1*	*E.Egunkaria/Berria*
Major defects			
Diachronic study	–	%0.3	0
Synchronic study	%5.24	0	0
Minor defects			
Diachronic study	–	%1.87	0
Synchronic study	%10.96	%6.19	0
TOTAL			
Diachronic study	–	**%1.87**	**0**
Synchronic study	**%14.46**	**%6.19**	**0**

Source: Author.

On the other hand, Presentation Quality has corroborated that media performance does not coincide with the speed of technological development. As a matter of fact, both aesthetic and operational deficiencies have come to a raise. *E.Egunkaria/Berria* has been found to hold aesthetic deficiencies in almost all of its news reports. Similarly, *Etb1* has denoted an increase in aesthetic deficiencies in proportion to the presence of written language on news. Furthermore, *Etb1* regularly displays image asynchrony in broadcasting news. That is to say, audio reporting does not coincide with displayed images, so the viewer may lose attention. Lastly, errors by *Euskadi Irratia* at the following level only deal with operational deficiencies, such as stammer and slips of the tongue.

Table No. 120 – Presentation Quality: Error rates

	Euskadi Irratia	*Etb1*	*E.Egunkaria/Berria*
Aesthetic deficiencies			
Diachronic study	–	%32.71	%93.88
Synchronic study	%2.63	%53.09	%93.12
Operational deficiencies			
Diachronic study	–	%1.4	%9.91
Synchronic study	%22.8	%5.67	%16.25
TOTAL			
Diachronic study	–	**%34.27**	**%94.46**
Synchronic study	**%25**	**%58.25**	**%93.12**

Source: Author.

All in all, the assessment of Basque media's Formal Quality has revealed that it can not be improved, unless journalists are aware of errors. Notwithstanding Technical Quality does not rely on reporters, they are responsible for Presentation Quality, which has in fact detected higher error rates than the former. Moreover, aesthetical and operational deficiencies have not come to an end yet. On the contrary, they have kept on increasing over time. Furthermore, there has been no significant further increase of such deficiencies on weekends or during holidays. However, Technical Quality defects were found to occur every so often during those periods of time.

4.3.2. CONTENT QUALITY

The second level of assessment draws attention to the traditional quality evaluation fields of journalism. On the one hand, diversity is assessed against qualitative standards, such as topic, protagonist and geographical scope. On the other, the News Quality Index rates news according to ten quantitative indicators.

a. Diversity

Diversity as reflection is understood as a principle of pluralism. Consequently, it aims to find equilibrium among several elements. Then, media are required to display diversity in society, so that they ensure that all topics, protagonists and geographical scopes are reflected. Moreover, diversity balance becomes crucial to gain new audience segments.

Basque media's initial journalistic model adopted by *Etb* in the 1980s, gave priority to localness. Accordingly, home news constituted the basis for every section. That is to say, as well as local information, any administrative area of the Basque Country (Basque Autonomous Community, Navarre and Northern Basque Country) was considered to generate news. Such a geographical perspective was also adopted by *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* in the 1990s.

Secondly, both media assumed the supremacy of the Politics section, where politicians became the main protagonists. Furthermore, their presence took over other sections as well, such as Society, because politicians generated news for the media, such as opening ceremonies for public works or even their inspection became newsworthy. However, opposition politicians were not reflected on the headlines or on the first page of diaries. As a paradox, ETA gained much more appearance in the media than the opposition parties. Similarly, international news dealt most of the time with leading politicians, whereas opposition sectors were absent. Hence, the over reflection of politicians did not coincide with a real image of the Basque society at the time.

Nevertheless, a Spanish channel of EiTB was created in 1986. Since then, *Etb1* has shared its news with *Etb2*. Consequently, the new journalistic model adopted by *Etb2* in order to compete with other Spanish television channels implied that those contents were also broadcast in Basque by *Etb1*. Therefore, the 1990-2002 period of study has corroborated a divergent media performance between *Etb1* and *Egunkaria*. First of all, the Society section broadcast an increasing number of news whose

protagonists were not identifiable (they presented society as a mass, or they displayed nature catastrophes, for instance). On weekends and summer time, they were replaced with representatives of the Administration as protagonists of information. Moreover, such soft news was more and more originated not in the Basque Country, but in Spain. Secondly, *Etb1* deviated its attention from the Basque culture towards the Spanish one. As a result, whereas international news reported by *Egunkaria* dealt with European issues, *Etb1* broadcast news originated in South America. Finally, *Egunkaria* aimed to reflect the entire cultural structure of the Basque Country in every section, especially Culture and Society. However, on weekends and summer time, it happened to embrace *Etb1*'s model, since a higher amount of soft news was reported.

As a result, *Etb1* and *Berria* (the successor for *Egunkaria*) have shared more journalistic features since 2003. On the one hand, they reinforced the Politics section. Whereas *Etb1* broadcast the activity of both Governments of the Southern Basque Country (Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre), *Berria* offered a nationalist image of the Basque society, giving voice to a wider range of nationalist political parties. However, both media have reduced their geographical scope to Gipuzkoa for local news and to the Southern Basque country for national news. Equally, the amount of information about other non-state nations in Europe decreased.

On the other hand, both media dedicated more news to the Society section, but most of them were originated outside the Basque Country and presented non-identifiable protagonists. As a consequence, the number of cultural news diminished, as well as the diversity of art and sport disciplines. Moreover, *Etb1* adopted the system of symbols of political nationalism, which resulted in diverging its journalistic model from the cultural approach. For instance, the Basque language was more often broadcast on television than in *Berria* (27.27%, *Etb1* and 16.67%, the newspaper). However, only 72.73% of the news reports included in the Culture section had been originated in the Basque Country. *Berria*, though, grounded such a section on home news (91.67%) introducing culture in Basque, as the main feature of Basqueness.

The synchronic study evidenced that the three Basque media (*Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Berria*) are more convergent in topics among them than to other media in the Basque Country. Two exceptions are to be considered. First, *Etb1* and *Etb2* broadcast

similar contents, since every journalist is in charge of reporting for both channels. Second, *Euskadi Irratia* qualitatively results more convergent to those radio stations broadcasting in areas outside the Basque Autonomous Community than to *Radio Euskadi* (also belonging to EiTB), because *Euskadi Irratia* those areas do not constitute its news coverage domain.

Table No. 121 – Topic convergence (%):
Accumulated range of convergence (2008)

	Basque media	Basque media broadcasting outside the B.A.C.[481]	French and Spanish media in the Basque Country[482]	Institutional media (nationalist): EiTB group[483]	Regional newspapers in Spanish[484]	French and Spanish media[485]
Euskadi Irratia	35.96%	15.84%	–	28.22%	–	13.15%
Etb1	44.84%	5.81%	–	95.87%	–	30.72%
Berria	43.75%	–	35%	–	40.625%	–

Source: Author.

However, the more yellow agenda *Etb1* broadcasts, the more convergent it becomes towards French and Spanish media. For example, the increasing amount of news reports originated in the USA displaces self-centred approaches. As evidenced, institutional news about the Government of the USA in 2008 were more often broadcast in the news headlines than the Basque administrations (there was no news report on the Basque Government which exposed other topics apart from the political conflict). As a matter of fact, 10% of the political information was originated by the USA Administration, 5% was related to the Spanish Government, and only 1.67% Basque local administrations. *Berria* was getting closer to that model: 6.06% of the news reports in Politics on the first page were about the Government of the USA, no Spanish institutional information appeared on the front page, and 3.03% were related to the Basque Government. Nevertheless, *Euskadi Irratia* gave priority to Basque Administrations and, then, they took 5.2% of the political news coverage (2.08%, the Basque Government and 3.12%, local institutions). Accordingly, news on the USA politics was 4.17% of the Politics section, the same percentage as information about the Spanish Government. Moreover, news originated in the USA had taken over all the news Sections. That is why *Etb1* broadcast more convergent news about Culture with

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[481] *Euskalerria Irratia, Euskal Irratiak, France Bleu*, and *France 3*.

[482] *Gara* and *Le Journal du Pays Basque*.

[483] *Radio Euskadi*, for *Euskadi Irratia*; *Etb2*, for *Etb1*.

[484] *El Correo Español, Diario de Noticias de Álava, Diario de Navarra*, and *Diario Vasco*.

[485] *Cadena Ser*, for *Euskadi Irratia*; *Telecinco* and *Tf1*, for *Etb1*.

the French private *Tf1* television that with the French public *France 3*, although the latter broadcasts in Basque. As a result, non Basque contents do not imply the assumption of colonist culture identity, but local acculturation. In effect, geographical diversity aims to reflect a wide range of home identities. All in all, providing that news conceives actuality, it becomes the key to interpret our future.

Hence, diversity balance is required to accomplish a double task. The traditional conception of diversity balance pleads for all topics, protagonists and geographical scopes. It constitutes an effective action to ensure diverse contents. According to the new understanding, diversity balance can effectively block those trends that lead media performance to distance news coverage from media's informational goals. To that extent, diversity balance would stop the increasing display of institutional protagonists and give raise to social agents. Equally, geographical diversity would certify the relevance of nearer news.

b. News Quality Index

Content quality principles stem from the core values of Western capitalist democracies. The indicators of the News Quality Index ground on those principles and have been generally employed by scholars. That way, it enables every indicator assessment, as well as overall evaluation. Furthermore, such an Index distinguishes both stages of newsmaking (selection and elaboration processes). In sum, the News Quality Index rates News Quality on a 0-10 points scale, due to the fact that each and every quality indicator will award 0-1 points.

b.1. Newsmaking process

The indicators forming the News Quality Index enable differentiated assessment, according to the stages of the newsmaking process. On the one hand, the first five quality indicators evaluate news selection process (*origin of information, type of sources, degree of factualness, currency,* and *relevance*). On the other, the rest of them assess the elaboration of news (*accuracy, completeness, number of perspectives, adequacy of additional informational elements,* and *appropriate use of language*).

b.1.1. News selection process

Among the five quality indicators to assess news selection process, *Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* achieved their highest score according to currency at the early period of 1990-2002. Then, the degree of factualness and relevance gained the parameters of basic media performance, that is to say, over half point in every of those standards. Moreover, both media coincided in the sort of relevance of the news they selected: first, social consequences and then, individual importance. Hence, both media obtained a similar result: **Etb1, three points out of five and Egunkaria, 3.08**.

Later, since 2003 onwards, *Etb1*'s media performance had presented different features, such as an increase in omitted origin of information, a bigger range of non-attributed sources, more news stemmed from speculations and conjectures (such as the agenda of the President), and curiosity became the first category of relevance in reporting. As a result, **Etb1 obtained 2.61 points.** In contrast, **Berria** had succeeded in improving media performance. Accordingly, it **was rewarded with a score of 3.21 points.**

The synchronic study evidenced the decline for the accomplishment of the first two quality indicators (*origin of information* and *type of sources*) in the three media outlets by 2008. Moreover, news agency supply was employed as information source, whereas scholars convene in considering it a departure point towards deeper information. Furthermore, socially relevant news had been pushed by the categories of individual importance and curiosity, except for *Berria,* who maintained a social approach towards news relevance. As a result, **Euskadi Irratia obtained 2.59 points; Etb1, 2.56; and Berria, 3.12.** The three of them achieved a higher score than basic media performance (2.5 points out of five), except for news broadcast by *Euskadi Irratia* in summer.

Consequently, the decline of quality indicators over time has been evidenced, especially on weekends. To that extent, *Berria* denoted improvement of some indicators, by employing more attributed sources and giving priority to socially relevant issues. However, on weekends it obtained a significantly lower score and, even lower, on holiday periods.

b.1.2. News elaboration process

The diachronic study has not only revealed that early *Etb1* and *Egunkaria* shared common features in news selection, but they also agreed in most news elaboration

quality indicators: accuracy (their headlines summarized information), completeness (most news reports answered 5W's), and number of perspectives (one point of view stating a single line of reasoning). Moreover, long-run *Etb1* proved a higher media performance than new launched *Egunkaria* in relation to the adequacy of additional informational elements and appropriate use of language. Consequently, **Etb1 gained 2.8 points out of five, whereas *Egunkaria* scored 2.17 points.** Then, they obtained a lower result in news elaboration than in selection. Furthermore, elaboration indicators went worse on weekends and in summer.

During the period between 2003 and 2007, both media outlets took actions to improve news reporting. *Etb1* became even more accurate in headlines, whereas *Berria* reduced up to half the amount of orthographical and grammar errors. The adequacy of informational elements was also amended, whereas *Etb1* displayed non adequate elements in a four times higher proportion than in the 1990s. Then, **Etb1 obtained 2.41 points and *Berria* was rewarded with a score of 2.54 points.**

The synchronic study appointed similar features among the three Basque media. First of all, they reported very accurate headlines, especially *Euskadi Irratia*. Secondly, they refused to publish information containing less than 5W's. Thirdly, their news reported only show one side, although it was usually supported with a line of reasoning. Fourthly, the audiovisuals succeeded in the adequacy of additional information-elements. Finally, the use of language was more appropriate in *Euskadi Irratia* than in the rest, because the latter depended much more on written features. As a result, **Euskadi Irratia gained 2.32 points; *Etb1*, 2.28; and *Berria*, 1.98.** Then, none of them has gone above the mark of 2.5 points out of five. As a matter of fact, news elaboration was evidenced to have had a more significant decline in quality standards than the selection process. Furthermore, such a low score went event smaller on weekends and holiday periods.

b.1.3. Overall assessment of the News Quality Index

The News Quality Index evaluates both processes in newsmaking. Accordingly, Basque media exhibited a higher decline in those indicators of the selection process than in news selection. As a consequence, news reports during the diachronic study were evidenced to show a higher quality than more recent ones: **Etb1 obtained an overall score of 5.80 points between 1990 and 2002, and it decreased up to 5.03**

points between 2003 and 2007. In contrast, *Berria* gained a total score of 5.25 points between 1990 and 2002, and 5.77 points between 2003 and 2007. Nevertheless, both exhibited more weak spots on holiday period, that is to say, when most of the audience may devote longer time to news.

The synchronic study emphasized the critical phase that Basque media are going through. In fact, the overall assessment for such a period resulted in a poor score such as **4.91 points for *Euskadi Irratia*, 4.67 for *Etb1* and 5.1 for *Berria***, as a result of having decreased the accomplishment level of several indicators, especially during news elaboration. In that sense, *Euskadi Irratia* showed similar rates in both processes.

Graph No. 208 – News Quality Index:
***Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Berria* (2008)**

	Euskadi Irr.	Etb1	Berria
☐ Selection	2,59	2,66	3,12
■ Elaboration	2,32	2,28	1,98
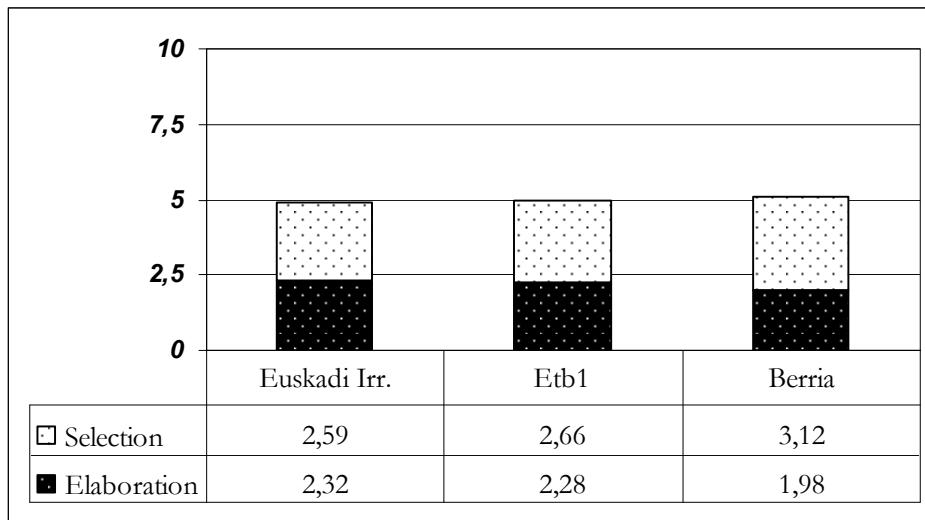
Source: Author.

Therefore, such a decline in news elaboration may be consistent with the shift in diversity. Accordingly, both components of Content Quality will be contrasted, in order to interpret the overall assessment of the News Quality Index in the light of diversity indicators.

b.2. Diversity and the News Quality Index

The standards composing the News Quality Index denote different levels of accomplishment in relation to diversity indicators. Then, it will be elucidated whether the reduction in diversity has promoted a more superficial media performance.

b.2.1. Topic diversity

Information sections take the size of the amount of news devoted to them. That way, particular sections were promoted in the news main stories, whereas others are reduced in importance. As a matter of fact, during the early period of the diachronic study, Basque media displayed the most diverse range of section and topics included in them. Accordingly, by the time *Etb1* reinforced Society and Sports, which in result became more frequent in the main stories of the day, a decline in quality indicators was evidenced. Therefore, *Etb1* promoted such a sort of news that obtained worse results in excellence. As a matter of fact, the expansion of the Society section was proportional to the increasing amount of soft news. Consequently, Politics and Economy lost weight in television news. Furthermore, news of those sections also exhibited a decline in quality indicators. Hence, not only tabloidization features had been found from 2003, but also characteristics of 'fast journalism' were also appointed. As a result, *Etb1*'s score was reduced from 5.8 points to 5.03.

