

## **The Segment Press**

Structural Changes in the Danish Media Order 1970-2006

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# From Partisan Press to Segment Press

## Structural changes in the Danish Media Order 1975-2006

### **Abstract**

Significant historical changes have taken place in the Danish press in the last thirty years: Newspapers have merged, international companies have become owners of Danish newspapers, readers have become target groups, newspaper production has become digitalised and a handful of free dailies distributed in traffic and directly to households has been introduced. A pragmatic field perspective is promising in relation to grasping the complexity of the empirical developments and challenging the 'independency theses' in Danish media research. This explorative paper presents the research design of a forthcoming study on the structural changes in the Danish press. The paper develops the thesis that a new media order – the Segment Press - has replaced the Omnibus Press of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Partisan Press before that.

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## Cartoon Crisis, Newspaper War and Reader Profiles

The Danish Press history is most often told in two significant historical periods (Andersen et. al. 1980, Hjarvard 1995, Jensen ed. 2001 I-IV Søllinge & Thomsen 1989 I-III). The first period is the Partisan Press before World War II, where newspapers were owned by publicists or political parties and edited according to specific party political ideologies. The second period is the Omnibus Press after WW II, where newspapers are run according to publicist ideals and edited according to new standards of objective journalism. But three recent events in Danish press history points towards the theses that a new form of media order, The Segment Press, has replaced the omnibus press.

First, and most visible in an international context, the year 2006 began with what later became the Cartoon Crisis. *Jyllands-Posten*, one of the three large national dailies in Denmark, printed a series of drawings of the prophet Muhammed which led to national and international debate. The coverage of the Muhammed-drawings was primarily framed according to a freedom of speech frame not only in Danish newspapers (Hervik 2007) but also in the international coverage (Kunelius, Eide, Hahn & Schroeder 2007). In the five months from the cartoons where published in the fall of 2005, until March 2006 where the news agenda had shifted away from the cartoon crisis, the three largest national newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten*, *Berlingske Tidende* and *Politiken* carried in total 260 editorials on the cartoon crisis and directly related topics such as freedom of speech and the tone used to discuss islam and muslims in Danish media (Villadsen 2007). Villadsens study shows how the editorials were used by the dailies to position themselves in the media field, and the conclusion suggests that the editorial is not only used as a genre where the newspaper communicates its opinion on a current topic to the reader. The editorial is also, it is argued, a genre where the newspapers fight internal games of positioning and competition (op. cit). What is just as interesting is the analysis made by the niche daily *Information*, which concludes that the news stories during the beginning of the cartoon crisis follows the frame and opinion of the editorial (*Information* 03 03 06). The analysis show that the frame and angle of news stories on the cartoon crisis was parallel to the editorial on the cartoon crisis - an observation which was also done by media researchers and commentators (*Politiken* 11 03 06; Schultz-Jørgensen 2006). Although the research on the Danish cartoon crisis is still preliminary, there is enough evidence to support a hypothesis that the ideal of objective reporting and the steel wall between news stories and commentaries of the Omnibus Press has been challenged.

Second, in August 2006 "The Newspaper War" broke out in Denmark and a year later it seems the war will not end just yet. When the international free daily *Metro* entered the market in 2000 and one of the Danish media houses launched the free daily *Urban* in response, this led to anxiety among established newspapers but there was no mention of a war. It was not until the introduction of the new household distributed free daily *The Newspaper* [*Nyhedsavisen*] from the Islandic company *Bagdur* that

there was talk of a war. When the News Paper was still in the planning process, the two strong Danish media houses Jyllands-Posten/Politiken and Berlingske, launched each their own free dailies, *Date* [Dato] and *24hours* [24timer], also to be distributed

Free Newspapers in Demark	
Free "traffic" newspapers	
2000	<i>Metroxpres</i> is introduced by the Swedish company behind <i>Metro</i>
2001	<i>Urban</i> is launched by the Danish publishing house JP/Politiken Foundation
Free "household" newspapers	
2005, Feb	<i>The Newspaper</i> [Nyhedsavisen] is announced by the Islandic company Bagdur
2006, Aug	<i>Date</i> [Dato] is launched by the Danish publishing house Berlingske Officin
2006, Aug	<i>24Hours</i> [24timer] is launched by JP/Politiken Foundation
2006, Sept	<i>The Newspaper</i> [Nyhedsavisen] is launched
2007, May	<i>Date</i> closes down

directly to households in the fall of 2006. By then, the newspaper industry and advertising market was shook up to a degree where commentators began to speak of a newspaper war. The illustration lists the titles (without local editions) in two groups: *Traffic newspapers* that are primarily distributed in public transportation, train stations and bus terminals. And *household* newspapers aimed to be distributed directly to the reader. In the fall of 2006 Denmark had 10 titles (also counting a free business paper) and in the summer of 2007 only 5 titles remained yet the market share of free newspapers is still estimated to be above 50% (*The Free Daily Newspapers 2007*, Bakker 2007). The Danish trade journal "The Journalist" has monitored the development since the fall of 2006 and estimates that the price of the newspaper war is by now more than 1 billion Danish kroner or more than 100 million euro (Journalisten 2007/2). A new study documents what many commentators have already pointed out: "The factor determining what the market will look like is the willingness to sustain economic losses from the organisations behind" (Andersen & Rasmussen 2007:3). The Newspaper War is not a war on journalism but a war on advertising market shares. Third, the idea of an inclusive public sphere materialised in a mass audience is vanishing from the national dailies as new, sharply segmented reader profiles have entered the newsrooms. Whereas the journalism of the Partisan press was targeted at members of a specific political party, and the journalism of the Omnibus Press was targeted at serving "the public", new style sheets in the newsrooms describe readers as detailed segments of the public. *B.T.* can be used as an illustration of the trend. *B.T.* is one of the two national tabloids and markets itself as "Denmarks family newspaper". *B.T.* presents five reader profiles on the web pages presenting the newspaper and the readers to potential advertisers. *The serious watchdog* is both a male and a female profile. The male watchdog is described as having " (...) a strong inner police man who are offended by people in power misusing their position". The female watch dog is also interested in "law and order" but she "uses the newspapers partly as an indicator for

which entertainment offers to accept and partly as an update ensuring that she can talk about what is happening” ([www.jp.dk](http://www.jp.dk) / august 2007). *The Sports Fanatic* is a male reader “(...) choosing B.T. because of the sport coverage and he has no big need or expectation for the general news coverage in the newspaper”. The female sports fanatic reads the newspaper “(...) to support her children or her husbands interest in sports” and the profile mentions no interest in news, commentaries, etc. The last profile is *The Energetic Woman* who in contrast to the profiles above has “significant larger interest in life style subjects broadly speaking – especially all that has to do with the family and its situation. Another characteristic is her explicit interest in society, for instance that normal people are being treated properly when in contact with the system” (op.cit). It is difficult to assess exactly when the targeted reader profiles entered the newsroom and what the practical impact is exactly. But all things equal, the introduction of reader profiles in the formalised policy of Danish newspapers points towards a shift from a ‘public service’ newsroom culture to a ‘consumer oriented’ newsroom culture (Andersen & Schultz 2006).

Each in their own way the examples of the Cartoon Crisis, the Newspaper War, and the Reader Profiles questions the continued existence of an Omnibus Press understood as a press system based on objective reporting and publicist ideals. The Cartoon Crises revealed a political editing of the news sections in the largest newspapers which can be paralleled to the journalism of the partisan press. The Newspaper War is an indication that commercial interests is a prime driver of the structural development in the Danish newspaper market, and the introduction of Reader Profiles in explicit news policies and style sheets indicates a newsroom culture oriented towards writing for the ‘consumer’ rather than the ‘citizen’. Before discussing whether these recent events are a sign of a new press system or the collapse of an old press system, the history of the Danish press will be presented in brief below.