Conversely, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* experienced an opposite evolution. Acknowledging *Berria* had also supported the Society section, news reports informing on such a topic displayed no decline in standards. Then, higher results were scored: 5.25 and 5.77, respectively. However, the Economy section included news reports on consume which implied a lower score. Consequently, *Berria* didn't show any features of 'fast journalism' during the diachronic study, but the way towards tabloidization was evidenced not to be exclusive of Society: even Economy could be likely to include tabloid news.

The synchronic study evidenced that news elaboration in certain type of information was similar in the three media. For instance, political news was best scored in the three of them. However, *Etb1* downgraded Politics in favour of Society, whereas the Politics section took half the main stories of the day in *Euskadi Irratia* and *Berria*. Similarly, the news in the Society section scored similar marks in the three media, but *Etb1* broadcast a higher amount of them. Therefore, by 2008 *Berria* has actually adopted *Etb1*'s informational model for the Society section. Nevertheless, *Berria* maintained the Culture section as its identity sign. Nevertheless, such a model for Society news obtained fewer points than Sports in *Berria*. As a result, **Euskadi Irratia achieved a mark of 4.91 points; *Etb1,* 4.67 points; and *Berria,* 5.1 points.**

Graph No. 209 – Section Dimensions and the News Quality Index:
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 **and** *Berria* **(2008)**

	Politics	Economy	Society	Culture	Sports
Section dim.: E. Irr.	42,11%	22,81%	19,30%	12,28%	3,51%
Section dim.: Etb1	30,93%	22,16%	29,38%	5,67%	11,86%
Section dim.: Berria	41,25%	13,75%	21,26%	16,88%	6,88%
NQI: Euskadi Irr.	5,13	5,02	4,83	4,81	4,03
NQI: Etb1	5,54	4,92	4,66	4,62	4,3
MQI: Berria	5,41	4,91	4,6	5,15	4,81
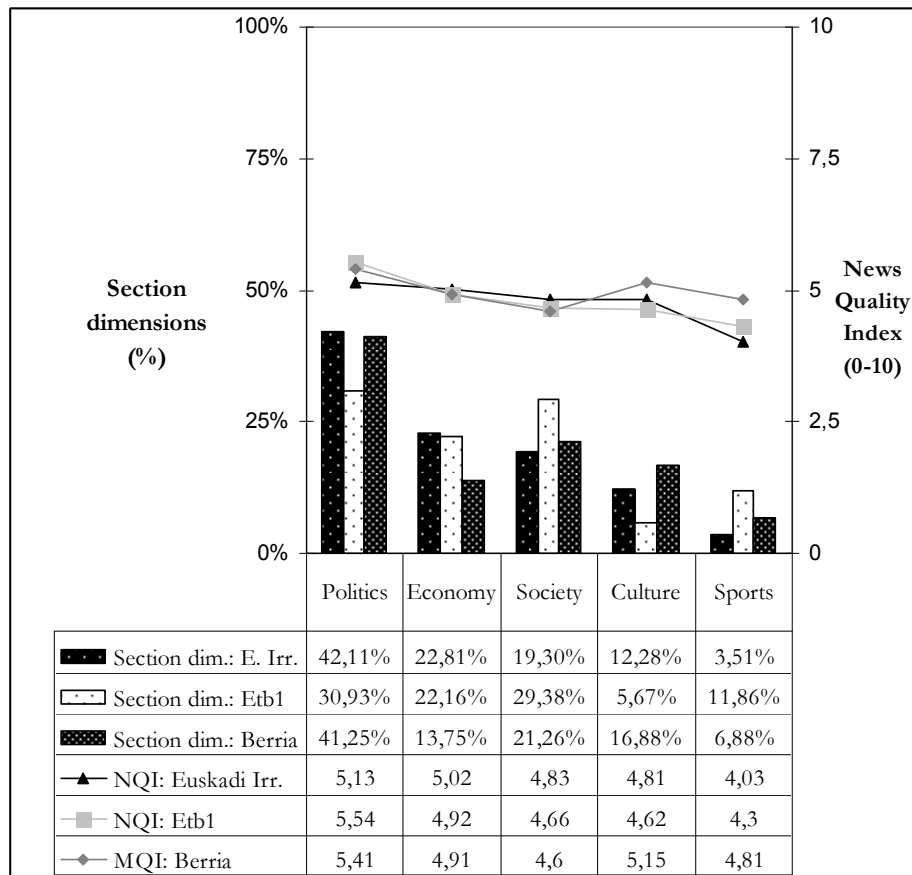
Source: Author.

Hence, the decline in score during the diachronic study corresponded with the proliferation of news of those sections where news obtained lower marks. Acknowledging most soft news can be found in the Society section, Economy is also likely to include them. Furthermore, other sections displayed a decline in quality standards, such as Politics.

b.2.2. Diversity of protagonists

The second standard of diversity evaluates news' protagonist. In fact, the three media convene in exhibiting representatives of Administration as the most common protagonists in news. Then, during the diachronic study, social agents were exhibited in news right after representatives. They Nevertheless, by the following decade *Etb1* has given priority to non-identifiable protagonists. They were more frequent in the Society section, becoming the protagonists of the lower rated news. Accordingly, *Etb1* obtained lower score.

Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria, however, increased the marks of all the news, except for those whose protagonists were non-identifiable. Nevertheless, those news reports many more in 2003. In effect, that kind of protagonists was more numerous in news, as certified by the synchronic study. *Euskadi Irratia*k adopted an intermediate model between *Etb1* and *Berria*. In fact, *Berria* succeeded in reporting about social agents in a higher proportion than on non-identifiable protagonists, because that kind of news scored higher marks.

Graph No. 210 – Frequency of Protagonist Types and the News Quality Index: *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Berria* (2008)

	Administration	Professional social agents	Autonomous social agents	Non-identifiable protagonists
Div. of Protag.: Eusk. Irr.	55,70%	11,84%	14,04%	18,42%
Div. of Protag.: Etb1	37,63%	8,76%	19,07%	34,54%
Div. of Protag.: Berria	48,13%	12,50%	23,75%	15,62%
NQI: Eusk. Irr.	5,07	4,66	4,9	4,95
NQI: Etb1	5,4	5,05	4,34	4,6
NQI: Berria	5,12	4,85	5,34	4,77
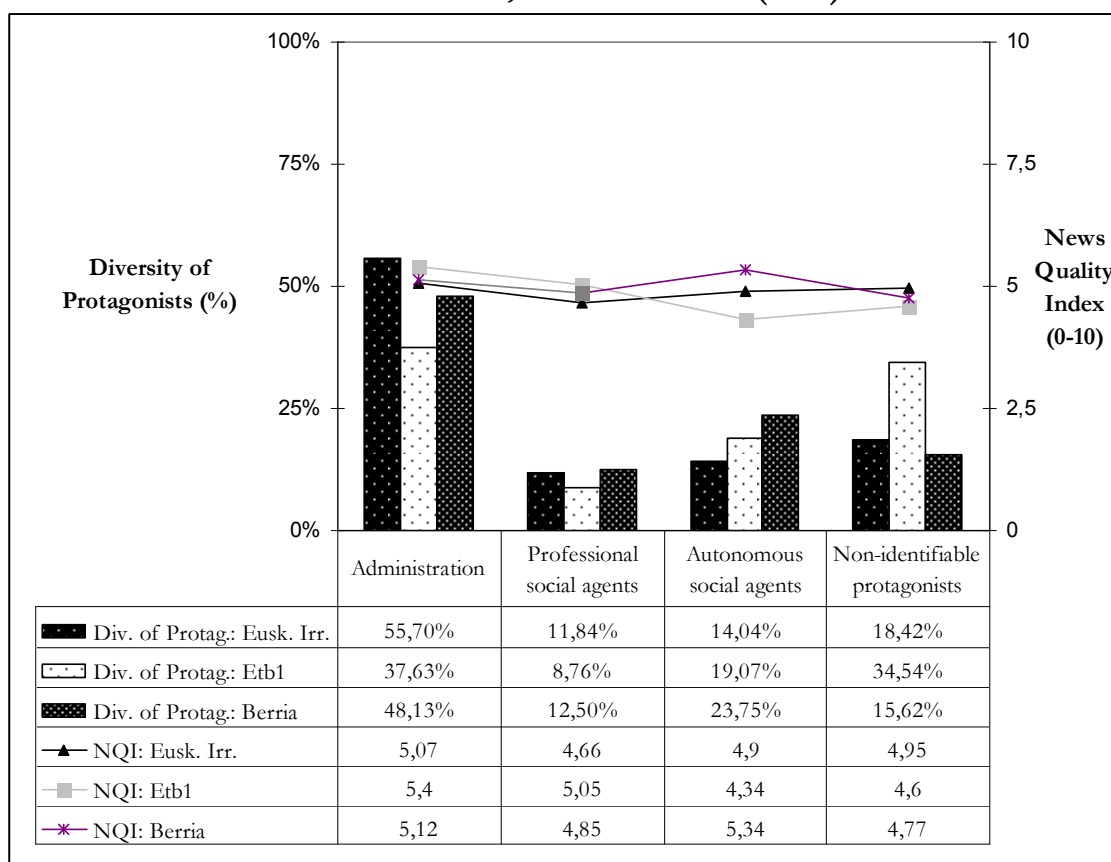
Source: Author.

Moreover, the representatives of Administration were best scored. However, it was proved that most of the time those news reports exhibited officials than opposition sectors. In fact, news about leading representatives scored not only higher marks in indicators such as relevance, but also in those measuring the elaboration process. Hence, informing on the representatives of Administrations leads to similar consequences as reporting on information supplied by news agencies, i.e. slack in quality standards, since they determine indicators like the number of perspectives and the adequacy of additional informational elements.

b.2.3. Geographical diversity

The last diversity indicator draws attention to the place where news was originated, in order to elucidate whether home or remote information makes a difference in quality. Basque media ground their information scope on news originated in the Basque Country (towns and cities, provinces, in addition to administrative boards). Then, the amount of news imported from outside the Basque Country for the main stories of the day is about 40-45%. The geographical appraisal of the News Quality Index revealed two features. First, home news is higher scored than remote information. Second, news from outside the Basque Country presents deeper elaboration characteristics, because it offered more perspectives and more adequate additional informational elements than home news. Then, if it was not for the increase of remote news in *Etb1*, television news would have been even lower scored.

Euskadi Irratia and *Berria*, however, reinforced nearer news during the synchronic study. As a result, slack in quality indicators led to equalize the scores obtained by both type of news. In fact, although localness enables journalistic initiative for information, they did not exploit it. What is more, the additional informational elements illustrating home news in *Berria* scored a negative mark (-0.04), due to their inadequacy. Effectively, remote news contained more than 5W's answers. However, remote news expresses no transparency, since they fail in indicators like origin of information and type of sources. Consequently, the more severe such a lack of transparency becomes the higher dependence on news suppliers it denotes. Owing to that, remote news did not score higher marks than home news in *Euskadi Irratia* and *Berria*. Conversely, both sorts of news were similar rated.

Graph No. 211 – Geographical Scope and the News Quality Index:
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 **and** ***Berria*** **(2008)**

	Home news	Abroad news
Geograph. div.: Euskadi Irr.	57,10%	42,99%
Geograph. div.: Etb1	53,61%	46,39%
Geograph. div.: Berria	60,00%	40,00%
NQI: Euskadi Irr.	5,13	5
NQI: Etb1	4,97	4,52
NQI: Berria	5,1	5,06
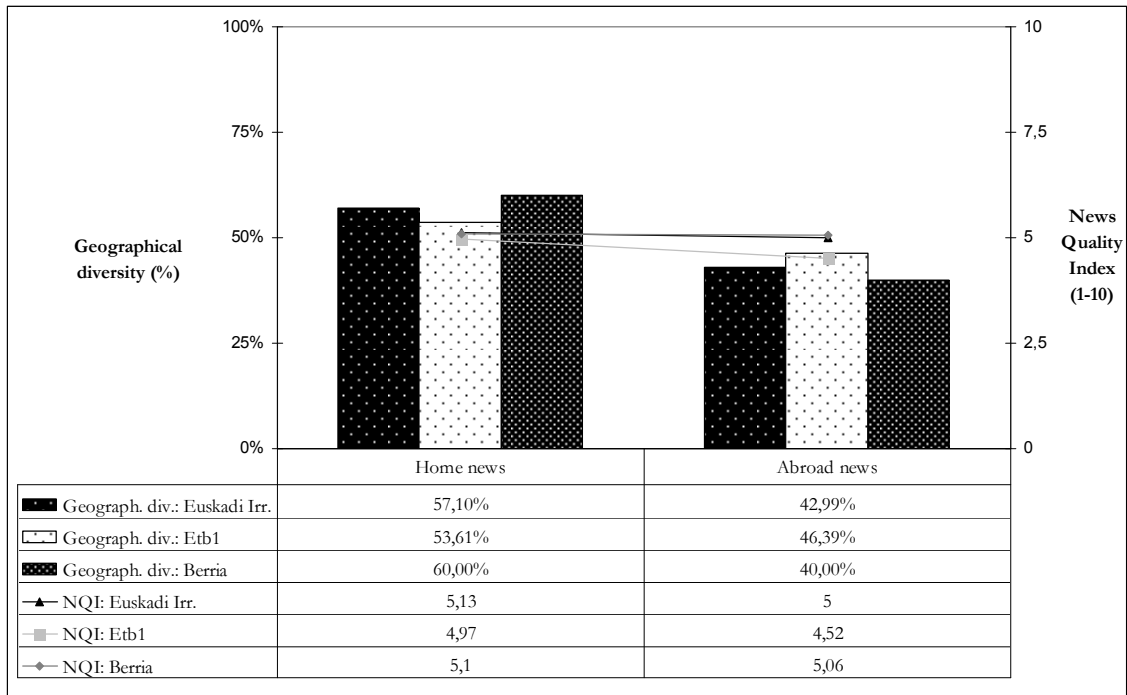
Source: Author.

b.3. Basque Communication Sphere

The founding acts of Basque media expressly state that their media performance derives from Basqueness. Then, the oral domain projected by Basque media is known as the Basque Communication Sphere. Accordingly, the topics matching in the three media would allude to core significance of such a domain for public debate in Basque. Moreover, that convergent news scores higher mark than average.

As evidenced during the diachronic study, *Etb1* has denoted signs of tabloidization since 2003. For instance, soft news in the Society section became more and more frequent. Besides, the effects of meteorological conditions were considered information and they were even placed as the main stories of the day, under the appearance of news. Consequently, *Etb1*'s convergence with news reported by *Berria* decreased. However, *Berria* became more convergent towards *Etb1*, as a result of having adopted its tabloid features on the weekend. The News Quality Index corroborate a decrease in *Berria*'s convergent news, whereas *Etb1*'s convergent news happened to be of higher quality than the average.

Therefore, the shift in quality standards during the diachronic study responds to a double process. On the one side, the news composing the Basque Communication Sphere is no longer information derived only from Basqueness. As a matter of fact, *Etb1* adopted the Spanish understanding of reporting according to *Etb2* and, however, *Berria* became more convergent to it. Nevertheless, no news from the Culture section matched up in both media outlets. On the other, the dependence on news suppliers has led to slack towards home news' elaboration. As a consequence, even self-centred news is likely to denote a decline in quality standards.

The synchronic study confirmed those tendencies. At the same time Basque media became more convergent than ever, matching with *Etb1*'s news involved a loose of score for *Berria's* convergent information. For the rest, matching news was higher rated than average, albeit a general decline in marks. Therefore, the Basque Communication Sphere has deterred the broad spread of tabloidization to Basque media. Thus, self-centred initiatives may form an effective strategy to ensure News Quality. Nevertheless, such news has also exhibited slack in quality indicators. Then again, the field for public debate becomes weaker. In addition to that, some news is not longer arisen from Basqueness. Consequently, that type of news transmutes the Basque Communication Sphere, because people cannot take part in it as Basque speakers. Nonetheless, such a process has not led to giving priority to non Basque media performance. In effect, convergence among Basque media has not decreased, in spite of the decline in News Quality.

b.4. Convergence-rates with other media

Finally, the news reports of the three Basque media were compared to other Basque media outlets outside the Basque Autonomous Community and to the most followed French and Spanish media. The purpose of such a comparison is not measuring those media's News Quality, but to find out which media offers best news when reporting on the same issue. Accordingly, media performance of those cannot be ranked, since they are only regarded to the extent that they display matching news with the three Basque media.

To start with, the results of comparing *Euskadi Irratia* to other radio stations establish a distinction between Basque radio stations and the Spanish ones. The former

are higher scored than *Euskadi Irratia* for the same news reports. Considering their matching increases when reporting on local news from those administrative boards outside the Basque Autonomous Community, nearness makes the most of journalistic initiative. For instance, *Euskalerria Irratia*'s best practice in transparency (origin of information and type of sources) led to a difference of up to one point. Equally, the three Basque local radio stations (*Euskalerria Irratia, Euskal Irratiak* and *France Bleu*) excelled at completeness, which reveals independent journalistic initiative from news suppliers.

On the contrary, for the comparison with Spanish radio stations (such as *Radio Euskadi* and *Cadena Ser*), *Euskadi Irratia* excelled in those indicators which may have been believed to be restricted owing to the employ of a minority language, such as completeness and a higher number of perspectives. What is more significant, those news reports matching with *Cadena Ser* were referred to the Spanish Government. Therefore, the Basque language has been evidenced to entail higher quality media performance when informing on remote news.