### **From Partisan Press to Omnibus Press**

The Partisan Press was the birth of the newspapers in the late half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and describes the period until WW2 where political parties owned or influenced the editing of the newspapers. The period after WW2 is called the Omnibus Press and describes on one hand a period which gave birth to the modern electronic mass media, radio and television, but also a period where the political ties between political parties and newspapers were being cut in order to give birth to a new objective journalism in newspapers. Before that, the first publications distributed or sold to the public were characterised by expressing the opinion of the writer or publisher and the period is therefore named the Opinion press (Andersen et. al. 1980) <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The distinction between three periods – an opinion press, a partisan press and an omnibus press – is the result of an ideal typical reading of the Danish press history. The years marking the end of one period and the beginning of another can be discussed but most sources agree that the constitution of 1849 and WW2 signified structural as well as normative changes in the Danish press. Even so, the periods must be understood as ideal types overlapping when it comes to empirical analysis: Even though the Partisan press as a system was replaced by a more neutral Omnibus Press after the war, the transformation did not happen overnight. As an example, one of the last regional dailies following a specific political party line, Fyns Tidende, was not closed down before 1979 (DDF 2004).

### **Before 1849: Opinion press**

The early history of the Danish Press has been named "The liberal Opinion Press". This period of the press history was characterised by smaller publications expressing the opinion of the publisher and sold by the copy (Andersen et. al 1980, Jensen et. al 2001). The publications did not look like the newspapers we know from later in the 19 century rather they were a diverse mixture including ballads about the royal family, about notorious actors or criminals, or more moral and religious writings, etc. These publications aimed at being non-political, most where owned by printers who also acted as editors and the publications where not written by journalists or based on journalistic reporting. Economically speaking, newspapers were a secondary business to printing. (Andersen et. al. 1980). The first political newspaper in Denmark was called *The Fatherland* [Fædrelandet] and published in 1834. It was a newspaper aimed at the social elite with an explicit aim to enlighten and not entertain. Other newspapers from the first half of the century also had an informative or enlightening purpose but were aimed at smaller publics such as religious communities or the temperance movement. It is not however, before the Constitution in 1849 where Denmark went from being an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy with a representative democracy parliament that a new press system was also born.

### **After 1849: Partisan Press**

The Constitution of 1849 marks the new era of a partisan press system in Denmark. Where the political role of the small newspapers before this time was limited and characterised by challenging the absolute monarchy, the newspapers after 1849 begins to play an active role in creating a public forum for political debate and contributing to setting a new national, political agenda (Jensen et. al. 1991). The second part of the Century is politically characterised by the development of a left and a right in the parliament, and of new political parties such as the Liberal party in 1870. Steadily, the number of small newspapers with clear party political ties increased and by the end of the century any larger regional town would have four daily newspapers, one for each of the new political parties, the conservative party [Konservative], the liberal party [Venstre], the social democratic party [Socialdemokratiet] and the moderate party [De Radikale]. This is why this period is also named *The Four-paper-press*.

Besides the newspapers with political agendas owned by the political parties or printers/editors with the same conviction, the period is also characterised by a growth in the more entertaining publications such as weeklies for women.