Graph No. 212 – Convergence and the News Quality Index:
Euskadi Irratia and Basque, French and Spanish radio stations (2008)

	Euskalerr. Irratia	France Bleu	Gure Irratia	Radio Euskadi	Ser
Radio Stations	6,44	5,46	5,65	4,93	5,09
Euskadi Irratia	5,47	5,03	5,33	5,46	5,28
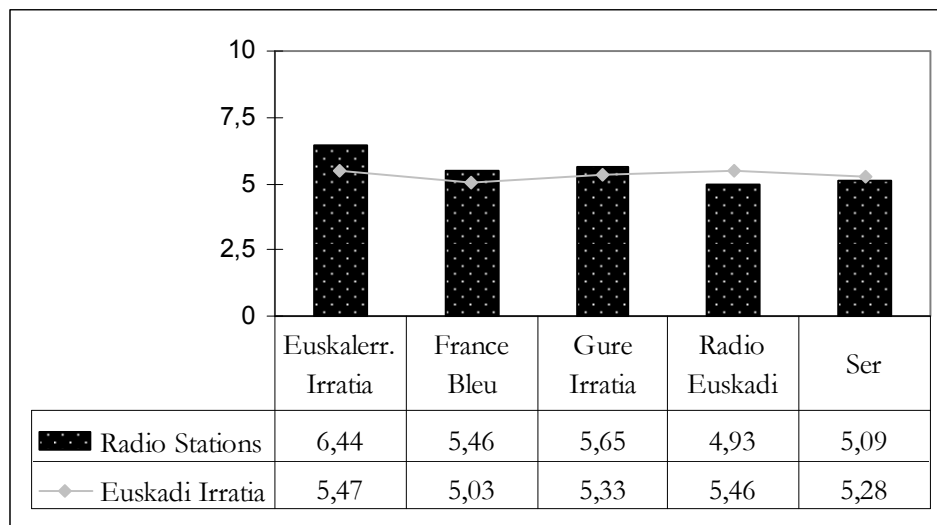
Source: Author.

In line with it, *Etb1*'s weak points happen to become strong points, compared to Spanish media performance for the same news. For instance, the indicators of origin of information and type of sources and adequacy of additional informational elements gave 0.85 points apart to *Etb1* in relation to news also broadcast by *Telecinco*, which dealt with Spanish politics. Furthermore, the assessment of appropriate use of language

proves that Basque has deterred tabloidization, since *Etb1* employs genuine language and *Telecinco*, correct language.

Similarly, although the convergence between *Etb1* and *Etb2* is almost absolute (95.87%), the Basque channel managed to offer more accurate headlines and display more adequate additional informational elements. Then again, it confirms that the Basque language has ensured excellent media performance. Nevertheless, *Etb2* accomplished more thorough news reporting, because news items derived from Spanish statements. As a consequence, *Etb1* was required to also broadcast news containing Spanish conception of closer reality. Then, *Etb1* displayed greater weaknesses in reporting that news than *Etb2*. Hence, *Etb1*'s weaknesses are not related to geographical scope, but to non Basque understanding of us. After all, *Etb* excelled in reporting news originated in Spain, as comparison with *Telecinco* has verified. However, language is in charge of gathering references for a particular group. That way, when informing from Spanish, the understanding that promotes non Basque identity leads to report on events, which do not constitute object of news in any other community. Consequently, *Etb1* broadcast news from non Basque comprehension as befits *Etb2,* but the Basque language owns less means than non Basque ones for it.

Graph No. 213 – Convergence and the News Quality Index:
***Etb1* and Spanish Television channels (2008)**

	Etb2	T5
Television channels	4,83	4,62
Etb1	4,89	5,47
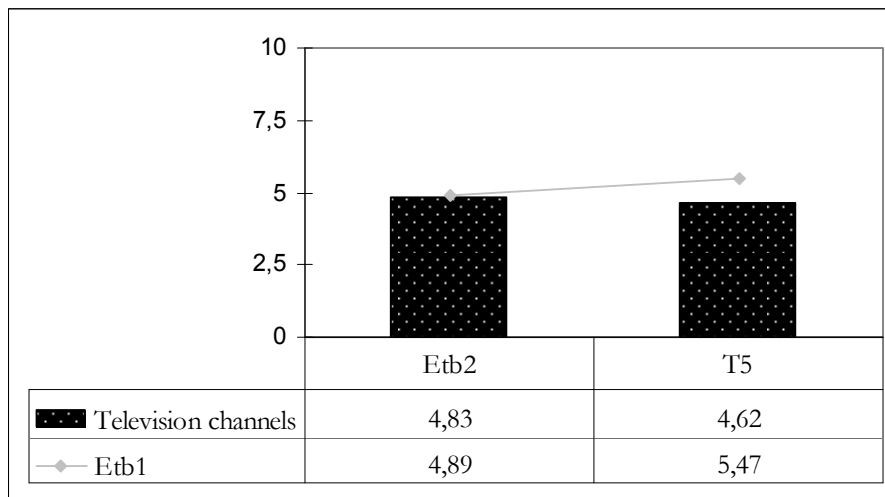
Source: Author.

Lastly, similar conclusions arose from the comparison among journals. *Berria*'s weaknesses such as omitted origin of information, non-attributed sources, low amount of complete news (7W's), and adequacy of informational additional elements (most of them are considered "filler"). However, several Spanish newspapers present more

severe deficiencies in reporting related to those indicators. Equally, not all the papers show signs of all deficiencies, but they are of higher proportion in the Spanish media. Accordingly, *Berria* is placed in the middle of them. For example, *El Correo Español* omits more frequently the origin of information than *Berria*; but *Diario de Navarra* then exposes better practice for such an indicator than *Berria*. Similarly, *Diario Vasco* and *El Correo Español* employ a higher amount of non-attributed sources than *Berria*. *Le Journal,* however, identifies more sources than *Berria*. Then, *Le Journal* publishes lower rates of complete news reports than *Berria*, but *Diario Vasco* and *Diario de Navarra* score higher marks. Finally, *Diario de Navarra, Diario de Noticias de Álava* and *Le Journal* exhibit more filler considered additional informational elements than *Berria*. Nevertheless, *El Correo Español* and *Diario Vasco* offer better ranked informational elements.

As a consequence, *Diario de Navarra* proved a higher excellent practice apart of 0.15 points. Then, *Berria*'s marks were similar to that of *Diario de Noticias de Álava*, *Diario Vasco* and *Gara*. Moreover, *Berria* reported with better News Quality than *El Correo Español* (apart of 0.4 points) and *Le Journal du Pays Basque* (0.6 points).

Then again, contrary to what may be thought, the Basque language does not hinder journalistic initiative. In fact, *Berria* excelled in quality indicators like accuracy and number of perspectives. However, unlike the Basque audiovisual media, *Berria* did not manage to employ any other language register than correct language for those news reports matching with Spanish newspapers. Moreover, orthographical and grammar errors were found.

Graph No. 214 – Convergence and the News Quality Index:
***Berria* and Spanish newspapers (2008)**

	El Correo Español	D. Not. Álava	Diario de Navarra	Diario Vasco	Gara	Journal du P. Basque
Newspapers	4,97	5,27	5,59	5,33	5,43	5,29
Berria	5,34	5,27	5,44	5,3	5,4	5,92
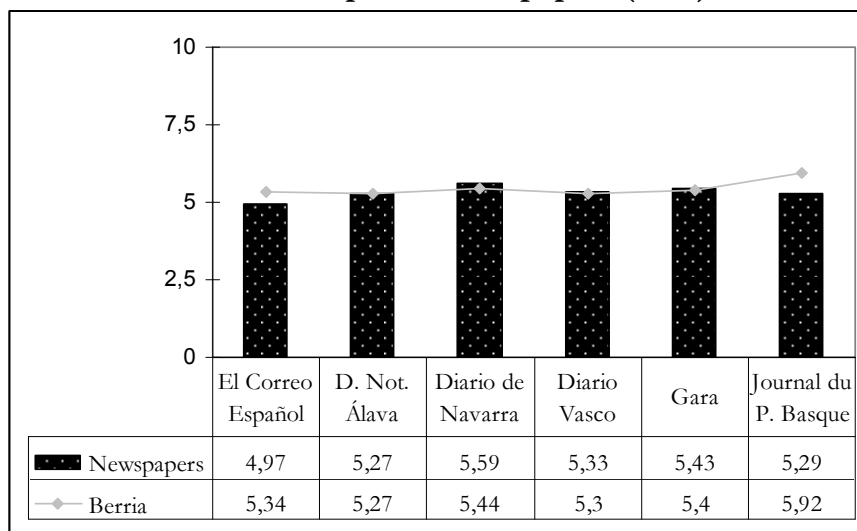
Source: Author.

Hence, Basque media's News Quality is evidenced to be similar to that of French and Spanish media. Sometimes, Basque media do even excel. Accordingly, French and Spanish media denote a higher dependence on news suppliers. However, Basque news reporting entails more accurate news, a greater number of perspectives and more adequate additional informational elements, that is to say, higher excellence in news elaboration. Moreover, Basque media shined in relation to those quality indicators which have been commonly thought to denote Basque media's endemic deficiencies, stemmed from a minority language, such as type of sources, number of perspectives and additional informational elements. Providing Spanish media do not report on Basqueness, matching news belong to Spanish media's own domain. As a conclusion, Basque media report on more diverse origin news, resulting in higher quality media performance.

4.3.3. SOCIAL QUALITY

Along with Formal Quality and Content Quality, the third stage of the News Quality Scheme assesses Social Quality. Accordingly, social engagement is evaluated in relation to information handling. Thus, media performance can adopt a positive, neutral or negative attitude towards certain news.

The three Basque media outlets coincide in similar features when assessing Social Quality. First of all, most of the news items denote a neutral position (99.12%, *Euskadi Irratia*; 95.85%, *Etb1*; and 88.13%, *Berria*). However, intentionality takes part in the process of news selection. Nevertheless, those items do not denote positive or negative assertion. Furthermore, they also display low rates of negative attitude towards certain news (0.88%, *Euskadi Irratia*; 1.55%, *Etb1*; and 1.87%, *Berria*), such as criminality (*Euskadi Irratia*), the Basque political conflict (*Etb1*), or menaces to Basque culture (*Berria*). Therefore, Basque media show more regularly favour attitude than negative (2.6%, *Etb1* and 10%, *Berria*). However, they differ in their goals. Whereas *Etb1* sustains spectacularization features, *Berria* promotes culture in Basque and gets involved in fighting injustice (i.e. gender approach, integration of disabled people and police torture). Similarly, *Euskadi Irratia*' and *Etb1*'s critical attitude is news originated in Spain. On the contrary, *Berria* points its social commitment towards Basque culture.

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Graph No. 215 – Social Quality (%):
Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 **and** ***Berria*** **(2008)**

	Euskadi Irr.	Etb1	Berria
▓ Negative attitude	0,00%	1,55%	1,87%
▢ Neutral attitude	99,12%	95,85%	88,13%
■ Favourable attitude	0,88%	2,60%	10,00%
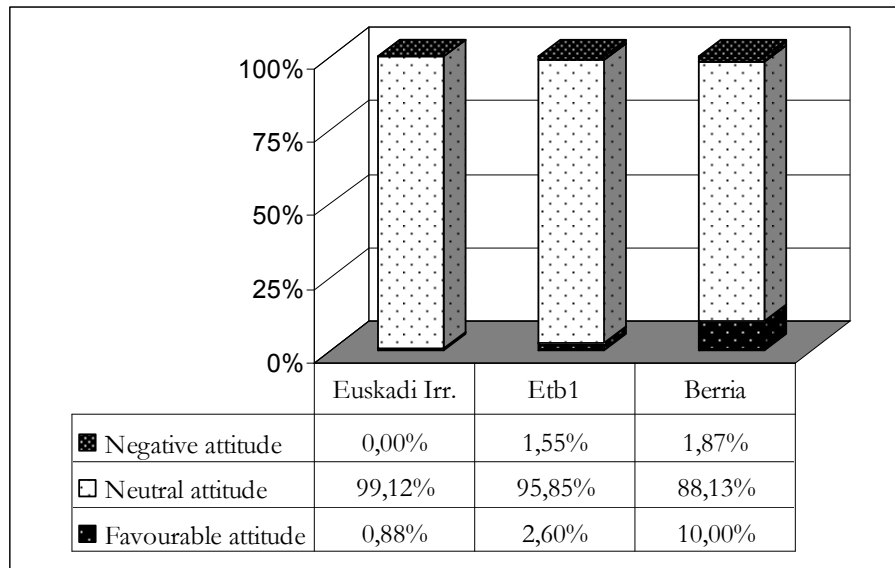
Source: Author.

5. ONDORIOAK ETA AURRERA BEGIRAKO IKERKETA (*CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH*)

"Le présent ouvrage […] a franchi quelques étapes
sur le chemin de la qualité,
mais l'oeil se perd à l'horizon
dans la direction qui reste à parcourir."
Sylvie Leleu-Merviel (1997), *La conception en communication: Méthodologie qualité*

5.1. ONDORIOAK

Doktorego tesiak lan luzea eta sakona eskatzen du. Albisteen kalitatea aztertu aurretik, bikaintasuna neurtzeko ikergaiaren egoera zehaztu behar izan dugu. Horrek nazioarteko ekarpenak biltzea, ordenatzea eta zenbait komunitate zientifikotako eztabaidak batzea eskatu ditu. Euskarazko hedabideei aplikatu ahal izateko, gainera, nazioarteko irizpideetan oinarritutako metodoa diseinatu eta frogatu dugu. Beraz, ikerketak egiaztatutako datuen bitartez, proposatu genituen hipotesiak baieztatzea edo errefusatzea dagokio atal honi.

Lehen hipotesiak zehazten zuen euskarazko hedabideek, nazioarteko hedabideen antzera, gizartean parte hartzeko gakoak azaltzea eginkizun nagusi zutela. Ildo horretatik, **euskarazko hedabideek informatiboki asetzen duten gizartean parte hartzeko gakoak eskaintzeko helburua haien sorrera dokumentuetan bertan agertzen dute.** Alde batetik, EiTB sortzeko 1982ko Legeak "euskal herritarrek informazioa jasotzeko eta parte-hartze politikorako" daukaten eskubidea bermatzeko eskatzen zuen. Bestetik, zatiketa ideologikoak zein administratiboak gainditzeko, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k euskalduntasuna oinarri izango zuketen "zerbitzu informatiboak" abiatzeko xedea finkatu zuen. Horrenbestez, *Egunkaria*k kalitatea "oinarritzat" hartu zuela propio nabarmendu zuen eta ez, helburutzat.

Euskarazko hedabideen kazetaritza-jarduera haiek zehaztutako helburuei egokitzen zaion ebazteko, hiru iker-galderari erantzun diegu.

1.1. Iker-galdera: *Nolakoa da euskarazko hedabideen aniztasuna?*

Hedabideek zabaldu nahi duten errealitate-ikuskera azaltzeko, eguneko albisterik garrantzitsuenak titularretan eta lehen orrian agertu ohi dituzte. Berri horietan, hain zuzen,

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euskarazko hedabideek gehienetan Administrazioa protagonistatzat agertzen dute. Are gehiago, protagonista pertsonifikaturik gabeko berriak albiste-mota nagusi bihurtzeko bidean dira. Gainera, Administrazioak protagonizatutako albisteak gutxitzean (hau da, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan), informazioa arintzeko eredua hobetsi dute euskarazko hedabideek. Horrenbestez, Gizarte sailak politika gaiak ordeztu ditu, baina gero eta urrunagoko albisteak dira eta, gainera, gizartearen irudi estatikoa ematen duten berriak dira. Ildo beretik, Politika atalak gero eta tarte txikiagoa badu ere, horretan nagusitu diren albisteek euskal gatazka eta nazioarteko politika aztertzen dituzte, batik bat. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideek hautatzen dituzten albistegaiak berri-hornitzaileen (hedabideetatik kanpo eta profesionalki landuta datozen informazioak zabaltzen dituzten igorleen) aukeraketarekin bat egiten dutela egiaztatu da. Hortaz, Administrazioarekiko eta berri-agentziekiko mendekotasun informatiboak albiste arinen kopurua gehitzea dakar, horrelako berririk ez dagoenean protagonista pertsonifikaturik gabeko albisteak biderkatzen dituztelako. Horrenbestez, hedabideek ez dute profesionalki antolatuta ez dauden protagonistarik azaltzen; alderantziz, haiei ahotsa emateko aukera trabatzen dute. Alde horretatik, euskarazko hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteen aniztasunaren murrizketa egiaztatu da. Aurreneko hamarkadetan ez bezala, gero eta diziplina urriagoak lantzen dituzten berriak zabaltzeaz gain, herritarrek bultzatutako protagonista antolatugabeak ere alboratu dituzte. Ondorioz, herritarren agerpena oztopatzen duten hedabide homogeneoak bihurtzeko arriskuan daude. Horregatik, aniztasunaren orekak bi eginkizun garatu ditu. Lehenengo eta behin, adiera tradizionalak gai guztiak, protagonista denak, sorterri oro ziurtatzeko gakotzat hartu ohi da. Horrela, askotariko edukiak bermatzeko neurri eraginkorra izan da, gutxieneko kuoten parekoa alegia. Bigarrenik, kazetaritza-jarduerak hedabideak haien sorrera-helburuetatik urrundu dituen honetan, oreka joera horri neurria hartuko lioke. Horregatik, **aniztasunaren orekaren adiera berriak horikeria albiste guztietara heda ez dadin du helburu.**

Euskarazko hedabideek erakutsi duten albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasunak albiste-iturriekiko morrontza gainditzen du. Izan ere, hedabideek ez dute informazioan sakontzeko berezko iturri-sarerik. Horrenbestez, **euskarazko hedabideek berri-agentziak eurak iturritzat hartu ohi dituzte edo haiek erabilitako iturriak berrerabiltzen dituzte.** Gainera, informazioaren jatorriaren adierazleak jarduera horixe agertu ezean, hedabideek eurek albisteen gardentasuna bera trabatzen dute, hartzaileek ez dutelako berri horren igorlearen interesik jakiterik, ezta albistean sakontzeko biderik ere. Ildo horretatik, hedabideek albistegai izango den gertakaria hautatzeko ezintasun nabaria

azaldu dute, hornitzaileekiko morrontasunaren erakusle. Horregatik, gertakari horren berri emateko hornitzaileek (Administrazioa eta berri-agentziak lako igorle profesional interesatuek) jasotzen duten informazioa bere horretan zabaltzen dute hedabideek, ez baitute horixe osatzeko gakorik. Horrenbestez, albistegaien aniztasunaren murrizketak berrien lanketan ere eragin nabaria du. Azken batean, **euskarazko hedabideek albisteak sortzeko berezko gaitasuna murriztu dute**, horrek kazetaritza-ekimena suspertu edota gertuko giza-taldearen informazio-premia asebeteko balu ere.