### **After 1945: Omnibus press**

The Omnibus press is the term used to describe the Danish press system after WW2. The Omnibus press indicates a press system where the newspaper and its information are of interest to all (omni) and where journalists no longer write for specific voters but

for a broader public.<sup>2</sup> The change from a Partisan press to an Omnibus press can be seen both in terms of ownership, management and in the content of the Danish Newspapers. In relation to ownership and management, the Omnibus press describes a specific structural setting of the press, where newspaper cuts the formal ties to the political parties and party organisations and becomes publishing houses or newspapers in their own right (Pedersen et. al. 2000). Most newspapers are still owned by private non-commercial interests or political organisations but after WW2 the editing of the newspapers is an editorial/journalistic responsibility and the daily organisation of the newspaper is run separately from the party political organisation. In relation to the journalistic content of the newspapers, the Omnibus press is the time where editors develops new publicist and journalistic ideals such as 'objective reporting' and where new journalistic genres such as the interview is introduced to the public. Political content or subjective reports are being isolated to the editorial page and the journalistic content in the newspaper is written according to the new standards of non-biased, fair reporting. Other opinions than that of the newspaper are presented in letters to the editor (DDF 2004).

## The emergence of a new press system?

The Cartoon Crisis, the Newspaper War and the Reader Profiles all pointed towards the question of whether the omnibus press has been replaced by a new press system. Before closing in on an answer – in the form of a hypothesis about the Segment Press – the next sections discusses the independency thesis of Danish media research and presents a pragmatic field perspective to compliment the methodological short comings of the neo-institutional perspective leading to the independency thesis.

### **The Independency thesis of Danish Media research**

The dominant narrative in Danish media research is an independency thesis interpreting the press history as a move from dependency in relation to the (formal) political system towards independency from the political system. In its most concentrated form, the thesis states that Danish media history can be described by a development "from partisan press, to omnibus press and to the media as independent political actors" (Togeby 2004).

Discussing the institutional character of modern mass media and specifically the development of Danish TV, Hjarvard subscribes to the independency thesis in his diagnosis that "media has become an independent institution interacting with other social institutions" (Hjarvard 1999:41, translated) and that not least TV has changed "from a part of the social institution to a media institution (Hjarvard 1999:40, translated). Discussing political communication and journalism, the contributions to

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<sup>2</sup> The Omnibus press is also characterised by the development of the electronic media and not least the Danish public service broadcasting system and DR [Denmarks Radio] which held a monopoly on national television broadcasting until 1989 where another PSB broadcaster, TV2 was introduced.

*Political Journalism* (Pedersen et. al. 2000) subscribe to the independency thesis from the perspective of political science. From a neo-institutional perspective it is argued that political communication has become independent because of the cutting of formal ties from party political interests and parliamentary agenda setting. Journalism is not only a craft or discipline, "(...) Journalism is a political actor, expected to play an independent role as an actor (...)" (Pedersen et. al. 2000:140, translated). A parallel view on the independency thesis can be read in the work of Lund: "The contemporary Danish research offers documentation [to the thesis] that party political independent mass media since the 1970s increasingly exercises independent influence on political decisions (Lund 2002:11, translated).

The empirical argument of the studies above are concentrated around the observations, that the formal ties between political parties and newspapers was cut around the time of WW2, and that the journalistic profession developed hand in hand with publicist ideals and standards of objective reporting. However, it is worth discussing the question of journalistic independence in a critical light: Just because newspapers are no longer owned and edited by political parties and thereby can be considered independent from explicit political interests, does not mean that they should automatically be considered independent per se. Quite contrary it could be argued, from the theoretical standpoint of media and journalism as a field, that the press is never totally independent, as it will always be linked to other fields in different relations of power. In this light, the 'independence from political parties' might simply be understood as a power shift in the relationship between the journalistic field on the one hand, and the political and economic field on the other hand. Whether the forces of the economic field hold more power over the press now than earlier, or hold more power over the press than the political field, is an open question. But theoretically speaking, the 'independence of the press' should be not be considered a fact, but taken as an assumption worth investigating further.