Beraz, aniztasunaren aldarriak komunikazio-proiektuen sorrera helburuak bermatzeko gakoak eskain ditzake. Horien ezean, erdaretatik sortutako albiste-agentzien merkatu-logikak Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruaren edukiak kalte ditzake. Izan ere, atzerriko agentziek asebete behar duten merkatuaren ezaugarriak ez datoz euskarazko hedabideetako hartzaileen informazio-premiekin bat. Hala ere, euskarazko hedabideok Espainiako eta AEBetako edukiak sail guztietara hedatu dituzte. Horregatik, erdarazko hedabideekiko konbergentzia areagotu dute. Alde batetik, *Egunkaria*ren sorrerarekin Espainiako albisteetatik askatzeko informazio-ereduak nagusitu baziren ere, hiru hedabideak berriro Espainiako edukien mende agertzen dira. Bestetik, AEBetako informazioaren mendekotasun berria garatu dute. Bi ezaugarriek globalizazioaren norabide bakarra egiaztatu dute: AEBetatik zabaldutako informazioari Espainiako kultur ereduak egiten dion interpretazioa inportatzen dute euskarazko hedabideek. Ondorioz, euskarazkoen baterakidetasuna, ostera, desnaturalizatu egin dute. Hiru hedabideak zenbait albistegairen hautaketan bat etorri arren, horiek dagoeneko ez dira euskaratik abiatu, euskarazko hedabideetara hedatutako Espainiako eta AEBetako eduki berdintzaileak baitira. Aldiz, bertako albisteen irakurketa euskaldun zabalak gure errealitatearen araberako informazio-eredua asetzeko giltza izan daiteke. Ikerketa diakronikoak egiaztatu duen bezala, tokiko albisteek euskarazko hedabideetako informazio-ereduari ezaugarri bateratzailea aintzatesten zioten, baina aldi berean hiru hedabideetako nortasuna garatzen ahalbidetzen zuten. Hornitzaileek zabaldutako eduki asimilatzaileek, ostera, hiru hedabideen bat-etortze desnaturalizatua dakarte, erdarazko hedabideekiko konbergentzia euskarazkoen artekoa baino handiagoa delako. Horrenbestez, hedabide bakoitzak bere nortasuna garatzeko ezintasuna dakarren kazetaritza-jarduera da. Azken batean, **euskarazko hedabideak norabide bakarreko informazio-igorpena sustatzeko eragile bihurtuko lirateke, hau da, berri-hornitzaileen bozgorailuak.**

1.2. Iker-galdera: *Nazioarteko hedabideen tabloidization joerak ba al du islarik euskarazko hedabideetan?*

Egunkarien kalitatearen inguruko eztabaida *tabloidization* (horikeria) prozesuaren eskutik etorri zen 1990eko hamarkadan. Ordura arte, egunkarien edukiek hedabidea bera definitzen zuten. Izan ere, *tabloidization* joera "agenda horia" nagusitzearekin lotu izan da. Horretaz gain, albistegintza prozesuaren zenbait adierazlek ere *tabloidization*erako zantzuen berri ematen dute, hala nola adierazgarritasunak, zehaztasunak, informazio-elementu osagarrien egokitasunak eta hizkuntzaren erabilerak.

Euskarazko hedabideei dagokienez, lehenengo eta behin, adierazgarritasunaren adierazleak egiaztatu du jakin-mina suspertzen eta irudi-ezaugarriak nagusitzen dituen informazio-mota gailendu dutela; erdarazko hedabideen proportzioan gainera. Bigarrenik, tituluen zehaztasunari erreparatuta, euskarazko hedabideek ez dute erdarazkoek agertutako irizpideen gainbeherarik azaldu. Izan ere, tituluan albistearen alde bat nabarmentzen duten erdarazko hedabideek ez dute testuan irakurleek albistea interpretatzeko eta egiaztatzeko gako nahikorik ematen. Hirugarrenik, euskarazko hedabideek albistearekin batera ematen duten informazio-elementu gehigarriek ere bilakaera izan dute. Hasierako hamarkadetan hainbatetan desegokiak izan baziren ere, hedabideek joera hori zuzendu dute, baina ez dute oraindik bikaintasunik agertu. Ikus-entzunezkoek esanguratsuak diren elementuak erabiltzen dituzten bitartean, egunkariak betelan eginkizuna aintzatesten die, hau da, agerikoa berresten dute. Dena den, oro har erdarazko hedabideen jarduera gainditzen dute, salbu eta informazio-elementu gehigarriak lantzeko ardura handiagoa agertzen duten kazetak. Azkenik, kazetaritza-hizkera sortu eta normaltzeko eginkizuna bete behar izan dute euskarazko hedabideek. Paradoxikoki, behin kazetaritza-jarduerara egokitutako euskara garatutakoan, hizkera egokia alboratu dute. Orduan, ikus-entzunezko hedabideek hizkera jatorra hobetsi duten bitartean, egunkariak hizkera zuzena azaltzen du.

Beraz, euskarazko hedabideek erdarazkoen *tabloidization* joera bera pairatu dute. Hedabide-moten arabera, gainera, ikus-entzunezkoek kazetak baino alde handiagoa atera diete erdarazkoei, hots, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek ez diote oraindik horikeriari euskarri bereko erdarazko hedabideek beste leku egin. Hala ere, euskarazko hedabideen ibilbideak informazio-elementuen egokitasunean eta hizkuntzaren erabileran izandako gainbeheraren berri ematen du. Ildo beretik, beste adierazle batzuek ere (esaterako, jatorriak eta albiste-iturriek) kazetaritza-jarduna gidatzen duten irizpideekiko utzikeria agertu dute; asteburu eta oporraldietan, handiagoa oraindik. Ondorioz, **datuek *tabloidization*etik haragoko joera erakusten dute: kazetaritza lasterraren ezaugarriak (*fast journalism*),**

hain zuzen ere. Horren arabera, "agenda horia" berenganatu ez ezik, euskarazko hedabideek kalitate adierazleen gainbehera ere erakutsi dute. Horregatik, albisteen kalitatearen adiera alemaniarra egokiena dela egiaztatu da, ez duelako bikaintasuna horikeria bakarrik mugatzen.

1.3. Iker-galdera: *Zein da Euskadi Irratiak, Etb1ek eta Euskaldunon Egunkariak/Berriak plazaratzen dituzten albiste sendoen (hard news) eta arinen (soft news) arteko proportzioa?*

Euskarazko hedabideek informazio arinari egiten dioten tartea inoiz baino handiagoa da. Are gehiago, albiste sendoen eta erabilgarrien murrizketaren kontura, informazio arinak hartzen duen lekua etengabe hazten ari da. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*ean Gizarte saileko albisteen ia %60 hartzen du; *Euskadi Irratian*, ia erdia; eta *Berria*n, herena. Nazioarteko *tabloidization* prozesuaren haritik, albiste sendoen eta arinen arteko aldea 1990eko hamarkadan irauli zen. Euskarazko hedabideetan ere horrela gertatu da. Horregatik, ikerketa diakronikoak albiste sendo eta arinen tartearen tamaina ikerketa sinkronikoan irauli dela egiaztatu du. Lehen *Etb1*eko albisteen ¾ek informazio sendoa lantzen zuten; orain, ordea, kopuru hori laurden batekoa baino ez da. *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*k hasieratik erakutsitako albiste sendoen eta arinen arteko proportzioa hautsi du *Berria*k. Gainera, informazio erabilgarriari leku handiagoa egiten diote. Beraz, albiste arinak biderkatu ez ezik, informazio erabilgarria ematen duten berrien agerpena ere handiagoa da. Horregatik, albiste sendoek gero eta tarte txikiagoa dute.

Ondorioz, alde horretatik ondorengo hau egiaztatzen dela esan genezake:

> **LEHEN ONDORIO NAGUSIA:** Euskarazko hedabideek gizartean parte hartzeko gakoak eskaintzea dute eginkizun nagusi, baina *tabloidization* prozesuak eta irizpideen gainbeherak kazetaritza lasterra (*fast journalism*) eragin dute, nazioarteko hedabideek azaldu duten joera bera alegia.

Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak guztirako kalitateak behera egin duela azaldu du. Ildo beretik, berrien aniztasunaren murrizketa ekarri duten albiste-motek gizartean parte-hartzea trabatzen dute. Ondorioz, mota horietako albisteak gehitzean, dakarten informazio-trataera eskasengatik, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak berriei puntuazio txikiagoa esleitu die. Beraz, gizartean eragiteko gakoak eskaintzea sorrera helburuetan berariaz jasotako xedea izan arren, **kazetaritza-jarduerak informazio-eredu espektakularra ekartzeko arriskua agertu du**. Horretan, hartzailea kontsumitzaile estatikoa da eta ez du komunikazio-prozesuan parterik hartzen: hedabideek herritarrak informaziotik aldendu dituzte eta, aldi

berean, albisteekiko alienazioa suspertu dute. Begiratutako objektuarekiko ikuslearen alienazioa bete-betean gauzatzen da, Guy Débord-ek definitzen zuen bezala: "gero eta gehiago begiratu, orduan eta gutxiago ikusiko du; premiaren arabera nagusitutako irudietan bere burua islatzen dela zenbat eta sakonago ontzat eman, orduan eta bere izatea nahiz gurariak nekezago ulertzerik izango du" (1967: 30).

Gogora dezagun, orain, lan hau abiatu zuen 2. hipotesia: euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen duten errealitateak euskalduntasuna egituratzen du. Euskarazko hedabideek gizartea definitzeko euskalduntasunaren adiera darabilte: euskaratik sortua, hain zuzen. Alde batetik, EiTB sortzeko 1982ko Legeak "euskararen eta euskal kulturaren sustapena zein zabalkundea" erakunde publikoaren eginkizuntzat hartu zuen. Ildo horretatik, **Euskadi Irratia eta Etb1 EAEz gaindiko herrialdeetan zabaltzeko EiTBren beraren asmoak euskalduntasuna du oinarri**. Euskarazko hedabideotako albisteak jaso nahi izateak eta, bertako herritarren ekimenez, bide hori abiatzeak egiaztatu dute hizkuntzatik eratortzen den muga administratiboez gaindiko nortasunean bat egiteko sentipena ere badutela. Beste aldetik, **Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren oinarriek euskalduntasuna ez ezik, lurraldetasuna ere azpimarratzen dute**. Horrela, Euskal Herriaren proiektu nazionala gauzatzeko "euskal kulturaren berreraikuntza" ezinbestekotzat jotzen dute. Lurraldetasunak, hortaz, "zatiketa administratiboaren gainetik" Euskal Herriari buruzko informazio bateratua eskaintzea adierazi nahi du.

Aurreko hipotesia berresteko prozesuan bezalaxe, euskarazko hedabideen kazetaritza-jarduera haiek zehaztutako helburuei egokitzen zaien ebazteko, hiru iker-galderari erantzun diegu.

2.1. Iker-galdera: *Zein da euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen duten agenda geografikoa?*

Euskarazko hedabideek agertzen dituzten albisteen sorterria denborarekin aldatzen joan da. Horrela, 1980ko hamarkadan, tokiko informazioak nagusitasuna zuen, baina estatuetan sortutako albisteak Euskal Herrian sortutakoak baino gehiago ziren. Hala ere, guztira, bertako berriak kanpokoak baino ugariagoak ziren. Ondoren, **Egunkaria*ren sorrerarekin bat, Euskal Herriko edukiak indartu zituzten hedabideok eta, aldi berean, Espainiatik zetozen albisteak murriztu zituzten**.

Dena den, 2003an bertako albisteak kanpokoak baino ugariagoak izateari uzteko prozesua abiatu zuten. Lehenengo eta behin, tokiko informazioa gutxitu zuten. Eredu berriaren arabera, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetan sortutako albisteen kopurua

tokiko informazioaren parekoa izan zen. Aldi berean, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k biltzen zituzten berrien aniztasun geografikoa murriztu zuten. Gipuzkoak eta Bizkaiak tokiko informaziorik gehien biltzearen ondorioz, Nafarroa-Beherak eta Zuberoak ez zuten titularretan eta lehen orrian lekurik izan. Gainera, *Etb1*ek eta *Berria*k Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboak islatzeko ikuspegi bera agertu zuten: Hego Euskal Herria, hain zuzen. Horrenbestez, ikerketa sinkronikoak tokiko informazioaren murrizketa eta estatuetatik zetozen albisteen gehikuntza egiaztatu ditu. Horregatik, bertako berrien eta Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutakoen arteko aldea gero eta txikiagoa izan zen. **Beraz, tokiko informazioa gutxitzeak ez zuen Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako albisteak sendotu, Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako berriak ugaritu baizik, Espainiatik zetozen edukiak batez ere**.

2.2. Iker-galdera: *Albisteen kalitateari erreparatuz, gertuko berrien eta atzerrian sortutakoen arteko alderik al dago?*

Euskarazko hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten bertako eta kanpoko albisteen arteko aldea gero eta txikiagoa da. Ildo beretik, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak bi taldeotako berrien bikaintasunaren emaitzak gero eta parekideagoak direla erakutsi du. Horrenbestez, bertako albisteek kalitate handiagokoak izateko bereizgarritasuna tokiko berriak alboratzearekin batera galdu dute. Izan ere, esklusibotasun-tarterik altuena ematen zuten albisteak ziren. Hortaz, Euskal Herriko eremu administratiboetako berrien kudeaketan albiste-hornitzaileen agerpena handiagoa da. Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteetan, gainera, berri-hornitzaileek erabateko nagusitasuna erakutsi dute, asteburuetan eta oporraldietan batik bat. **Ondorioz, kazetaritza-ekimen askeagoa ahalbidetzen duen tokiko informazioaren tartea zabaltzea albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna gainditzeko estrategia eraginkorra izan daiteke**.

2.3. Iker-galdera: *Zenbateraino dira euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen dituzten berriak komunitatearen adierazle?*

Euskarazko hedabideek informatiboki asetzen duten erkidegoarekiko albisteen sorterriaren ikuspegiak bi erakusletan azalduta agertzen da: bertako albisterik gehien biltzen dituen saila eta sorterriak definitutako albistegaien adierazgarritasuna. Alde batetik, bertako berrien kopururik altuena biltzen duten sailek ikerketa diakronikoan bertan bilakaera esanguratsua izan dute. Horrela, 1980ko hamarkadako *Etb1*ek bertako gizarte gaiak lantzen zituen, batik bat. Ondoren,

*Euskaldunon Egunkaria*ren sorrerarekin, **bi hedabideek euskal kulturaren autozentramentua aldarrikatu zuten**. Hala ere, *Etb1*ek bereizgarritasun horri 2003tik aurrera uko egin zion. Horregatik, 2008ko ikerketa sinkronikoan Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteek sail guztietako ia erdia hartu zuten telebista publikoan.

Beste aldetik, adierazgarritasunaren adierazleak sorterriaren arabera erakutsitako aldaerak bertako albisteen esangura azpimarratu zuen ikerketa diakronikoan. Izan ere, plazaratzen zituzten bertako berriak kanpokoak baino nabarmenagoak izaten ziren. Horrek albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna azal dezake, haiek zabaldutako albisteak adierazgarritasun txikikoak izanik ere plazaratzen baitzituzten. Are gehiago, ikerketa sinkronikoak bien aldea gutxitu dela egiaztatu du. Dagoeneko, sorterriak ez du bertako eta kanpoko albisteen arteko adierazgarritasunean eraginik.

Beraz, **tokiko informazioa murriztean, bertako albisteek adierazgarritasuna galdu dute**. Aldi berean, berri-hornitzaileek helarazitako Euskal Herritik kanpoko eta adierazgarritasun txikiagoko albisteak plazaratzeko, baina, irizpide malguagoak darabiltzate euskarazko hedabideek. Beraz, hornitzaileek zabaldutako kanpoko berriak ere ez dira eragingo dituzten ondorioen arabera hautatzen. **Horregatik, bertako eta kanpoko albisteen adierazgarritasunaren homogenizazioa tokiko albisteak gutxitzearen ondorioa izan da**. Are gehiago, albisteen hautaketa berri-hornitzaileen esku uzten badute, haiek nagusitutako gertakarien adierazgarritasuna ere nabarmentzen dute euskarazko hedabideek. Gainera, adierazgarritasuna nazio edota hizkuntza erkidegoaren arabera albisteen esangura ebazten duen adierazleetariko bat dela azaldu dute ikerlariek. Horrenbestez, hornitzaileek zabaldutako berriei berezko adierazgarritasuna aintzatesten diete euskarazko hedabideek, baita haien kazetaritza-ekimenaren ondorioz lortutako albisteen adierazgarritasunaren pareko bihurtu ere. Horrela, hornitzaileek zabaldutako albisteei adierazgarritasuna aintzatestea akulturazio prozesuaren lehen urratsa izan da. Beraz, 2. hipotesia ere berretsi egin dela esan daiteke:

> **BIGARREN ONDORIO NAGUSIA:** Euskarazko hedabideek zabaltzen duten errealitateak euskalduntasuna egituratzen du. Hortaz, komunikazio-proiektuen sorrera helburuek horrela jasotzeaz gain, hedabideak martxan ipini ziren sasoian xede horretatik gertuen zegoen kazetaritza-jarduera ere gauzatu zuten. Kazetaritza lasterraren ondorioz, baina, euskaratik sortutako albisteen eremua gero eta txikiagoa da.

Tokiko albisteak murriztean, berri-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna areagotu dute hedabideek. Are gehiago, sorterriaren araberako aniztasunak ere gero eta errealitate geografiko homogeneoagoa eskaintzen du. Hortaz, erdarazko

hedabideekiko konbergentzia suspertzen dituzten botereguneetako berriak plazaratzen dituzte. Esaterako, AEBetan sortutako albisteak ez dira nazioarteko politikaren atalean bakarrik azaltzen, sail guztietan baizik (Gizartean, Kulturan eta Kiroletan, adib.). Ondorioz, euskarazko hedabideek informatiboki ase beharreko komunitateak ezin du herritarren parte-hartzea bultzatu, haien eremu politikotik kanpoko albiste estatikoak plazaratzen dituztelako. Izan ere, euskarazko komunikabideen hartzailerik gehienek ez dute AEBetan boto eskubiderik. Horrenbestez, hartzaileek eragin ezin duten eremuetan beste komunitate bateko kideek sortutako albisteak zabaltzen dituzte euskarazko hedabideek. Albiste sendoak izan arren, euskal herritarren esku-hartzerik ahalbidetzen ez duten berriak dira. Gainera, beste kultur nortasun bati lotutako edukiak diren neurrian, komunitate horren kidetza sentipena baino, akulturazioa areagotzen dute, beste komunitate baten informazio-premiak asetzeko sortutako berriak zabaltzen baitituzte. Are gehiago, albiste-hornitzaileek zabaldutako munduko berriak plazaratzean, haien nazio ikuskeraren araberako albistegaiak ez ezik, horiek hautatzeko irizpideak ere hedatzen dituzte euskarazko hedabideek.

Alderantziz, tokiko berriek euskarazko hedabideetako informazio esklusiboaren tartea zabaltzen dute. Gainera, tokiko informazioa ematean euskarazko hedabideen arteko ereduak ezaugarri komun gehiago agertzen dituen bitartean, hedabide bakoitzaren edukien aniztasuna ere areagotzen du. Izan ere, tokiko informazioak hedabideok haien nortasuna eraikitzea ahalbidetzen du. Hedabideen jardunari esker, euskarak hartzen duen eremu publikoa, hortaz, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua da. Aldi berean, tokiko informazioak Euskal Herriko erdarazko hedabideekiko konbergentzia saihesten duela egiaztatu da. Horrenbestez, **euskarazko komunikazio-publikoak ez du ideologia politikoekin zerikusirik, hizkuntzari atxikitako sortze-gaitasuna baizik.** Erdarazko hedabideekin, abertzaleak zein ez, gutxienetan bat egindako albistegaiak Euskal Herriko tokiko informazioari buruzkoak izan dira. Beraz, albistagaien hautaketan zenbat eta irizpide autozentratuago erabili, orduan eta esklusibotasun handiagoa agertzen dute euskarazko hedabideek.

Jarraian, lan honen hirugarren hipotesia ekarriko dugu hona: *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* hedabideetako albisteen kalitatea, oro har, erdarazko hedabideetako berrien parekoa da. Informazio-hornitzaile guzti-guztiek erdara hutsez jarduten dutenez, euskarazko albisteek erdarazkoen nazio ikuskera bera zabaltzen dute. Horregatik, euskarazko hedabideetan eta erdarazkoetan agertzen diren albiste horiek hedabideon kazetaritza-jarduera alderatzeko baliatu nahi izan dugu.

Gainera, beste nazio ikuskera duten berriak diren neurrian, euskarazko hedabideek berezko ez duten informazio hori tratatzeko ere ez dute ikuspegi propioarekin esku-hartzeko gako nahikorik. Hortaz, erdarazko hedabideentzat berri horiek berezko eremukoak dira eta, beraz, kalitate altuagokoak izan daitezkeela uste izan da. Adiera horrek erdarazko hedabideak informazio prozesuko gakoen jabe direla aurrez onartzen du. Horrenbestez, hipotesi hau ebazteko hiru iker-galderek albistegintzaren berezko alde ahulak aztertuko dituzte: albiste-iturrien erabilera, lanketa prozesuaren nolakotasuna eta akats kopuruaren bilakaera.

3.1. Iker-galdera: *Zeintzuk dira euskarazko hedabideek erabiltzen dituzten albiste-iturri nagusiak?*

Euskarazko hedabideek, oro har, gertakariaren berri emateko albiste-iturri pertsonalak erabiltzen dituzte eta ez, dokumentuak edo gaian aditu diren iturriak. Hortaz, iturriok identifikatuta edo konfidentzial bezala aurkezten dituzte. Ildo horretatik, ikerketa diakronikoak lehenengoen gainbehera egiaztatu du. *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek iturri konfidentzialak erabiltzen dituzte gehien. *Berria*k bide horri ekiteko lehen urratsa egin du, iturri konfidentzialen erabilera maizen agertzen duen bigarren informazio-iturri mota baita. Aldi berean, informazioaren jatorria gehienetan ere ezkutuan gordetzen dute, irratiak batik bat. Ondorioz, albisteen gardentasuna trabatzen dute. Informazioaren jatorri aipatuak eta albiste-iturri identifikatuek albistea zabaldu duen eragilea zehazten dute. Beraz, berri-hornitzaileekiko distantziarik gorde ezean, horien irizpideak barneratu dituztela aditzera emateko arrisku handia dago, nazio ikuskera barne. Izan ere, euskarazko hedabideen jardunak erdarazkoen maila eman badu ere (zenbaitetan gainditu ere), Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua ahultzen duen albisteen erdal interpretazio asimilatzailea ezereztatzeko zailtasunak agertu dituzte Hortaz, erdarazko hedabideek albiste-hornitzaileekiko antzeko mendekotasuna agertu dute. Kasu horretan, baina, erdarazko hedabideek informatiboki asebete nahi duten erkidegoaren kultur nortasunaren araberako edukiak zabaltzen dituzte hornitzaileek. Horregatik, emaitza bertsuen aurrean, euskarazkoak kaltetuta ateratzen dira, hartzaile potentzialak uxatzeko arriskua dutelako. Horiek, gainera, behin galdutakoan inoiz berrerakarriko ez diren hartzaileak izaten dira, jadanik euskarazko hedabideei irudi negatiboa egotzi baitiote.

Albisteekiko gardentasunak informazioa herritarren esku ipintzea du helburu. Horrela, herritarrek albistean sakontzeko giltza izango dute. Beraz, informazioaren jatorria eta horren albiste-iturriak egoki agertzeaz gain, berezko informazio-iturrien sarea osatzea ere ezinbestekoa da. Are gehiago, albiste-hornitzaileen informazioa berrientzako abiapuntua baino ez da: sakondu eta berrinterpretatu behar dute. Azken batean, ikerlariek hornitzaileei informazio-ekimena baino ez diete aitortzen. Gainera, Internetek gardentasunerako baliabideak eskaintzen ditu, jatorrizko dokumentuak euren horretan herritarren esku ipin ditzakeelako.

3.2. Iker-galdera: *Euskarazko hedabideetako albisteak landuak dira?*

Euskarazko hedabideetako albisteek hautaketa prozesuan lanketan baino bikaintasun handiagoa agertu dute. Are gehiago, bilakaera historikoak albistegintzaren bi prozesuon arteko aldea zabaldu du. Horrenbestez, hautaketa prozesua definitzen duten adierazleetan emaitza hobeak lortzen dituzten neurrian, lanketari buruzko adierazleek gero eta puntuazio eskasagoa izaten dute. Hortaz, **albisteen hautaketaren ahulezia nagusiak informazioaren jatorria, albiste-iturriak eta adierazgarritasuna dira.** Hau da, erdarazko albiste-hornitzaileentzako iragazkian alde ahulik handienak erakusten dituzte euskarazko hedabideek. Are gehiago, asteburu eta oporraldietan gainbehera nabaria azaltzen duten adierazleak dira. **Albisteen lanketa prozesuaren ahuleziek ikuspegi-kopurua eta informazio-elementuen egokitasuna seinalatzen dituzte.** Izan ere, adierazle horiek albiste-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasunaren ondorioak ere erakusten dituzte. Gainera, hizkuntzaren erabileran gainbehera nabaria izan dute hiru hedabideek, oporraldietan batik bat.

Horrenbestez, 2003 inflexio urtetzat har daiteke. Ordutik aurrera, *Etb1*ek eguraldiaren irudi-ondorioei albiste itxura eman eta titularretan aurkezteari ekin zion. Aldi berean, informazioaren jatorri ezkutua erabat hobetsi zuen (politika albisteetan, batez ere). *Berria*k, gainera, asteburuetan eredu horren araberako informazioa *Etb1*ek baino proportzio handiagoan plazaratzen zuen.

3.3. Iker-galdera: *Hedabideen urteetako esperientziak akats kopurua gutxitzera lagundu du?*

Formatu-kalitateak albisteen alde teknikoa eta aurkezpen-ezaugarriak ebaluatzen ditu. Kalitate teknikoa kazetaritza-jarduerari egozterik ez dagoenez, aurkezpen-kalitatearen emaitzei erreparatuko diegu. Hortaz, aurrerapen teknologikoek lana erraztu duten sasoian, inoiz baino akats estetiko eta funtzional gehien agertzen dituzte

hedabideek. Alde batetik, akats estetikoek ulergarritasuna ahalbidetzeko diseinuan eragina daukate. **Hedabideek diseinu erakargarriagoa garatu arren, ez dute akats estetikorik zuzendu. Are gehiago, biderkatu egin dira.** Beste aldetik, akats funtzionalek albistearen adigarritasuna eragozten dute. **Hizkuntzaren normalizazio prozesuarekin zerikusirik ez duen erakuslea da. Izan ere, hedabideek *lapsus cálami*-ak gero eta sarriagotan agertzen dituzte.** Beraz, aurkezpen-akatsen kontzientzia hartu ezean nekez konpon daitezkeen okerrak dira. **Erdarazko hedabideek kazetaritza-eremu normalizatuan jardun arren, akats horiek ere erakutsi dituzte.** Egoera horrek, baina, ezin ditzake euskarazko albisteen aurkezpen-kalitateak zehaztutako okerrak zuritu, horien zuzenketak hartzaile potentzialik ez uxatzea helburu duelako. Gainera, titularretan eta azaleko albisteetan akats kopururik txikiena agertzen dute hedabideek. Horrenbestez, titularrak eta lehen orriko berrien aurkezpen-kalitatea gainerako albisteena baino gehiago zaintzen dute. Izan ere, albisteen lanketan akats estetikoak eta funtzionalak ugariagoak dira. Ondorioz, datuek hirugarren hipotesia ere berretsi egin dute. Hona hemen horren azalpena:

> **HIRUGARREN ONDORIO NAGUSIA:** *Euskadi Irratia*, *Etb1* eta *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*/*Berria* hedabideetako albisteen kalitatea, oro har, erdarazko hedabideetako berrien parekoa da. Horrenbestez, ahulezia bertsuak agertzen dituzte. Hala ere, erdarazko hedabideen bikaintasunaren gainbehera nazioarteko kazetaritza-jarduerarekin bat datorrela ulertzen da. Euskarazko hedabideen kalitatearen gainbehera, ordea, hizkuntza jakin hori erabiltzeari leporatzen diote, berezko gabezia balitz bezala.

Erdarazko hedabideek ere hornitzaileekiko mendekotasuna agertu dute, ez baitute berezko informazio-iturririk ere. Are gehiago, erdarazko hedabideetan agertzen diren bertako berriak ere hornitzaileek diseinatzen dituzte. Horrenbestez, **erdarazko hedabideek euskarazkoek baino kazetaritza-ekimen eskasagoa dute.** Izan ere, bi hedabide taldeek albiste-hornitzaileek zabaldutako berriak plazaratu arren, euskarazko hedabideentzako Euskal Herritik kanpo sortutako berriak izaten dira. Hortaz, tokiko albisteek euskarazko kazetaritzari berri-hornitzaileekiko morrontzatik askatzeko gakoak eman diezazkiokete, **hornitzaileekiko mendekotasunak gardentasunari ez ezik, albisteen lanketari ere eragiten diolako.** Esaterako, berezko ekimenetik abiatu ez diren berri horietan, albiste-hornitzaileek eurek zabaldutako ikuspegi-kopurua eta informazio-elementuak erabiltzen dituzte euskarazko eta erdarazko hedabideek.

Hala ere, **euskarazko hedabideen jarduna erdarazkoenetik bereiztu ezean, euskalduntasunak kale egiten du, albiste homogeneoak areagotzen dituztelako. Euskal ikuspegiak, baina, ez du inolaz ere nazioartekotasuna trabatzen.** Horregatik,

edozein gaitan bertako ikuskera txertatzeko gai den kazetaritza-jarduerak bere eginkizunetan asmatuko du. Horretarako, informazio-prozesuan esku-hartzea ezinbestekoa da. Albiste-iturriak berri-hornitzaileek zabaldutako informazioa bereizteko funtsezkoak dira, hedabideari plazaratutako informazioaren kudeaketa ematen diolako (ikuspegikopuruan eta informazio-elementuetan eragiteko gaitasuna, besteak beste). Bertako ikuspegiaren iragazkia albiste asimilatzaileen akulturazioa ez zabaltzeko bidea izan daiteke.

Azkenik, doktorego tesi honek egiaztatu nahi zuen laugarren hipotesia honakoa da: euskarazko hedabiden arteko aniztasunak berezko kazetaritza-eredua sortzea ekarri du. Aztertutako euskarazko hiru hedabideak beste horrenbeste euskarritan plazaratzen dira. Hortaz, haien arteko konbergentzia euskarazko kazetaritza-eredu jakin baten karira gauzatzen ote den zehaztu nahi izan dugu. Kazetaritza-ereduen berezitasunak agerikoak dira: *Euskadi Irratia* eta *Etb1* EAEko hedabide publikoak diren bitartean, *Berria* herri mugimenduak sortutako Euskal Herri osoko komunikazio-proiektua da. Are gehiago, *Euskadi Irratia* EiTB taldeko gainerako hedabiden jardueratik askea da; *Etb1*eko informazio zerbitzuek, aldiz, *Etb2*ko gaztelerazko saioa ere egiten dute (edo alderantziz).

4.1. Iker-galdera: *Zertzuk ezaugarri dituzte euskarazko hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteek?*

Euskarazko albisteen eduki-kalitateak aniztasuna eta Kalitate-Indizea bereizten ditu. Lehenengoan, aniztasunaren adierazleek (gaiek, protagonistek eta sorterriak) kazetaritza-ereduaren inguruko hedabideen arteko antzekotasunak agertzen dituzte. Are gehiago, 2003an *Etb1*ek *Berria*tik bereiztuko lukeen eredua abiatu bazuen ere, kazetaren asteburuetako joerak *Etb1*en eredu horretara darama. Horrenbestez, **euskarazko hedabideen artean albistegaien hautaketan bat-etortzerik handiena egiaztatu da; bakoitzaren euskarri bereko erdarazko hedabideekiko alderaketan baino alde zabalagoa da, gainera.** Are gehiago, konbergentziarik handiena euskarazko hedabideren batekin erakusten dute: *Euskadi Irratia*k, *Etb1*ekin; *Etb1*ek, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin (*Etb2*rekin ia erabatekoa da, jakina); eta *Berria*k, *Etb1*ekin (ondoren, *Gara*, *Euskadi Irratia* eta *Diario Vasco* hurrenkera horretan agertzen dira). Dena den, **asteburu eta oporraldietan edukiak arintzeko joera agertu dute hiru hedabideok, hartzaileek albisteei denbora luzeagoa eskaintzen dieten sasoietan, hain zuzen.** Horrenbestez, politika gizartearekin ordezten dute eta protagonista pertsonifikaturik gabeko albiste gehiago plazaratzen dituzte. Ondorioz, erdarazko hedabideen ereduarekin konbergenteago azaltzen dira, euskarazkoen

eredu bateratutik urruntzen diren bitartean. Beraz, **euskarazko kazetaritza erdaratzen duten neurrian, horikeriak akulturazioa dakar.** Izan ere, erdarazko hedabideekin albistegaien hautaketan bat datozenean, euskarazkoek ez dute aniztasunik agertzen, akulturazioa eragiten duten eduki asimilatzaileak baizik (hala nola euskal gatazka, AEB, Espainiako kirolak eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albiste arinak).