### **Fields, media system and media order**

Field theory is a relational, critical approach (Bourdieu 1990[1980], 1993, 1996 [1992], 1998, 1998 [1996], 2005). The relational aspect is evident in the conceptualisation of society- and of various differentiated social spaces such as 'politics', 'journalism', 'economy' - as a hierarchical social space, where each position in the space is defined by its relation to other positions in the space (Schultz 2006, 2007). As an example, journalism is not powerful in itself, but powerful in relation to the economic or political structure of the social space in question. In the same way, a newspaper is never autonomous or left-wing or commercial in itself but autonomous/left-wing/commercial according to the relation it has to other newspapers and their relative positions in the social space constituting journalism. The other characteristic of field theory is that it is a critical theory. For Bourdieu there is nothing 'natural' about the social space or about journalism. On the contrary it is an important task for the social sciences to investigate, describe and objectify the seemingly 'objective' and naturalised categories of the social.



The understanding of journalism as a field builds upon three theoretical assumptions which are the result of Bourdieu empirical studies (Bourdieu 1993, 1996 [1992], 2005, Benson & Neweu (eds.) 2004, Hesmondhalgh 2006): The first assumption is that the journalistic field is always defined in relation to the overall social space. "Journalism is a microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms" (Bourdieu 1998 [1996]:39)". As fields are research tools, the social space might be understood as a 'national' field, as a transnational 'media systems' (Hallin & Mancini 2004) or as national 'media orders' (Slaataa 2003) depending on the research object and the research question. Journalism is a semi-autonomous field with its own logic of practice, a fairly self governing space guided by its own rationales but at the same time a product of the social space and determined by the structures surrounding it. The second assumption is that the journalistic field is always defined in relation to the overall field of power of the social space. "Journalists – one should say the journalistic field – owe their importance in the social world to the fact that they are the owners of a de-facto monopoly on the tools for mass production and mass diffusion of information (...)" (Bourdieu 1998 [1996]:42). The quote addresses the specific power of journalism and the journalistic field – a discursive, consecrating power (Couldry 2003). The third assumption is that the journalistic field is always defined in relation to its position in the field of cultural production which deals with the production of the *principles of vision and division* (Bourdieu 1993).

Compared to neo-institutional approaches (Cook 1998, Pedersen et. al. 2000, Lund 2002, Togeby et. al. 2003) field theory adds a relational and critical perspective to the study of the press forcing us the researcher to look at the hierarchical relations between different fields. In order to understand the press, it is important to look outside the world of newspapers and journalism to the adjacent fields of not only politics but also economy which co-determine the development of the press, a perspective which resembles the tradition of political-economy (Benson 1998).

### **The death of the Omnibus Press?**

Using the field perspective and its focus on a broad empirical material illuminating the journalistic field in relation to the political field, the economical field and the consumption field, this section will present a few indicators of a changing press system.

For Danish newspapers, the 1980s was a time of structural stagnation (DDF 2004:5) especially for the national press. Three important events marked the decade. First, the publishing house Berlingske Officin experienced a life threatening crisis but was reconstructed with foreign capital in 1982 and re-established its leading market position and economy. Second, Sunday editions of the two tabloids B.T. and Ekstra Bladet was launched and revealed an unexpected market for Sunday newspapers. Third, Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten expanded primarily by taking the regional

subscribers from the two other large dailies and in 1988, the circulation of the paper was larger than Berlingske. At the same time, the daily newspapers had the advantage of an advertising market with little or no competition: TV advertising was not nationally introduced in Denmark before 1988 with the launch of TV 2. All in all, the 80s had a historical high circulation and a profitable advertising market and was a time of little development in the Danish press.

The 1990s is described by the Danish Association of Newspapers (DDF) as a time of consolidation after structural changes in the ownership of newspapers and the introduction of a new electronic platform. Two important trends in the decade are the fusion of dailies and internet activity which leads to a new structural setting in the Danish press system. In the daily regional press the fusion of a number of regional dailies began in the early 90s and lasted for the next ten years. Internet newspapers were launched by the largest dailies in 1996, 1997 and 1998.

One of the most significant changes on the Danish newspaper market around the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was the merging of newspapers and other media in larger media organisations and in relation to this the introduction of foreign investment capital (Jaurt & Prehn 2001, Harrie 2000, 2003, see also Doyle 2002, Høyer & Pöttker (eds.) 2005, Williams 2003). The Danish association of newspapers points towards these international trends which has affected and influenced the Danish media system in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century:

- **Decrease in newspaper advertisement.** The amount of advertisement in newspapers were challenged by the introduction of national TV advertising in 1988 and had been slowly decreasing through the 90s. But from 2000 to 2003 the total amount of advertising in daily newspapers dropped with 24%.
- **Diversification: Internet- and radio investments.** Decrease in newspaper circulation and readership combined with less income from advertisers led dailies to investing in both internet and local radio.
- **Introduction of free dailies.** The Swedish Modern Times Group launched the free traffic distributed daily MetroXpress in Copenhagen in 2001 and a sister paper in the second largest Danish town Aarhus. Probably as a response to the threatened position on the advertising market, the Berlingske Officin launched the equivalent daily URBAN which became the largest free daily after a couple of years.
- **International owners.** In 2000 the Berlingske Officin - the largest media house and publisher of one of the oldest Danish newspapers Berlingske Tidende - was sold to the Norwegian company Orkla. Besides the business daily, Børsen, which had been owned by the Swedish media company Bonniers for years, this was the first Danish newspaper to be owned by international owners.
- **Co-opetition.** In 2001 the two competing dailies Berlingske and Politiken established a shared printing house in Copenhagen. Together with the third large daily Jyllands-Posten, Berlingske and Politiken also founded InfoMedia, a

company offering electronic products from the three media houses, which the three competitors own together.

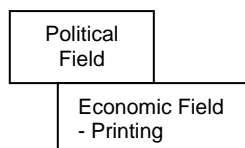
- **Media mergers.** In 2003, the media houses publishing Jyllands-Posten and Politiken merged and created a cooperation the size of the Berlingske Officin. The new cooperation is called JP/Politikens Hus.

Further empirical research will take critical look at the political, economic, and consumer related developments indicators mentioned above. For now, the purpose of the indications has been to qualify the argument that the independency thesis is not sufficiently precise to describe the developments in the Danish press from 1975 to 2006 and to validate the hypothesis that the Omnibus Press has been replaced by the Segment Press. This hypothesis will be presented in detail in the next section.

## Conclusion: The Segment Press hypothesis

This is a first attempt to present a substantiated thesis about the Segment Press drawing on a field theoretical reading of press history.

The Opinion Press is characterised by a small political field (power field) as this was the time of absolute monarchy, where the few political parties were elitist and there was no institutionalised, formalised parliamentary process. It is also the time before the newspaper as we know it today. Publications where a side business for small local printing houses and there was no journalistic profession or publicist foundations.



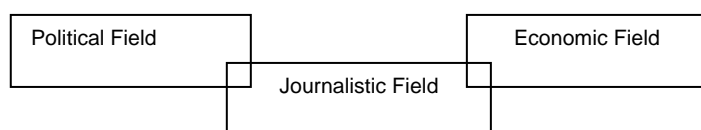
The illustration above sketches a small political field dominating the economic field as all market activity is regulated by the laws of the monarch or political elite. The beginning signs of what will later become a specific press field is the position (or sub field) of printing placed in a dominated part of the economic field (as publicist business is a side business).

The Partisan Press emerges in a social space where the political field is now a field with its own logic of practice and struggles, representative democracy. Also, the economic field has emerged as a differentiated social space and is a field with its own logics and struggles different from that of the political field. At the time of the Partisan Press it is no longer the printer or individual writers that produce publications offered to the public, it is the first journalists and editors.



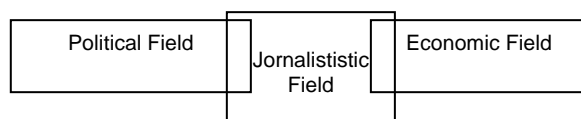
The illustration above places the press as a subdued subfield directly influenced by the political field. It is an empirical question whether an actual journalistic field with its own logic of practice and distinct forms of capital exists at this point in time or whether journalism might better be described as a press field.