Aniztasunaren azterketak euskarazko hedabideen arteko konbergentzia handia azaltzen zuen moduan, Albisteen Kalitate-Indizeak euskarazko hedabideek euskarri motaren araberako kazetaritza-jarduera gauzatzen dutela azaldu dute. Alde horretatik, hiru hedabideek euskarri bereko erdarazko hedabideekin euskarazkoekin baino antzekotasun handiagoak agertu dituzte. Hala ere, euskarazko hedabideek erdarazkoen kazetaritza-eredua barneratu dutela esaterik ez dago, euskarri guztietako erdarazko hedabideen arteko albistegaien bat-egitea neurtu ez delako (euskarazkoen albistegaiekin bat zetozen berriak bakarrik). Era berean, euskarri bereko euskarazko hedabideen arteko alderaketa gauzatu beharko litzateke, tokian tokikoekin adibidez. Izan ere, *Euskadi Irratia*k EAEtik kanpoko eremu administratiboetako euskarazko irratiekin agertu duen konbergentzia mailatik euskalduntasunak kazetaritza-eredu autozentratua trinkotzen duela ondoriozta daiteke.

Beraz, aniztasunaren adierazleek euskarazko hedabideen kazetaritza-eredu bateratuaren zantzuak eskaini dituzte. Dena den, euskarriaren araberako dibergentziak ez du kazetaritza-eredua zehazterik izan: erdarazko kazetaritza-jarduleraren menpekoak dira ala euskarazko hedabideek euskarri moten arteko eredu pluraltasuna sortu dute? Hortaz, hurrengo ikerketarako gaia izan daiteke.

4.2. Iker-galdera: *Izaera publikoak ala pribatuak berrien kalitatean eraginik badu?*

Hedabideen nortasuna definitzeko bi erakusle dago: alde batetik, haiek hautatzen dituzten albistegaien ezaugarriak eta, bestetik, informatiboki ase nahi duten gizartearekiko atxikimendua. Lehenengo eta behin, euskarazko hedabideek albistegaien hautaketan haien artean konbergentziarik handiena erakutsi dute. Hortaz, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruaren ezaugarriak partekatzen dituzte. Hala ere, **euskarazko bi hedabide publikoen arteko albistegaien bat-egitea *Berria*rekin baino handiagoa da.** *Euskadi Irratia*k *Etb1*ekin *Berria*rekin baino albistegaien hautaketan konbergentzia handiagoa agertu du. *Etb1*ek ere, *Etb2*ren ondoren, *Euskadi Irratia*rekin *Berria*rekin baino albistegaien baterakidetasun sendoagoa erakutsi du. Beraz, hedabide motak edo euskarriak ez ditu izaera publikoa eta pribatua bereizten, euskarazko hedabideen konbergentziarik handiena edozein

euskarritako euskarazkoekin dutelako eta, ondoren, euskarri bereko erdarazkoekin. Era berean, **kazetaritza-eredu autozentratuak ere ez du izaera publikoa eta pribatua definitzen,** *Etb1*ek *Etb2*ren ikuskera partekatzen duelako. Hala ere, *Euskadi Irratia*k telebista publikoarekin duen konbergentzia *Berria*rekin agertzen duena baino handiagoa da. Horrenbestez, *Etb1*en eta *Euskadi Irratia*ren konbergentzia talde bereko hedabide publikoen izaerari egotz dakioke. Dena den, *Berria*k eredu horretatik ezberdinduko lukeen albistegaien hautaketarik ez du gauzatzen. Are gehiago, konbergentziarik handiena *Etb1*ekin (eta, beraz, *Etb2*rekin ere) erakutsi du. Horrenbestez, ikerketa diakronikoan **Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparru autozentratua hiru hedabideek bat egiteko eremua zehaztu bazuten ere, erdarazko kazetaritzak abiatutako horikeriari heltzen dioten neurrian, erdarazko kazetaritza-jardueraren ezaugarriak barneratzen dituzte.** Izan ere, *Etb1* telebista publikoak erdarazko kazetaritzaren albistegaiei 2003tik aurrera ekin zien: Gizarte sailaren nagusitasuna (albiste arinen gehikuntzaren proportzioan) eta eguraldiaren ondorio-irudien titularretako albiste trataera. Are gehiago, protagonista pertsonifikaturik gabeko berriak Administrazioa protagonistatzat hartzen dituen adina izaten dira. Ildo beretik, *Etb1*ek asebete nahi duen erkidegoan bertan sortutako albisteen kopurua Euskal Herritik kanpotik heldu direnen bestekoa izaten da. *Etb1*ek horikeriaren zantzu horiek agertzea gaztelerazko *Etb2*rekin informazio-zerbitzuak partekatzeari egotzi ohi diote, bi telebistek informatiboki asebete nahi duten hizkuntza erkidegoak ezberdinak izan arren, eduki bera zabaltzen dutelako. Erdarazko hedabideek, gainera, horikeriari euskarazkoek baino lehenago tarte egin zioten. Beraz, *Etb1*ek *tabloidization*-aren lehen zantzuak agertzen dituenean, gainerako euskarazko hedabideek ez dituzte oraindik ezaugarri horiek barneratu, publikoak zein pribatuak izan. Are gehiago, *Berria*k lehen orriko albisteetan *Euskadi Irratia*k baino eduki hori gehiago agertzen ditu. Ondorioz, *Etb1*ek 2003an abiatu zuen kazetaritza-ereduari *Berria*k heldu zion eta ez, talde publikoko euskarazko irratiak.

Bigarrenik, formatuaren eta edukiaren bikaintasuna aztertu eta gero, Albisteen Kalitate-Ereduak gizarte-kalitateari erreparatzen dio. Azken horrek hedabideek informatiboki asebete gura duten erkidegoarekin erakusten duten lotura azaltzen du. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideek euskal gizartearekiko atxikimendu txikia erakusten dutela egiaztatu du, albiste gehien-gehienen trataera neutroa baita. Horrenbestez, *Berria*k izaera publikoko hedabideek baino atxikimendurik nabariagoa du, aurkako jarrera agertu ez ezik, aldekoa ere erakutsi duelako. Gizarte-kalitatearen arabera, beraz, izaera publikoa albisteekiko jarrera neutroarekin pareka daiteke. Dena den, hedabideen jarrera kritikoa eragiten duten albistegaietan bat etorri arren, berrien sorterriak ere hedabide publikoak eta

pribatuak bereiztea dakar. ***Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek estatuetan sortutako berriekin jarrera kritikoa agertzen duten bitartean, *Berria*k bertako albisteen berezko ikuskera aurkezten du.** Horregatik, albistearekiko aurkako jarrera eragiten duten informazioak ere bertako albisteak izaten dira. Are gehiago, euskarazko hedabide publikoek ez bezala, albisteen aldeko jarrera azaldu du *Berria*k. Horiek ere bertako informazioan oinarritu ohi dira. Horrenbestez, berezko irakurketa plazaratzea badu *Berria*k. Ondorioz, euskarazko hedabide publikoak Euskal Herritik kanpoko edukiekin kritikoen azaltzen diren legez, berri-hornitzaileek haiek hautatutako albistegaiak izaten dira. Hortaz, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek beste hizkuntza erkidegoetako albistegaien berezko ikuskera zabaltzen dute; ez, ordea, bertan sortutako albisteena. Horrenbestez, euskarazko hedabide publikoek asebete gura duten gizarteak esku-hartzerik ez duen eremuetako albisteak interpretatzen dituzte, haien sorrera helburuetan zehaztutako aginduak desnaturalizatuz. Horregatik guztiagatik, ikerketak ez du laugarren hipotesia zati batez berresteko baino datu nahikorik eman:

> **LAUGARREN ONDORIO NAGUSIA:** Euskarazko hedabideen arteko aniztasunak berezko kazetaritza-eredua sortzea ekarri ote duen ebazterik ez dugu izan. Hala ere, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua badela egiaztatzen duten ezaugarriak agertu dituzte. Are gehiago, euskarak hedabideetan duen eginkizun komunikatiboa zenbat eta autozentratuagoa izan, orduan eta zabalagoa da Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua bera. Izan ere, Komunikazio-Esparruak eginkizun bikoitza du: alde batetik, hedabideek euskaratik hemengo eta kanpoko errealitatea azaltzea eta, bestetik, errealitate horretan euskaraz eragiteko eremua aurkeztea.

Lan honek ez du hedabide bakoitzak euskarriaren araberako euskarazko kazetaritza-eredurik garatu ote duen zehazteko datu nahikorik eman. Are gehiago, **izaera publikoak eta pribatuak Albisteen Kalitate-Indizean ez dute eraginik izan.** Talde bereko hedabideak izan arren, *Euskadi Irratia*k eta *Etb1*ek kazetaritza-jarduera berezitua gauzatzen dute. *Etb1*ek erdarazko informazio zerbitzuak ere lantzen dituen bitartean, *Euskadi Irratia* EiTB taldeko gainerako hedabideekiko askea da. Hala ere, *Berria*k *Etb1*ekin albistegaien hautaketan konbergentzia handiagoa agertzen du eta *Euskadi Irratia*rekin, kazetaritza-jarduera antzekoagoa. Ondorioz, izaera publikoa eta pribatua bereiztuko lukeen erakusle bakarra gizarte-kalitatea litzateke. Horrek euskarazko hedabide publikoen gizarte-atxikimenduaren inguruko datu urriak eman ditu: albisteekiko aldeko jarrerarik agertu ez eta Euskal Herritik kanpoko albisteekin kritikoen agertzen direla baino ezin izan du zehaztu. Horregatik guztiagatik, **Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua autozentratua ez den neurrian, horren tamaina gero eta txikiagoa da.** Euskarazko hedabideek albisteak

euskaraz eman arren, horiek azaltzen duten errealitatean euskaraz eragiteko eremurik aurkezten ez badute, euskarazko komunikazioa norabide bakarrekoa da. Are gehiago, herritarren parte-hartzea erdaraz gauzatzera bultzatzen duten albisteak biderkatzean, hedabideek Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua murrizten dute.

Laburbilduz, doktorego tesia abiatu zuten lau hipotesietatik hiru berretsi dira. Horrenbestez, **erdarazko hedabideen antzera, euskarazkoen jarduerak zenbait adierazleren gainbehera eragin izanaren ondorioz, gizartearen parte-hartzea trabatu dute eta, horregatik, albisteen kalitatea ere kaltetu dute: dela aniztasuna, dela kazetaritza-ekimena.** Honakoa da, beraz, doktorego tesi honen **ONDORIO NAGUSIA**:

> **Euskarazko hedabideek, nazioartekoen antzera, kazetaritza lasterreko zantzuak ('fast journalism') agertu dituzte: alde batetik, *tabloidization* joerak albisteen aniztasunaren murrizketa ekarri du eta, bestetik, berri-hornitzaileekiko mendekotasunak kazetaritza-jarduera osoa baldintzatu du.**

Erdarazko hedabideek ez bezala, euskarazkoek bi jokabideok zuzentzeko giltza tokiko albisteetan dute. Alde batetik, **tokikotasunak albisteen aniztasuna ahalbidetzen du**, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruko edukiak sendotu ez ezik, hedabide bakoitzaren nortasuna ere osatzen duelako. Bestetik, **tokikotasunak kazetaritza-ekimena suspertzen du. Horrek hornitzaileekiko morrontza askatuko luke eta, aldi berean, albisteen kalitatea hobetzeko gakoak eskainiko lituzke.**

Ildo beretik, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruak autozentramendua izan behar du oinarri. Bestela, albisteak euskaraz eman arren, herritarrek berri horiek zabaltzen duten errealitatean euskaraz eragiterik ez badute, Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrua gero eta txikiagoa izango da. Gainera, eraginkortasuna ere galduko luke. Azken batean, hartzaile potentzialak uxatuko lituzke eta oraingo hartzaileak ere galtze bidean egongo lirateke.

Izan ere, tokiko albisteen irakurketa euskaldun zabalak euskaratik sortutako pluraltasuna erakusten du. Azken batean, hedabideei ez dagokie egitura politikorik sortzea. Haien eginkizuna garen errealitatea ulertzeko eta horretan eragiteko informazio-tresnak ematea da. Horretarako, euskal nortasun anitz islatzeko gaitasuna berenganatzea funtsezkoa da. Gainera, bertako informazioa eman ez ezik, Euskal Herritik kanpo jazotakoaren berri ere eman behar dute euskarazko hedabideek. Horrenbestez, albiste horiek euskaratzeko ez ezik, euskalduntzeko ere eskatzen du Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparru autozentratuak: bertako premiei egokitzen zaien informazioa, hain zuzen.

5.2. AURRERA BEGIRAKO IKERKETA

Lan honek euskarazko hedabideen jarduna aztertzeko beste alde bati erreparatu dio. Hizkuntza atxikimendutik haragoko kazetaritza-jarduera ikertu du. Ildo horretatik, euskaratik albisteen kalitatearen ikergaiari egindako ekarpenak teorikoak ez ezik, praktikatik ondorioztatutakoak ere izan dira. Horrela, oraindik osatze bidean dagoen metodoa fintzeari ekingo diogu, zenbait herrialdetan hedabideek plazaratzen dituzten albisteen kalitatea alderatzeko baliagarria izan daitekeelakoan baikaude. Tesi honek agertutako emaitzen argira, hiru ikerketa-ildo aurreikus daitezke. Lehenengo eta behin, Albisteen Kalitate-Eredua doitzeko zenbait ohar ondorioztatu dira. Esaterako, aniztasunaren azterketan albisteetako protagonisten aurkezpena aldekoa, balekoa edo aurkakoa ote den zehazteak adierazle horren adiera sakonagoa azalduko du. Lan honetan ikusi dugun bezala, hedabideek protagonista-mota jakin bat agertu arren, horrekiko duen jarrera ez da zertan aldekoa izan. Beraz, hedabideak albistearekiko jarrera kritikorik agertu ezean, gizarte-kalitateak neutrotzat hartu ohi du berria. Dena den, albiste neutro horretan agertzen den protagonistak ez du bere bertsioa zabaltzen, beste eragile batek protagonista-mota horren inguruko interpretazioa albistearen oinarria izan daitekeelako. Beraz, gizarte-kalitateak albiste osoarekiko jarrera neurtzen duenez, protagonistaren egoerari berezko ezaugarriak zehazteari beharrezko deritzogu. Era berean, zenbait hedabide-motatako albisteak neurtzea helburu duen metodoa den neurrian, gaurkotasun adierazleak azken orduko gertakariak agertzea saritu beharko luke, ikus-entzunezkoek egindako ahaleginari jarraituz. Hortaz, gaurkotasunaren adierazlean "atzo, gaur edo bihar" kategoria ez ezik, "gaur goizean edo gaur arratsaldean" ere txertatu beharko litzateke. Azken batean, zenbait erkidegotako euskarri anitzetako albisteen kalitatea neurtzea helburu duen aplikazio unibertsaleko metodoaren baliagarritasuna sendotzeko ekarpenak dira.

Bigarren ikerketa-lerroak euskarazko hedabideen nortasunaren oinarriak azter ditzake. Horrela, euskarazko hedabideek gainerako hedabideekin agertzen duten albistegaien hautaketaren konbergentzia izango luke aztergai: bat-egite hori hedabide-euskarriari edo Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparruari dagokion ebaztea, hain zuzen. Hortaz, euskarazko hedabideak erdarazko eta euskarri bereko hedabideekin, zein euskarazko beste euskarrietako hedabideekin alderatu beharko lirateke. Ildo beretik, *Etb1*ek gaztelerazko *Etb2*rekin informazio-zerbitzuak partekatzeak Euskarazko Komunikazio-Esparrutik aldentzeko joeraren nondik norakoak zehaztu ahal izango lituzke. Era berean, aldentze hori zuzentzeko gakoak aurkeztuko lituzke.

Azkenik, albisteen kalitatea aztertu duen doktorego tesi honek euskarazko hedabideak erdarazkoen parekoak direla berresteko balio izan du. Hemendik aurrera, albisteen kalitatea bermatzeko neurriak eta estrategiak garatzeko zantzuak eskaini dituelakoan gaude: akats estetikoak gutxitzeko, aniztasunaren murrizketa berbideratzeko, albistegintzaren alde ahulak gainditzeko eta indarguneei oraingo bikaintasunarekin heltzeko, adibidez.

Aurrera begirako hiru ikerketa-ildoek hona ekarri gintuen ezinegon bera azalduko dute: euskalduntasuna amesten duen kazetaritza. Azken batean, garenaren etorkizuna kazetaritza irudikatzen duen euskalduntasunak zehaztuko du.

5.3. CONCLUSIONS

A Doctoral Thesis involves hard and deep work. Before analysing News Quality, the research topic itself was to be specified, so that excellence could be assessed according to international criteria. That meant gathering and classifying scholars' contributions in several scientific communities. The present work, then, aims to purpose a methodology to assess News Quality grounded on previous research: the News Quality Scheme. Accordingly, this Thesis is also the result of testing the proposed method. The proposed hypothesis would be then validated or refuted by data verified at the research.

The first hypothesis explained how the main role of the Basque media, as well as international media's aim, is to provide people with those key elements, so that they can effectively take part into society itself. In fact, **the founding acts of the three Basque media outlets assert their aim to supply keys to participate in the society to which those media serve.** On the one hand, the EiTB (Basque acronym for Basque Public Broadcasting Corporation) founding Act (1982) demanded to ensure the right of the Basques to be informed and participate in society. On the other hand, aiming to solve ideological and administrative divisions among Basques, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* established the aspiration to supply an "information service" based on Basqueness. Then again, quality became an essential characteristic rather than a goal for *Egunkaria*.

In order to find out whether media performance resulted in the accomplishment of those beforehand established goals, three research questions are to be answered.

1.1. Research-question (RQ): *How diverse are the news reports broadcast or published by the Basque media?*

News media use headlines and front pages to inform about the most important news stories of the day, which correspond with their perspective towards reality. Basque media usually display the representatives of Administration in those news stories. Moreover, news exhibiting non-identifiable protagonists is in the way of becoming the main information model. Additionally, Administration related news decrease, that is, on weekends and holiday periods, Basque media have inclined towards more simplistic information. Consequently, the Society section has replaced politics, although such news has moved away from socially relevant issues and it offers a static picture of the society itself. According to that, the Politics section is resulting in lower prominence and, at the same time, most news is devoted to the Basque conflict or international politics. Therefore, it has been confirmed that Basque media choose the same news topics selected by the information suppliers (professional providers of information, such as news agencies and press offices, who make elaborated news reports available). As a result, the over-reliance on the Administration and on the news agencies gives raise to soft news, mainly because when they provide no information, Basque media increase the amount of news where protagonist is not identifiable. Consequently, media do not inform about protagonists who are not professionally organised (social movements and associations); on the contrary, they prevent them from having a voice in the public sphere. As a matter of fact, decrease in diversity over time has been confirmed. As a difference to previous decades, news undertakes less topic disciplines (particularly evident in arts and sports), in addition to marginalising social agents as protagonists, as long as they are not professionally organised. Thus, there is a risk to give raise to homogeneous news which prevents people from social participation. Therefore, diversity balance is required to accomplish a double task. First of all, the traditional conception of diversity balance implied the consideration of all topics, every protagonists, and wide geographical scope for news origin. Thus, it has been an effective way of assuring diverse contents, resulting in action similar to those of a lesser quota. Secondly, According to the new understanding, diversity balance can effectively block those trends that lead media performance to distance news coverage

from media's informational goals. **Hence, diversity balance is nowadays is required to prevent *tabloidization* qualities from spreading to all sort of news.**

The over-reliance evidenced by the Basque media on news providers happens to be higher than that on news sources. In fact, media do not employ own sources to analyse information in detail. Due to such dependant situation, **Basque media either understand news agencies themselves as information sources, or they consult the same sources already employed by those agencies.** Actually, unless the indicator for transparency (i.e. origin of information and type of sources) denote such an activity, media themselves make news vaguer, because the audience does not get to know the interests of the emitter of that news, neither the ways of going into the news in depth. Furthermore, media have revealed difficulties to choose events which could become a topic on the news, which indicates their increasing over-reliance on suppliers. Consequently, the information provided by those suppliers (interested providers such as the Administration and news agencies) is published just as sent, they do not have any key to work on it. As a result, the poor diversity of news topics has also affected news elaboration. In other words, **Basque media have decreased their abilities to produce news,** although it would enhance journalistic activity and satisfy the informational needs of nearer social groups.

Therefore, diversity would consent to accomplish the initial goals of communication projects. Apart from that, the market logic followed by non Basque news agencies can also have negative effects towards the Basque Communication Sphere. This is so because the characteristics of the market which those non Basque agencies intend to fulfil do not correspond with the informational needs of the audience of Basque media outlets. In any case, Basque media have spread content originated in Spain and in the USA to all sections. The more they follow such a trend, the more similarities they share with non Basque media. On the one side, when *Egunkaria* was created, Basque media convened to set free from Spanish news coverage, but nowadays the three of them are back under the influence of contents originated in Spain. On the other side, they have developed a new over-reliance on information from the USA. Both aspects have confirmed a single course of globalisation: Basque media import the interpretation made by the Spanish models of culture about information divulged from the USA. As a consequence of that, similarities among Basque media are distorted. Despite the fact that the three media outlets are coincident when choosing

certain news topics, these have not been arisen out of Basqueness, but from homogenising contents derived from Spain and the USA, which have been sent to Basque media. On the contrary, interpreting news from diverse Basque perspectives could be the key to satisfy the informational model according to our nearer reality. As confirmed during the diachronic study, home news used to recognise the unifier feature of the Basque media informational model, and at the same time they enabled the identity development of the three media outlets. However, the common contents spread by news providers have resulted in a non-natural similarity, because Spanish media's convergence is stronger than the Basque one. Thus, this kind of media performance brings difficulties to the development of each media's own identity. Overall, **Basque media would become a promoter of a single way information issue, that is, they would act as loudspeakers of news suppliers.**

1.2. RQ: *Has tabloidization trend of international media reflected on Basque media?*

The concern for News Quality came into debate in the 1980s along with the process of *tabloidization.* Until then, newspapers content had been defined by daylies themselves. In fact, the *tabloidization* process has been related to the predominance of "yellow agenda". In addition, some indicators for the newsmaking process have indicated closeness with *tabloidization*, as relevance, accuracy, adequacy of additional informational elements and appropriate use of language.

With reference to Basque media, first, relevance has been confirmed highlight curiosity and information linked to image features; simply as much as French and Spanish media. Secondly, as for accuracy, Basque media have evidenced a more reduced decline than the non Basque ones. In effect, the French and Spanish media emphasising one side of the news in the headlines do not give enough keys in the text for the readers to interpret and verify the news. Thirdly, the additional informational elements along with the piece of news have also changed. During the first decades, in spite of being inadequate in certain occasions, media have already improved that trend, although they have not reached excellence yet. Whereas audiovisuals use significant elements, newspapers employ them as filling information (they only corroborate that which is already obvious). In any case, it is higher scored than other media's in the Basque Country, acknowledging those whose elaborate their own additional informational elements. Finally, Basque media have had to carry out standardisation of suitable

language for media performance and its normalisation. Paradoxically, once the Basque language had been adapted for media performance, they let suitable language aside and paid lower attention to it. Therefore, whereas audiovisual media have preferred genuine speech, *Berria* tends to use correct simple language.

Thus, Basque media have gone through the same *tabloidization* process as French and Spanish media. Furthermore, according to every type of medium, audiovisuals for instance have exhibited more significant differences from the Spanish ones. To be more precise, *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* have not acquired yet as much *tabloidization* features as Spanish media. Still, the path of Basque media evidences a decline in the adequacy of additional informational elements and in the appropriate use of language. Having said that, other indicators (such as origin of information and news sources) have revealed slackness in media performance, especially on weekends and on holiday periods. Accordingly, **data indicates a tendency further away from *tabloidization*: typical of 'fast journalism'**. It involves not only making the "yellow agenda" part of their work, but also a general decline in quality indicators. That is why it has been confirmed that the German meaning for News Quality is the most convenient, for it does not delimit excellence with *tabloidization*.

1.3. RQ: *What is the proportion between hard and soft news in* Euskadi Irratia, Etb1 *and* Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria?

Today, **Basque media dedicate more space than ever to soft news.** What is more, due to the decrease of hard news, trivial information is becoming more common. In fact, soft news takes about 60% of the Society section in *Etb1*; in *Euskadi Irratia,* it is nearly a half; and in *Berria,* a third. Regarding the international *tabloidization* process, the proportion between soft and hard news registered an upturn in the 1990s, as it has been proved to have happened within the Basque media too. That is the reason why the diachronic study has revealed that the proportional difference between hard and soft news has turned over in the synchronic analysis. At first, ¾ of the news in *Etb1* was hard news; nowadays, their number is of just a fourth. The proportion between hard and soft news published from the beginning by *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* has been broken in *Berria*. In addition, more space is offered for useful information. Therefore, apart from multiplying trivial news, more articles with useful information (service journalism) are published. That is why the number of hard news grows fewer.

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Consequently, the following lines can be confirmed:

> **FIRST MAIN CONCLUSION:** Basque media's major duty consists in providing people with key elements to let them participate into society. However, the *tabloidization* process and the decline in quality criteria has enhanced the practice of 'fast journalism', the same tendency as presented by international media.

The News Quality Index has proved that excellence of all news has decreased. Similarly, the kinds of news which have brought such a reduction in diversity are the ones blocking the social participation. Accordingly, those sorts of news have a very poor informational treatment, so when they become hegemonic, the overall quality score gets lower. Thus, although one of the goals specifically pointed out in the founding objectives was to supply keys to influence the society, **media performance has caused a risk to bring spectacular informational models.** When it happens, audience acts as a static consumer who does not take part in the communication process: media have separated people from information and, at the same time, they have strengthened the alienation towards news. The alienation of the viewer towards the watched object, as defined by Guy Débord, is coming true: "The more you look at it, the less you can see it; the deeper you agree to recognize yourself in the dominant images in need, the less you understand your own being and wills".

Let us recall the second hypothesis that set in motion the present work: the reality reflected by Basque media shapes Basqueness. Basque media uses Basqueness to define society, that is to say, it arises out of the Basque language. On the one hand, the EiTB founding Act stated that it is an obligation of public institutions to "spread and promote Basque language and culture". Saying that, **the intentions of EiTB to broadcast outside the Basque Autonomous Community are based on Basqueness.** Effectively, the initiative to receive news from both public media outlets in the Northern Basque Country and Navarre has confirmed a will to coincide in Basqueness, albeit administrative restrictions. On the other hand, **the principles of *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* do not simply underline Basqueness, but territoriality too.** So, in order to make possible the national project of the Basque Country, they consider it essential to "rebuild Basque culture". Territoriality, therefore, means to supply unified information about the entire Basque Country arising from the language, "over the administrative and ideological divisions".

Like in the process to ratify the previous hypothesis, in order to confirm whether Basque media performance fits in its own defined objectives, three research-questions have been answered.

2.1. RQ: *What kind of geographic agenda do Basque media reflect?*

The geographical scope of the news published by the Basque media has changed within the last years. In the 1980s local information was predominant, but more news was produced in Spain and France than in the Basque Country (understood as an Administrative board). In total, there was largely more home news than from somewhere else. Then, **along with the creation of *Egunkaria,* media reinforced the contents originated in the Basque Country, while they reduced information originated in Spain.**

Nonetheless, home news has been decreased since 2003. First, Basque media reduced local information. Such a new model, equalised the number of local news to the amount of news originated within the administrative borders of the Basque Country. In addition, *Etb1* and *Berria* reduced the geographic diversity of the news they selected: Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa got the highest number of local news, so, Nafarroa-Behera and Zuberoa did not have a chance to appear in the headlines and on front pages. Moreover, *Berria* and *Etb1* displayed the same point of view to reflect the administrative boundaries: they converged in reflecting the Southern Basque Country (Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre). Accordingly, the synchronic study has confirmed the reduction of local news together with the increment of French and Spanish news. That is the reason why the difference in figures between home articles and those coming from outside the Basque Country grew fewer and fewer. **Therefore, the reduction of local news did not strengthen the news originated in the Basque administrative borders. Instead, it increased the amount of news coming from outside the Basque Country, especially from Spain.**

2.2. RQ: *Referring to News Quality assessment, is there any distinction between home news reporting and informing on abroad issues?*

Amongst the news reports published by the Basque media, the difference between home news and those coming from outside is getting smaller. What is more, the News Quality Index has revealed that excellence results are getting more and more

similar in both cases. Consequently, with the marginalisation of local news, home news has lost the distinction of having a better quality. In fact, local news used to be the ones with the highest rate of informational exclusivity. Hence, there is a higher presence of news suppliers in the management of the news originated also within the Basque administrative borders. Additionally, news providers have evidenced an absolute predominance when informing on issues from outside the Basque Country, mainly on weekends and on holiday periods. **Thus, reporting on local information may allow freer media performance and, consequently, it could be an effective strategy to help Basque media go beyond news suppliers.**

2.3. RQ: *To what extent does Basque media's news represent its community?*

The consideration of geographical scope towards the community which media serve is described in line with two indications: the section which gathers more home news and the relevance of the agenda defined by the geographical diversity. On the one side, sections with a higher amount of home news have had a significant shift in the diachronic study. Hence, in the 1980s *Etb1* worked mainly on home social topics. After, **along with the launching of *Euskaldunon Egunkaria,* both media demanded Basque self-centred perspectives.** Conversely, *Etb1* gave up such feature from 2003 on. That is why nearly half of the news of all sections analysed during the synchronic study broadcast by *Etb1* in 2008 were originated outside the Basque Country.

On the other side, the difference appointed by relevance according to geographical diversity underlined the meaning of home news during the diachronic study. That could be a sign of over-reliance on news providers, basically because even the news they supplied with low relevance were being published by *Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria.* What is more, the synchronic study has evidenced that differences between both news sorts are very small. Geographical scope does not make any variation in relevance between home and remote news anymore.

Thus, **as a result of reducing local information, home news has evidenced a decline in relevance.** At the same time, the relevance of news provided by news suppliers originated out of the Basque Country has not decreased, regardless of how low relevance it still was. Therefore, even though home news has effectively relinquished its margins of news management, the information provided by suppliers,

which does not bring any journalistic initiative, has not suffered any important changes in their relevance. That is why it can be argued that **the homogenisation in relevance of home and abroad news is a result decreasing the amount of nearer news.** In effect, providing news suppliers choose which information is to be published, Basque media adopt those same connotations towards the issues underlined by providers. Furthermore, relevance becomes one of the indicators that determine the meaning of the news, consistent with their view about the nation or language community. Basque media recognise inherent relevance to the news divulged by suppliers, to the point that they put it on a level with the relevance of the news obtained as a result of their own journalistic initiative. Consequently, the fact of taking for granted the relevance of the news divulged by suppliers has been a first steep towards acculturation. Hence, it can be said that the second hypothesis has also been validated:

> **SECOND MAIN CONCLUSION:** The reality reflected by the Basque media shapes Basqueness, and so do the founding purposes of communication projects indicate. Furthermore, at the time when the media were established, their media activity was the closest one to that intention. Due to 'fast journalism' practices, the Basque Communication Sphere is becoming smaller and smaller.

The reduction of local news has brought an increase of over-reliance on news providers. Additionally, geographical diversity offers an increasingly more homogenous geographical reality. In consequence, Basque media publish news originated in empowered environments, which promote their convergence towards Spanish and French media. For example, news from the USA has not only reached the international section, but all of them (Society, Culture, Sports…). Subsequently, the community fed with information by the Basque media cannot encourage social participation, because they inform about static news from outside their political reality. Moreover, Basque media's audience does not have the right to vote in the USA. Therefore, Basque media spread information created by other communities about matters which the Basque audience cannot manage. Despite the fact that news originated in empowered environments may be considered hard news, such information does not support the participation of Basque society. Furthermore, since they present a different culture identity, instead of reinforcing the feeling of being part of that community, they aggravate aculturisation, basically because they divulge a kind of information created to feed a different community. In addition, by giving

international news chosen by news suppliers, Basque media reproduce not simply an agenda based on their different national view, but also the criteria to choose that news.

On the contrary, local news increases the exclusive information rate of the Basque media. In effect, divulging local information enables different Basque media to gain common characteristics and to supply more content diversity. Local information facilitates media identity's self-centred development. Basque media's performance gives raise to the Basque Communication Sphere. Also, it has been confirmed that local information avoids the convergence towards other Basque media operating in Spanish and French. Therefore, **the Basque Communication Sphere does not have anything to do with politics, but with the social creation capacity of the language.** Basque media come less often into the same agenda as French and Spanish media in the Basque Country (nationalist or not) when the Basque agenda deals with nearer information. Thus, the more self-centred the agenda, the more unique the Basque media will be.

The following lines explain the third hypothesis: the quality of news elaborated by *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* is similar to that of Spanish and French media. Basque media share news suppliers with non Basques, and since all information suppliers work in Spanish or French, it is their national view which is divulged. That is the reason why we have used news broadcast in Basque and French or Spanish media to compare both media performances. Moreover, it has to be underlined that, as this is news with a different national perspective, Basque media do not have the chance to take part with a particular point of view in the management of the initial information. Therefore, French and Spanish media find that that news arises from their own field and, thus, the idea of these being of a higher quality has been extended. Such an assertion takes for granted that French and Spanish media control the entire information process. Having said that, the following three research-questions will analyse the weak side of newsmaking: the type of employed sources, features of the elaboration process and the amount of errors.

3.1. RQ: *Which are the main news sources used by the Basque media?*

Basque media use mainly personal news sources in order to inform about events, instead of documents or experts on the subject. Therefore, the sources are presented as identified or confidential. In the same way, the diachronic study has

confirmed the decline in attributed sources. *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* use mostly confidential sources. In the case of *Berria*, these are second in the list of most employed sources types. At the same time, the origin of information is most of the times omitted, especially on the radio, which compromises the news transparency. By mentioning the origin of information and identifying sources, news makes it clear where information has been spread from. Therefore, if no distance is kept towards news suppliers, there is a high risk of leading to believe that their opinions have also been internalised by the media, including their own national conception, divergent from that of the Basque media. In fact, **although the Basque media's performance has been evidenced to be of similar quality as that of Spanish and French media (in some cases even more excellent), if Basque media fail in blocking suppliers' colonialist interpretation of news, they are not capable to fulfil their own informational task.** Therefore, non Basque media have displayed a similar over-reliance on news suppliers as French and Spanish ones. In this case, though, news suppliers provide them with the contents out of the cultural identity dominant for the region which they target. For that reason, obtaining similar results in News Quality assessment as non Basque media may be considered to leave quality behind.