The Omnibus Press is a time where the political field and the economic field generally have the same relational position to each other as in the time of the Partisan Press. But not least the establishment of a Danish journalism school and of a national union of Danish journalists makes it relevant to speak of an emerging journalistic field.



The illustration above places the journalistic field between the political field at the one side and the economic field at the other side to illustrate two developments. The first is the change in ownership of newspapers during this period from a mix of private ownership and 'political' ownership to a mix of private ownership and other forms of publicist ownership (Søllinge & Thompsen 1989: 101). Newspapers are increasingly managed as businesses but the ideals of the managements are publicist in the sense that the purpose of running the newspapers is to ensure the printing of newspaper and not to generate a profit. The second development illustrated by placing the journalistic field in between the political and the economic field is the emergence of an 'objective journalism' and new standards of fair, balanced reporting (Kjær 2001).

The Segment Press is an era where the journalistic field has gained a more central and dominant position in the social space. At the same time the journalistic field has been increasingly dominated by the logic of the economic field which has pulled the journalistic field further towards the economic pole taking the political field with it.



The illustration above places the journalistic field in between the political field and the economic field but with positions within the journalistic field that are dominant as well as positions that are dominated.

This paper has presented the hypothesis that the Omnibus Press of the Denmark has been replaced by a Segment Press, where commercial interests are gaining importance in relation to publicist ideals. The paper has also discussed the dominant independency thesis in Danish research and suggested a broader sociological field perspective including empirical research on newspaper economy, consumption and the organisation of journalistic practice.

## Further research

This study draws on a pragmatic field perspective inspired by the concepts of media system (Hallin & Mancini 2004), media order (Slaatta 2003) and journalistic field (Bourdieu 2005). The empirical investigation will not constitute a field analysis in the strictest methodological sense (for instance Hovden 2001, Bourdieu 1993). Rather, the field perspective is used as inspiration to look not only at the political, the economic, the consumption, the journalistic field and the power relations in between.

Political field	Newspaper legislation	EEC & national media laws, subsidies, etc.
Economic field	Newspaper economy	Annual accounts, trade statistics, etc.
Consumption field	Newspaper consumption	Statistics on readership, circulation, etc.
Journalistic field	Newspaper production	Interviews, journalistic union statistics, etc.

The study will be based on different types of empirical material, primarily documents (statistics and reports from newspapers, trade organisations, etc.) and interviews (with experienced editors and experts) but possible also include a small content analysis. It can be assumed that the transition from one period to another, from Omnibus Press to Segment Press, is process where it is more precise to speak of a continuum than of clearly marked periods. The study will focus on the time from 1975 – 2006 using secondary sources to describe the time before 1975 as contextualisation.

### **Part 1: Institutional changes – politics, economy and consumption**

The first part will describe the external structures of the Danish press around three main research questions:

- What are the changes in newspaper ownership?
- What is the development in state subsidies for newspapers?
- How has newspaper consumption changed (in relation to other media consumption)?

### **Part 2: Organisational changes – journalistic practice**

The second part will describe the internal structures of the Danish press and focus on a sample of representative morning papers, tabloids, niche papers and free dailies. The main research questions are:

- How has the editorial organisation of newspapers changed (beats, sections, etc.)?
- Who does what, how much does one journalist produce and how has that changed?
- What are the changes in the employment terms of journalists (working hours, pay, etc.)?
- How has the management of dailies changed in terms of formal policies, ideals and goals?

### **Time and place**

The study is part of the research project “Newspapers and Journalism in Transition” [<http://aviser-mef.cms.hum.ku.dk/>] financed by the Danish Research Council 2007-2010. This study will be conducted in the fall 2007 the spring of 2008.

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