The aim of information transparency is to provide people with news. That way, people will have the key to go into the news in depth. Therefore, apart from adequately presenting the origin of information and employed sources, it is also essential to create a net of exclusive information sources. Furthermore, it is commonly agreed that the information supplied by news providers should constitute the starting point for news: It is to be analysed more in depth and re-interpreted. After all, scholars only acknowledge suppliers as promoters of informational initiative. Besides, the Internet offers resources for transparency, as it can make available original documents, for instance.

3.2. RQ: *To what extent are news reports relevant?*

Basque media's News Quality has been proved to be of higher excellence in the selection process than in its elaboration. Furthermore, the long-term evolution has widened the difference between these two journalistic processes. Consequently, at the same time they achieve excellent score on the indicators defining the selection process, the standards for elaboration keep obtaining poorer marks. Therefore, **the main weaknesses of news selection are the origin of information,**

type of sources and relevance. That is to say, Basque media denote higher weakness in those indicators which denote over-reliance from news providers. Moreover, these indicators evidence a clear decline on weekends and on holiday periods. **Weaknesses of news elaboration point out the number of perspectives and adequacy of additional informational elements.** In fact, those indicators reveal the consequences of over-reliance on news providers too. Also, **the three media have proved an important decline on the use of language, especially on holiday periods**.

Therefore, 2003 can be taken as a year of inflection. Since then, *Etb1* has broadcast weather related images under the appearance of news, placing them as the one of main news stories of the day headlines. Similarly, *Etb1* definitely gave way to omitted origin of information (especially for political news). At the same time, although *Berria*'s journalistic pattern may be considered diverse from that of *Etb1*, it followed such a broadcasting informational model on weekends, in higher proportions than *Etb1* itself.

3.3. RQ: *Has long-time experience contributed to reduce the number of errors?*

Formal Quality evaluates the technical side of news and presentation features. As it is not possible to blame journalists for Technical Quality, we will look into the outcomes from Presentation Quality. Therefore, **when technological advances have made journalistic work easier, media display a higher amount of aesthetic and operational or functional deficiencies than ever before.** On the one hand, aesthetic deficiencies affect the design employed to facilitate the understanding of news. **Although media keep on renewing a more attractive design, aesthetic deficiencies have not been solved. What is more, these deficiencies are more and more common.** On the other hand, operational or functional deficiencies hinder news comprehension. **It is an indicator not related to the language normalisation process. In fact, media display *lapsus clavis* in a growing frequency.** Accordingly, unless awareness is gained, these deficiencies will not come to an end. **Notwithstanding French and Spanish media act under a linguistically normalised journalistic model, they also keep on making mistakes (i.e. *lapsus clavis*).** Nevertheless, it cannot be argued that Basque media should be excused for their aesthetic and functional deficiencies in news, since awareness and prevention aim to prevent potential audience segments to deter. Furthermore, once lost, they are

generally non recoverable, because they have already tagged the Basque media with a negative view. In effect, media are somehow aware of Presentation Quality as it is evidenced by the fact that they display fewer deficiencies in headlines and front pages than in news reports. Consequently, they take a better care over the Presentation Quality of headlines and front page news than the rest. As a result, research data has also validated the third hypothesis. Here is the explanation for that:

> **THIRD MAIN CONCLUSION:** The News Quality broadcast or published by *Euskadi Irratia, Etb1* and *Euskaldunon Egunkaria/Berria* is similar to that of French and Spanish media. Hence, they also present similar weaknesses. However, it is generally understood that the decline of the excellence of the French and Spanish media is consistent with trends in international media performance. The decline in Basque Media's News Quality, however, is blamed on the use of that particular language, as if it was an inherent lack on it.

French and Spanish media have also evidenced an over-reliance on the providers, for they have no information sources of their own. Furthermore, local news in non Basque media is more likely to be also designed by news suppliers themselves. Thus, **French and Spanish media have a poorer journalistic initiative than the Basque ones.** In fact, even if both media groups publish news items provided by suppliers, French and Spanish local information is originated away from the Basque Country. Then, Basque media's journalistic initiative on those reports is commonly agreed to be lower than French or Spanish media, because the latter target the same region as news suppliers. Therefore, nearer news could give Basque journalism the key to get free from news providers, **because the subjugation to suppliers does not only affect transparency, but also the elaboration of news itself.** For instance, when news is not out of own journalistic initiative, the number of perspectives and additional informational elements to elaborate such information relies on suppliers. Consequently, Basque and other media elaborate their news according to the amount and characteristics of information defined by news providers.

Nevertheless, **if Basque media's activity does not differ itself from that of French and Spanish media, Basqueness is left behind, because they promote informational homogeneity. Self-centred perspectives, though, do not hinder international considerations in anyway.** On the contrary, media performance capable to incorporate the nearer viewpoint to any subject will achieve its goals. For

that, it is essential to take part in the information process. News sources are fundamental to distinguish them from the information supplied by news providers, as this gives media the management of their own information (the capacity to influence the number of perspectives and informational elements, amongst other quality indicators). The filter for the closer viewpoint can be the way to avoid spreading the acculturation process of informational colonizers.

Finally, the fourth hypothesis this Doctoral Thesis was to prove stated that the diversity amongst Basque media outlets has brought the creation of a Basque journalistic model. The three Basque media outlets analysed are published in each medium type: radio, television and print support. Thus, the convergence among them has been analysed in order to evidence whether it indicates the materialisation of a Basque journalistic model, in spite of the particularities of every media outlet. For instance, whilst *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* are public media broadcasting from the Basque Autonomous Community, *Berria* is a project created by popular movements for the entire Basque Country. Moreover, *Euskadi Irratia* works independently from the activities of the rest of media outlets included in the EiTB group, whereas the news services from *Etb1* are in charge of broadcasting news in Spanish too for *Etb2*.

4.1. RQ: *Which characteristics have the news reports broadcast or published by Basque media?*

Content Quality distinguishes between diversity and the News Quality Index. The diversity indicators (topics, protagonists and geographical scope) have evidenced similarities among Basque media. In fact, although *Etb1* has adopted a different model from *Berria* since 2003, the tendency of the latter on weekends indicates the adoption of the same model as *Etb1*. Therefore, the **biggest similarities between Basque media in the choice of agenda have been confirmed, being the proportion higher when comparing different Basque media than when contrasting them with non Basque media of similar type.** What is more, they reveal the biggest convergence with other Basque media: *Euskadi Irratia* with *Etb1; Etb1* with *Euskadi Irratia* (convergence with *Etb2* is, obviously, absolute); and *Berria* with *Etb1* (later on, *Gara, Euskadi Irratia* and *Diario Vasco* successively). In any case, **the three media have evidenced a tendency towards 'fast journalism' on weekends and holiday periodss, that is, when people may devote longer time to news.** The Society

section has replaced news topics, and it increasingly displays non-identified protagonists. Thus, such a trend forces Basque media to show features of the French and Spanish media's model, whereas they get further away from Basque models. Having said that, **while Basque journalism approaches French and Spanish trends, *tabloid-wise* style leads to acculturation**. In effect, when Basque media match up information with French and Spanish ones, Basques loss their diversity among the three of them and, then, produce assimilated content which results in acculturation (as for example, when reporting on the Basque conflict, USA, Spanish sports and soft news originated outside the Basque Country).

Albeit diversity, the results of the News Quality Index indicate that Basque media's performance may depend on the medium type. The three media have exhibited more similarities with French and Spanish media of same medium type than with Basque media. Anyhow, it is not possible to affirm that Basque media have adopted French and Spanish media's journalistic model, because the convergence among all medium types of Spanish media has not been measured (only those news which matched with Basque agenda). In the same way, a comparison among Basque media of the same medium type should be conducted, to contrast them with local media for instance. In any case, regarding the convergence between *Euskadi Irratia* and the rest of Basque radios from outside administrative borders of the Basque Autonomous Community, it can be asserted that Basqueness thickens a self-centred journalistic model.

Hence, diversity indicators have displayed hints of a unified journalistic model among the Basque media. Regardless of the divergence according to medium types, it couldn't be determined whether it may form a proper journalistic model: are Basque media dependants on Spanish media performance or have they created a plurality of models amongst medium types? Thus, there it is a possible topic for a next investigation.

4.2. RQ: *Does it affect to News Quality whether the media outlet is a public or private corporation?*

Two indicators define the identity of the media: first, the characteristics of those topics they select, and second, the engagement with the society they serve. Basque media have evidenced the greatest similarities among them regarding the agenda.

Therefore, they do share some characteristics integrating the Basque Communication Sphere. Nevertheless, **likeness between both public media outlets is higher than with *Berria.*** When it comes to select the agenda, *Euskadi Irratia* displays a higher similitude with *Etb1* than with *Berria*. Also, *Etb1*, just after *Etb2*, coincides in content with *Euskadi Irratia* more often than with *Berria*. Thus, medium type does not make any difference between public or private media; the biggest similarities are between Basque media, albeit medium type and, after, with Spanish media of similar medium type. In that case, **self-centred journalistic model does not differentiate between public and private conditions,** since *Etb1* and *Etb2* share their points of view. Likeness between *Euskadi Irratia* and the public television are more than with *Berria*. In effect, such similarities, that is, *Etb1* and *Euskadi Irratia* can be understood because of the fact that they are part of the same media group. Nonetheless, *Berria* does not make a selection for the agenda, which would leave it apart from the mentioned model; what is more, it has appointed the biggest likeness with *Etb1* (and therefore, *Etb2*). Thus, **although the three Basque media have been able to create a self-centred Communication Sphere, they can be considered to have also adopted features of French and Spanish media performance as far as they present *tabloidization* elements.** Actually, *Etb1* public television undertook Spanish agenda in 2003, due to the predominance of the Society section over others (proportional to the increase of soft news) and the inclusion of images of meteorological conditions in the headlines under the appearance of news reports. Moreover, the number of news with no identifiable protagonist is equal to the amount of information where the Administration itself is presented as the main actor. In the same line, the number of news originated in the Basque Autonomous Community broadcast by *Etb1* was similar to that outside the Basque Country. It has been asserted that the *tabloidization* process happening in *Etb1* is a result of sharing production with *Etb2,* which is broadcast in Spanish, because they share nearly the entire content, notwithstanding the community they mean to serve is different. In effect, *tabloidization* had been spread to Spanish media long before to Basque ones. That is the reason why *Etb1* was the first Basque medium denoting *tabloidization* effects, albeit its public character. Still, *Berria* has more tabloid content on its first page than *Euskadi Irratia*. Then, it cannot be held that public or private media corporations are more likely to *tabloidization*. Consequently, *Berria* imitated the same journalistic model initiated by *Etb1* in 2003, but the Basque public radio station didn't.

Secondly, after having assessed Formal and Content Quality, the News Quality Scheme evaluates Social Quality. It explains media's engagement towards the community they serve. Subsequently, it has been confirmed that Basque media do not express much adhesion to Basque society in the treatment of news. Accordingly, news posture is generally neutral. As for *Berria,* it has more adhesion than public media, because it has not only displayed positive attitude towards a few of news, but also a negative tendency was visible. Thus, regarding Social Quality, public media can be related with the neutral posture towards news. Anyhow, even if they agree in an agenda which leads to a critical attitude of Basque media, geographical diversity happens to distinguish between public and private corporations. **Notwithstanding *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* present a critical attitude towards news originated in Spain, *Berria* exposes its own point of view about home news.** For that reason, nearer information is also expected to inspire criticism. In fact, as distinction from public media, *Berria* has presented a positive approach to some news. So, *Berria* makes its own interpretation known. Therefore, Basque public media are critic to information from outside the Basque Country, but, still, that information comes from the agenda imposed by news suppliers, which means that *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* offer the same point of view as other language communities, whereas they display a lower social commitment towards news originated in their own society. Thus, Basque public media interpret news from areas where the community they mean to serve has no way to participate; consequently, they denature the commitments determined in their initial goals. Overall, the present research has not supplied enough information to validate the fourth hypothesis:

FOURTH MAIN CONCLUSION: It has not been possible to assert whether diversity among Basque media outlets has brought their own journalistic model. However, there have been found sings and characteristics which confirm the existence of the Basque Communication Sphere. Moreover, the more self-centred the communication task of the Basque language is, the wider the Communication Sphere itself is. In fact, such a Communication Sphere has a double duty: on the one hand, media are in charge of explaining home and foreign reality resulting from Basqueness; and on the other hand, media are required to introduce the interaction field where people can effectively influence in reality as Basque speakers.

The present research has not provided enough information to specify whether Basque media have developed an own journalistic model or not, in line with its medium type. In addition, **public or private management has not reflected any influence on the assessment of the News Quality Index.** Although *Euskadi Irratia* and *Etb1* belong to the same communication group, they have exhibited different media performance. Whereas *Etb1* works along with non Basque information services, *Euskadi Irratia* acts independently from other mediums within EiTB group. As for *Berria,* it has displayed more similarities with *Etb1* in agenda setting, and more likeness with *Euskadi Irratia* in news elaboration. Consequently, the only element to differentiate public and private media would be Social Quality. Such a factor has offered limited data about social engagement of public media: it has just been able to assert that most news remains neutral. For the little rest, Basque public media do not present a positive attitude towards news and, when they have a critical point of view, it is always about news originated outside the Basque Country (Spain, mainly). Hence, **as far as the Communication Sphere is not self-centred, it is growing smaller in size.** As a result, if Basque media broadcast news in Basque, but they reveal no field where people could influence on society as Basque speakers, communication moves in a single direction. Moreover, if Basque media themselves broadcast an increasing number of news pushing people to participate in society as French or Spanish speakers, media themselves do decrease the dimensions of the Communication Sphere.

Overall, three of the four hypotheses which set in motion the present Doctoral Thesis have been validated. Therefore, **as in the case of the French and Spanish media, Basque media's performance has evidence the decline of some quality indicators, resulting in hindering social participation. Consequently, they have also damaged the quality of the news they elaborate: both diversity and journalistic initiative.** Thus, here is the **MAIN CONCLUSION** of this Thesis:

> **Basque media have exhibited elements of 'fast journalism'. On the one hand, the *tabloidization* process has brought the decrease of news diversity; on the other, the over-reliance on news suppliers has conditioned the entire media performance.**

Unlike the French and Spanish ones, Basque media have in nearer news the key to improve both aspects. On the one side, **localness allows news diversity.** This is so

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because, as well as strengthening the contents forming the Communication Sphere, it also enables each and every medium's identity. On the other side, **localness improves media performance. That would set media free from the need of suppliers and, at the same time, it would offer keys to improve quality.**

In the same line, the Communication Sphere requires to be self-centred as a principle. Otherwise, even after publishing or broadcasting news in Basque, if people can not exert on the divulged reality as Basque speakers, the Communication Sphere would keep getting smaller and smaller. In effect, it would also loose effectiveness. At the end of the day, it would deter potential audience segments, while the current ones would be threatened too.

By and large, global interpretation approach of local news evidences that diversity arises out of the Basque language. After all, it is not media's duty to give a creation to any political structure. Their task consists in providing us with the information tools to comprehend our own reality and, then, cause an effect on it. In order to do that, it is fundamental to gain the capacity to reflect a wide range of identities arisen out of the language. What is more, apart from local information, media also have to inform about what happens beyond the Basque Country. By doing that, apart from translating information into the Basque language, it would also accomplish the second demand of a self-centred Communication Sphere which requires to offer different perspectives arisen out of the language community features: information which is adapted to the nearer needs, as defined by the social interaction of its members.

5.4. INDICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present Thesis has assessed Basque media's performance from another perspective not related to language attachment. That way, the contributions made by the Basque language to the News Quality research topic are both theoretically and practically concluded. Hence, the News Quality Scheme itself, our methodological proposal, is to be further developed. According to the outcome of this Thesis, three investigation lines can be foreseen. First of all, a number of conclusions have been gathered to specify some features of such News Quality Scheme. For instance, determining if the introduction of the protagonist is favourable, acceptable or opposed will reveal a deeper meaning of such an indicator for diversity. As explained before,

notwithstanding media may present a particular type of main actor, their attitude towards that does not necessarily need to be favourable. Therefore, unless media takes a critical attitude towards news report itself, Social Quality will still consider that news as neutral. Nevertheless, the particular version of the protagonist presented in that neutral news is not divulged, as the news could be based on the interpretation of another agent about that kind of protagonist. Therefore, since Social Quality assesses the attitude towards an entire particular news report, we consider it necessary to also specify the features of protagonists' situation. Similarly, along with cross-media assessment, the currency indicator should reward the broadcasting of imminent issues, following the effort made by the audiovisuals. Thus, apart from the "yesterday, today or tomorrow" category, "this morning or this afternoon" should also be tagged on the indicator for currency.

The second research line can analyse the basis of Basque media's identity. Accordingly, it would aim to elucidate if the convergence displayed by Basque media towards the selection of news should result from the medium type or the Communication Sphere.

Finally, this Doctoral Thesis has evidenced that Basque media's News Quality is similar to that of French and Spanish media. The purpose of every research will be fulfilled if this study may provide hints to develop measures and strategies to guarantee Basque media's News Quality in the future, aiming to reduce aesthetical deficiencies, to redirect the decrease in diversity, to overcome the weak sides of media performance, and to enhance the current strong points.

The three possible future research lines will explain the interests that brought us here: a self-centred perception of reality shaping the news. All in all, the future of what we are will be determined by the interpretation of nearer reality conducted by media performance.

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7. EDUKIEN AURKIBIDEA

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